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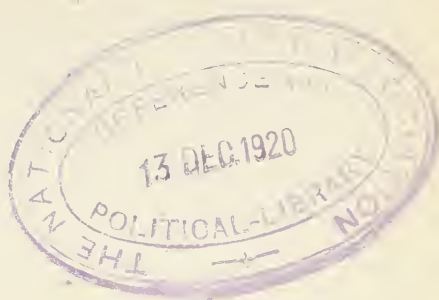
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OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE SEVENTEENTH  
UNIVERSAL CONGRESS OF PEACE.





May it please Your Majesties.

The representatives of the British supporters and the delegations from abroad of the Universal Congress of Peace, beg to thank your Majesties for the privilege of being allowed to present this address and especially for thus enabling us to express personally our profound gratitude to your Majesty who has so well earned the proud title of "Peacemaker".

The Congress now assembled in London consists of representatives of organized Peace Societies and Associations, and of other bodies in sympathy with them, from many parts of the world, 290 societies from 23 countries, including Great Britain and Ireland, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Japan, United States, Australia, Canada, Ceylon, New Zealand, South Africa, Serbia, and Chinese representation. This is the 11th of a series of International Peace Congresses held in various lands since 1889—the forerunners of which were an earlier series of Peace Congresses commencing in London as far back as 1843, and continuing to the time of the German War.

One common object brings us together—the redemption of the world from the curse of international enmity and war, the promotion of legality and upright dealing between the nations, and the desire to bind the people of the world together in bonds of confraternity and mutual aid.

We rejoice at the many signs of the acceptance of these principles in our day, and at the successive efforts of the enlightened statesmanship of the twentieth century to give effect to the high ideals which are the common attributes of universal religion.

We cordially re-echo, Sir, your Majesty's recent words that "it is in times of peace that the happiness, prosperity and progress of your people can best be increased and the standard of religion and morality can be raised," and we desire to acknowledge with gratitude your Majesty's constant effort to give effect to these ideals and to cement the peace of the world.

We pray that this Congress may mark a further step towards the realization of our common hope, and that your Majesty may be abundantly blessed in your wish task of leading the nation into the ways of brotherhood and mutual trust, and we beg to renew the expression of our deep thankfulness to your Majesty for the privilege you have been pleased to accord us of presenting this humble address.

President. *Lord Roberts*  
 Chairman. *Lord Alington*  
 Chairman of Executive. *Lord Alington*  
 Secretary. *H. S. Jones*  
 Representing the  
 Berne Bureau.

XXV<sup>th</sup> PEACE CONGRESS LONDON 1908



Address to King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra from the Peace Congress.  
 Presented at Buckingham Palace, July 26th, 1908.

FRONTISPIECE.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF  
THE SEVENTEENTH  
UNIVERSAL CONGRESS  
OF PEACE

Held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London  
July 27th to August 1st, 1908

ISSUED BY  
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PEACE SOCIETIES  
LONDON, 1909



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# ERRATA.

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" xviii, " 39, " W. H. Lee <i>read</i> H. W. Lee.	
" xxiv, " 22 (List of Illustrations), <i>insert</i> page number 265.	
" 117, " 24, <i>for</i> Dr. Jacques Dumas <i>read</i> Mr. Hodgson Pratt.	1e
" 129, " 19, " Cruesots <i>read</i> Creusots.	1d
" 130, " 3, " Heilburg " Heilberg.	1d
" 381, " 15, " Prioroiäts-Aktien <i>read</i> Prioritäts-Aktien.	
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" 393, " 28, " vorerwähnen <i>read</i> vorerwähnten.	10
" " " 31, " Sammtliche " Sämmtliche.	
" 445, " 11, " William " Williams.	1e
" " " 20, <i>insert</i> Fried, Herr A. H., Widerhofergasse 5, Wien ix/2, Austria.	1e
" 448, " 3, <i>for</i> Brugneay <i>read</i> Burgneay.	o-
" 449, " 28, <i>after</i> Dickinson, W. H., <i>insert</i> M.P.	1e
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" 464, " 9, " Playne, Miss A. E., <i>read</i> Playne, Miss C. E.	of
" " <i>after</i> line 26 <i>insert</i> Thoumaian, Mme., "Armenian Relief Fund," Chigwell, Essex.	1e
" 467, " " 34 <i>insert</i>	
Bollack, M. and Mme., 147, Avenue de Malakoff, Paris.	
Miss A. and Master L., " " "	2s
Finot, Jean, 12, Avenue de l'Opéra, Paris.	st
" 474, <i>after</i> line 19 <i>insert</i> Moscheles, F., 80, Elm Park Road, London, S.W.	of
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## INTRODUCTION.

The National Peace Council has pleasure in presenting to the delegates and adherents of the London Peace Congress, 1908, and to the general public, the Official Report of the proceedings, and regrets that some delay in its production has been unavoidable.

The Report has been edited by the undersigned from the official shorthand writer's notes. Considerable assistance has been given in preparing the volume by my colleague Miss M. H. Huntsman, Mr. T. P. Newman, Mr. J. F. Green, and others, to whom acknowledgments are due. The report in French has been edited by Mr. Joseph G. Alexander, on the basis of accounts appearing in various French peace journals, and in the *Correspondance bi-mensuelle*, of the Berne Bureau. The Rev. G. Ramette, joint-pastor of the French Protestant Church, Soho Square, has very kindly assisted with the French proofs.

The numerous illustrations will, it is thought, add to the value of the volume as a record and souvenir. Several are from photographs kindly supplied by the Topical Press Agency and by the London News Agency.

Owing to considerations of space it has not been found possible to print the Congress Sermon, preached in Westminster Abbey by the Bishop of Carlisle (in place of the Bishop of Hereford, who was prevented from attending). A full report of the Bishop of Carlisle's address to the Christian Conference will, however, be found in the following pages.

Many Peace sermons and addresses were delivered in churches of various denominations at the time of the Congress. Amongst these was a series of five lectures on "Factors in the Promotion of International Peace," delivered at Bow Church, Cheapside, by Dr. W. Evans Darby, Secretary of the Peace Society.

There was a conspiracy of kindness and helpfulness at the time of the Congress, which we can only here acknowledge in general

terms, but which assisted greatly to make the Congress a notable success. Mrs. T. P. Newman contributed a handsome Congress Banner, and banners were also given by Miss M. Radford and other friends. Miss K. Bruce, Mr. Stephen Reid, R.B.A., and Mr. Felix Moscheles gave or lent pictures; Mr. Henry Holiday and friends designed a beautiful Congress badge, which was worn by delegates, and a copy of which adorns the cover of this volume; Miss F. Huntsman illuminated the Address to the King. Others gave their services as hosts and hostesses, organisers of meetings, guides, and stewards at the various gatherings of the week. These enthusiasts for a great cause, and others who so generously contributed to the Congress Special Fund, need no formal thanks. Their gifts and help were a labour of love. Their reward was in the success of the Congress, and the pleasing memories it left behind.

Acknowledgment ought to be made of the great éclat which was given to the Congress by the decision of their Majesties, the King and Queen, to receive a deputation, and by the support of H.M. Government.

There was a general feeling amongst delegates of encouragement that the work of the organised Peace Movement had now emerged into the arena of public notice and discussion.

None the less, the disciples of the doctrines of Physical Force and the "Armed Peace" are numerous, clamant, entrenched. We must emulate their energy, capacity, and enthusiasm, and devote these qualities to a better cause than theirs—and we shall soon see the dawning of a brighter day in international relations.

Readers of this volume who may be infected with the "enthusiasm of humanity," and the love of order and justice in human affairs, which breathes in many of the speeches in its pages, will help to spread the contagion of those "great ideals" which, as Mazzini said, "make great peoples," and win new and grander laurels for the International Peace Movement.

On behalf of the Council,

H. S. PERRIS,

*Secretary.*

LONDON, February, 1909.

## NOTE ON THE PEACE CONGRESSES.

THE Universal Congress of Peace is composed of delegates from peace societies and associations throughout the world, and of representatives of other bodies in sympathy—whether religious, political, educational, or humanitarian. It is not a mass meeting of any one Society or Country. Some hundreds of Societies and Organisations, from various countries, are represented by duly accredited delegates. It is thus a representative assembly of the world's workers for Peace.

The Peace Societies number several hundred, and contain many thousand members, drawn from all classes: Senators and Members of Parliament, University Professors, lawyers, doctors, teachers, students, working men and women, churchmen, writers, scientists, and even military men—those who have seen the reality of war, as well as those who have felt and measured its results.

These Societies work in perfect independence on their own lines; some by appeal to religious and ethical feeling, and others by efforts to regulate the legal relations of States, to substitute arbitration for war, and to bring about a gradual diminution of armaments; thus, the united voice of the Congress has a representative force not to be measured by numbers alone.

At the regular sessions of the Congress speeches may be made in English, French, German, and Esperanto. Where necessary, a summary translation is given by the official translators. The subjects of discussion are arranged by the Berne Bureau, and by Six Preconsultative Commissions, which deal respectively with Questions of International Law (Neutrality, Obligatory Arbitration, etc.), Limitation of Armaments, Propaganda, Actualities (current events), the Organisation of International Life, and Workmen's Questions.

A word may be said here of the history of the Peace Con-

gresses. The First International Peace Congress was held in London, at the suggestion of Joseph Sturge, in June, 1843, just after the great Anti-Slavery Convention. In 1848 a Second Peace Congress was held at Brussels, of which the moving spirit was Elihu Burritt. A Third, in Paris in 1849, was presided over by Victor Hugo. Others followed at Frankfort and again in London, and one at Manchester in 1853, at which important speeches were made by Richard Cobden and John Bright. Then came the Crimean War, and other wars in both Europe and America, and for a generation, with the exception of a Congress held at Paris in 1878, the voice of organised pacifism appeared to be silenced.

The present series of International, or Universal Congresses of Peace commenced at Paris in 1889, Frédéric Passy presiding, and the late Hodgson Pratt taking a prominent part. From that time onward a band of honoured men and women have supported the Congresses from year to year, giving it a constantly growing influence and prestige—Signor Moneta from Italy, Frederic Bajer from Denmark, Senator La Fontaine from Belgium, the Baroness von Suttner from Austria, Dr. Charles Richet from France, Adolph Richter from Germany, and many others who might be named. The Congress has assembled at Paris, London (in 1890), Rome, Berne, Chicago, Antwerp, Hamburg, Paris again (in 1900), Glasgow, Monaco, Rouen and Havre, Boston (U.S.A.), Lucerne, Milan, and in 1907 at Munich. The hospitality and public welcome offered to delegates had been growingly cordial and significant.

The Congresses are the largest expression of organised public opinion and work in favour of Peace Ideals, in opposition to the crude conceptions of militarism and the Armed Peace. They are steadily building up a society of international men and women in all countries who are weary, not only of the cruelty and folly of war, but of the burdens of warlike preparation; and who seek a "better way" for the settlement of international differences and the establishment of national security. They have been the pioneers of humane and enlightened ideals in international politics, and considerable credit is due to them for the present hopeful prospects of the Peace Movement and improved international relations.





The Rt. Hon. Lord Avebury  
(Hon. Treasurer of the Congress.)



Mr. Joseph G. Alexander  
(Chairman of the Congress).



Mr. T. P. Newman  
(Chairman of Executive).



Mr. H. S. Perris, M.A.  
(General Secretary).

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### **Official Translators.**

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is composed of the National Peace Council with a few additional co-opted members. Details respecting the various Committees will be found hereafter.

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*Norway.*

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*Poland.*

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*Russia.*

M. J. Novikow; Odessa.

*Sweden.*

M. Edward Wavranski; député; directeur d'assurances; member of the Conseil interparlementaire; Stockholm.

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Rev. James Harwood, B.A.

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Miss M. L. Cooke.

*Co-opted Members*.

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Lady Courtney of Penwith.

Rt. Hon. John E. Ellis, M.P. (Pres. of Nat. Congress in 1907).

Mr. Francis W. Fox (Sec. of Anglo-German Friendship Com).

Miss A. Griffin.

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Dr. H. S. Lunn.

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 Miss May Colman. Miss C. Roche.  
 Miss Cuff. Mrs. Hymans de Tiel.  
 Mrs. Furmage. Maj.-General Sir Alfred Turner,  
 K.C.B.  
 Mrs. Gratton Geary. Captain Sir Francis Vane, Bart.  
 Mr. J. F. Green.  
 Miss Anna Griffin.

Offers of hospitality were made by 74 hosts or hostesses, deducting a few offers which were withdrawn at the last through unavoidable circumstances; 101 delegates received hospitality, including those paid for out of hospitality funds. Several delegates who had been invited to stay with families decided, on arriving, to go to hotels at their own expense; in some cases they did not notify the Hon. Secretary that they were doing this. We beg to apologise to those hosts who were put to inconvenience by the non-arrival of their expected guests.

Most of the delegates who accepted hospitality expressed their gratitude and appreciation of the kindness shown them in the warmest terms. One said:—"You have not only provided splendid receptions for us—you have opened your *homes* to us, and it is this we appreciate so much." Several expressed themselves in much the same way.

### List of those who offered Hospitality.

Mrs. Aggs, Rippbrook, Dorking.  
 Mrs. Edward Alexander.  
 Mr. J. G. Alexander, 3, Mayfield Road, Tunbridge Wells.  
 Mrs. Armstrong, 25, Montpelier Road, Ealing.  
 Mrs. W. T. Arnold, 4, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W.  
 Rev. F. W. Aveling, Christ's College, Blackheath, S.E.  
 Mr. and Mrs. John Balls, 8, Hampstead Hill Gardens, London, N.W.  
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 Dr. T. Baty, Southcroft, Devonshire Road, Sutton.  
 Miss Bennett, 56, Weltje Road, Hammersmith.  
 Mrs. Percy Bigland, 29, Tite Street, Chelsea, S.W.  
 Miss M. Bradley, 107, Marylebone Road, London, W.  
 Miss R. B. Braithwaite, 312, Camden Road, N.  
 Miss A. Leigh Browne, 58, Porchester Terrace, W.  
 Browning Hall (Mr. F. Herbert Stead), 1, York Street, Walworth, S.E.  
 Sir Percy Bunting, 11, Endsleigh Gardens, N.W.  
 Mr. W. P. Byles, M.P., and Mrs. Byles, 8, Chalcot Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Miss Candler, 104, Upper Grosvenor Road, Tunbridge Wells.  
 Mrs. Cansfield, 131, Highbury New Park, N.

- Mrs. Wallis Chapman, 130, Inverness Terrace, W.  
 Dr. Clifford, 25, Sunderland Terrace, Bayswater, W.  
 Mrs. Colenzo, Elangwin, Chesham Bois, Amersham.  
 Mrs. Crawford, 105, Marylebone Road, N.W.  
 Mr. H. Cubbon, Mansfield House Settlement, Canning Town, E.  
 Mr. and Mrs. A. J. David, Bryn Hyfrid, 525, Finchley Road, Hampstead.  
 Mrs. D. David, Witherage, Beaconsfield.  
 Miss C. Dell, 50, Lyford Road, Wandsworth, S.W.  
 Mr. Henry Dell and niece (Miss Thorne), "Holmwood," Winchmore Hill, N.  
 Mrs. Louis Dell, Bardfield, 23, West Side, Wandsworth Common, S.W.  
 Dr. and Mrs. Dobrashian, 32, Greenhill Road, Harlesden, N.W.  
 Mr. and Mrs. Dow, 15, Hollycroft Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Mrs. Enoch, 60, Dunsmure Road, Stamford Hill, N.  
 Miss M. M. Eve, 107, Lansdowne Road, Notting Hill, N.W.  
 Mr. J. A. Farrer, 50, Ennismore Gardens, Princes Gate.  
 Mrs. Fleming, 14, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.  
 Mrs. Fox, 17, Campden Hill Gardens, Kensington, W.  
 Dr. and Mrs. Fortescue Fox, 13, Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.  
 Lady Gibb, by Cæsar's Camp, Wimbledon.  
 Mrs. Gibb, 51, Ladbroke Grove, W.  
 Mrs. G. P. Gooch, South Villa, Campden Hill Road, W.  
 Monsignor Grosch, St. John's, Duncan Terrace, N.  
 Mr. G. Montagu Harris, 100, Palace Gardens Terrace, W.  
 Mr. R. E. Haslam, Park Lodge, 113, Church Street, Chelsea.  
 Mr. Walter Hazell, J.P., 82, Bedford Avenue, Bedford Square.  
 Mrs. Henry Holiday, Oak Tree House, Branch Hill, Frognal, Hampstead.  
 Mr. E. Hoole, Lastingham, Hornsey Lane, N.  
 Mrs. Alfred Illingworth, Queen Ann's Mansions, St. James's Park.  
 Miss Kilgour, 22, Westbourne Square.  
 Mrs. Layton, Stanley House, Milner Street, Cadogan Square, S.W.  
 Mrs. Herbert Lewis, 23, Grosvenor Road, S.W.  
 Miss Lidgett, 40, Gordon Square, W.C.  
 Mr. T. Edward Lindsay, Killiney, Caterham Valley, Surrey.  
 Mr. T. G. Lister and Miss Lister, Upper Heath, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Mrs. Lloyd Taylor, 6, Albert Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.  
 Mansfield House Settlement (see Mr. H. Cubbon).  
 Miss Mary Martineau, Brathray, Thornton Road, Clapham Park, S.W.  
 Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Matthews, Kent House, Redington Road, Hampstead.  
 Mrs. C. E. Maurice, Eirene Cottage, Gainsborough Gardens, Hampstead.  
 Lady Scott Moncrieff, 11, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.  
 Oxford House (Rev. H. S. Woollcombe), Mape Street, Bethnal Green, E.  
 Mrs. Pace, 99, Holland Road, Kensington, W.  
 Passmore Edwards Settlement (Mr. G. E. Gladstone), Tavistock Place, W.C.

- Mr. G. H. Perris, 112, Streathbourne Road, Tooting Common, S.W.  
 Mr. H. S. Perris, Shirley, Holmdene Avenue, Herne Hill, S.E.  
 Miss A. Phipson, 14, St. Mary's Road, Harlesden, N.W.  
 Mrs. George Reckitt, 20, Dulwich Wood Park, Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 Mrs. Robbins, Gwenda House, Brondesbury Park, N.W.  
 Mrs. S. Roberts, Uplands, Winchmore Hill, N.  
 Miss Rosenberg, 2, Luxemburg Gardens, Brook Green, W. Hammer-smith.  
 Miss Simonds, 17, Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court.  
 Miss M. S. Simms, 23, Priory Court Mansions, West Hampstead, N.W.  
 Miss S. Sturge, 447, Hagley Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.  
 Miss Tagart, Manor Lodge, Froggnal Lane, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Mrs. Tait, 10, Ellerdale Road, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Mrs. H. B. Taylor, 98, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.  
 Mrs. Hymans de Tiel, 24, Kingdon Road, West Hampstead, N.W.  
 Toynbee Hall (Mr. T. E. Harvey), 28, Commercial Street, London, E.  
 Major-General Sir A. Turner, Carlyle House, Chelsea Embankment.  
 Mrs. Cobden Unwin, 1, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, W.C.  
 Mrs. Underhill, 11, Thurlow Road, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Dr. and Mrs. Waller, 32, Grove End Road, N.W.  
 Mr. and Mrs. Walter Ward, 9, Holland Park, W.  
 Mrs. Warren, 29, Steele's Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W.  
 Mr. Charles Weiss and Miss Weiss, Birchbank, Christchurch Road, Hampstead, N.W.

## LABOUR DEMONSTRATION COMMITTEE.

*Secretary* :—Mr. John Clifford.

	<i>Representing :</i>
Mr. J. F. Green .....	Congress Committee.
Mr. H. S. Perris, M.A. ....	Congress Committee.
Mr. W. Appleton .....	General Federation of Trade Unions
Mr. W. Reddeford .....	Independent Labour Party.
Mr. Francis Johnson .....	Independent Labour Party.
Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P. ....	Labour Party.
Mr. J. J. Stephenson .....	Labour Party.
Mr. W. Johnson .....	London Trades Council.
Mr. G. C. Jones .....	London Trades Council.
Mr. J. Clifford .....	Metropolitan Radical Federation.
Mrs. A. C. Bracey Wright .....	Metropolitan Radical Federation.
Mr. E. C. Fairchild .....	Social Democratic Party.
Mr. W. H. Lee .....	Social Democratic Party.
Mr. Will Thorne, M.P. ....	Parliamentary Committee, Trades Union Congress.
Alderman Ben Cooper, L.C.C.	Parliamentary Committee, Trades Union Congress.
Miss Sophie Sanger .....	Women's Trades Union League.
Mr. Herbert Burrows .....	Women's Trades Union League.

## YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEMONSTRATION COMMITTEE.

*Chairman.*—Rev. E. Shillito, M.A.

*Hon. Secretaries:*—Miss S. K. Huntsman; Mr. E. Norris.

### *Committee Members.*

#### *Representing :*

Mr. J. J. Barnard .....	South London Peace Society.
Mrs. Bunney .....	Hampstead.
Mr. M. Bunney .....	Organisation of Hall, Stewards, etc.
Rev. W. Knight Chaplin .....	Editor of <i>Christian Endeavour</i> .
Miss M. L. Cooke .....	Friends.
Mr. C. F. Cooper .....	Moral Instruction League.
Rev. N. E. Egerton-Swann.....	Church of England.
Miss A. Griffin .....	International Arbitration and Peace Association.
Mrs. H. Huntsman .....	Girls' Schools.
Miss Mallet .....	Humanitarian League.
Mr. H. E. Norton .....	Boys' and Girls' Life Saving Brigade.
Miss Phipson.	
Mr. Ion Pritchard .....	Unitarian.
Mr. E. J. Scully .....	Peace Society.
Mr. Harry Snell .....	Ethical Society.
Mr. John Stuart .....	Free Churches.
Mr. A. H. Ward.....	Ragged School Union.

*Helpers:*—Miss Ferrar, Miss J. Gowa, Mr. Horace Helsdon, Miss Maud Huntsman, Miss Mackenzie, Mr. Noel Perris, Miss K. Pritchard, Miss Radford, Miss M. L. Radford.

A large number of voluntary stewards, under the leadership of Mr. M. Bunney, gave valuable assistance.

## THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. G. Alexander.	Mr. T. P. Newman.
Dr. T. Baty.	Mr. G. H. Perris.
Dr. W. Evans Darby.	Mr. John Stuart.
Mr. J. F. Green.	Mr. H. S. Perris ( <i>Secretary</i> ).

## TIME TABLE.

Drawn up by the Executive Committee in London.

## SATURDAY, JULY 25TH.

Congress Bureau, Caxton Hall, Westminster, open 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.

## SUNDAY, JULY 26TH.

Congress Bureau open, 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., and 3 to 5 p.m.

3 p.m.—Congress Sermon at Westminster Abbey. Preacher, the Bishop of Carlisle.

## MONDAY JULY 27TH.

Congress Bureau opens at 9 a.m.

11 a.m.—Christian Conference. Morning Sitting. The Bishop of Carlisle will preside.

12 noon.—King and Queen receive Address at Buckingham Palace.

3 p.m.—Christian Conference. Afternoon Sitting.

3-6 p.m.—Reception by Sir Thomas and Lady Barclay at Earl's Court Exhibition to meet Foreign Delegates.

8 p.m.—Reception and Soirée at Hotel Métropole.

## TUESDAY, JULY 28TH.

10.30 a.m.—Inaugural Meeting of Congress. Caxton Hall.

12 noon.—Suspension of Sitting for Meetings of National Sections.

12.30-12.45 p.m.—Sitting resumed to report appointment of Vice-Presidents and members of Preconsultative Commissions.

2.30 p.m.—Meeting of Committee of International Bureau.

3 p.m.—Assembly General of International Bureau.

3.30-5.30 p.m.—Meetings of Preconsultative Commissions.

2-4 p.m.—Drives to see London.

4-6 p.m.—Reception at Lyceum Club, Piccadilly.

8 p.m.—Queen's Hall Meeting. Address by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P.). Doors open at 7.30.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 29TH.

9.30 a.m.—Meeting of Preconsultative Commissions.

10.30 a.m.—Second Session of Congress.

Afternoon.—Excursion to Windsor Castle, by permission of H.M. the King.

4 p.m.—Canon Duckworth conducts visitors round Westminster Abbey. Meet in East Cloister, 4 p.m. prompt.

Evening.—Local Peace Meetings in London.

8.30 p.m.—Meeting at Congress Hall, Franco-British Exhibition.

9.30 p.m.—Reception by Mr. and Mrs. Percy Bigland, at 29, Tite Street, Chelsea.

## THURSDAY, JULY 30TH.

- 9.30 a.m.—Meeting of Preconsultative Commissions.  
10.30 a.m.—Third Session of Congress.  
2.30-5 p.m.—Fourth Session of Congress.  
7.30 p.m.—Queen's Hall. Young People's Peace Demonstration. Display  
by Life Brigades.  
9.30 p.m.—Reception at Chelsea by Mr. and Mrs. Moscheles.

## FRIDAY, JULY 31ST.

- 9.30 a.m.—Meeting of Preconsultative Commissions.  
10.30 a.m.—Fifth Session of Congress.  
2.30 p.m.—Sixth Session of Congress.  
3.30 p.m.—Conference of Teachers, in Council Chamber.  
7.30 p.m.—Government Banquet at Hotel Cecil. Speech by the Prime  
Minister (Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.).

## SATURDAY, AUGUST 1ST.

- 10 a.m.—Closing Session of Congress.  
5 p.m.—United Labour Peace Demonstration in Trafalgar Square.  
Speeches from three platforms.  
9 p.m.—Reception and "At Home" at National Liberal Club, to members  
of Congress.

## PROGRAMME OF THE CONGRESS.

1.—Report of the Bureau on the events of the year with reference to Peace and War. Reporter: Dr. A. Gobat or M. H. La Fontaine.

2.—Questions of International Law:—

A.—Questions relating to the Second and Third Hague Conferences. (Neutrality, Obligatory Arbitration, preparation for and internal organisation of the Third Conference). Reporter: M. E. Arnaud.

B.—Organisation of international life from the political, economic, and intellectual standpoints. (M. E. Duplessix will report on the political, and M. La Fontaine on the economic and intellectual organisation.

3.—Limitation of Armaments. Reporter: Mr. G. H. Perris.

4.—International Education. Reporter: M. F. Kemény.

5.—Questions of Propaganda:—

Propaganda at Universities.

Propaganda among religious bodies.

Propaganda among workmen's organisations.

International Fund for pacific propaganda.

The Organising Committee of the Congress will appoint the Reporters on these questions from among the English members of the Congress.

(The Commission of the Bureau has decided to simplify the procedure concerning questions of propaganda. The decisions of the Commission will be communicated to the full meeting of the Congress, and there will be no discussion.)

6.—Ratification of the place and date of the Eighteenth Congress. (The invitation from Stockholm was accepted by the Sixteenth Congress at Munich.)

7.—Appeal to the Nations.

Bureau International Permanent de la Paix,  
Berne, Suisse,

February 30th, 1908.

## CHAIRMEN OF COMMISSIONS.

Commission A.—Actualities. Professor Quidde, Munich.

” B.—International Law. M. H. La Fontaine, Senator,  
Brussels.

” C.—Propaganda. Professor Stein, Berne.

” D.—Limitation of Armaments. Dr. Gobat, Berne.

” E.—Education. M. E. Arnaud, Luzarches (S. et O.), France.

” F.—Workmen's Questions. Mr. J. F. Green, London.

## REVISION OF THE REGULATIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

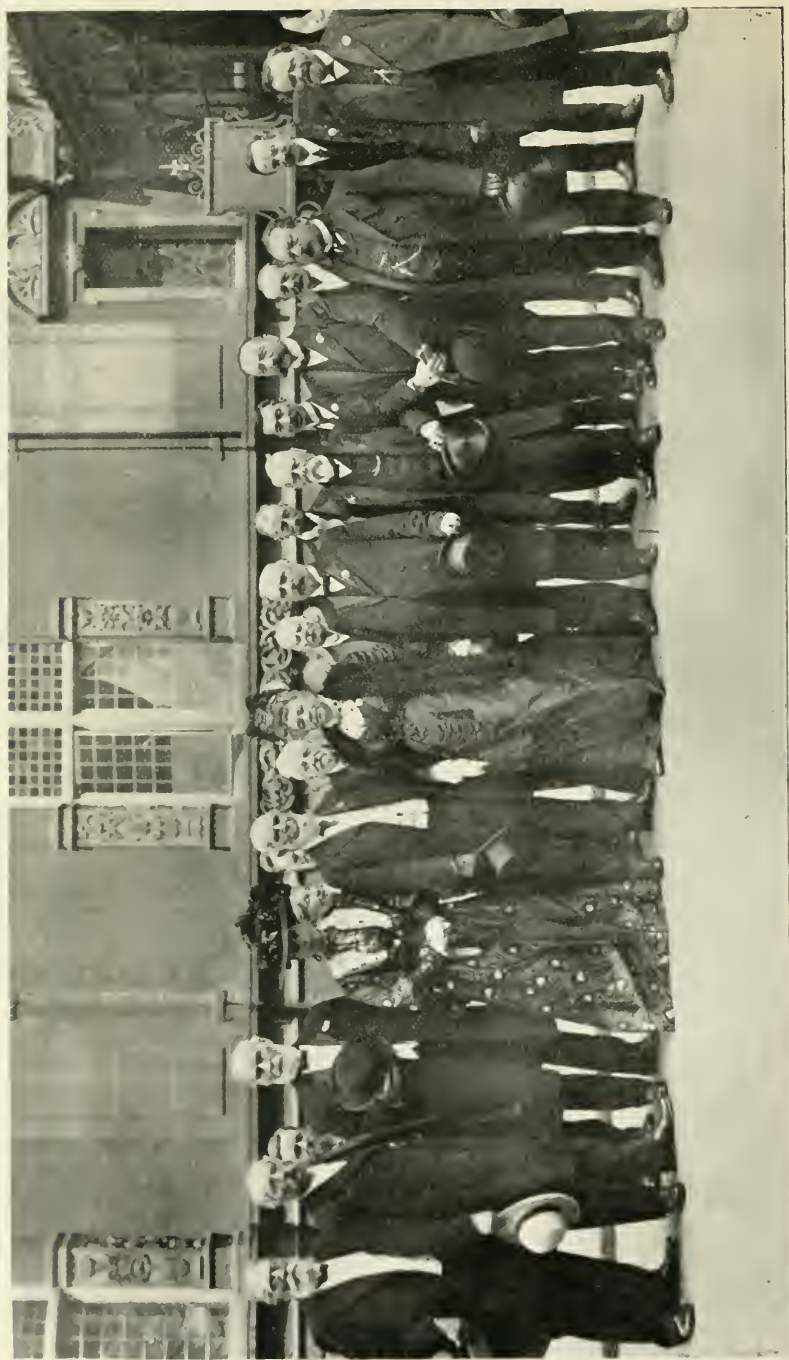
On the proposal of M. La Fontaine, the revision of the regulations will be made on the following lines:—

- (A)
  - 1. Distribution of cards, etc., as at Munich.
  - 2. Meeting of Chairmen of Proconsultative Commissions and the Chairman of the Congress before each Session.
  - 3. Organisation of reports of discussions by the combination of shorthand and the analytical system.
- (B)
  - 1. Each of the Proconsultative Commissions shall be presided over by a member of the Commission of the Peace Bureau.
  - 2. Members of the Commission of the Peace Bureau may inscribe themselves as members of any or all of the Preconsultative Commissions.

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### The Deputation to the King.

(From left to right) : Dr. Adolf Richter (Germany), Senator La Fontaine (Belgium), Mr. J. G. Alexander, Dr. B. F. Trueblood (U.S.A.), Lady Courtney of Penwith, Miss Ellen Robinson, Sir W. B. Bowring, Lord Courtney of Penwith, Mr. Felix Moscheles, Baroness von Suttner (Austria), Mr. T. P. Newman, Prof. L. Stein (Berne Bureau), Mr. Barrow Cadbury, Signor Moneta (Italy), Prof. Auesaki (Japan), M. Kemény (Hungary), Mr. A. J. King, M.P., Dr. Polak (Poland), Mr. H. S. Ferris, Dr. W. Evans Darby.

In addition to the above there were present Sir John T. Brunner, Bart., M.P., Sir William Mather, and Baron E. de Neuville (Frankfort). M. Emile Arnaud (France) was unavoidably prevented from attending.

## THE ADDRESS TO THE KING AND QUEEN.

### Reception of Deputation from the Peace Congress at Buckingham Palace.

*Monday, July 27th, at 12 noon.*

The event which attracted universal attention in the world's press, and concentrated upon the meetings of the Congress an unprecedented amount of public interest, was the decision of King Edward VII. to receive an Address from the Congress at Buckingham Palace. The Deputation which bore the Address consisted, half of prominent British supporters of the movement and officers of the Congress, and half of eminent foreign delegates. The members assembled at Caxton Hall, and, after having been photographed, proceeded in carriages to the Palace. What followed has been thus accurately described in the American "Advocate of Peace": "The reception was a very democratic, unostentatious affair. The King and Queen (and the Princess Victoria, who stood at the Queen's left) wore morning citizen's dress, and the members of the deputation were in morning dress also. All Court formalities, kissing of hands, etc., were dispensed with. The members of the deputation were announced by name, one after another, and the King and Queen cordially shook hands with each of them. The King addressed a few personal words of greeting to the Baroness von Suttner and to Signor Moneta, both of whom had received the Nobel Prize. Then the deputation stood in a part-circle facing the King and Queen, while Lord Courtney presented the Address, accompanying the presentation with some appropriate words of explanation and appreciation of the King's services to the cause of peace."

B

The *Court Circular* of July 27th contained the following account:—



## Court Circular.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, JULY 27.

Their Majesties The King and Queen, accompanied by Her Royal Highness the Princess Victoria, this morning received a Deputation from the XVII. Universal Peace Congress, composed as follows:—English: Lord Courtney of Penwith (President of Congress) and Lady Courtney of Penwith, Mr. Joseph G. Alexander (Chairman of Congress), Mr. T. P. Newman (Chairman of Executive), Mr. H. S. Perris (General Secretary), the Rt. Hon. Sir John T. Brunner, Bt., M.P., Sir W. B. Bowring, Bt., Sir William Mather, Mr. Barrow Cadbury, Mr. A. J. King, M.P., Mr. Felix Moscheles (Chairman of International Arbitration and Peace Association), Miss Ellen Robinson, Dr. W. Evans Darby (Secretary of the Peace Society).

Foreign Members of the Deputation: Baroness Bertha von Suttner (Austria), Signor E. T. Moneta (Italy), Senator H. La Fontaine (Belgium), Dr. Adolph Richter (Germany), Dr. Benjamin Trueblood (United States), Dr. Anesaki (Japan), Dr. Polak (Polish Peace Society), Monsieur F. Kemény (Hungary), Professor Ludwig Stein (representing the "Bureau Permanent International de la Paix" at Berne, Switzerland), Baron E. de Neufville, Frankfort-on-Maine (representing the German Branch of the Anglo-German Friendship Committee).

Monsieur Emile Arnaud, the Representative of the French Delegates, was unavoidably prevented from being present with the Deputation.

The Members of the Deputation had the honour of being presented to Their Majesties by the Lord Chamberlain.

An Address was presented to the King and Queen by the Chairman, to which the King was graciously pleased to reply.

In attendance upon Their Majesties were the Hon. Charlotte Knollys (Lady in Waiting), Viscount Althorp (Lord Chamberlain), the Earl Howe (Lord Chamberlain to the Queen), Lord Suffield (Lord in Waiting), General the Rt. Hon. Sir Dighton Probyn (Keeper of the Privy Purse), Lord Knollys (Private Secretary), Colonel Henry Streatfeild, Colonel Sir Arthur Davidson, Lieutenant-Colonel G. Holford (Groom and Equerries in Waiting), the Master of the Household, and the Deputy Master of the Household.

The **Address**, which was signed on behalf of the Officers and Committee of the Congress by Lord Courtney, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Newman, Mr. H. S. Perris, and Professor Stein, was in the following terms :—

“ We, the representatives of the British supporters and the delegates from abroad of the seventeenth Universal Congress of Peace, beg to thank your Majesties for the privilege of being allowed to present this address, and especially for thus enabling us to express personally our profound gratitude to your Majesty, who has so well earned the proud title of ‘The Peacemaker.’ The Congress now assembled in London consists of representatives of the organized peace societies and associations, and of other bodies in sympathy with them, from many parts of the world. Two hundred and eighty societies from twenty-three countries are included. In addition to Great Britain and Ireland and the United States, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Japan, Ceylon, Egypt, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, South Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Algeria send representatives to our meetings. This is the seventeenth of a series of Peace Conferences held in various lands since 1889, the forerunners of which were an earlier series of Peace Conferences commencing in London as far back as 1843 and continuing to the time of the Crimean War.

“ One common object brings us together—the redemption of the world from the curse of international enmity and war, the promotion of legality and upright dealing between the nations, and the desire to bind the peoples of the world together in bonds of confraternity and mutual aid. We rejoice at the many signs of the acceptance of these principles in our day and at the successive efforts of the enlightened statesmen of the twentieth century to give effect to the high ideals which are common attributes of universal religion.

“ We cordially re-echo, sire, your Majesty’s recent words, that ‘ it is in times of peace that the happiness, prosperity, and progress of your people can best be increased and that the standard of religion and morality can be raised,’ and we desire to acknowledge with gratitude your Majesty’s constant efforts to give effect to these ideals and to cement the peace of the world. We pray that this Congress may mark a further step towards the realization of our common hope, and that your Majesty may be abundantly blessed in your high task of leading the nations into the ways of brotherhood and mutual trust.”

**The King's reply** was as follows:—

“It gives me great pleasure to welcome you, the representatives of the Universal Congress of Peace, and to receive your address.

“There is nothing from which I derive more sincere gratification than the knowledge that my efforts in the cause of international peace and goodwill have not been without fruit, and the consciousness of the generous appreciation which they have received both from my own people and from those of other countries. Rulers and statesmen can set before themselves no higher aim than the promotion of national good understanding and cordial friendship among the nations of the world. It is the surest and most direct means whereby humanity may be enabled to realize its noblest ideals, and its attainment will ever be the object of my own constant endeavours.

“I rejoice to think that your international organization, in which are represented all the principal civilized countries of the world, is labouring in the same field, and I pray that the blessing of God may attend your labours.”

Before withdrawing, Lord Courtney presented to the King and Queen, on behalf of the deputation and the Congress, replicas in gold and enamel of the Congress badge, representing an olive branch springing from a mural crown. The design for this badge was generously given, as an offering to the Congress, by Mr. Henry Holiday, the well-known artist, of Hampstead. The enamel replicas, which were the workmanship of Mr. Holiday, together with Miss Kirkman and Miss Mary Holiday, were also kindly presented by the artist. They were accepted by His Majesty with expressions of thanks and appreciation.

The address, it may here be added, was beautifully illuminated on parchment by Miss Florence S. Huntsman.

M. Emile Arnaud, the representative of the French delegates, missed a train connection, and was unable to reach the Palace in time to be present.

At the meeting of the Congress on July 30th the following resolution, relating to the presentation of the address, was adopted with unanimity:—

“The Congress considers it its first duty to express its gratitude for the favour conferred by His Majesty the King. It desires to record that, for the first time in the history of the Peace movement, the head of a Great Power has deigned personally to receive a deputation of the Congress. This fact is a proof of the growing importance of the movement, and is a sanction given to its labours. The Congress also thanks His Majesty for having inaugurated, by the audience granted to its delegates, an impor-

tant precedent in the history of the Peace movement. It also desires to include Her Majesty the Queen in its expression of gratitude for her gracious participation in the appreciation given to its endeavours. While conscious that by his words on this occasion His Majesty has exerted his influence in promoting the peace and harmony of the world, the Congress trusts that he will continue in the future to grant that encouragement and sympathy which so much contributes to the success of the high objects of this Congress."

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# CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON PEACE.

Caxton Hall, Monday, July 27th.

MORNING SITTING.

Subject: "Christianity and International Peace."

*Chairman*: THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE  
(THE RT. REV. J. W. DIGGLE, D.D.).

The proceedings having been opened with prayer by the Chairman, Mr. Isaac Sharp (Secretary of the Friends' Peace Committee) read a list of the bodies represented at the Conference. These included 150 delegates from more than fifty monthly, quarterly, and preparative Friends' Meetings, and more than 100 delegates from Free Church Councils and churches of various denominations. "Many societies from abroad," said the Secretary, "have written giving us their good wishes for this Conference, but stating that it is impossible on account of distance to send representatives. I have had a very enthusiastic letter from M. Paul Sabatier from Assisi wishing us success. He regrets very much that prior engagements prevent him being here on the present occasion, but he desires to offer warm good wishes to the Conference."

An address was presented by M. Le Pasteur Pannier and M. Baumgartner on behalf of the Evangelical Reformed Churches of France, containing the following passages:—

"Two Scotch cities have mottoes which complete each other. The French motto of Aberdeen 'the Granite City' is 'Bon accord,' that of Edinburgh is 'Nisi Dominus frustra.' The pacifists of to-day desire to realise amongst nations the 'bon accord,' but

in order to succeed they have need to remember that the Christians of past generations have laid the only solid foundation on the Granite of Evangelical faith, 'Nisi Dominus frustra.'

"This, gentlemen, was the conviction of the reformers of the XVIth Century, in particular it was that of Calvin. At the close of his 'Institution Chrétienne' (IV. 20, 11) treating of the 'right of battle,' he says that 'power is delivered to kings and to people to preserve the tranquility of their country and territory to repress the seditions of men hostile to peace,' and he adds, 'Certainly every means must be essayed before proceeding to arms.'

"Three hundred years ago, when King Henry IV., born a Huguenot, conceived the 'Great Design' of uniting the States of Europe in a confederation which he called 'The Christian Republic,' it was his Protestant Minister Sully whom he sent hither to propose to King James I. the far-off preliminaries of the 'Entente Cordiale' (1603).

"It was again a Christian of the Reformed Church, the ambassador of the United Provinces at Paris, Grotius, who established the principles of international law in his treatise *De Jure Belli et Pacis*. It was French Protestant refugees in many countries who often, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, spread the idea of peace and liberty; and we of the Reformed Church in the twentieth century in our French fatherland, to which we are devotedly attached, have been pioneers and we shall always be defenders of the grand Christian idea of peace.

"We therefore address a fraternal salutation to all the members of this assembly, who have come from other churches and other lands, and we want to say to them 'In the meetings of the following days, and afterwards on your return to your respective countries, be always witnesses of the Prince of Peace.' We will close our message with these words of an illustrious French statesman, a faithful member of our Reformed Church, who did much for the peace of the world, M. Guizot. In 1840, in London, when present at a banquet over which Sir George Grey presided, he thus ended an address in the language of this hospitable country: 'The sun rises in the east, but it spreads its light over the whole world. And nobody asks whence the light came. It fills everyone with happiness and gratitude. Do good, gentlemen, spread the light, and the same happiness, the same gratitude of the whole world shall be your reward.' This, gentlemen, is the desire which the Evangelical Reformed Churches of France present to God for all the Messengers of Peace."

### **Chairman's Address.**

The BISHOP OF CARLISLE said: I deem it a great honour to be permitted to take the chair even for a short space at the opening of your Seventeenth Universal Congress of Peace. As some of you would discover at Westminster Abbey yesterday afternoon, I cannot pretend that I go with you all the way, but perhaps it is better to go with you whole heartedly part of the way than half-heartedly all the way; and so far as I can go, I go with you, my friends, with all my heart and soul. It is a matter of deep personal regret to me that my friend the Bishop of Hereford is not in the chair this morning, but he has most kindly and considerately sent an address which will be read to you presently. (Applause.) He is, as you know, in great sorrow, and we pray that the God of all comfort will comfort him in his sorrows. Now, what shall I say about the topic that has been allotted to me, of Christianity in its relation to international peace? The first thing I would say, my friends, is this, that Christianity is largely a religion of revelations and ideals; and not only of the august and infinite and only yet partially realised revelations of the relations of God to man, but it is a great revelation concerning man himself. We have in the past dwelt too much upon the poor and evil side of our nature and not sufficiently upon the grandeur and dignity of it.

### **Ideals of Human Nature.**

There is a dignity and a divinity about our manhood which it is my deep persuasion we are here on earth at school to develop and to cultivate, and our duty is to suppress by every means within our power what is low and mean and brutish in us, and to develop whatever is high and noble and Godlike. And I furthermore say with regard to these ideals that are unfolded to us in the Christian revelation that they are not simply ideals for individuals and separate persons—though I believe that the individual is the unit of the race—but they are ideals for societies and for churches and for nations. The Church of the Christ is, we acknowledge, a divine society, but what is not so universally acknowledged, though it is equally universally true, is that the nation is a divine society also, and that blessings will come to nations for their national development as they come to individuals for their individual development. The blessing came to the Centurion because he had been good to the nation, and I think that we are bound, as Christian men and women, not to be satisfied with our individual and personal develop-

ment Christward, but to determine that the nation also of which we form a part, in whatever portion of the world our nationality may be set, shall also develop Christward too. (Applause.) Christianity, therefore, has its messages and ideals for nations. I believe that Christ came that nations as well as individuals might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly. His message for the nations is "National life, not national death;" "National peace, not international war." Noteworthy is St. Paul's charter of prayer: "I would that men should pray for all in authority, for the Governments of the people, that they may live peaceably." My friends, am I going too far if I say, what is the firm conviction of my heart, that it has been because we have neglected national prayer so much that we are yet so far from international peace? (Applause.) Important as prayers are for individuals and churches, they are not less important for parliaments and nations. There is a suffrage in the English Church's "Book of Common Prayer." "Give peace in our time, O Lord," and the antiphonal answer is remarkable, "Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, Oh God"—the underlying verity being this, that if we only fight wars in which God takes a part there very soon will be International Peace. (Applause.) I said that Christianity was a religion of ideals; and life without ideals, in my judgment, is not life. International peace is an ideal, and without this ideal working and leavening throughout the nation the abundance of Christian life can never be enjoyed by any nation. Many notes distinguish Christianity from other religions, but the most distinguishing and the most distinct note is its ideal of peace.

### **Apparent Contradiction of Christian precepts.**

I pass on briefly to another thought, that these ideals which are unfolded to us in all their beauty and splendour in the Christian revelation are yet ideals which have to be worked out in an actual world which is very mixed and mingled. Hence the apparent contradictions of many Christian precepts. But perhaps you will have noticed as students of Christian philosophy that truth often bursts out more luminously and more suddenly from the collision of two apparently antagonistic truths than if you only put one side of the truth before mankind. All the deepest truths have to be brought, in my judgment, to the individual mind through the collision of contradictions. "Peace I leave with you," said Christ. He also said, "I come not to bring peace on earth, but a sword," and "he that hath two coats let him sell one and buy a sword."

What for? If I may reverently interpret what seems to me the meaning of the Lord, it is this, that war against wrong is better than unrighteous and ignominious comfort with an overcoat on; and that while, as I said yesterday, we are the lovers of the gospel of peace, we are not minded to make any treaty whatever with cruelty and greed and unrighteousness and wrong. The third thing I would put before you is that with the glory and august splendour of these ideals Christianity is a practical religion. We are told that the counsels of Christianity are counsels of perfection. Very well, what would you have them to be? Would you have them to be counsels of imperfection? I take it what we want are counsels of perfection, yet though counsels of perfection they are practical counsels. Christ was the most splendid of all idealists, yet he was, if we may reverently say so, the most sane and most sensible of men. Let us be like Him, splendid in our aims, sane and sensible in our methods. Thus only can we commend ourselves and our cause to mankind. Let us be dreamers yet not fatuous, but men of practical faith and practical purpose. This Congress, amongst other things—and you cannot realise what a joy it is to me to be permitted to take some simple part in it for no other cause than this—this Congress is like Christianity itself, it is not sectional, it is not partisan, it is not, to use a current word, it is not even denominational. (Applause.) It is above all sections and all factions, and all denominations.

### **Fraternity between Christians.**

It is international because it is simply Christian. I shall pass from this chair in a moment, and it is a great regret to me that I cannot stay, but my duty compels me to go at once to the Lambeth Conference, where one of our most urgent and most hopeful topics of debate will be the union and re-union of the Christian Churches. (Applause.) Is not this a glad and happy sign of the times? Is it not an omen from God of peace and life to men? I, for one, and I suppose you will all agree in this, do not expect all churches to be absolutely uniform in belief and practice, nor all nations alike in colour or aspirations or character. Far less, do we expect righteousness to be at peace with unrighteousness, or truth in concord with error. But what we do expect, and have a right to expect if we are Christians in deed and not in name alone, is that among the Churches there should be unity in necessary things, and liberty in things non-essential, and charity in everything. Nothing impedes the progress

of religion like ecclesiastical strife and blind partisanship and bitter intolerance. As Christians our great need is not to strive against one another in small and trivial things, but with one another for things grand and noble and venerable and true. Only so can we attain among the churches inter-denominational peace and liberty. Similarly with nations. Let nations now begin to cultivate the habit of thinking the best of one another and not suspecting the worst. (Applause.) Suspicion, like fear, is an evil counsellor. Whosoever sets nation against nation is no friend to his own nation—(applause)—and he is a foe to humanity at large. (Applause.) As nations let us by all means cherish our national feelings, our national aspirations; but let us not cherish them at the cost of or in antagonism to international brotherhood. The brotherhood of nations is nobler than battles between nations. The true interests of nations may be often diverse, but they are seldom hostile. Let us, of course, as we have been told, let us “think imperially,” but I think there wants a rider to that; let us think imperially, but let us not act imperiously. (Applause.) Peace hath its banners and its victories not less but more glorious than those of war. On the banner of peace is blazoned the sweet and beautiful portrait of brotherhood. The victories of peace are not carnal or territorial. They are righteousness, truth, and life. From this hall some of you will shortly go into the presence of our noble king, the gracious Peacemaker of the age. (Applause.) Invisibly, I believe, will attend you there, and I trust in all your proceedings will preside over you, a greater Peacemaker still, the divinely human Prince of International Peace. May He be present at all your gatherings, and abundantly bless your efforts to attain His peace.

The Bishop of Carlisle then vacated the chair, and the remainder of the proceedings were presided over by Mr. FRANCIS WILLIAM FOX.

MR. ISAAC SHARP read the address of the BISHOP OF HEREFORD, as follows:

### **Bishop of Hereford's paper.**

All who desire the maintenance of unbroken international peace will feel grateful to His Majesty King Edward for the gracious reception he offers to the members of this International Congress, as for his unceasing efforts and influence in the cause of peace and goodwill. Our thanks are also due to His Majesty's Government for the special welcome they give to this gathering of representative delegates from so many nations. Those

of us who attended the Boston Congress in 1904 and listened to Mr. John Hay's address, delivered on behalf of the President of the United States and on his own behalf, felt that a great accession of strength and influence had been given to the cause of international Arbitration and Peace by his presence and support; and we have every reason to anticipate a similar good result from the reception accorded to the Congress here in England to-day. And this recognition from within the sphere of practical politics is all the more welcome, because no one looking over the civilised world can fail to see how greatly the cause of Peace needs all possible support from every quarter. So long as the most powerful nations and empires persist, as they do to-day, in the mutually provocative race of ever increasing armaments, and are stimulated by diplomatists and statesmen and by an irresponsible and sometimes unscrupulous Press thus to persist in it, Peace must inevitably remain in a state of unstable equilibrium, exposed to sudden alarms and indefinite risks. Such a competition, with the spirit that engenders it and is propagated afresh by it, constitutes an ever present danger, and is in fact an insidious foe of that *entente cordiale* which all good men desire to see universally established among the great Powers. Of its dangerous influence we had striking evidence in England within the last few days, when, in our House of Lords, a man of great diplomatic experience (Lord Cromer) uttered a grave foreboding as to the risk of our being involved in a European war before many years have elapsed. Most of us hope and believe that such a forecast is unduly pessimistic; it is the forecast of one who has lived mainly in the atmosphere of diplomacy; we think it overlooks the growing power of the Democracy even in autocratic empires, and the growth of international goodwill among the working multitudes and their leaders. But such a declaration from such a quarter brings home to the people at large certain valuable reminders.

### **Protest against Secret Diplomacy.**

It should make it clear to them that the European situation is and will continue to be full of peril if the issues of peace and war are left to be decided in the artificial atmosphere of secret diplomacy behind the back and without the knowledge of Parliaments and the people they severally represent. This being so, it amounts to a direct call to the mass of the people and their leaders in the countries concerned, being, as they now are, friendly to each other, to take steps betimes, so that no such wickedness as a preventible war may be secretly engineered. Such a warning,

whether we count it wise and prudent or the reverse, is in fact a startling summons to the mass of the people to remember that the drift of foreign affairs and the foreign policy of their Government are their immediate concern and cannot safely be left to the secret management of any class. In other words, the people themselves in every country must seek peace and ensue it. In the face of such storm signals, it is a plain patriotic duty to remove all causes of quarrel over national interests, and very sternly to suppress all incentives to any outburst or race passion which might sweep us headlong into the arbitrament of brute force. Every true patriot will do his utmost in his own country so to influence both rulers and people that the bloodshed, the waste, the miseries and horrors—in one word the barbarism—of a European war may be averted. The very thought of the miseries it would bring in its train should help to make it impossible. But our best hope of enduring and undisturbed international peace rests on the growing power in all countries of an educated Democracy under educated leaders, who have learnt the good lesson that war is a method of barbarism and a hateful thing, that it always brings sorrow and suffering, and seldom benefit to the people, unless it is fought to win or maintain their freedom; and that the reign of Law should be as paramount in national and international affairs as in those of individual men. Now all men are agreed that in civilised society individuals cannot be permitted to fight out their differences by private personal conflict. This would be a barbarous proceeding, we say, and altogether out of date. Well, then, is it not high time for those governments, nations, and empires which count themselves the leaders of civilisation to relegate this gospel of brute force to the limbo of things discarded as barbarous?

### **A Code of International Morality needed.**

Ought not the distinction between conduct which is civilised and conduct which is barbarous to be the same for nations as for individuals? Is it unreasonable to demand of all rulers and all Governments, claiming to be civilised, this extension from individuals to nations of the reign of Peace based upon the reign of Law? Here in Europe it would simply mean that the great Powers which, as we cannot forget, call themselves Christian Powers, should agree to recognise a common Tribunal of Arbitration as paramount to settle their own differences as well as those of smaller nations. It would mean the ultimate appeal in cases of difference to a Court of International Law and equity instead of the appeal to brute force. It would mean the spread of a spirit of goodwill among

the nations instead of the spirit of rivalry, suspicion, and antagonism. It would mean the gradual lifting from the shoulders of the masses in every country the oppressive burden of bloated armaments, thus setting free a vast amount of national resources to be used for the prosperity and the happiness of the people at large. Surely, then, on behalf of the multitudes, we may fairly demand of the great Powers of Europe—for it is to these in particular we have to address our appeal—that, inasmuch as they claim to be civilised Powers, to say nothing of their claim to be Christian, they should enter into a genuine and bona-fide concert to accept a common Tribunal as the arbiter of any differences that may arise between one and another of them, and should freely recognise that the cynical old-world barbaric rule that the strongest bully shall prevail—*ut in grege taurus*—is a rule to be repudiated by every civilised nation or Power. But the risks and obstacles in the way are still, undoubtedly, very formidable. There is the tone of opinion, and the temper, fostered by the great military autocracies. There is the dangerous growth of militarist sentiment among rival commercial communities. There is the mischievous influence of some portions of an anonymous Press in every country, calling for increasing watchfulness, and deserving the execration of every true patriot; and there is the liability of democracies to be misled by this malignant influence and to be swept away on the waves of passion or panic or prejudice. It is easy enough, and not without its uses, to point in calm weather to these rocks ahead. Great will be the service to humanity of those who render them innocuous. For this inestimable service we appeal to our rulers, our Governments, our Parliaments, our public Press, our Democratic Leaders, our Churches, Catholic and Protestant, and our schools for the young, in every country; and we look not least to the members of such a Congress as this, so to educate public opinion and the public conscience in their respective countries, so to influence the spirit and policy of their Governments, that the Peace of the Nations and the prosperity and happiness of those multitudes in every land who are the greatest sufferers from war may no longer be exposed to these dangerous rocks ahead. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said: I know it would be entirely in harmony with your feelings if at this point we sent to the Bishop of Hereford our most grateful thanks for his valuable address, and also our deep sympathy with him in his domestic trial. (Hear, hear.)

The Conference unanimously agreed to send a message as suggested by the Chairman.

PASTOR THEODORE ROHLEDER (of Hassfelden - Hall, Wurttemberg) was the next speaker. Material interests, he said, are the force of gravity, which drags downwards; and Christian Love is the motive power which urges upwards. So little as these two forces cause disorder in Nature but rather conduce to her more perfect order, so certainly can outward needs and Faith, can Politics and Religion, work together in building up the Kingdom of God. The Roman Church and the Established Churches should in future renounce the opinion that the members of the Free Churches are lost for the Kingdom of God. The Independent Communities and the Free Churches will, on their part, gladly do justice to the Roman Church and to the Established Churches, as necessary forms of ecclesiastical community and popular life; and will, when possible, make use of their experiences in favour of a mutual understanding, which shall extend beyond local boundaries. It would be well if the Roman Church, the Established Churches, and the Independent Communities could reconcile themselves to the idea that it is foolish to attempt to disturb the natural divisions of Christian Society, suitable to human needs; but on the contrary, that they should, as much as possible, give each other mutual help, both pecuniary and personal. As a means of providing a vehicle of spiritual *rapprochement* and opportunities for discussion, the speaker suggested a periodical, to appear simultaneously in German, English, French, and Italian. Such a periodical could be started if in each country 300 subscribers were forthcoming, contributing an annual sum of three marks apiece. This might be followed by a conference, with the object of securing a *rapprochement* between the different churches and peoples.

The REV. FRANCIS H. ROWLEY, D.D. (Boston, U.S.A.), spoke on the subject of

*“What the Churches Can Do to Aid the Arbitration and Peace Movement.”*

He said: The past few years have witnessed the development among us of a deepening friendship for the motherland, out of which seems to have faded even the memory of less happy days. I bring you the heartiest message of cordial greeting and of friendliest sympathy in the great cause of international peace from millions of American Christian men and women who love you and who believe that you love them.

We think of your honoured King as one of the mightiest personalities making for the peace of the world that our modern time or any other time has known. And, American that I am, I would

like to have the chance while I am here to throw up my cap and cry "God save the King."

It ought to be taken from granted, Mr. Chairman, that the Christian Church would stand at the forefront in every endeavour to find a permanent substitute for war as a means of settling the quarrels of nations. Yet I will venture the statement that there has not been a war in Christendom for near 2,000 years that some priest or minister of the Church has not blessed in the name of the Prince of Peace. Though the spirit that created the Churches, and on the whole pervades them, has been the one transcendent factor striving for peace and for everything else that has meant mankind's better days, organised Christianity, Christianity as an ecclesiastical institution, has again and again had to be roused out of its indifference to many a cause that Spirit has espoused. Soon or late the Church gets on to every battlefield for the right. So it will be here. It will yet arrive, as Blucher did at Waterloo, and once more there will be what Victor Hugo said there was when Napoleon fell, "a change of front on the part of the Universe."

Seldom in the history of the Christian Church has there been open to her a more superb opportunity to serve mankind than that that is now calling her to reinforce and carry forward this movement in the interests of the world's peace. Even should there be among her ministers or her members those still prepared to justify war, under certain conditions, yet no man fit to be called civilised, much less Christian, can refuse to admit the obligations we are under to avert the horrors of war, if it be possible, by Arbitration.

If war must be ; if it be true that there may come a time when nothing is left for nations to do except to fight it out as did

. . . . Those Dragons of the prime  
That tear each other in the slime,

then let it be only after the last possible means has been exhausted that could have saved men from so dread and desolating a calamity.

There are three ways, at least, in which the Churches can add to the power and momentum of the movement in the interests of which we are here. First, their ministers and their teachers, with their rare opportunities to reach the generation of to-day and the generation that shall be to-morrow, can make clear the real meaning and purpose of Arbitration. Just what this word embodies in the language and discussion of our time multitudes among us do not know. What Arbitration has already accomplished in averting war, in cultivating a kindlier international spirit, in revealing the

possibilities along the path toward which it points, here our Churches should be the instructors of their people. Few nobler themes can demand attention at the hands of the Christian ministry than the significance of such gatherings as those at the Hague. The things that those historic assemblies in the name of peace have actually achieved in deepening the desire of the nations to live together as friends and not as foes, it is time the people in our churches understood. Too widely prevails the idea that it is folly to expect Governments to act save in their own selfish interests. Repeatedly the claim is made, that, however individuals in a nation might be willing to do the righteous thing for the sake of peace and goodwill, that, in their united capacity as a Government, they can never be counted on to see any good higher than their own aggrandisement. This is not true. "The thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns." It was your late and now universally lamented Prime Minister who said "The bonds of mutual understanding and esteem are strengthening between the peoples;" and Mr. Root, our own greatly honoured Secretary of State, has recently told us that this growing sense of the right relations that should exist between nations is influencing them "in countless cases to shape their own conduct against their own apparent interests." Utterances like these, made by the leading statesmen of the world, are growing significantly common. The very knowledge of this, clearly in the minds of the people of our churches, would predispose them to larger hope as to the outcome of friendly conference. The day has come when we can no longer quote as true Wordsworth's lines:

Earth is sick  
And Heaven weary of the hollow words  
That States and kingdoms utter when they talk  
Of truth and justice.

All this, as a vital part of that broader world-view that is characterising our time, the people of our churches should know.

Second, the churches, through their ministers and teachers, may aid the movement for the world's peace by laying upon the hearts of their people what has been so well called by Dr. Walsh "The Moral Damage of War." I do not come here to free my soul with respect to the question whether anything but evil may be hoped for from such an inferno as that into which men plunge when they strike for each other's throats in the mad carnage of war. But here I may plead with those who stand as leaders in the

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world's great moral conflict to open to all who will read it the book that tells the story of the moral relapse that a nation suffers when it resolves to stain its hands with blood, be the cause ever so holy, and of the inhuman and degrading passions that are unleashed in the breasts of those who go forth to do a nation's fighting. Here, silence on the part of the Church is treason to her Lord. For whatever worthy patriotism, at the declaration of war, may have inspired the soldier to maintain his country's cause, whatever high sense of duty may have stirred within the souls of those who have stood behind him with their sympathy and treasure, no sooner has the fatal word been spoken that joins the opposing forces, than revenge, hatred, cruelty, injustice awake to trample beneath their feet every divine and noble impulse of the human heart. Those who have come back from this dark realm of strife and bloodshed have confessed it all. They are our witnesses. The man who, to-day, counts himself a lover of his kind, to-morrow on the field of battle becomes an infuriated foe who hears ringing within him the call of the beast roused from its slumber, but still "red in tooth and claw." One has written of the emotions that filled a soldier's breast, in our own civil war, who said: "I was astonished at the elemental fury of my inward savagery. It was as if I had swallowed hell-fire, and it blazed in me without consuming me, a suffocating agony. No other desire so mastered me as to meet in fair fight the man who had fired the shell that had killed my friend and comrade, and feel tingle all up my arm the crunching, clinging drag of my sabre edge cleaving his skull. I was as primitive as a Sioux brave at a war-dance."

Here is a field of service our Churches are morally bound to enter. They owe it to their people, above all to their youth, that they should know the dehumanising influence of war upon the nation itself, and the nature of the perils that threaten the moral and spiritual life of the soldier.

In the third place, the Churches can do more than any other forms of organised activity toward advancing the cause of peace and arbitration by the larger declaration of those principles of the Christian faith that should determine the relation every man should sustain toward his neighbour, whether that neighbour live across the street or across the sea, and whether he be white or black or red or yellow. Let us not mistake. The representatives of commerce may do much to abolish war. Appeal to selfish interests may be made, and not in vain, but the spirit, incarnate in Him we call the Prince of Peace, this, and this alone, has in it the power,

unwearying and undying, that can lift us as a race to that high level where war will be tolerated no more.

If only half the time that has been spent defending theological and sectarian positions had been devoted to the teaching of those truths in the light of which, according to the very charter of the Church, men must learn to know themselves as members of one great family, bound by the sacredest of obligations to feel toward their fellows of every land and clime as brothers, a thousand wars that "have stained the world incarnadine" could never have been.

Here is the great breeder of war, the perverse and selfish heart of man disloyal to its divine impulses. My rights, my aggrandisement, my pleasure, my power, my country right or wrong—for these, first with all the intensity of our brute inheritance, forgetful of that nobler self and its pleading voices, have we been ready to fight. Over against this stands the Spirit of the Eternal Goodness; the Spirit of that Strong Son of God, immortal Love; the Spirit of Sacrifice and Service. To plant the leaven of this spirit in the heart of the world, to awaken in men the God that slumbers in each human soul, is the sublime mission of the Church. Is man a fighting animal? Grant it. He is also a child of the Eternal, born to love rather than to hate. Appeal to the divine within your fellow, to his sense of justice, fairplay, and kindness, and it will answer you as quickly and responsively as the animal within him will answer when you assault or plunder. I would dare attempt to prove this, had I time, from the history of man's relation to man. Love is not the supreme fool in the universe. It is the infinite Wisdom and the all-conquering Might.

Can you imagine any power for peace equal to the Christian Church if she were to rise to her high opportunity? What like her could give wings to the spirit of Christian brotherliness, and send out to the ends of the world the truth of the divine thought of man's relation to man? Were she true to her holy calling, as true she yet will be, she could outrival all the other peace societies of earth in hastening that day when

The tumult and the shouting dies  
The captains and the kings depart,

and Arbitration has abolished war.

How can we reach the rank and file of the Christian ministry, and win them into becoming devoted and determined champions of the cause we represent? He who answers that question, in

spite of all men say of the waning influence of the Church, brings on to the field the allies that decide where victory shall claim the day.

Permit me to close with the words of a great American preacher, dead now nearly half a century, "Let the world have peace five hundred years," said Theodore Parker, "the aristocracy of blood will have gone, the aristocracy of gold will have come and gone, that of talent will also have come and gone, and the aristocracy of goodness, which is the democracy of man, the government of all, for all, and by all, will be the power that is."

ALDERMAN THOMAS SNAPE (Liverpool) said: We are indebted for having the opportunity for the first time in the history of these international Congresses to consider the question specially from a Christian standpoint. I rejoice that that opportunity was afforded us, and I hope that it will establish a precedent that will be followed in future Congresses. It is true this gathering of to-day is not actually a part of the official programme of the International Congress itself, but the reason for that is that the various peace societies of the different nations of the earth are not permeated with the view that upon Christianity and upon Christianity alone can the ultimate success of the peace movement be expected to be realised. I have in my hand a quotation from a member of the Society of Friends who was one of the most eloquent statesmen this country ever knew, the Right Hon. John Bright. In that quotation, which I will read to you, he says: "I believe it lies within the power of the Churches to do far more than statesmen can do in matters of this kind; that a great combination of public opinion might be created which would wholly change the aspect of the question in this country and before the world, and would bring to the minds of statesmen that they are not the rulers of the people of Greece, or of the marching hordes of Ancient Rome, but that they are or ought to be the Christian rulers of a Christian people."

Since those words were uttered, and since that statesman has passed away, vast progress has been made in the churches of our own country. I speak for the country of which I most know. There was a time, probably at this very period when these words were spoken, when the various church gatherings held from year to year would not have looked at this question or permitted any resolution bearing on the question of international peace and arbitration to be introduced; but I venture to say, and I make the remark in the presence of the Rev. Thomas Law, who is

secretary of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, I venture to say that to-day there is not a National Conference held by one of those free churches where not only would such a resolution be permitted, but would be welcomed, and would be almost certain to be introduced. That shows the growth of public opinion here.

What we need is to show to our friends who may not think with us upon the Christian aspect of the question, that it is only through Christianity they can find the vital power that will really reach the heart of the peoples of the various countries of the world. If you speak to most of our Continental friends—and I speak with extensive knowledge—you will find they consider peace and war from the aspect of expediency. It can never be successful unless it is discussed from the standpoint of principle. You will probably find in nearly all cases it is conceded that the principle of arbitration ought to be introduced for the settlement of international dispute, but that very rightly there is held in reserve the idea that there are places to which arbitration would not apply, and that in cases of defence war would be justified. We have to overcome that if we are to make peace victorious. If once you leave it to the question of expediency or leave it to the judgment of individuals as to whether a war is defensive or otherwise it will always be a defensive war, however indefensible upon religious principle, and war would be waged with the consent of the great body of people of that land. We who are not members of the Society of Friends owe a great debt of gratitude to our brethren of that Society and our sisters for having convened us in this way to-day to consider the question from the highest standpoint on which it can be placed, the standpoint of the Sermon on the Mount.

PASTOR UMFRIED said that the Church had, to much too great an extent, leant upon the State, and left to the State those things which ought to have been really the work of the Church, as the work of peace undoubtedly was. He dwelt upon the antagonism which existed between the spirit of Christianity and the war spirit. That antagonism, he said, was not thoroughly understood by the churches. People went to their churches and spoke of peace on earth, and of doing to their neighbours that which they would have done to themselves, and of doing all this in the name of the Prince of Peace; but then their actions were entirely contrary to the spirit of the Prince of Peace. They spoke of the one God and Father of them all, and then they went to war

and killed their brothers. He attributed a good deal of this to Christian pessimism. People did not sufficiently believe in the Kingdom of God upon earth. Herr Umfrid spoke also of the foundation of a league formed amongst German pastors after the Congress held at Munich, and expressed the hope that with the practical character of the English people the churches in England would come back to the ideas of primitive Christianity, the ideals of peace on earth and goodwill towards men.

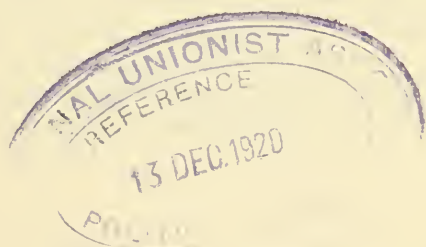
BARON EDWARD DE NEUFVILLE said he wished to support Herr Umfrid in asking the English Churches to help them in practical ways. Referring to the visit of German pastors to England, he said the most pleasant recollection was that of Sunday in England. They never had spent a Sunday in such a really holy and good way as they did with their friends in England. (Applause.) The impression of their visit to England would make for brotherhood and goodwill in Germany, and that was perhaps the chief help the English Churches could give them.

DR. BENJAMIN TRUEBLOOD (Boston, U.S.A.) said: I think a good many American delegates here this morning might be interested to know that Baron de Neufville, who has just spoken, was the gentleman in Germany who got together very largely the German pastors who recently made a splendid visit to England. One of our English brethren, Joseph Allan Baker, M.P., was the originator of the idea, and especially was the originator of the money with which the thing was done; but when he came to carry out his plan he found he had to have another man to help him, and the lot fell to Baron de Neufville, whom we had the pleasure of meeting in Boston four years ago, to assist in carrying out the idea. They brought over 140 German pastors. It was the first time England was ever invaded by Germany, I think. Roman Catholics, Protestants, and members of the Greek Church all came together. I allude to this to show what two men can do if only they are faithful to a great inspiration which comes to them. If two men can do this, what could not the whole Church do if it were only faithful to its high calling?

MISS ELLEN ROBINSON said: I am afraid that I have got up here under rather false pretences. I am not here for the purpose of continuing this interesting discussion, but some of us have been on a deputation to the King and Queen, and we have been asked whether we would not say something about our visit and how we were received. So I venture to tell you that we have had a most agreeable reception, and were most kindly received

We waited a little while in the ante-chamber, and then we were ushered in to where the King and Queen and Princess Victoria were standing together in the room to receive us. We handed in our names as we went forward, and we were personally introduced to the King and Queen, who both shook hands very graciously with us, and said a few words to some of the foreign delegates; and then we stood round the room while Lord Courtney presented the address. He did not read it, but gave a summary of it in an admirable short speech, and the King replied in a speech which seemed to come from his heart. He spoke of the very deep interest he took in this question of peace, and how much he was interested in our work. Altogether it was a speech that was very encouraging to those who desire his help and sympathy in this great cause. The speech will be published, and you will be able to read it. Then we made our bows, and were ushered out. I suppose the whole thing did not last more than a quarter of an hour; but we all felt it was a very great privilege to be one of the deputation present there. I think that the Peace Congress and those gathered here to-day may feel that we have warm friends in the King and Queen.

The Conference then adjourned for lunch.



# CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE.

## SECOND PART.

AFTERNOON SITTING, 3 P.M.

### First Subject: "The Practical Work of the Churches."

The Conference was re-opened for the afternoon sitting at Caxton Hall at 3 o'clock.

*Chairman:* THE REV. ROBERT F. HORTON, D.D. (of Hampstead).

The proceedings were opened with prayer by the Chairman.

### Address by Dr. R. F. Horton.

The CHAIRMAN said: The first subject of this afternoon's Conference is "THE PRACTICAL WORK OF THE CHURCHES," and that subject, though it may seem comparatively simple, is really peculiarly complex. It is one of the most difficult questions that we could discuss, and I am glad that we are discussing it in a Conference rather than in a great public assembly. It is a subject which does not demand rhetoric, but it is one that demands most explicitly a clear statement of truth, strong and definite convictions, and a reasoned statement of where the Church stands and where it ought to stand in the matter of peace. Now, if I may introduce the Conference by a few words, I shall ask you to excuse, and I shall ask the speakers to excuse, if I in any way anticipate or cut the ground from under their feet. Of course, no one disputes that the Christian Church should promote peace. No one disputes that it is the duty of the Christian Church to encourage arbitration, but in this respect the Christian Church is only at one with the common sense of humanity. Every sensible person in Europe believes in peace, and every intelligent person who has thought about it would encourage arbitration. At present, and unfortunately for many centuries, the Christian Church has been only too well content to be on a level with the thought of the world, and has not been eager in any way to be in advance of the general morality, the public morality, on the subject of peace. We remember that the church has even used war to promote her objects. In the Crusades, she roused Europe to take arms in the so-called interests of the Sepulchre of her Lord; the Lord who, indeed, was not in the Sepulchre for which the Christian Church

was fighting. In the darker periods of the middle ages the Church even used a war which she encouraged for other purposes to promote her own doctrines, and to suppress heresy ; and in the Thirty Years War an absurd and impossible attempt was made to settle the question between the old faith and the Reformation by the arbitrament of the sword. To-day it is quite certain that no Church would ever dream of repeating the absurdities of the Crusades, or the greater absurdities of the Albigensian Crusade against heresy. But the Church still allows war ; the Church still, in a sense, blesses war ; and she adopts an attitude upon the subject which does not discourage her members from taking part in war, or from serving in the army or in the navy.

### **The Church's Duty.**

The practical question, therefore, which a Conference like this has to face is rather, what is the duty of the Church in leading the world on the subject of war ? And the Church would, perhaps, do well to confess at the outset of a conference like this that she has not for many centuries attempted in any very definite way to lead, but has been only too content to follow. Now the question which, to my mind, has to be settled by us to-day is something of this kind : does Christianity forbid war absolutely ? Does the doctrine of non-resistance which is taught in the Sermon on the Mount apply to international relations ? Should a Christian refuse to serve in the army or in the navy ? For I think it is beyond question that in the second century devout and earnest Christians did. Let me put to you for a moment the words of Tertullian in his treatise on "The Military Crown," where he diverges from the question whether the soldier as a Christian was right in refusing the military crown, in order to raise the deeper question whether, as a Christian, he was right to serve in the army at all. "Shall it be held lawful," says Tertullian, "to make an occupation of the sword when the Lord proclaims that he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword ; and shall a son of Peace take part in battle when it does not become him even to sue at law ?" And it is not legend, but it is a historic fact that in the second century Christian soldiers preferred death to fighting, and allowed themselves to be cut down by their comrades rather than cut down the enemy at the command of their officers. (Applause.) The question therefore, the practical and burning question that we have to settle, is whether it is the duty of the Christian Church to revive the primitive puritanism upon the subject of war. The question that we have to ask, with

all humility, is whether the Church consciously or unconsciously has made a fatal compromise, whether she has allowed the spirit of the world to conquer her upon this most important political question. Was it really from the beginning her function, her sublime, Quixotic, divinely appointed function, to bring in the reign of peace by standing aloof entirely from war, and by choosing death for herself rather than to inflict death upon others? Now, I should not consent to preside over this Conference this afternoon if I had not given in my own mind some answers to those questions. While I might take part in a Conference in order to discover an answer, I should feel it improper to take a position so prominent as that of president in a conference so important as this unless, in my own mind, some of these questions had received at any rate a tentative answer.

### **Warlike Preparation Unchristian.**

I cannot honestly evade a certain conclusion, and I tell it to you at the beginning. When I look at the Christian faith in its purity and in its intention, I am convinced that its object should be to distinguish the Church from the World, and that the Church should occupy a position which avowedly the world is not occupying or perhaps anxious to occupy; that the Church at any rate should speak with no uncertain sound. She is built upon the charter of the Sermon on the Mount; she is committed to ideals which are not immediately to be realised, but which she is perpetually to hold. It is her duty to declare these ideals in no faltering accent; and above all things it is her duty never to compromise with the spirit of the world, however plausible that spirit may be. (Applause.) And if that is the function of the Church I cannot help feeling that it is her duty, in her corporate capacity, and through the mouth-pieces whom she chooses in order to express her thoughts to the men of her time, it is her duty to declare fully and frankly that war is not Christian, a survival merely of the natural man and of the older order—(applause)—and she should therefore entirely withdraw her sanction from taking part in war, and from making preparation for war. She should have the courage to say that as a Church she disapproves of great armaments as much as she disapproves of fighting; and that she believes it is the function of a Christian state, whenever it becomes really Christian, to act on the mighty principle of peace and love, which can conciliate the world not by being prepared for war but by frankly not being prepared—(applause)—and by making it plain that, as a country

even, she has decided to suffer rather than to fight, or even to contemplate the possibility of fighting. She should have the courage as a Church, in the name of her Lord, to forbid what is going on in Europe to-day—the useless, stupid contest in the preparations for war, the piling-up of war material, and the preparation of the manhood of the world for fighting as if that were the way of proclaiming and maintaining peace. You do not expect the Governments to take this action, but you do expect the Church. (Applause.) We cannot ask the German Emperor to make that proclamation to Europe, but we can ask anyone who dares to speak in the name of Jesus Christ to make that declaration in His strength and for His sake, and leave the consequences to Him. That is my firm conviction to-day.

I think the Church should adopt an attitude which she admits to be unpractical, which she does not expect States immediately to adopt, just as we preach the morals of Our Lord and urge them upon ourselves and upon others, but dare not venture to condemn persons who cannot see eye to eye with us in the great significance of the law of Jesus. But as a Church, and as Christians, it seems to me that we should insist upon the principle of peace with the same certainty and on the same grounds as we insist upon the exquisite principle of not resisting injury, and upon the still more beautiful principle of being judged not by our actions but by the purity of the heart, which is the principle of Jesus himself. As for us we may be only a few. It may be that the Church in this matter must be content to be a little flock, and we may be charged with cowardice and with the want of patriotism which is the charge naturally brought against those who look at things through the eyes of Jesus Christ. It may be that we shall be denounced even for what I say this afternoon, and you may be supposed to be committed to it because I say it, but for my part I do not shrink from that denunciation. I say, let all the world denounce, but let the truth stand that Jesus our Lord is dead against war, and that He does not approve of the preparation for it, because He knows that the preparation precipitates it; and, therefore, let us utter our voice in the confidence of His name whom we call the Prince of Peace, but Whose high authority we have sometimes used to justify and glorify the profession of the soldier and the preparation for the fight. I leave my words with you, my friends, at the beginning of this Conference. I do not, of course, ask for absolute agreement; but I ask that when these words of mine are quoted they may be taken as

expressing the slow but deliberate conviction at which I have arrived after thinking and praying upon the subject, and asking what a Peace Conference should mean, not in politics but in the Church, when we are asking what is the practical work of the Church in securing the peace of the world. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said: I shall now have great pleasure in calling upon the speakers that are advertised. Perhaps it would make it clear to everyone at the beginning that we shall keep to the time allotted if I say that the advertised speakers are to be permitted to speak for fifteen minutes and others for ten minutes. I hope it will not be counted an offence if I ring the bell just before the fifteen minutes or ten minutes are expired. It will not be that we are tired of the speaker, but that it is the law of the assembly. Our first speaker is Principal J. Estlin Carpenter.

The REV. DR. CARPENTER (Principal of Manchester College, Oxford) said: Friends and fellow workers in the cause of religion and peace. No one who looks over the history of this great question can fail to see that from the earliest days when man seriously thought upon the question, religion and peace have been inseparably connected. The ancient Seer of Israel beheld the Mountain of the Lord's house rise above all the surrounding hills, and the nations of the world stream to it to receive preaching from the Holy Temple. Perhaps about the same time the Buddha was teaching in India "Men say he abused me, he robbed me, he beat me. By such words hatred will never cease. Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time. Hatred ceases by love." And so you might go from country to country till you get the full light of the Gospel, and as the Chairman has told us, the spirit of Christianity is dead against war.

Now, it appears to me that the question of the practical work of the Churches in this matter really resolves itself not so much into a laying down of abstract principles of duty which may be applied with the best faith and desire in the world in different matters in different circumstances; but in converting, in educating the public mind, and the rulers of the nations, to the great ideal which Christianity upholds. And the first thing to do is to recognise how much has been done already. Everyone knows that during the last century there has been a great revival of religion, and in particular that the study of the life and teachings of Jesus during the last fifty years has profoundly modified our outlook upon social and national and international affairs. Why, think what was going on a hundred years ago. Between the years

1805 and 1815 the Director of Conscription under the first French Empire reported the deaths of 1,750,000 French soldiers officially, to say nothing of those who perished from poverty, disease, and wounds brought on by fighting. That would be inconceivable now, and why? Because Christianity has begun at last to do its healing work. What General—why, after the events in Turkey last week, not even a Turk—would do what Napoleon did, shoot 2,000 prisoners in cold blood, because he had not the means immediately to provide for them? These things belong to the past, because Christianity has begun to humanise war. The Soudanese warrior may fight and try to stab the surgeon who ministers to his needs; but we know how, in the sad wars in South Africa and the Far East, Boer and Briton could come together on friendly terms in armistice, or lying side by side in the cots in the hospitals, and could fight without personal ill-will. So, too, the Russians and the Japanese. And now we are beginning to see that war must not only be humanised, but must be restrained.

I am not one, I must confess at the outset, who believes that force could altogether be eliminated from our social order. I do not see it in the family. I do not see it in the institutions for the repression of crime. But what I do see is that force can be suffused with righteousness, and be moderated by justice, and in the case of punishment can be inspired by love. Now, I do not know whether one child of God can go forth to kill another child of God because he loves him, but I can conceive that it may be needful for the welfare of the whole that a tribunal commanding a limited number of international forces may exercise a police jurisdiction over nations, and may thus enormously reduce, if they cannot wholly eliminate, the award of war. That, however, is only by the way.

It is part of the practical work of the Churches to begin the process of educating the public conscience as soon as possible, to continue it as ardently as possible, to enforce it by every means in their power. And there is this great reason for it, among other things, because as we have been recently reminded, the cause of social reform which is the cause of Christianity in our social order, and is now being espoused with ardour by every Church in the land, depends so largely upon this problem, and our power to eliminate the war spirit from the hearts of our people. It is a people's question. No longer is war made by the rulers or by statesmen, or by military commanders, or even by financiers, or I would add irresponsible journalists. A war

ultimately lies in the hearts of the people, for no great war can be for a moment carried on unless it has the moral force of a nation behind it. We have, therefore, first of all to inspire a belief that it is possible to suppress and avert war.

It is an enormous educational task that lies before us, but the first thing assuredly for the Churches is to overcome the hopelessness of man in this matter by gradually diffusing the moral ardour which is needful for the task. Everyone knows how the contagion of anger, of suspicion, of prejudice, of alarm, spreads through the land; how it is excited by all kinds of evil words in newspapers. Do you remember in the Treaty which William Penn formed with the American Indians there was a clause inserted that neither of the contracting parties should lightly think evil of the other side? I would like to see words like that written over every journalist's desk in Europe; then we should be spared those abominable insinuations which stir up anger, which excite passion, which create alarm and lead—as for instance when the Dogger Bank incident occurred but a few years ago—to immediate outcries for force, which only the admirable self-command of the Government of that day was able to control. That is the first thing—you have to educate the people, you have to overcome men's hopelessness to a great degree. What is the Church for, if it is not to emphasise that what ought to be can be, and to convert the “can be” into “shall be,” and at last into “is”? It is the great work of the Churches to preach that God sets before us no task too great for us without giving us means to perform it; to show that wherever there is a moral wrong, in the Providence of God there is also a moral remedy.

Now, there are many means by which this education can be pursued. Every Church has a Sunday School. Why should not all the young people in our Churches and Sunday Schools be enrolled in Guilds of Peace, as they are in Guilds of Temperance, and purity, and social service, and similar causes intimately connected with the Christian Church? Why should not the Peace Society, the Association for International Arbitration, have a representative in every Church and in every band of Sunday School teachers? Why should they not produce literature for the young which may be circulated, and show the ideals which we venerate in the soldier are also the ideals of highest civil life? Depend upon it, we shall never get the war spirit out of our young people's minds until we can show them that all those elements which we admire in the soldier, and which

alone make war tolerable for a day, the elements of self-sacrifice, of obedience, of endurance, of fertility of resource, and chivalry, and the rest—that these are a thousand times more frequently exercised in daily life by those who are continually giving their lives for the community.

Let the doctor and the nurse be extolled as soldiers in the war for health. Let the miner and the sailor, the lifeboatman, the engineer upon the train, the porter on the line, the sewer man beneath the street, all those who week by week, year in and year out, are giving their lives in numbers far exceeding the losses by any war that we can contemplate—let us enroll these in our band of heroes, hold these men and women up before the young people of our Churches, and show that there is a warfare with disease, with ignorance and suffering and want, with evil in innumerable forms, just as noble, as lovely, and of as good report as any heroisms of which we read in history. Those of us who have been brought up on the great traditions of the fight for liberty, who have venerated the heroes who fought at Thermopylae or Marathon; those who have seen how, in the New Testament, the good soldier of Jesus Christ is clothed in a panoply symbolical of the war of the time; those who have appropriated the modern ideal of poetry in the shape of the "Happy Warrior," who have lived in communion with men like Havelock or Lawrence, or Gordon, have known that with these men is a spirit of religion which they at any rate manage to reconcile with public duty in the service of their country.

So, if I may be permitted one word more, there remains this other thought. When the Church goes forth, as it does, into remote lands, and is confronted by alien civilisations, it appears to me that it must not rely upon the support of the civil power. The first Christian missionaries never expected that troops would be sent to avenge their death. Remember the hideous turmoil in the beginning of this century in China. It arose when the gospel of "the mailed-fist" was preached, on the occasion of the murder of a German missionary. What did Doctor Legge do, the revered missionary, who spent, I think, nearly fifty years at work in China? When he was requested, owing to the enormous influence which he had gained, by the Chinese Government to go some 800 miles up the country to quell a disturbance which it was believed that he and he alone could end, he said: "I will go, but on one condition only; that if I do not return the English Government will not send a gun boat to avenge my death." (Applause.) I have strayed into a

subject which is reserved for future discussion. I have only to plead that, as this great meeting testifies, the Churches shall put away from one another all discord and strife, that they shall overcome their own mutual prejudices, hostilities, animosities, suspicions, and dislikes; and then, why then, from all parts of the world, as the Church has thrown its arms round all nations, the ancient song shall rise once more, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and goodwill among men," and the scourge of war shall be driven from the earth for ever. (Applause.)

PASTOR PAUL ALLEGRET (Brive, France), speaking in French, began by giving a message of gratitude to English Christians, and spoke of the way in which, for many years past, English Christians have gone into France and carried there the message of the Gospel. The real founders of the *entente cordiale*, in which they all rejoiced, were not the politicians, but the Christians. Some few years ago a great French paper published a list of persons in France who were subsidised by English gold, in order to betray their country to a future conquest by England, and among the French pastors' names in that list his own name appeared. The only revenge that they got was that, under the provisions of the French law of libel, they were able to compel that newspaper to print day after day on its front page letters of love and of Christian charity from all those whom it had thus libelled, denying the imputations. (Applause.) He said how rejoiced he was from that point of view to know that they were holding this prefatory Conference on what he felt to be the heart of the peace question, because they alone as Christians could place themselves before Him who alone could give the true word of peace. He had been asked to deal with practical questions. Well, in France their difficulty was great.

When the Peace Conference met in Paris in 1889 Victor Hugo said, "You are coming to write the last word of the Gospel; that war is not in harmony with the will of God; that God's will is peace." A prominent Frenchman to-day would hardly dare to speak such words as those; and, sad to say, only very recently the present Prime Minister, M. Clemenceau, said in an address that they had often heard of a doctrine of peace and the preaching of peace and goodwill in Galilee, but when he looked around he did not find in France a Christian Church that preached that doctrine of peace and goodwill. He (M. Allegret) could have put before them a number of quotations recently appearing in one of the French peace journals

from men of different opinions—philosophers, statesmen, and writers. When asked what influence the Churches were having on the peace question, most of them said that the Church was doing harm rather than good to the peace cause; and freethinkers must do their peace work outside of the churches. Therefore, some of them felt some years ago that it was necessary to found in France a Christian Peace Society. Their view was that the Christian Churches, the Evangelical Churches, should use the different instrumentalities at their disposal, the Young Men and Women's Christian Associations, the Societies of Christian Endeavour, the Mothers' Meeting, and similar organisations, to spread peace principles in connection with the work of the Church. They did that because they felt also it was necessary to separate the idea of the Christian Church from the idea of war in the minds of the people, for the honour of their master the Lord Jesus Christ. Christians had a special weapon of faith. What they met with in France was the argument that they must prepare for war, and they must prepare against war, by armaments, by force. Faith was a Christian principle by which that could be met; and therefore from that point of view also Christians could do what no one else could. He concluded by reading the practical proposals that were put forward in this connection, beginning with the proposition that war was neither the will nor the commandment of God, who, on the contrary, desired that peace should reign on the earth. They would try to establish a new conscience amongst the people, to educate children and adults in ideas of peace, destroy false notions relative to the necessity and the divine sanction for war, modify the teaching given to children and others in historical books, both profane and religious, and bringing into prominence the peaceful teaching of the Word of God by founding Christian Peace Societies by individual propaganda all round them, and finally by making for the true union of different classes of society and by living the life of the Gospel every day.

The REV. W. J. SPRIGGS SMITH (Wisbech) said: Why have not the Churches taken a foremost place in this great mission of putting an end to war and bringing about a permanent reign of peace? We have been hearing to-day of what the Churches should do, but I would remind our friends that the Churches consist of units, and the question arises, what is each one of us going to do? There are two or three ways in which each one of us can do considerably. We should talk about this subject to our neighbours; make it part of our everyday life as we come in contact with them

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to question them as to where they stand in relation to this great question. There is another thing which the units of a Church can do. We all of us more or less have correspondence, and we should never forget that there is nearly always a little space in the corner of the paper on which we write where we could put one question. I have known, from many years' experience in the peace question, that one little question at the end of a letter has been the means of bringing people to think about this subject, and then, as the last speaker has suggested, and others too, if we want the cause to succeed, if we want different instruments in the hands of God to glorify Him and be a blessing and benefit to our fellow men, let us set each one of us to work earnestly for this matter in the place in which we live. You know it is sometimes thought that those in authority in Churches should do it and the people would follow. My experience is, and I have been a clergyman in the Church of England for a quarter of a century, that very often the laymen set a splendid example; and I believe, in the peace question, if the laity of the various churches wish to have a permanent peace organisation working earnestly in the cause of peace, let them set to and have it, and go on working even if the minister or clergyman does not fall in with them. You will find that if you persist in working, the day will come when the minister will have to come and admit that you have begun a good work. And do not object to his coming in to help you to gather a harvest when you have sown the seed. All I want to impress upon you is that if we leave it to our neighbour to do it it will not be done, but if each one of us sets to work to do it something glorious and lasting that will do good to men will come. There are agencies at work in this country to-day which undermine the youth of the land and militarise their minds. Now, it is the duty of every minister, that is if he is a minister of Jesus Christ, to do all that lies in his power to try to prevent these military organisations from capturing the youth; because if they capture them in their early days they will have them in after life. There was never a greater power exercised in this country of ours on behalf of militarism than there is to-day. The military party in this country desire conscription; whatever they say to the contrary, that is their goal. Every Church in the land should stand shoulder to shoulder in this matter, because it is the principle of the Prince of Peace that we should take care of the lambs, and we can only take care of them by instructing them against the evils that will come in their path, and by giving them practical lessons of guidance from our experience that will enable them to be saved

from the snares and traps that are being laid for them by the military party.

Mr. ROBERT MILNER (Bristol): In that excellent speech of Doctor Estlin Carpenter he gave one note with which I do not agree, and that was that under some circumstances force must be resorted to. I do not think so. I want us, as Christians, to have faith in God, to have faith in those fixed principles, those eternal principles of right, which it is always our duty to uphold whatever may be the circumstances. The All Wise and Beneficent Creator of all has given us many blessings for which we must be profoundly thankful, but above all those blessings, the blessing of the gift of life is the greatest of all; and it is a fact that is not without significance that not only in the Christian, but in all heathen religions, they say "Thou shalt not kill." This I take to be a crucial test of this question, that under no circumstances shall we resort to force which results in the taking of human life; and when we come to the question of that international parliament, which I hope and believe we shall in time see, and in connection with that an international court, I do not think there will be any necessity to have force. I think we shall give our cause away if we say so. The great bulk of our laws now are not upheld by force. Directly an accredited authority decides upon one course then public opinion holds to it, and gradually in the evolution of time—we have seen duelling pass away—so I believe that all war and all the preparations for war will give place to an arbitrament of reason and of justice, and that out of this chaos of disorder which we have wherever there are soldiers will be evolved a system of order, of justice, and of law, just the same as we have in our own country to-day internally.

The REV. FREDERICK LYNCH (Pilgrim Church, New York, U.S.A., delegate from the New York Peace Society) said: I wish to say just one or two things which seem to me fundamental to this whole question, and which lie in the heart of the Christian Church itself. We are discussing what the Christian Church can do for the cause of peace. It seems to me that there are one or two things which the Christian Church must be before it can do very much for this work of peace, and if I seem to criticise the Church for a moment I do so because I feel so encouraged at the progress of real Christianity in the Church. In my own country the Church has made vast strides in the last ten years in this question of militarism. It has gone so far that a few ministers in Boston and New York last year stopped the President of the

United States of America from getting four battleships, and got him only one. The sentiment has been growing very fast in the Church of America. I hope it has here. I see some things lingering in England as in the United States. I have been visiting your beautiful Cathedrals in England this year, and last year, and in the year before, and everywhere I go I see a hundred monuments to people who have killed somebody to one monument to someone who has saved someone else's life. Just as in our country, we raise monuments to the man who can kill most men. But that time is passing in the United States, and I presume in England, and despite some discouraging remarks we have heard from our friend the French Pastor, I have found in France a growing, beautiful sentiment of brotherhood. I know a great many of the French Socialists, and the French Socialists have no desire to kill their brothers the Germans, and I do not believe they ever will again. One fear in my mind is that some organisations in the world might out-Christian the Christian Church and outrun it in preaching Christianity. It made me glad to see the Socialists in Stuttgart last year lay down that manifesto against war, and say we shall not take arms against our brothers, but it made me a little sad also that the Christian Church had not said it first; but I am not discouraged, and I hope it will not discourage you.

Clifford, the great scientist, some time ago said Christianity was only a civilised paganism. This is utterly false, but there still lingers in our Christianity some paganism. The pagan's doctrine is force; that is the pagan doctrine throughout the ages—brute force—and the Christian doctrine is love; and the moment you try to bring any other doctrine into Christianity except that of love you are contradicting every word that our Lord Jesus Christ ever said. What I want to come to is this, that in individual relations you have reached that stage. We never use force now between two individuals who are really Christians. Christians settle all their differences by the law of love and forgiveness, or at least they go no further than a Court. Now the Christianity which has a double standard of morality is no Christianity. If it is wrong for two individuals to use force one against the other, it is wrong for two nations to do it. We have a double standard of morality in America in this regard. A trust in America can commit all sorts of rapacity, and it is legal; but one individual cannot do it.

But we are coming to see in America that there is only one standard of morality for individuals and groups of

individuals, and that is most encouraging; and we are going to see very soon that that law holds for the relationship of nations. The most encouraging thing in all our advance to-day in Christianity is that this ethic is growing, and growing very fast. Can I say just one more word, and it is this, that we must increase and develop our ideal of neighbourhood. Our Christianity still contains a little paganism. This man is our neighbour who lives next door in the same city, who lives in the same country; but if he lives in South Africa, or in the Philippines, or China, or Japan, or Russia, he is not our neighbour. Christianity knows nothing of that. I have no more right to kill a Japanese than I have to kill an American. You have no more right to kill a man in South Africa than in London, if you want to come in under Christianity. Christianity has no bounds to neighbourhood except that of the Kingdom of God. Now the Church is growing to that, very fast. Our Hague Court is one of the results of it. When the Church stands up and preaches a real Christianity you will not have ought to fear any more about war, because it will go. (Applause.)

Mr. FRANK OGILVY (of the Free Church, Garden City), referring to a paper in *Concord* by Mr. Felix Moscheles on the subject of General Baden-Powell's "Boy Scouts," said: It may not be known to the friends here, or Free Church members generally, but there is a Brigade which has been got up to try and counteract these militarist ideas among lads. It is the "Boys' Life Brigade." I would like to point this out specially to those connected with the Churches, and each member should do his or her best to get these brigades founded in their churches. General Baden-Powell has made a good start with his Scouting Brigade, but I take it he has not half the opportunity we have in the Churches. In the Free Churches alone we have something like half-a-million boys between thirteen and nineteen and twenty. We have them waiting for us to get into touch with, and I would have all members of Churches, especially the ministers, to found these brigades in their different churches. In course of time we might be able to touch those outside. In my left hand I have a paper referring to these Life Brigades. I may tell you that there are 400 companies in England now. This week there will be fifty camps in different parts of England made up entirely of these Boy Life Brigades. There is one brigade alone, called the Eastwood Brigade, in which there are no fewer than 200 members. This brigade has been fortunate enough to eat up, shall I term it, a "Boys' Brigade" (a military one) entirely. There were 120 boys

in the military brigade a year or two ago, and now everyone of those boys is in the Boys' Life Brigade. I shall not keep you any longer, but simply beg of you to do your best to get these Boys' Life Brigades founded throughout the kingdom, and I should like to see it throughout the world.

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It was announced that it was planned to have meetings of the American Delegates every morning at 9.30 in the Council Chamber, and all Americans, whether Delegates or not, were invited to attend.

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### **Second Subject: "Foreign Missions and Peace."**

Mr. A. Warburton Davidson (Friends' Foreign Mission Association, China): I do not think I have any special qualifications to speak on this subject this afternoon, except that I have the honour to be a foreign missionary. I may say I am in hearty sympathy with the spirit which has gathered this meeting together this afternoon to discuss this subject, and with the spirit and motive which is behind this Seventeenth Peace Congress. Indeed, the very fact that I am a foreign missionary, a missionary of Christ to China, is because my father was an extreme Peace man. In his early life he, too, went to China, but not as a missionary, but as a soldier enrolled in the 12th Brigade of Queen Victoria's Royal Artillery, and I to-day hold his medal, marked: "Canton, 1857, and Peking, 1860." It was one of the greatest joys of his after life to reflect upon the fact that the appointment in his regiment was of such a character that he never was ordered to kill his brother man; and when in China he grew to love the Chinese, and longed that they might come to know of Him who was the Prince of Peace, who wanted to give peace and goodwill to men. After a time he found that for him, at any rate, it was impossible to love his brother and at the same time to shoot him; he therefore bought himself out of the army, and ever afterwards he was a zealous, earnest peacemaker, sometimes having to suffer much for his principles. He had nine sons, three of whom are now with him in Heaven. He dedicated them to the service of Peace. Twenty-two years ago the oldest living started for China as a foreign missionary, and is at the front to-day. Eleven years ago I followed him. Three years later two other brothers, one qualified

as a medical man, also started ; and we are all there as a result of my father's prayers and peace principles, serving under the banner of peace in the Great Empire of China. (Applause.)

It is in the interest of the cause of peace in China that I would try to say a few words this afternoon. I do so for two reasons. First because I know something of the question at first hand, and second because I believe there is no country at the present time which so much needs the help of the friends of peace ; and if the friends of peace come forward now, at this crisis in the history of China, a quarter of the world's inhabitants will have lighter burdens than they will have otherwise in ten years to come. Momentous changes have been taking place in the land. The most earnest and conservative of Empires has thrown aside the strenuous and systematic opposition to Western methods, and is now eagerly and anxiously reaching out her hand for all that the Western world can teach her. This is not the time to go into the details of those great changes that are coming over the Empire of China. There is much that we rejoice at in these changes. But there is much which is fraught with the greatest dangers to China herself, and which may spell disaster to many far beyond her borders ; in a word, China is imitating European militarism. That great nation which has hitherto been the most peaceful of all nations, the nation which largely, by its peaceable methods, has survived all the ancient races of antiquity—Greece, ancient Rome, Assyria—and exists to-day a great and mighty people, a united people, has determined to become the greatest military people in the world. China's students, a body of men who for ages followed the peaceable pursuits of learning, have now become convinced that they must give their whole life and soul to becoming soldiers and make their country a great military power. The spirit of militarism is running high amongst those students. The students of China to-day believe that the power of Europe is owing to her great armaments, and they are determined to arm. A young student said to a missionary not long ago, "We expect much war in China. The time is coming when we will wrest back Formosa and Hongkong and our lost possessions in the South." China's army is growing at the rate of 25,000 men every year. China now has her army manœuvres, just as the nations of Europe have. European experts have witnessed these manœuvres, and say that the sight of the Chinese using their big buns was a sight for the gods. They have already learned the lessons of the war between Japan and Russia, that the secret of victory lies with the

nation which can use best her big guns, and the Chinese artillery corps in the future will very likely become a nightmare to her enemies. Arsenals are growing all over the land, great buildings, and some of these arsenals to-day and every day are turning out fifty Mauser rifles of the latest pattern.

You will ask, this subject is a subject of peace and foreign missions, and what has this to do with it? Foreign missions in China have done much good, and are still doing much in the promotion of peace. They have been faithful in telling of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men, they have been interpreters of the east to the west and the west to the east, and they have ever been the mediators between the two extremes. Sir Charles Warren's words are true of China when he said that one missionary is worth a battalion of soldiers in the cause of peace, but they have also, I may say, always testified and done much to remove that terrible race prejudice which has always existed in China, and have shown to the world the admirable and loveable qualities in the nature of the Chinaman; and there are both of those qualities in the nature of John Chinaman, although many think that there is nothing valuable in him. But that is not the only side of the work of missions in regard to peace in China.

I am sorry to tell this meeting that there is a darker side. At the Shanghai Conference, the oldest missionary in China stood up and said he believed in the mighty armies and navies in the world, and he said if it were not for those armies and navies those missionaries in Shanghai, servers of the Prince of Peace, would not have been able to assemble in peace as they did.\* He was a man with fifty years experience, and I am a youngster of ten years experience, but I dare to say that no man has the right to make such a statement as that. Why? Because the most excellent way and the highest way of all has never been tried; and when that has been tried it will be time enough to say we cannot do our missionary work and obey our Lord's command without the aid of armaments. The attitude of Europe to China has been a disgrace and shame. One injustice after another has been heaped upon China, even at the point of the bayonet. Europe, as far as China is concerned, has sown the wind; and unless there is a radical change it will be impossible to escape the whirlwind.

Let no one think from the fact that China is imitating Europe, that that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. It is nothing of

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\* See, on this statement, the observations on p. 48.

the kind. She has no love for Europe. She hates Europe with a bitter hatred; and is longing for the time to come when with these very weapons we are teaching her to handle she may drive every foreigner out of the Empire. A missionary in the North of China has recently written (and he says he fears this story is true) that in a school in China 100 students were asked what they would like best, and it is said that forty of them agreed that there was nothing they would like better than a feast the main dish of which would be the flesh of every foreigner in the land. That may seem to be extreme, but I believe it gives the feelings of many Chinese in that Empire to-day with regard to ourselves. "Asia for the Asiatic, China for the Chinese" is the popular cry, and the whole educational question in China to-day is centred on that thought.

A few years ago I was in one of the great provincial capitals, and the missionary took me up to the top of his house, which looked over the great parade ground. We watched thousands of Chinese soldiers in foreign uniforms drill according to foreign methods, armed with modern weapons, and they came out, thousands of them, at the sound of the bugle and took their places on that parade ground. It was a wonderful spectacle; one could hardly believe that we were in the China I went to eleven years ago. Judge of my pained surprise when my fellow missionary turned to me and said he was glad to see this sight. He was glad that at last China was prepared for war. I have spoken of the spirit of militarism which is running high in the schools amongst the students. I am sorry to tell the meeting that this is not only in the Government schools, but I fear in the majority of mission schools. Military drill is the rule rather than the exception. I have myself seen a missionary acting with his students armed with sticks in an imaginary bayonet charge. In the interests of the peace of China this ought not to be. It should have nothing to do with our great evangel. In the interests of the peace of China and the world I come this afternoon to this peace meeting, and I think there is a work for the peace societies of Europe to bring your influence to bear on the great missionary societies who are working in China. I think the missionaries as a whole need conversion, and the peace societies of Europe may be able to bring that conversion about. It is important, because the mission schools are the only schools that are adequately fitted to deal with the situation in China to-day. China needs men. That is the greatest need of all. Men of moral backbone, men of ability, purity, Christian men, who will be able to take their place at the head of affairs and

lead the nation forward to realise her true great destiny. If the Christian Church in England and America realises her duties and responsibilities, in ten years time we can capture and save the situation for Christ in China.

The REV. MICHAEL JAMES ELLIOTT (of Daventry) read a paper on

*"Military Despotisms and their Effect on Christian Missions."*

He said: In considering the effect upon foreign mission work of the militarism of the Governments of "Christian" countries, we are thankful for recent utterances of three prominent statesmen who have testified to the work of missionaries, and their general innocence of follies and indiscretions which have often been, in malice or ignorance, charged against them. On the twentieth of April last, before a mass meeting of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, in Carnegie Hall, New York, the Honourable Wm. H. Taft, Secretary of War of the U.S.A.—and now a candidate for the Presidency—made a remarkable speech in support of Christian missions and in defence of missionaries, based upon his experience as Governor-General of the Philippines, and his personal observations in the Far East. He emphatically denied that the Boxer movement in China was due to the interference of missionaries; although missionaries, being foreigners farthest inland and most exposed, were the first and severest sufferers. He affirmed: "These men are doing grand good work. I do not mean, he says, that there are no exceptions among them; that sometimes they do not make mistakes, and sometimes they do not meddle in something which it would be better for them, from a political motive, to keep out of; but I mean, as a whole, these missionaries in China and in other countries worthily represent the best Christian spirit of this country, and worthily are doing the work that you have sent them to do."

Just a month later, on May 21st, at a similar meeting at Chattanooga, Tennessee, the Hon. James Bryce, speaking from observations and experience, said: "You cannot blame the missionaries (for the too slow progress of their work) because their zeal and devotion are evident." But the "attitude of the civilised stronger race" to the uncivilised peoples "has been one of the great obstacles to the advance of Christianity." "There were times when the govern-

ments themselves behaved very badly." "But even where the government is good, it is possible for the private adventurer to do a great deal of harm. He it is who discredits Christianity." Thirdly, the British ex-Under Secretary for the Colonies—the Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill—in his masterly address at the opening of "The Orient in London," a few weeks ago, said: "There was a time when official authority looked coldly and critically upon missionary enterprise, but—as one who for two and a half years had been closely concerned in the administration of our Colonial Empire—he could say that the relations between governors and officials of British possessions and the missionaries working in their midst were improving every year, and had never been better than they were to-day."

These frank, independent, and disinterested declarations of responsible public servants render unnecessary any vehement avowal of the loyalty of missionaries to the Governments which have (from various philanthropic and other motives) taken upon themselves the burden of ruling the so-called "inferior races" of mankind. But the missionary's first loyalty is to his Lord and Master, and to His work—"the work that," as Mr. Taft says, "you have sent them to do"—which is to win the heathen to Jesus Christ. To attain this end they must secure and retain their confidence. This they have, with God's blessing, succeeded in doing, and the influence of their teaching upon the most savage nations has resulted in their ceasing to wage war, which had been their almost constant pursuit; and in many cases—as in Samoa, Fiji, and elsewhere—even refusing to take up arms in their own defence when threatened by their still-heathen neighbours, and so compelling those heathen to live in peace with them. How embarrassing, then, to the missionaries, and how bewildering to their converts, and what an obstacle to their faith, is the counter-influence of the example of "Christian" governments; firstly, by their wars among themselves; and secondly, by their aggressive military operations among and against weaker races. The embarrassment is great enough when the offending government is that to which the missionary owes allegiance, but much greater when it is some other Power. Neither need the offences of such government be so atrocious as those in the Congo, which are arousing the world's indignation, to place the missionary in a perplexing position. How is he to retain the confidence and trust of the natives, without which success in his work is impossible, and, at the same time, avoid collision with the Government (his own or some other)? As, in some

Mohammedan countries, so closely is the missionary identified in the native mind with all white men, that "Christian" is synonymous with drunkard and debauchee, it is equally difficult for the missionary to dissociate himself from his Government and its doings. Notwithstanding this, his known character often stands him in good stead; as witness this more than two-century-old story, parallels to which it would not be difficult to find in the annals even of British colonisation:

Irritated at losing the fur trade with the Iroquois Indians—in spite of the presence among them of French missionaries whose manner of life and devoted work certainly recommended their nation—the French determined on the ferocious scheme of exterminating the Iroquois, to accomplish which they professed "a desire for peace and alliance, in order to get the most able Indian chiefs into their power before they struck the decisive blow. There was a Jesuit Missionary residing among the Iroquois—the worthy Lamberville. This good man had won the confidence of the Indians by his unaffected piety, his constant kindness, and his skill in healing their differences and their bodily ailments. They looked upon him as a father and a friend. The French, on their part, regarded this as a fortunate circumstance, not, as one might have imagined, because it gave them a powerful means of reconciliation and alliance with this people, but because it gave them a means of effecting their murderous scheme. They assured Lamberville that they were anxious to effect a lasting peace with the Iroquois, for which purpose they begged him to prevail on them to send their principal chiefs to meet them in conference. He found no difficulty in doing this, such was their faith in him. The chiefs appeared, and were immediately clapped in irons, embarked at Quebec, and sent to the galleys!" "Cute," I suppose, such "policy and cunning" may be pronounced even by some bearing the Christian name; but "who that has a head or heart worthy of a man will not mark with admiration the conduct of the Iroquois on this occasion?"

As soon as the news of this abominable treachery reached the nation it rose as one man to revenge the insult and to prevent the success of that scheme which now became too apparent. In the first place they sent for Lamberville, who had been the instrument of their betrayal, and—put him to death? No, they did not put him to death. That was what the Christians would have done, without any inquiry or any listening to his defence. The savage Iroquois thus addressed him: "We are authorised by

every motive to treat you as an enemy; but we cannot resolve to do it. Your heart has had no share in the insult that has been put upon us, and it would be unjust to punish you for a crime you detest still more than ourselves. But you must leave us. Our rash young men might consider you in the light of a traitor who delivered up the chiefs of our nation to shameful slavery."

These savages, whom Europeans have always termed barbarians, gave the missionary guides, who conducted him to a place of safety, and then flew to arms, with results unspeakably terrible both to the French and to themselves. Thank God it is not left to missionaries to point out the folly and wickedness of the treatment meted out to the weaker peoples by "the Powers."

In February, 1901, the annual meeting of the West African Trade Association was held in Liverpool. The report presented by the Executive Committee offered some interesting remarks on the question of political versus military expeditions, suggesting that more prominence should be given to the services of political agents, who, with the necessary tact, would to a large extent render expensive military expeditions less necessary. If the latter could not be altogether dispensed with, they should be resorted to only after political agents had failed, and all other peaceful efforts had been exhausted." The report was adopted unanimously. Mr. John Holt, in supporting it, "deprecated strongly the too-often-recurring punitive expeditions in West Africa, where, above all things, it was necessary to have peace and just administration if the countries under our flag were to be economically developed, and our negro subjects to become contented and progressive." A suggestive commentary on this is the complaint of "a West African Civilian Official," mentioned by Miss Kingsley, in "West African Studies": "Oh, if a man comes here and burns half-a-dozen villages he gets honours, while I, who keep them from wanting burning, get nothing." The fact is, we have too many military governors in our Crown Colonies.

About a quarter of a century ago, when a missionary in West Africa, I was honoured one morning at the Methodist Mission House in Lagos, by a visit from two royal personages. One was an African King from a distant country behind the Gold Coast, a member of my church, but (unlike his class-leader) not a free man, but an exile and a political prisoner "at large"—free indeed to roam about Lagos, but forbidden to leave the island. The "rebellion" for which he had been transported was, so far as I could ascertain, the not unnatural one of re-

senting and probably resisting the annexation of the country over which his ancestors and himself had reigned, the appropriation by military force of its rich natural resources, and the subjugation of its inhabitants—without their consent obtained or asked—to British rule. Having learnt in bitter adversity the futility of attempting to resist such overwhelming might, he now bowed to the inevitable, and was willing to forego all his regal claims if only he might be permitted—as an act of clemency—to return and settle down to end his days in his native land. And the object of this visit was to solicit my good offices (as *persona grata* with the Governor of the Colony) to mediate with His Excellency with a view to the restoration of the exiled king, not to his throne, but simply to his own country.

I was constitutionally and in virtue of my position pro-native, but did not see some things so clearly in those days as I do now, and I compromised; easing my conscience by writing the Governor, carefully disclaiming any wish to involve myself or my society in matters political, but requesting him (in effect) to give such consideration to my client's petition as he felt he could reasonably, properly, and safely do. There, so far as I was concerned, the incident ended. But I believe that patriotic King—not a savage pagan, but a genuine and gentle Christian, not estranged by injustice—whom I have heard engaged in prayer with intelligence and fervor, died a prisoner in exile.

Such cases are, unfortunately, not rare. Few of them are much heard of at home; and only sometimes are even missionaries made acquainted with them, either because each party suspects that their sympathies are with the other, or because their helplessness in such matters has become recognised by the sufferers. But, whatever restraint in action or speech I may have thought necessary to avoid friction with the Government on the spot, here and now I do not hesitate to say that, much as the missionary desires the righteous prosperity of his own country and its empire, his supreme concern is for the Kingdom of God and its extension; and if his identification with his Government in the eyes of the natives weakens his hold upon them and his work in consequence suffers, it cannot be a matter of indifference with him, whether he blesses these frequent "punitive expeditions," or maintains a quiescent attitude, which the natives are apt to regard as acquiescent; or offers a clear and emphatic protest on behalf of the wronged native.

The missionary—unless utterly unworthy—cannot but stand

for justice to the native ; and injustice to them from any source, and especially from his own people, must cut him to the quick. When, therefore, added to the fact that his apparent approval of his country's doings would rouse native resentment against him—his conscience forbids approval, what should be his attitude? Would a position of neutrality sufficiently dissociate him from the sins of his sins of his fellow countrymen and from his Government's injustice?

The following extract from a sermon preached some years ago by an African Christian minister well-known to me indicates how Christianity has suffered from the confusing of Evangelism with Imperialism: "European Christianity (the preacher said) is a dangerous thing. What do you think of a religion which holds a bottle of gin in one hand and a Book of Common Prayer in another? Which carries a glass as a vade mecum to a holy hymn book? A religion which points with one hand to the skies, bidding you 'lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven,' and, while you are looking up, grasps all your worldly goods with the other hand, seizes your ancestral lands, levels your forests, and places your patrimony under inexplicable legislation? O, Christianity, what enormities have been committed in thy name."

What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? The work of Christian missions is rendered almost impossible because of these phases of militarism. At the time when the events occurred which I have mentioned, no one (missionary or not) could intervene, as I was asked to do, without running the risk of being accounted a mischievous meddler. But the case is not so remediless now. We see means of abolishing "punitive expeditions"; and ground also for hope that timely intervention may not be only possible, but highly proper, on the part even of missionaries, without the liability of a snub or of an unworthy suspicion. Experiences such as mine, with subsequent reflection of more than a score of years, and the creation of a permanent international court, lead me to suggest that some clauses of the Hague Conventions be made applicable to "uncivilised" tribes (so-called) in their relations with "civilised" powers; and I plead this especially in respect of such clauses as shall (1) ensure that a missionary—who, while loyal to his Government, has the confidence of the natives—shall not be regarded as guilty of an act unfriendly to his own (or any other) Government should he offer his mediatorial services with a view to the cessation or the prevention of hostilities, and the equitable adjustment of differences. And (2) shall

guarantee to any native king or chief, in the predicament of my once church-member, the right of appeal, not simply to the Government which had dethroned or exiled him, but to an impartial, disinterested, and neutral tribunal which would "decree righteous judgment." Such a verdict would do much to restore the lost confidence of the native peoples that Christianity is indeed what the missionaries and the Holy Scriptures affirm. Then the Prince of Peace will come into His kingdom. "All kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him. Amen, and Amen."

Mr. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER: My friend Mr. Warburton Davidson quoted some words spoken, as he said, by the Senior Missionary in China. These were words spoken after he had left the Shanghai Conference last year, and he has taken them from a somewhat imperfect report. I was present, and therefore I think I ought to correct the impression he has received of what the venerable Doctor Martin, the well-known American missionary, really said. A resolution was proposed and seconded by Doctor Timothy Richard and Mr. Shellabear, formerly an officer in the army, who is a peace man, favourable to the observance of Peace Sunday in China. I was permitted to support that resolution. Doctor Martin, in a very few words, said that whilst he quite agreed with the observance of a Peace Sunday and supported the resolution, still he must say that some of them would not have been present at that Congress but for arms. Everyone understood what he referred to. He was one of those missionaries who were beleaguered in Pekin at the time of the Boxer troubles, and he meant that but for the deliverance of the allied forces he and some of the other missionaries there would not have been present that day. You will understand that is rather different from the impression Dr. Davidson has not unnaturally received from the imperfect report of some some very brief observations.

Mr. J. B. HODGKIN: I do not want to turn the attention of the Conference from foreign missions, but I should like to say a few words, because it seems to me it would be a calamity for this afternoon's Conference to end without coming back to the spirit of the words the Chairman addressed to us at the beginning. It seems to me those ought to form the keynote of our thought, and rest upon us as we leave this room and enter upon the deliberations of to-morrow. Unless we can make this matter a personal question we shall never make it a national question. When a boy I was asked in a drawing room by a lady very many years my senior whether I had correct views on the peace question. That was a

staggering question to put to me, and I could not answer it at the moment ; but the very suddenness of it made me think. I had to think it out, and I was not able to give a clear answer until I had come to the conclusion that it was far preferable for me to be killed by somebody else than to kill somebody else ; and as soon as I came to that conclusion I was able to give a clear answer to my friend. We must be prepared to do what is clearly our Lord's will and risk the consequences.

May I recall a small conference held in the North of England many years ago to meet our late honoured friend Henry Richard ; At that time he described to us how, after the 1851 Exhibition, there was a dream of universal peace, and societies were formed, and men banded themselves together with great enthusiasm in the hope of universal peace ; but then came that awful passion, which some of us remember, which led to the Crimean war, and these societies, to use Henry Richard's own words, "disbanded like a rope of sand," with the exception of those founded on loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ, on the personal conviction that it is right and safe to follow Him under all circumstances no matter where He may lead, and I take it the object of our having this Conference to-day preparatory to the other conferences is to state that this is our conviction. We do not believe that Our Lord will desert us. He protects those who put their trust in Him, but if we are not protected we are going to be true. We are not going to surrender our consciences through fear of reproach or anything else. We, by no formal resolution, but by the resolution of each individual heart, come back and re-echo the words of our Chairman this afternoon and say, "Let others do as they will ; we will at all costs be true to our Lord and Master."

Mrs. WEST (Chicago) bore the greetings of John Lloyd George to the delegates assembled at the Conference.

Mr. T. ASHBY WOOD: William Penn's name has been mentioned. His experiment in Pennsylvania is an absolute historical proof that God is able and He does protect the life of His followers who have faith enough to trust only in Him. I wish that the Christian Churches would take care that the history of Pennsylvania was in the hands of every school teacher and every Sunday school scholar and every national school scholar. Our histories ignore it. I remember looking into a Gazetteer about the lives of people. William Penn's name was mentioned, but Pennsylvania was not mentioned. Pennsylvania is a historical fact that every peace man should be acquainted with. Just briefly, Charles II., in con-

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sequence of Admiral Penn's victories, gave away or offered to give William Penn what did not belong to him—a way kings have of doing, or used to have. William Penn would not accept it. If he had he could not have relied upon God for His protection, but he paid for the land he took; he trusted in God. Although Penn was surrounded, and was told by Charles II., "In a fortnight you will all be in an Indian war kettle," he was not. He went out and made a fair treaty, and was surrounded by men who were supposed to be always using the tomahawk and scalping knife. He treated them justly. The tomahawk and scalping knife were buried; and for seventy years without a soldier Pennsylvania was absolutely safe. We sing in our churches "God's defence is sure," but we do not believe it; but I want you to believe it, and I want this fact to convince you that if a man or a nation under the most adverse circumstances would put their trust in God, God would never fail them. He never failed Penn, and will never fail you.

After brief observations by Mr. J. J. BAXTER and Mr. WALTER BARRETT, the Conference concluded with prayer.

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## RECEPTION AT EARL'S COURT EXHIBITION.

On Monday afternoon Sir Thomas and Lady Barclay held a reception of delegates and friends at the Welcome Club in Earl's Court Exhibition. There was a large and influential attendance, numbering some five hundred persons. Mr. H. Nuttall, M.P., and Mrs. Nuttall, Sir John and Lady Macdonnell, Mr. Emmott, M.P., and Mrs. Emmott, Sir Percy and Lady Bunting and Baroness Barnakoff, the Spanish Ambassador, Lady Arnold, Mr Alf. Stead (Roumanian Consul General), Mr. and Mrs. Fisher Unwin, the Vice-Consul for Spain, Mr. Gulland, M.P., Sir Chas. Otley, Sir Thos. and Lady Hewitt, Mr. and Mrs. Bram Stoker, Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Prof. and Mrs. Oppenheim, Judge and Mrs. Rentoul, Sir Nathaniel Nathan, Sir F. and Lady Pollock, Prof. and Mrs. Armstrong, the Chinese Minister, the Norwegian Chargé d'Affaires, Sir Albert Rollitt, Sir Roper and Lady Parkington, Sir Swire Smith, Mr. John Cutler, K.C., Sir John and Lady Brunner, Sir Wm. and Lady Collins, Dr. Clifford, Sir John and Lady Jardine, Sir Chas. and Lady Boxall, Sir Thos. and Lady Brook-Hitching, Mr. Lavery and many others. During the afternoon the bands of the Royal Marine Artillery played several selections of music.

# OFFICIAL CONGRESS RECEPTION

AT THE

HOTEL METROPOLE,

*Monday evening, July 27th.*

The Official Reception of Delegates to the Peace Congress was held in the Whitehall Rooms of the Hôtel Métropole, which were filled with a picturesquely-attired crowd, representing many nationalities. A number of Egyptian Deputies, in native costume, attracted much attention. The guests were received between 8 and 9 p.m. by the Right Hon. Lord Courtney of Penwith (President of the Congress) and Lady Courtney, at the entrance to the Whitehall Rooms. Refreshments were served in adjoining rooms, and during the evening an excellent programme of music was rendered, under the direction of Mrs. Mary Layton, F.R.C.O., by Miss Margaret Layton, the Ladies' Choir, and the Holland String Quartette.

Shortly after nine o'clock the President of the Congress, Lord Courtney of Penwith, delivered the following address of welcome to the assembled delegates and visitors:—

LORD COURTNEY said: I did not start this morning in a state of health the most perfect, and there have been calls on my strength since which have certainly not increased my personal energy. So you must excuse me if nature requires me to ask your indulgence in confining myself to a very short address. Happily there are many members of the Congress present who will be able to supply any deficiency on my part, and who will give you words of exhortation, of sustainment, of encouragement, such as I think, indeed, few of you want, but such as will still, I am sure, be grateful to all. For myself, I desire to welcome you here in the metropolis of this land, which I claim the proud privilege to be a citizen of, and to say, on behalf of my fellow countrymen who are uniting in this work, how delighted we are to see so many from

across the seas come to promote the great end of developing peace and good will among mankind. (Applause.) Centuries, I might almost say thousands of years, have passed since those great words were first heard, and yet how far short are we of the fulfilment of the promise! Yet I am assured, and I believe you will be assured, that the end is coming. (Hear, hear.) Though we may not see the fulfilment of our desires, the light grows apace; the truth is passed from mind to mind, from nation to nation, and the consummation will in the end be reached. (Applause.) It is many years since you came to England last. We had then among us a great man who did good work in promoting Peace relations between nations. He passed away full of age and of honour, venerated by all who were acquainted with his life. I am speaking of Mr. Gladstone. (Applause.) And now that you have come, in this very year we have lost another man, the head of our Government, who inaugurated his position as Prime Minister by declaring, at a meeting held in our largest hall, that one of the great objects of his Ministry was to make England a leader in a League of Peace. (Applause.) He has passed away. But there are yet others surviving, and others will come forward who will take up the torch and carry it forward. They are encouraged by the fact that one prominent member of the Government will come to our great meeting to-morrow—(applause)—and before the Congress closes the Government will entertain, as far as possible, the delegates to the assembly, and we shall then have the privilege of hearing a welcome from the Prime Minister. (Applause.) I believe in other lands you have been greeted by representatives of Government with words of welcome, and they are not unimportant. They are most important. You have probably heard the fulfilment of what had been announced this morning. A chosen delegation of the Congress was received by the King and Queen, who accepted an address we offered to them; and the King responded in most gracious and pleasing words, such as I hope will be made public to all the world to-morrow. (Loud applause.) I think I speak the thought of everyone who was present on that occasion when I say that the address of his Majesty vibrated with feeling and real sympathy for our movement, and that he showed himself ready to go forward in the future, as he has in the past, earning the proud title of Peacemaker among the Nations. (Applause.) Now, with all this honour, with this reception from our Monarch and his House—a reception which, I am sure, will not be without effect in the attitude of other crowned personages towards your gatherings—with this encouragement, I think we may

begin to prosecute our work in great hope. There will be many who scoff. There will be many who tell us we are dreamers of fine dreams ; that the world is governed by force, has been so governed and ever will be. It is they who are misled. (Hear, hear.) The force they speak of is physical force, which comes and passes away ; those who gain the earth by it gaining but a transitory honour. That force which really governs the world, which controls it from generation to generation, from age to age, is the force of morality. (Cheers.) It is moral force on which we build ; it is through moral force we shall win the victory. (Applause.) I have spoken more than I dared think I could do when I began, but you will have perceived my voice is failing me. And so I must conclude by repeating the words of welcome to you, and by calling upon our Secretary to read certain letters of encouragement which he has received, and which, I am sure, will give you great pleasure. (Loud applause.)

The SECRETARY (Mr. H. S. Perris) read the following messages of greeting :—

THE BISHOP OF LONDON : I am glad to hear that the Peace Congress is to meet in London this year, and I send a line to wish it God-speed and all success. I shall pray that the object for which the congress is to be held may be attained.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON : The Lord Mayor of the City of London sends his cordial greetings to the delegates assembled in London for the Seventeenth International Congress of Peace, and wishes success to all efforts which have in view the promotion of the world's peace. As the head of a great commercial community, he recognises that commerce prospers most when conditions exist of fraternal intercourse between the nations.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS BURT, M.P. : I send my warmest greetings to the delegates, and heartily wish every success to the movement. You know how entirely I am in sympathy with you. I regret that I shall not be able to be present at the meetings. On Saturday I must go to Northumberland, and I do not expect to be in London again until the Autumn Session.

PROFESSOR A. SIDGWICK (Oxford) : The Congress is engaged in promoting one of the best of all causes. Its task is to devise, suggest, and consider all possible practical means to avert or restrict war, which is always the cruellest and costliest, and usually the stupidest and most inequitable method of settling international disputes or grievances. I cannot see how any man or woman of good

feeling could fail to wish success to any or every effort directed to earnest and judicious endeavour toward such an end.

MR. J. WESTLAKE, late Professor of International Law in the University of Cambridge, President of the Balkan Committee :

As I shall have to leave London for the summer before the Seventeenth Universal Peace Congress begins its deliberations, I shall be unable to take part in them, for which indeed my increasing deafness unfits me. But I gladly respond to your request that I should send a few lines of greeting.

I trust that the gathering of so many persons, all zealous for peace, will promote mutual goodwill, and the mutual understanding of their different characters and points of view, between men living under different flags, or belonging, under the same flag or another, to different races, languages, or religions. It is to this that we must look for securing peace on earth, without flinching in the fight against oppression and injustice. I believe that those ends may be combined with exceptions not proportionately larger than when the offenders are individuals, if good men will make it their serious study and effort in all concrete cases. Some progress may also be made by laying down improved general rules for international affairs and by establishing or strengthening international institutions, in both which directions the Hague Conference of 1907 advanced in a marked degree beyond that of 1899. Wishing all success to the deliberations of the present Congress.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD FRY (first British delegate at the Second Hague Conference):—

Will you be so good as to assure the Peace Congress that I most heartily wish them God-speed in their work, and hope that their deliberations may advance the great cause of peace and good will on earth.

MONSIEUR PAUL CAMBON, French Ambassador in London:—

You kindly informed me that the Seventeenth International Peace Congress is to be held in London during next week. I am very sorry that I am leaving England for a few days, and shall not be present when the delegates meet here. Since the first of the Peace Congresses took place in Paris in 1889, the various meetings held in different parts of the world have done useful work towards promoting the cause of International Peace. I wish the greatest success to the Seventeenth Peace Congress, and trust that it will achieve very important results, and help greatly to obtain general recognition of the excellent principles put forward by its promoters.

MONSIGNOR GROSCH said: I have the honour to represent his Grace the Archbishop of Westminster, who bids me tell you that were it not he is engaged this week at a very important function in the North of England he would be here to express his very deep interest in the matters which are going to form the subjects of your deliberations; to give you a most hearty welcome to London in so far as he officially represents a large number of interested people in London; and to express to you also his thorough sympathy with your desire to bring about that which Lord Courtney says we may hope to see in the future—universal peace. (Applause.) The Church of which his Grace is a very eminent member, and of which I am an equally non-eminent member—(laughter)—is one which has certainly, if it has any one desire higher than another, desired that universal peace and justice should reign among the nations. There can be no advance of religion and no advance in the welfare of mankind until mankind is convinced that peace must form the groundwork of justice. Not to strike too religious a note, there is nothing in the Holy Gospel which tells us we are to appeal to arms when there is a question of difference between us. I conclude by joining my own humble word to that of thousands of Roman Catholic priests in England, and the Bench of Roman Catholic Bishops, in wishing you all God's blessing in your deliberations, and the fruitful issue of all the labour which you are undertaking. With all our hearts we bid you happy welcome. We prayed God last night, by order of the Archbishop, that upon your deliberations He would give a most blessed issue to all your work. (Applause.)

### **Delegates' Responses to the Address of Welcome.**

The following brief addresses were then delivered, in reply to the President's address of welcome:—

SIGNOR MONETA replied, and in the course of his speech urged that peace without freedom was an impossibility. Great Britain had done much in the cause of peace by helping towards the freedom of the Italian nation. (Cheers.)

PROFESSOR ZIPERNOWSKY: I consider it a great honour and special favour to be permitted, on behalf of the Hungarian Peace Society, to return thanks for this splendid reception. It is our heartfelt wish that success may attend all the works of this Congress, and that the great idea of universal peace shall ultimately attain the complete victory. (Applause.)

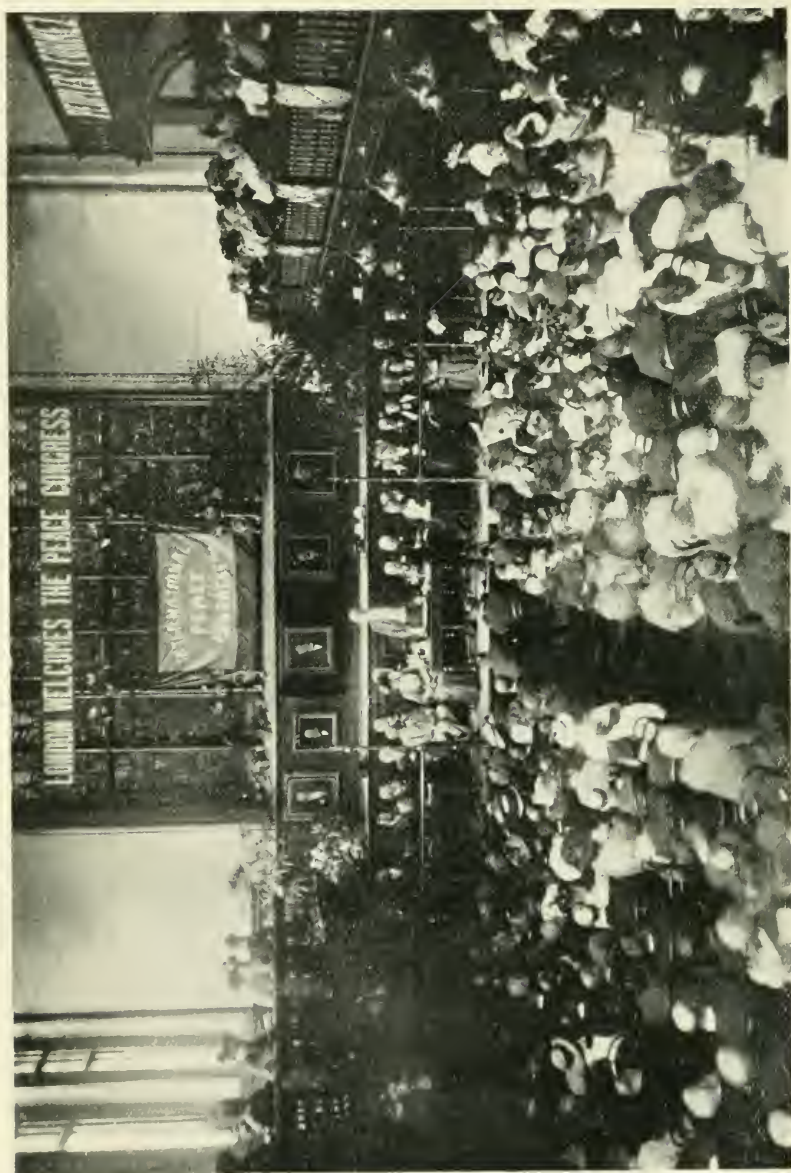
M. JACQUES DUMAS: A little while ago I heard the story of a King who was showing to an Ambassador the wonders of his Palace. And the King asked: "What surprises you most?" and the Ambassador replied, "Your Majesty, my greatest surprise is that I am here." (Laughter.) Such is my own surprise at being now on this platform. It may be because I am one of the only two French survivors of the International Congress held in London eighteen years ago. I and my friend M. Arnaud pay tribute to the memory of many who have since that Congress passed away. Chief among them I recall the name of Mr. Hodgson Pratt, being convinced that no one worked more earnestly in our cause both in England and throughout Europe. (Hear, hear.) This evening among our gathering there are many valiant Englishmen who have fought and are fighting the good fight of Peace—the only fight we admit to be worthy. Some of my friends have expressed great anxiety on account of the great place given in Peace deliberations to discussion of the laws of war. That, I hear it spoken, is only a policy of wolves. But we do not want the policy of wolves. We want the policy of foxes—we want the policy of George Fox. (Laughter and applause.) We want the policy of that other Fox who, in the French Revolution, was, I think, one of the initiators of the *entente cordiale*, though not often claimed to have been so. I am sure at the Congress now commencing we shall strive ardently to follow the lead and example of those excellent men who gathered here eighteen years ago. (Applause.)

PROFESSOR QUIDDE (President of the Munich Congress): I desire to convey to you the feeling of my countrymen—feelings of friendship for our English comrades and toward our friends gathered here from all the nations. This Congress has commenced under splendid auspices, and I trust it will be wholly successful. You may remember, perhaps, how at Lucerne some years ago we had to deal with an agitation which it appeared would gravely affect the cause of universal peace. Our English friends invited us to five o'clock tea. (Laughter.) That little party marked the beginning of a greater friendship between English and Germans. (Applause.) A dangerous situation between the two nations was overcome. I cannot, of course, say that we on our side admire everything that is English, or expect that you, in your turn, admire everything German. But I can sincerely say that in Germany our people are deeply interested in English institutions, for which they have the utmost respect. In the great desire for peace between the two nations the great mass of the German nation is with us, and we

believe that the great mass of the English is behind the Peace movement. (Cheers.) Some weeks ago I had the honour to be one of the delegates from South Germany who visited London, and I think a significant fact of that visit was the attention given to your system of local government and of education. In these things is to be found the field for worthy competition between us. (Applause.) I have faith that our great purpose will be achieved, and that the cause of humanity and of justice will more and more appeal to the sound common sense of all nations. (Applause.)

PROFESSOR STEIN, representing the Berne Bureau, and M. EMILE ARNAUD also briefly acknowledged the President's welcome.





Opening Session of Congress, Caxton Hall, Westminster.  
The President addressing the delegates. July 27th, 1908.

# INAUGURAL MEETING OF CONGRESS, CAXTON HALL,

*Tuesday morning, July 28th.*

*Chairman :* LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH.

Mr. T. P. NEWMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen, we are met this time, as so often before, to promote international friendship—friendship that is stronger than armaments, more binding than treaties, more powerful than guns, and a better defence than iron-clads. (Applause.) There are events in history which have shown armaments to be the undoing of those who used them. In the case of the recent South African war the arming of the Boer Republic was held by those in power in this country to be a reason for the massing of troops and a provocation to war. During that lamentable war, amongst those who had to suffer for faithfulness to his peace conviction was the Right Hon. Lord Courtney of Penwith, who is to preside over this Congress now. We honour him. To-day the country has repented, and to-day we honour him for the firm stand he took in the upholding of his peace convictions by asking him to be the President of our International Congress. I am asked by the Executive of the Congress Committee to declare the Congress open, and to ask Lord Courtney of Penwith to take the chair and preside over it.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

LORD COURTNEY of PENWITH said: Ladies and gentlemen, we have a very rigid time table, and necessarily so, because there are many persons who would fain take part in this Congress, and only some of them can be included. If we who have to take a share take too much we shall exclude those whom the Congress would greatly desire to hear. It will be my duty to enforce this rigid time table, and it is therefore my duty most strictly to respect it. With this aim I propose to go at once to the single thought

which I desire to submit to you in connection with this Congress, and it is the connection between justice and peace. (Applause.) Without justice we can have no guarantee of permanent peace. (Applause.) With justice the peace of the world is unassailable. There are words in an old poem very familiar to many generations of Englishmen, and in some sort familiar no doubt to our foreign friends, which often occur to my mind in relation to this thought. The words as we use them run thus: "Mercy and truth have met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other." (Applause.) Righteousness and peace; or as we say now, justice and peace. Without righteousness, no peace; with righteousness, perpetual peace. Think of it. When injustice is once enthroned and in possession there must be a perpetual desire to overthrow the injustice, and to establish right in its place. And when injustice possesses the minds of nations or rulers there is a perpetual instinct to be unjust, and to establish that order against which we have to rebel.

I know there are some among us who believe that the only sure way of getting rid of injustice is not to rise against it, but to observe the passive resistance of those who do not acknowledge but will not strike against the system. That is a noble creed. I would envy those who can possess it in the full, and in respect of which I never would say one word to lessen the faith of those who hold it. It is a creed sanctioned by the highest, the deepest authorities to whom we appeal, and if I do not put it before you to-day as a solution of the great evil which we are fighting, I still will utter no word which shall suggest any disparagement of its force.

But now, respecting this injustice, look back upon the wars of the past. Most of them, we know now to be admitted by all men, could have been prevented—(hear, hear)—but there are some of which our friends still say, and say with much plausibility, they were inevitable. They were wars to get rid of injustice; wars to upset cruel, hard dominations; wars to establish the liberties of races and communities. If there had been no injustice then the most defensible of all wars would have been unnecessary; and though we may appeal to them and think of them with feelings of admiration and respect for those who suffered loss of life, extinction of all happiness, forfeiture of all they lived for in bringing about the independence, the liberty for which they protested, yet if we could get rid of injustice to-day, if we could secure the rule of justice throughout the world, this admiration itself which is so attractive, which carries away—and I cannot say wrongly carries away—so

many young minds, would cease to have its danger. We could then look upon the tales of the past as tales of heroism applicable to circumstances in which we are not concerned; and we could appeal for the employment of the same energies and the same devotion to the new labours, which have not to do with the removal of oppression, but labours which have all things to do with the development of peace, of happiness, and of well-being among the communities of the world. If we could get rid of injustice! How shall we labour to bring about that great result? How shall we get the rulers of nations to cease to aspire to obtain power over others; how shall we get the members of nations to be just to one another, so that they shall not even tolerate the thought of wrongdoing? How shall we get amongst the nations what we have succeeded in obtaining within nations—a reference to law instead of to force—an appeal to the privileges and powers of society for enforcing justice instead of a resort on one's own account to the force which one may command to compel justice? How, I say, can we hope to bring about this great result?

The first thing to which I would direct your attention is to use all your powers, all your opportunities to develop the strength, the scope, the purity of international law. (Applause.) Do as much as you can as individuals, influence your rulers as much as you can as citizens of free communities, to develop, strengthen, and purify international law—international law which rises above the separate nations just as the municipal law of a community rises above its separate citizens. Time was when there was no such thing as international law, and that time has not passed away in respect to some of the organised communities of the world. When Attila brought his hordes into Europe and over-ran Central Asia, no thought of international law barred their steps. They did what they liked, they took what they could get, they killed those who stood in their way. They were the incarnation of brute force and brute lust. That has practically passed away for the civilised world, and we now find all nations respecting in some form or other those conventions to which we give the name of international law. These things arose first of all in the closet. Philosophers, men of piety, thinkers, developed the rules which should govern the conduct of nations to one another, and they passed from the study to the practice of diplomacy in a more or less imperfect form. Then a great step was taken when from single studies in separate countries of international law, institutions and associations were founded of an international character, which met together—which

meet together now—from year to year in the capitals of Europe to discuss, to develop, to define, to extend the scope of international regulation. From these voluntary associations there have arisen those conferences at The Hague, which show that the rulers of nations have learned to carry out and desire to propagate the same methods of reforming the relations of countries, and desire to bring into order, to bring into definition, to amplify the force and jurisdiction, of international law. Some of us have wished for more work from the Hague Conference. Some of us thought the last one, held last year, did not accomplish as much as it might. Don't be afraid to indulge in that thought. It is always desirable to seek forward further than we can attain, for unless we thus seek forward we shall attain very little. (Applause.)

But it would not be just to say of the Hague Conference of last year that it did nothing. It did much. It observed, somewhat to its own discomfort in the management of business, but it observed as a cardinal principle that great doctrine which has been slowly evolved among the nations of the equality of every nation upon earth. (Applause.) Big country, little country, great nation, small nation, in the Conference of Nations they were like the men and women in a civilised community. Each has his full rights, each must claim the respectful attention of the other. (Applause.) It was a cause of embarrassment in the conduct of proceedings, and I have no doubt in the course of time some rules, some regulations will be voluntarily accepted which may remove some of these cases of embarrassment; but this is a great thing, a noble thought, that you should get all the nations of the world assembled by their delegates together discussing on equal terms the development of their rights, the security of their possessions, the defence of their just claims.

And then they did more. They consented at this last Hague Conference, in principle, to a court which should overrule the courts of separate nations, which should be a tribunal of appeal to which the separate nations must have recourse—no longer a court simply open to those who might wish it, but a prize-court, which it was agreed upon by the representatives at the Conference should be a court of appeal to which the decisions of the private prize courts of the separate nations should be subjected; which should, in respect of prizes, enforce the doctrine of a law above the conventions of any State, above the authority, above the power of any separate dominion. (Applause.) That was a great acquisition. Well, can we do anything more than this to develop the notions of

justice between nations? Yes, we can. After all the machinery of justice involves this fundamental notion, that when two persons are in disagreement there is a tribunal to which they can appeal. In a perfect form that tribunal is always in action, and each of the litigants can compel the other to come before it. Then you have established a law which does away with private violence, and if you get that among the nations you would have a law that did away with national violence. We cannot expect, all at once, to gain the establishment of this tribunal to which each party can compel the other to come, and in respect of which each party can compel the other to be bound ; but we can begin—such is the rudimentary way in which human institutions are established—we can begin by getting Powers to consent singly that if any difference arises between them that difference shall be referred to a tribunal they name, or to a tribunal which is existing. That is to say, we can promote treaties of arbitration, which treaties are in themselves an acknowledgment, a deference to right as against an assertion of private will—(applause)—and an admission beforehand that if any difference arises between the two contracting parties that difference should be referred to an impartial and independent tribunal.

Well, we have done much in respect of this line of action in recent years. Nation has combined with nation, combinations have been multiplied, they have extended throughout Europe, they have gone to the United States, and we have got agreements sometimes for the complete reference, sometimes only for a partial reference, of causes that may arise in dispute between the contracting parties. We have done a great deal to get the principle admitted so far as it has been admitted, and we see further action possible in this direction to which I want you to give your attention and assistance. And in this respect let me call to your minds the name of a friend of ours who, in recent years, has perhaps done more than anybody else, and who deserves to rank with any other in promoting these treaties of arbitration. My friend Sir Thomas Barclay—(applause)—has gone from city to city, from nation to nation, and has succeeded in getting many of these treaties established.

Underlying all notions of international law, underlying all the ideas which are developed in these private treaties, the great security of peace is to be found in the recognition by the members of different communities of their kinship with the members of other communities, of the notion of a common manhood if not of a common citizenship. Here we have the supreme guarantee of per-

petual peace. (Applause.) Try to get it—and this is the glory, this is the defence, this is the justification of all your actions by bringing together representatives of the different States of Europe and America—try to get the peoples to understand one another. (Applause.) It is too often said, and with too much truth, “You go your way dreaming and talking of dreams, but there lies at the bottom of humanity a great power of popular passion which, when roused, scatters all your fabrics of vision just as a bubble is broken in the air.” There is too much truth in this.

Popular passion, dominated, controlled, limited by popular ignorance—against these things we have to fight; against these things I implore you to use all your powers. Get peoples to understand one another, get them to understand how they can be friends, get them to understand how they may offend each other. This is, perhaps, one of the most difficult lessons to learn in private and in public life. We offend our friends or our acquaintances or those we meet without knowing it, without desiring it. Something in our manner, something in the limitation of our thoughts, something in the crudity of our expressions gives them offence. We are not conscious of it. We willingly would be friends, but the thing remains. Try by all means to understand other people and other nations in this regard—(applause)—and struggle to correct all that in you savours of arrogance, savours of pretence, savours even of disregard for the feelings of your neighbours. Shall I for a moment drop from this height and suggest one simple application of this great principle? When a foreigner is speaking to you in his own language, and you don't quite understand it, try to be silent and sympathetic.

But now I cannot pass from this thought without reference to another man whom we all respect, who has just passed away, to the great loss of the cause of peace. Try, I say, to understand one another, to get men to meet together and by talk and intercommunion to attain a feeling which rests upon mutual respect and mutual understanding. What a happy thought it was of Sir William Cremer—(applause)—when he brought together those inter-Parliamentary Conferences which made the Deputies of Paris conversant with the members of the House of Commons of London, which brought both into contact with the House of Representatives at Washington, which led them from capital to capital and brought about, as much as Sir Thomas Barclay's efforts, those treaties of arbitration to which I have referred. Sir William Randal Cremer did a great work. He deserved, if any man did, the award of the



Lord and Lady Courtney of Penwith.



Nobel prize ; and he showed the elevation of his spirit, the magnitude of his character, when, a poor man, with very limited resources, he applied the whole proceeds of that prize to the cause of peace.

I began by saying we have a rigid time table, and my time is up. Still, I am going to trespass for one moment longer, just to give you a simple illustration of that to which we may hereafter attain. Not at once—we have need of patience, patience and faith. Patience without faith would be acquiescence in evil for ever. Faith without patience would produce revolt, disappointment, reaction. We have need of faith and of patience, but the thing will come. Turn your attention for a moment to that great Federation of the West where there are things perhaps going on that might be questioned, but where we have an illustration of the great victory of arbitration. If the State of New York has a difficulty with the State of Massachusetts, do they go to war with one another? No, they institute a suit which is brought before the Supreme Court ; and the Supreme Court of the United States settles their causes of difference. Here is a thing which we may hope that Europe may some day apply to its own use—a dream that the States of Europe should be able to appeal to a supreme court of their creation, and to that court carry their enmities and their causes of disagreement, and through that court find a refuge and escape from all those struggles which short-sighted people declare to be inevitable, but which we believe will cease to occur in the future, because they will be dissolved in a vision of peace, of law, and of justice. (Loud applause.)

M. HENRI LA FONTAINE (Senator of Belgium) replied on behalf of the foreign delegates. He said that, as President of the Berne Bureau, he had the perilous honour of speaking immediately after Lord Courtney, and of replacing on that occasion the well-known eloquence of Frédéric Passy. The previous day it was said that they had entered upon a new era. They had before them (around the galleries of the hall) the dates. They had the first series of International Peace Congresses beginning in 1843, and then came a long lapse when great wars prevailed, and nothing was done. Then the first of the revived International Congresses was held in Paris in 1889, under the presidency of Frédéric Passy. It was held in a small local town hall where nobody observed or knew anything about the affair, and the meeting was ignored by the general public. Other Congresses followed, and then a few mayors and members of municipalities began to participate in the Congresses. At last a Minister of Foreign Affairs sent his secre-

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tary to see what was going on. After that another Minister of Foreign Affairs himself turned up. Then a Premier came forward and said something encouraging; and then this year they had been welcomed by the King himself—(applause)—who had proclaimed his approval of their work. This gradual change of the way in which they had been received was a symbol of the progress that they had accomplished. But if they had received homage even from the throne, they must remember that that increased their responsibilities, and they must show themselves worthy of the credit that they had acquired. The era was new, because not only were they respected, and not only had people begun to believe in them, but there had been official International Congresses to which the Chairman had made allusion. It was true their progress had not been very rapid; but diplomats were by nature prudent, and they could not alter nature very rapidly. Still, if they compared 1899 with last year, they would recognise that considerable progress had been made. To begin with, all nations were represented at the Hague, from Panama to the big Powers, and that was the first time that such a general gathering had been held not to discuss some precise point which was troubling Europe—as for instance the Algeiras Conference—but the abstract principle as to how war was to be prevented, and law established in its stead. It was very remarkable that 400 people, coming from all nations of the world, having all manner of different characteristics and idiosyncracies, should meet together for four months without serious misunderstanding or dispute occurring between them. From Japan to South America all the delegates showed that, after all, they were at one in the chief points at issue. They decided important things. They decided to make themselves permanent. They decided that it would not be necessary in future for some Chief of State to take the initiative of convening the next Conference. They decided to establish a permanent committee, and the speeches in coming to that decision were very much more remarkable than the actual text of the resolution adopted. It was quite clear that the Conference was in favour of a Court of Appeal in case of war, and also a permanent Supreme Court. And that they accepted the principle that all the Powers were to be represented, and that it was necessary in the evolution of modern thought that this tribunal should be a permanent institution. It was only in respect of the choice of judges that they could not come to an agreement; but it was quite certain that, with more time to study this extremely difficult and delicate question, such

an agreement would be forthcoming at the next gathering, or perhaps before the next gathering of the Hague Conference. M. La Fontaine went on to say that they all had individually important duties to perform in the promotion of peace. They ought to introduce the thought of peace into their every day work. Whatever the profession, the craft, the business, the occupation to which they were individually attached, they ought to look upon that business from its international aspect. They ought to get into communication with people who had the same business in other nations, and get to know each other in their respective businesses and trades internationally. Thus they would help to do away with the intolerance and ignorance which was so often the cause of war. In reference to that he could not do better than recall the name which had been mentioned already in that assembly, and to whom all the foreign delegates would unanimously wish to render profound homage—the late Sir Randal Cremer. He wished to recall to their memory the fact that though of late years Sir Randal Cremer had been known for his successful activity in bringing about the international meeting of members of all the Parliaments of the world, in the earlier years of his life, when he was a simple workman, working at his trade as a carpenter, he got into connection with the carpenters of other countries and sought to bring them together. As secretary of the International Workmen's Association, he laid the foundations of a movement which has made great progress. To-day no less than thirty different special trades were organised internationally, as for instance the International Federation of Miners, and there was an international federation of all internationally organised trades of the working classes. That work ought to be continued, and it should not be confined to the working classes, but should be spread over all classes to which the members of the Congress belonged. (Applause.)

### **Further Messages of Greeting.**

The following further messages of greeting were communicated to the Congress :—

PROFESSOR ALFRED R. WALLACE, F.R.S. :—

Now, for the first time in the history of human progress, the humanity and reason of the best minds of all the civilised peoples have some influence over the actions of their respective Governments. But, surely, this influence, concentrated in your organisation, should now begin to make itself felt in more active opposition to

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the stupendous folly and waste—the inexpressible cruelty and wickedness of war. . . .

On every occasion of exercising the franchise, whether in Parliamentary or municipal elections, let us all vote for no one who will not oppose in every possible way any further increase of armaments on any pretence whatever, as the essential preliminary to a reduction of the present mad and wicked expenditure.

Especially should this effective opposition be made to the iniquitous, the fiendish extension of the field of warfare to the regions of the atmosphere, now openly contemplated by the military organisations of all the great Powers. If, after seventeen years of propaganda, you do not take some such step as this, I do not see how you can justify your continued existence. There is nothing Governments dread so much as the adverse votes of determined men.

MR. WALTER CRANE :—

Every humane and sensible person must desire to see the reasonable method of settling international disputes by arbitration in place of the clumsy and destructive methods of warfare, which generally entail untold misery and suffering upon innocent people. . . .

It is true that the increased complexity of international commercial relations and increasing international inter-dependence in the matter of the supplies of the necessities of life act in some measure as securities of peace—the growing realisation of the common interests of “labour” in all countries still more so ; but the modern governmental conception of peace enthroned upon a machine gun, surrounded with ironclads and armed to the teeth—bearing bayonets instead of winged feathers—is not a design calculated to evoke enthusiasm.

As an ideal work of art, or statecraft, it is both anomalous and ridiculous, and I hope the Peace Congress may not only prove this, but also substitute a better and more humane and practical, and also a more truthful and beautiful, symbol.

THE LORD PROVOST OF GLASGOW (Sir William Bilsland, Bart., LL.D.) :—

Thanks to the inspiring influence of our gracious King and the cordial manner in which his efforts have been reciprocated, the Congress will begin its work under auspices a great deal more favourable for peace than at any previous period in the history of the world. It will add greatly to the value of the Congress that it is so thoroughly representative and widely international.

RIGHT HON. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, M.P., late Prime Minister:—

Peace is the great interest of the civilised world, and everything which promotes it—whether it be by the education of public opinion (which, I take it, is one of the main objects of the Conference), or by the conclusion of Arbitration Treaties, or by the efficient maintenance of defensive armaments—should have the sympathy and support of all who have the welfare of humanity at heart.

THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH CONFERENCE

Sends greetings to International Peace Conference, and earnestly prays that its deliberations may promote the cause of peace and goodwill between all the nations of the world.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT, President.

FOREIGN OFFICE OF THE SALVATION ARMY:—

Heartiest wishes that you may have a successful time at your Congress. God bless you!

ALLIANCE UNIVERSELLE DES FEMMES POUR LA PAIX PAR L'EDUCATION, PROVINCE D'ANVERS:—

Le groupe d'Anvers de l'Alliance Universelle des Femmes pour la Paix par l'Education, qui compte en ce moment mille membres, s'inspirant de son but qui consiste à inculquer des l'enfance à tous, des idées humanitaires et correctrices de la guerre cruelle, se permet de vous représenter combien de résultats utiles et productifs pourrait procurer l'adoption d'un projet d'enseignement international.

LUCIEN LEFOYER, General Secretary Union French Peace Societies:—

I cheer peacemakers of all countries and England, and greet, with labour, Peace and Liberty.

Messages of hearty sympathy were also received from, amongst others:—

The Countess of Aberdeen.

Frau Professor Quidde, Munich.

Mathilde and Fredrik Bajer, Copenhagen.

The Herr Oberbürgermeister of Munich.

The Nobel Committee of Norway.

The Portuguese League.

Forest Gate Unitarian Church.

"The Christian World in Germany" (Marburg).

Peace Workers in Petersburg, Santiago, Königsberg, Turin, Tiflis, Surat, Leamington, and elsewhere.

## RECEPTION AT THE LYCEUM CLUB.

A reception at the Lyceum Club, Piccadilly, on Tuesday afternoon, was attended by many of the Delegates to the Congress. Among those present were Sir T. Barclay, Baroness Bertha von Suttner, and Lady Goodenough (President of the International Board). The large dining and drawing rooms were thronged. Madame Thayer, Mrs. Jean Paul Richter, Mrs. Furmage, Mrs. Rentoul Esler, Miss Moylan, Miss Smedley, and others acted as hostesses.

Mrs. Rentoul Esler welcomed the guests in the name of the lady members of the Club. Miss Smedley and the Baroness Von Suttner also spoke, the former urging that nothing could conduce more effectively to universal peace than the bringing together of the women of every country for comradeship and mutual help through such channels as the Lyceum Club afforded.

A programme of music was subsequently performed. Through the good offices of Mrs. Furmage, Masters Williams and Brattenbury, students of Bates' College for Choristers, sang solos and duets, accompanied by Dr. Hugh Blair.

Miss Wyon, of the Carl Rosa Opera Company; Miss Helen Mott, 'cellist; and Mrs. Corbould, accompanist, also contributed to the entertainment of the guests.

Much pleasure was expressed by the visitors at the gracious hospitality afforded by this well-known and important Ladies' Club.

# GREAT PUBLIC MEETING

AT

QUEEN'S HALL,

*Tuesday evening, July 28th.*

*Chairman:* LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH.

SPEECH BY RIGHT HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.

*Why not an Anglo-German understanding?*

The public meeting of the Universal Congress of Peace this evening took the form of a great demonstration in the Queen's Hall. The hall was crowded, and there was not a seat vacant long before the proceedings were timed to begin. Queen's Hall was the scene of hostile demonstrations against the advocates of peace during the agitation against the Boer War. To get possession of it now when their cause was honoured was a peculiar satisfaction. They could, and did, look back with a sense of vindication of their principles, realising that to-day the great majority of English people are beginning to see the mistake of that war. Around the hall were hung in large letters the familiar beatitude, "Blessed are the Peacemakers," the words "If You Wish for Peace Prepare for Peace," "Law is Better than War," and "War means Waste." There was a chorus of singers who rendered a programme of music, under the direction of Mrs. Mary Layton; hymns printed on the programme were passed around to the audience. These musical features gave opportunity for the expression of emotion, and lent to the meeting an air of enthusiasm. Lord Courtney of Penwith presided. Distinguished leaders of the cause sat with him on the platform.

It is regrettable that such a speech as Mr. Lloyd George's should have been frequently interrupted by Suffragettes. They were

stationed round the hall by prearrangement to carry out with persistent spirit the aggressive principles of their new campaign, which pledges them to interrupt every member of the Cabinet, whenever he speaks in public, by demanding suffrage for women. The objection was not against giving women votes, but that an international meeting, having nothing to do with English home affairs, should be interfered with, and especially when a high English official was speaking kindly and hopefully of the relations between England and Germany. Some twenty women were ejected from the hall before order was restored, and Mr. Lloyd George, who was most forbearing, could finish what he had to say.

The proceedings of the meeting opened with the singing of Oliver Wendell Holmes's song, "Angel of Peace," to the stirring tune of Keller's American hymn.

### LORD COURTNEY'S ADDRESS.

The CHAIRMAN said: "How beautiful are the feet upon the mountains of those who bring tidings of peace." Whilst I have been listening to the song, even now re-echoing in our ears, that sentence came into my mind, and along with it a thought that side by side with the messengers of peace we have to listen to the mocking messengers of war. There are persons who tell us we are indulging in vain dreams, that our illusions will vanish, and that war will once again stalk upon the earth. It is for this, they tell us, we have to prepare—the one inevitable war—and this they tell us on the authority of "men who know." In the few words with which I must occupy your attention before I give way to other and more worthy speakers, I want to claim your consideration of what has been the testimony of the history of the century just passed on this question of the inevitable character of war.

### On "Inevitable" Wars.

We, as a nation, have engaged in one European war since the termination of the great struggle of 1815. Was that "inevitable?" (Cries of "No.") So calm, so measured, so dispassionate a judge as the late Lord Salisbury once said—the words which he said were fitted to the audience he addressed because they would understand them well—"My lords, you put your money on the wrong horse." (Laughter.)

That great war, the Crimean War, the one European war in which we have engaged, was not inevitable. It was a mistake.

(Applause.) Look back upon it, reading the history which has since been opened to our study, and we can see how it might have been avoided. Within the last few months we have had brought before us two great works, giving between them a rather full account of the history of the middle of the last century—one of them, "The Letters of the Queen," a most valuable and most interesting record of the materials of history; the other, the life of a personage of great importance, the late Editor of the *Times*. Study those two books, and in the light they throw upon the century consider this question of the "inevitableness" of war. There were ways open to us of escaping from the Crimean War, but there were one or two men who would not let it be avoided. It was inevitable in that sense, that but for one or two men it would have passed away; and you may, of course, say that it must have been inevitable or it would not have happened. But that leads us into an examination of the curious and intricate question of predestination, which I will not ask you now to consider. The war might have been avoided had it not been that Sir Stratford Canning (Lord Stratford de Redclyffe) forced the position at home from his position at Constantinople, being one of those "men who knew," being armed with that perfect knowledge which commands attention, being clothed with that authority to which we ignorant people have to submit! Canning provoked the war, compelled the war—a war which the most deliberate judges of later years have pronounced to be a blunder.

### **Review of Anglo-French Relations.**

I pass from that one consideration to what is to me a most interesting retrospect—a consideration of the inevitable character of war urged again and again upon our statesmen at home, telling them to make vast preparations before it began—for an inevitable war which never came off—(laughter)—and which we hope and believe will never come off. (Applause.) Carry your minds back if you can to the year 1815, after the battle of Waterloo. I ask my friends here from France to forgive me if I am going to review the relations between this country and their own from that time to this. It is a review on which I put no strain to spare their feelings, for I think, on the whole, it will be found extremely creditable to the statesmen of that country. Think what was universally said, "Another war with France is certain. It will be impossible not to revive a struggle which for a time has reached a termination, but which must be re-opened." Time went on, and

preparations were being made, and periodical alarms were raised, and we had a trouble about affairs in Spain which provoked serious misgivings between France and England; and then the restored Government had to give place to the constitutional monarchy, and Louis Phillippe came into power. Then we had terrors from a certain admiral who was going to invade England with a navy, and wrote a pamphlet to show that he could do it. It never was tried, but he proved it could be done quite easily. Although we had that terror, and were called on to prepare, thanks to the wisdom of Louis Phillippe and M. Guizot on one side, and Sir Robert Peel and the Queen and the Prince Consort on the other side, that peril passed away, and there was established an *entente cordiale*. (Applause.) Some of you may be young enough to think that that phrase was coined last year or the year before. Alas, I am old enough to recollect that it was common usage to apply those words to the visit of M. Guizot and Louis Phillippe to this country, and the interchange of relations between the Prime Ministers of the two Governments.

### **The First Entente-Cordiale.**

The *entente cordiale* so established did not, in the end, keep our relations entirely unruffled. I remember well, as a boy, that being followed by trouble about a certain Mr. Pritchard; and how we used to tease the French master at school about it. But again this inevitable war with France was postponed. All this time there was growing up that Napoleonic legend which, we were told, was certain to compel war between the two countries; and the aged Duke began to utter his warnings, and Sir John Burgoyne began to prepare defences, and the country was again summoned to meet the expense of what was certain to be a war with France. Louis Napoleon came in, and no doubt there was great plausibility on the part of those who knew and who insisted that, with Louis Napoleon in France, war must be renewed. We had our troubles with him, but they were again interchanged with an alliance, and instead of a war we became allies. (Applause.) The character of Louis Napoleon is a complex character, not yet, I think, fully explained to the popular judgment; but the last work of our historians is entirely, to my mind, wanting in fulness and accuracy. Looking back to that record, I honestly believe that from the beginning to the end of his career the Emperor Napoleon III., from the time he was Prince President, never once entertained any serious conception of making an attack on this country.

### The Period of Pin-Pricks.

So the first *entente cordiale* passed, the alliance passed, and the Empire fell, and the Republic was once more established. But even then the prophets of evil warned us of perils to come, and there was a very ugly time. Have you forgotten it? It is barely ten years ago. "Pin-pricks" were said to abound. A mischievous set of people in France were constantly doing their best to annoy, to excite, to irritate the peace-loving people of England; to "compel" them to enlarge their navy and strengthen their army for the conflict which was "sure to come." It was over some swamp in Africa, about which none of us knew anything, that words of anger were uttered and people lost their heads—reverend heads were lost. (Laughter.) But again, thanks to the good sense of the French statesmen, that peril too passed away, and we have another *entente cordiale* established. (Applause.)

Now this rapid survey, perhaps, leads you sorrowfully to think that an *entente cordiale* need not be abiding, because it seems strong and for the moment full; but it must lead you also to reflect that, spite of the incitements of "those who know," spite of the prophecies of those who have been falsified by facts again and again, in spite of all the attempts to incite people on both sides of the Channel, there is a growing good sense, a knowledge of one another which comes of intimate intercourse, of interchange of visits, of interchange of conceptions. There has that intercourse arisen which I hope will for ever prevent such a calamity as a collision between the two leaders of civilisation in the West. (Applause.)

### Beware of False Prophets.

I am bringing these records of the past to falsify the prophecies of the prophets of the past. Do the prophets of to-day think they are wiser than those who went before? Do they think they have larger knowledge—do they think they are more fully authorised? At best they must say, "It is true our predecessors were mistaken, but we have better means of ascertaining the truth." I demur to their judgment. I insist that the nation should judge independently of prophets who belong to a school so often falsified; and should have recourse rather to faith in the goodwill of nations than the machinations of a few politicians. Not that I want to flatter the population; not that I want to say peoples cannot go mad. What I say is, guard against lunacy. (Laughter.) Take care that you are saved from it; give a good account of yourselves and of

your conduct to your neighbours. Keep your heads cool, your judgment clear, and the future shall repeat the past, and we shall escape from perils which are "inevitable," but which do not come off. (Applause.)

### **Anglo-American Relations.**

There is one other very short retrospect to which I might invite your attention. We have not perhaps in the consciousness of all of you been in the same peril of war with another country that I am about to name as with France; but there is another country, as to which we have had excitements and alarms for a century past, alarms which have never been realised. I am speaking—you will scarcely dream it—of the United States of America. Ever since the close of the war in 1812, we have had peace with the United States. (Applause.) We have had something more, which I wish you to realise. We have had a treaty of disarmament with the United States. (Applause.) Are you all aware of that? Are all our statesmen aware of it? I will ask Mr. Lloyd George at the next Cabinet meeting to pass the question around: "Are you aware that we have got a treaty of disarmament with the United States?" Ever since 1814 we have been under terms of agreement with the United States never to put any armaments on the great inland waters. (Applause.) You know how easy it would be, taking Lake Superior, Lake Erie, and the rest of them, to arm both channels of those lakes and have flotillas on those waters which are wider than the Straits of Dover, which are wider even than the passage between London and Bremen. But these great waters have been free from armaments, free from hostile fleets, in compliance with the agreements of 1814. (Applause.) If it is possible to have that agreement, which was conceived, which was expressed, which was executed nearly a century ago, which has been literally and faithfully observed in spirit from that day to this, is it impossible that we can have a similar agreement with other nations of the world? (Applause.) We have had perils and threats with France. They have come, they have gone. We are now on terms of the greatest friendship with that great Republic. Long may we remain so. Long may that treaty serve as a starting point in history, to be taken up after many years, to be followed by others, and to show by its influence and the examples I have quoted to you how futile, how foolish, how misleading are these mocking messengers who come to tell us of the inevitableness of war. War is not inevitable. It depends on us and our fellows

whether it shall come or not. Be determined that it shall not come, and we may trust in the highest power that the future will justify our faith. (Loud applause.)

### SPEECH OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

The RIGHT HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P., who was received with rounds of cheers, said: My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I have a peaceable little Bill in which I am interested, which is having a more or less stormy passage through the House of Lords. (Laughter.) The Old Age Pensions Bill is under the consideration of that assembly—(applause)—and there are one or two, and I am afraid a few more, noblemen who think that we ought to save a little of the pension money for old people in order to provide more money for armaments. (Cries of "Shame.") My principle, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, is less money for the production of suffering, and more money for the reduction of suffering. (Applause.) I have to return to the House of Lords to watch my Bill in the interests of that motto.

### **The Burden of Armaments.**

It really seems incredible, when you begin to reflect upon it, that it should be necessary in the twentieth century of the Christian era to hold a meeting in a civilised country to protest against the expenditure by Christian communities of £400 millions a year upon preparing one nation to kill another. (Hear, hear.) It is still more amazing that the leaders of nations should be more engrossed upon the perfecting and the rendering more deadly of the machinery of human slaughter than with setting up some tribunal for the possible adjustment of disputes between nations. (Applause.) You read a good many newspapers, and you find that there are more columns devoted to canvassing and examining the mechanism of slaughter than to the problem of peace. (Female voice: "Peace begins at home.") I agree, and I hope that lady's home is peaceable! (Laughter.) I really should have thought that if there were one cause that women were interested in helping along, and not hindering, it was the cause of peace. (Applause.) If I were not really a firm and a convinced and a rooted believer in the enfranchisement of women, some experiences I have had recently—. (Interruption. Several women had here to be removed.)

If we may be permitted to resume the examination, I think of the question of peace—not at all irrelevant to this meeting for more reasons than one, it seems to me a problem that ought to commend itself to the common sense of any community. (Applause.) If you had a dispute with your neighbour about a right of way or a boundary you would not shoot him, you would not threaten to shoot him, you would not make preparations to shoot him, and if you did you would promptly be marched to gaol, and properly so. But if it happens to be a nation with a dispute about a right of way or a boundary, or any little dispute about some point of honour, that is the only proper way to settle it; and any man who suggests that you ought to settle it in any way except by preparing for killing every man in the other country, he is supposed to be either crazy or a member of a Peace Society!

### **England and Germany.**

Now, why do nations assume this murderous attitude towards each other? Why cannot they settle their disputes in the way they settle them as individuals? If one statesman had a dispute with another about any small matter, he would settle it by referring it to some tribunal, or to arbitration, or to conference; but the moment that statesman begins to settle it for other people he at once resorts to the machinery of assassination. But why? Do nations hate each other; do the people hate each other? (Cries of "No.") In Germany you have a number of labourers who are producing beet. They sell masses of it to us. Well, why should they kill their best customers? That is the worst way of getting on in business. (Applause.) We buy tens of millions worth of goods from Germany. Why should the Germans kill us? They buy thirty million pounds worth of goods from us. Why should we want to kill them? Really, when a man comes to your shop and does a good trade with you, you don't knock him down with a cannon ball. That is not the way to get on with him. It is not the way to increase your trade. What folly, what stupidity this is! What an obsession it is, and surely is it not time we should exercise a little common sense? (A female voice: "By giving women the vote.") Yet while we are buying and selling, peaceable Germans to us and we to Germans, profiting by each other's trade, we are building ships and an army to fight each other. Why? Do you know why nine-tenths of these disputes come? (A female voice: "Because you have not got the voice of the women.") Nine-tenths of these disputes and

quarrels arise from a misunderstanding of each other's motives. (Hear, hear.)

### Scares, New and Old.

There are people in this country, and people in a very exalted position, and people of great experience, who are firmly under the impression that Germany means to attack us. There are people in Germany who are equally convinced that we are preparing to attack them; and from fear of each other we arm and rush to the very quarrel which we are afraid of— (A female voice: "Is that why you crush women?") (Interruption.) Now, after these military manoeuvres are at an end for the moment we may perhaps resume. As Lord Courtney pointed out in his very powerful speech, we had exactly the same state of things with France. I was very interested to read one of the speeches of Richard Cobden—(applause)—delivered in 1853, at a peace meeting in Manchester. Now I advise you, and I would certainly advise the gentlemen who are constantly crying out about this German scare, to read that speech. There is not an argument which they advance now about Germany, that they did not then advance about France. France was preparing to invade us. France was going to attack us without a moment's warning, so we should have no notice. She would not even declare war. The first thing you would see would be the French fleet at Greenwich—(laughter)—and the French army walking up the staircase at Wapping. You would have a French colonel saying good morning to you on the steps of the Exchange. (Laughter, and more interruption.) Really, if women don't show more intelligence than the very sorry samples it has been my privilege to hear in these interruptions, then they are not fit for the vote—(applause)—and they are rapidly creating a feeling of anger and of disgust—(applause)—in the minds of their very best friends, and let me say this one word more, they are presuming upon their sex. (Applause.) (Interruption.) They know perfectly well that men would have been very much more roughly treated long ago. I am sorry my observations have been prolonged through no fault of my own.

I was just telling you about the great Cobden speech in 1853. If you go through it, there is not a single scare suggested, not a single plan which it is supposed Germany is making now, which was not imputed to France in 1853. What sterility of invention! (Laughter.) It is humiliating that we should be frightened— (Interruption.) I think a gag ought to be tried with these people.

I was just dealing with the fact that not a single new scare has been invented for sixty years. What intellectual aridity these scarecrows possess, and to be frightened by that really is rather humiliating for intelligent people. The fact of the matter is we are just afraid of each other, and we are building against each other. We are imputing designs to each other equally without foundation. The only thing that is real is the expenditure. That I know. (Laughter.) There may be something else which may be real if it comes off. They think we are getting up a great European organisation against them, so they build ships. We think they are going to invade us, so we build ships. We fill Epping Forest with spies—(laughter)—and we see the German navy from the darkest recesses of Epping.

### **The German Point of View.**

Well, now, I am going to do one thing which may be fairly unpopular, but it is not the first time Lord Courtney and I have done unpopular things—(applause)—and I will tell you what it is. I want to put two considerations to you from the German point of view. Every misunderstanding and quarrel is largely a matter of lack of imagination. Men have not got the imagination to project themselves into the position of the other party. Now, just consider for a moment. You say, "Why should Germany be frightened of us, why should she build because of us?" Let me put two considerations to you. We started; it is not they who have started. We had an overwhelming preponderance at sea, which would have secured us against any conceivable enemy. We were not satisfied. We said, "Let there be Dreadnoughts." What for? We did not require them. Nobody was building them; and if anybody had built them, we could have easily out-built them. We have more shipbuilding resources than any country in the world, and more than every country in the world put together; so really there was no need for it.

Let me put another consideration before you which I don't think is sufficiently pointed out. We always say that, in order to make ourselves secure against invasion, we must have what we call a "Two-Power Standard" navy. What does that mean? You must have a navy large enough to oppose a combination of any two naval Powers. So if we had Russia and France, Germany and Italy, we should always have a fleet large enough to defend our shores against any combination of the two greatest naval powers in Europe. This has been our standard.



The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P.  
(Chancellor of the Exchequer.)



Look at the position of Germany. Her army is to her what our navy is to us—her sole defence against invasion. Yet she has not got a Two-Power Standard. She may have a stronger army than France, than Russia, than Italy, than Austria; but she is between two great Powers, who in combination could pour in a vastly greater number of troops than she has. Don't forget that when you wonder why Germany is frightened at alliances and understandings, and some sort of mysterious workings which appear in the Press, and hints in the *Times* and the *Daily Mail*. (Laughter.) It is very easy to laugh, but they don't know the *Daily Mail*—(applause)—not as we do. (Laughter.) I remember motoring on a Sunday morning in Germany, and I picked up a German newspaper, and the only words I could read were *Observer* and *Daily Mail*; so I asked a friend what it meant, and he said it was an extract full of menaces to Germany, and the German paper had copied it. All that means something in Germany.

Here is Germany, in the middle of Europe, with France and Russia on either side, and with a combination of their armies greater than hers. Suppose we had here a possible combination which would lay us open to invasion—suppose Germany and France, or Germany and Russia, or Germany and Austria had fleets which in combination would be stronger than ours. Would not we be frightened, would not we build, would not we arm? Of course we should. I want our friends who think that because Germany is a little frightened she really means mischief to us, to remember that she is frightened for a reason which would frighten us under the same circumstances. What does this mean? What you want is a clearing up of misconceptions.

### **An Anglo-German Entente Needed.**

All I say in conclusion is this—that it is deplorable that two great progressive communities like Germany and Britain should not be able to establish a good understanding. (Hear, hear.) We have done it with France; we have done it with Russia; we have done it with the United States of America. With all these countries we have had our feuds, troubles, and suspicions, but now we are on terms of cordiality with all three. Why could we not rope Germany in? (Cheers.) We are spending in this country every year sixty millions of money in preparing for war. ("Shame.") I am not going to point out what a stupendous waste that is, and what might be done with it. You can each imagine that for yourselves; in trade, in commerce, in improvement of the condition of

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the people, in their enlightenment, in their development, in generally alleviating suffering, and raising the people above the level of despair. It is said that we would suffer if we put an end to war ; that we would become a race of degenerates if we did not fight ; that the people would be broken-spirited unless we had war. Why ? Does it give spirit to a nation—— (A female voice : “ To keep its women in bondage.”) That’s not bad ; it’s the only smart interruption I have had. You might as well say it makes a nation a nation of brave men to send 300,000 or 400,000 men to fight for them as, say, you can develop your muscles by paying to look at a football match.

But are there not plenty of things for us to fight—worse enemies than Germany?—(applause)—intemperance, ignorance, crime, vice, disease, and that most dread of all invaders that sooner or later reaches every home ? Are the dominions of death not wide enough that nations should spend 400 millions a year on extending them ? There were crusades in the Middle Ages, when Princes and Kings dropped their feuds, and abandoned their quarrels, for some great holy purpose. There is a nobler crusade awaiting princes and people to-day. Let them cast aside suspicion, mistrust, quarrels, feuds, and unite in redeeming humanity from the quagmire where millions are sunk in misery and despair. (Loud and continued cheers.)

The BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER, who was the next speaker, said : Lord Courtney spoke of the inevitable war, and proved to us that this is a fallacy. I should like to speak of the inevitable peace. (Applause.) We always seem to apologise for peace, to say that it is possible, that it would be useful, that it would be righteous, that it would be more agreeable than war. But we stand on this platform with the faith and the persuasion that peace is not only possible, but that it is necessary. (Applause.) It has for its help the laws of nature. Our adversaries always say that war is a natural law. Struggle certainly is, but war is not. Unity is the natural law. (Applause.) The present time is a transition from one civilisation to another. All the weight of error and of crime that we have inherited is pushing us on the verge of great calamities, but on the other side the wakening conscience of Society can avert these dangers, and can bring salvation. (Applause.) It is a work of salvation on which many forces are bent now.

### **Forces Making for Peace.**

A quantity of these forces can be comprised in the

name of "Peace movement," but this great movement has spread wide abroad, wider than our modest societies, and our congresses, and resolutions and speeches. Agencies work for it which often do not know that they work for peace. All movements, social and economic, and even of women's enfranchisement, work for peace without being with our societies. But there are more even than these anonymous workings. The movement is already embodied in many substantial institutions. It is embodied in the Hague Tribunal—(applause)—in the different treaties between the States, in the aspirations and the principles of democracy. In this country it is embodied, too, in the Government. You have just heard one who is Minister of the Exchequer, and who delivered a very brilliant speech, more brilliant than was ever pronounced in our Peace Congresses; and even higher than that, it has been embodied in the actions of King Edward the Peacemaker. (Applause.) Still, our movement is not yet superfluous. The task of changing the pervading ignorance of our motives and of our mission into a sympathising knowledge, this task is still incumbent on the leaders and the members of Peace Societies. So we must continue to work and struggle, because you must know that the peace struggle is also a sort of war, but one which is not waged by weapons. It is waged with as much courage, perhaps, as is wanted to go to war. It is not so very courageous to go to the front if you have a pistol at your back that would throw you down if you did not advance, but we have no pistols at our backs. Still, we have the storm, and the indifference and the misconstructions which are put on our motives, and we have to fight against all that; and we must do it, and give an example also of courage. There are other things that push us on, not only the wish to fight against war, but the wish to show the world that all good causes must be won by good means. (Applause.)

### **Forces Against Us.**

Our adverse forces, I mean those who are standing for ever increasing armaments and for ever threatening wars, those forces are supported by the ignorance and by the apathy and by the scepticism and the inertia of the masses. I don't speak of the masses of the people, I speak of the masses of the educated people. (Applause.) Then the ancient war system has a very great advantage over the new peace system, in that it is in the established order. It is an accustomed evil; and so it is protected

by the Conservatives of the whole world ; because there are Conservatives who are so very anxious that nothing should be changed in the world that they think they should also conserve cholera and tigers. Speaking of tigers, one lady a few days ago said to me, "It would be all very well if one could get rid of war, but do tell me what would you put in the place of it?" (Applause.) I answered, "My dear lady, it is a misfortune there are so many tigers in the jungle, what would you put in their place?" I think that is the same question. (Applause.) As Lord Courtney has said, one must put justice in the place of war. That is the only way for settling quarrels because, as an American wise man has said, I think it was Abraham Lincoln, "Nothing is settled unless it is settled right." Can you settle anything right with bullets, with mines, or perhaps with explosives coming from balloons?

Mr. Lloyd-George said in his speech that we did not know the *Daily Mail*. I must say for myself I do know it. I have read it today, and I found there some advice given us. They told us that it was quite superfluous to think about all these great dreams of abolishing war, and that we had better use our energies for mitigating war. They said, it is excessively cruel to have mines under the water by which ships with innocent people can be destroyed. I ask you now: Are we not all when we are sent into war, we and our enemies, are we not all innocent people? In our struggle our aim is not to cut the nails of the monster, but to kill the monster. It is just the same as if, when the war was being waged against slavery, they had said it is impossible to abolish slavery ; you must have slaves who will work for you, but try to treat them a little better! Instead of giving them twenty-five lashes, given them only twenty! I think that the *Daily Mail* only means to say that war is necessary, and therefore wishes to make it look more humane ; but one cannot humanise massacre. If men are humane they abolish massacre. That is not my own thought, it is the conception of a great French peace man, who, alas, is not here ; I mean Frédéric Passy.

### Changing Conditions.

Whether the Conservatives admit it or not, everything in us and around us is always changing. The mentality of the people changes, the conditions of life change, and what is changing more perhaps than everything else is war itself. By the growing of all these infernal implements of destruction, by the growing of armaments, it has become a new thing which ought to

be designated by some other name, because for new conceptions the language must find new words. Let me illustrate my meaning. If, for instance, you kept on warming a bath until the water boiled, and the person who went into the bath was scalded to death, would you still call this little amusement a bath? An American general who has won battles has found a very adequate name. He has said, "Hell is war, and war is hell." This is not a polite word, I know, and it has not been adopted. If it had been adopted, then Governments would not continue to organise Hell Departments—(laughter and applause)—and Princes would not be so proud as they are of their titles if they similarly translated their titles of "war lords."

But it is not by vilifying war that we can work for peace. The best way to bring in the new order is to build up something new, and not to violently pull down the old. By the building up of the new the old vanishes, and the old method is softly supplanted. The constructing business is already more advanced than many of us suspect. The plans are already delineated, the foundations are laid, and in some countries, especially in the English speaking countries, in America and here, the first stories of these constructions are already emerging above the soil. Some fifteen or twenty years ago we peace advocates had our ideals and aims suspended in the clouds, but now they have taken substance, so that there is a very concrete and practical task before us to proclaim and to accelerate what we have already achieved.

### **More Ententes Needed.**

The historical process of which we are the witnesses, and which the twentieth century, I fondly and devoutly hope, will see the accomplishment, is nothing else than what was, as Lord Courtney told us, a name thirty or forty years ago, and which is so much the fashion now, the *entente cordiale*, not between one and two or two and three nations, but the *entente cordiale* of all the civilised world. The only great obstacle against arriving at this is the ignorance of the people. They do not know, they do not see, they do not realise, and where a step is generously taken in this direction, instead of rousing the enthusiasm and the thankfulness of the people it rouses suspicion. For so many thousand years people have learned that the greatest political wisdom is falsehood, so they never believe something good has been done. This education has still to be gained. Not the education only of youths and

children, but the education of all of us. We must learn that righteousness and generosity and goodness are not unwise things, but are the best things. (Applause.) Kings have begun to do it, Governments have begun to do it, the universities do it, the industrial classes do it, the working classes do it. It is coming from every side, except perhaps a certain class of Press who want a permanent war, or war always threatened, and except perhaps also the builders of ironclads. But I do not except the soldier. I know that many intelligent and good men in the army sympathise with our movement. As long as their duty calls they will fulfil it, but they also will hail the time when they will have their duties on another field, and they certainly will not do anything to hinder the coming of peace. As a woman myself I appeal also to the women here to be one of the rising forces that will help us; and to all of you who say you can do but little I would say, do only the little that you can, and remember the English proverb which has given me encouragement in my own feeble efforts, "The greatest things have been done by the aid of the smallest." (Applause.)

Mr. EDWIN D. MEAD (Boston, U.S.A.) said: I have heard it said it takes a nation thirty years to repent of a war. It took England that time to repent, and put it into official expression, of the Crimean war. My ocean reading as I crossed from Boston to Liverpool last week was John Morley's "Life of Richard Cobden", and I cannot think of any better preparation for a man who was coming to London to attend a Congress of Peace and an International Free Trade Congress. As I picked up the programme here this evening I was glad, remembering the atmosphere of that book, to note that one of the songs upon your programme was a song by Ebenezer Elliott, who sang the gospel that Cobden preached. I was also glad to note, remembering Cobden's love for Germany and for the United States, that one half of your hymns were written by citizens of the United States, and one half the music composed by German composers. I think that is an interesting parable which witnesses to the unity of the Teutonic people. The thing which interested me most was reading how Cobden and his friend, John Bright, the greatest denouncers of the Crimean War, were practically mobbed here in the streets of London for protesting that which England afterwards, through the mouth of her Tory Minister, as Lord Courtney said, confessed that England put her money on the wrong horse.

But if it has taken England forty years to repent of the Crimean War, I cannot help thinking of my first

coming here to Queen's Hall, and remembering the circumstances under which I first came. As I think the war in South Africa was one of the wickedest of your wars—(applause)—so I think our war for the conquest of the Philippines was a most wicked war, even more wicked than that with Mexico. I cannot help remembering that in 1901, when the mob surrounding Queen's Hall prevented me from getting in, and when Mr. Lloyd George was having a vastly harder time at Birmingham, that the chief denouncer of the war was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. The saddest thing in the hearts of all of us from America in coming here to London was the fact that we did not come to hear his voice. But the man at work in this movement for international justice is not so much concerned in denouncing war as in designing something to supplant it, and the chief thing I remember was that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was the central figure to welcome that most memorable session of the Inter-Parliamentary Congress, founded by so great a statesman, because he was a great statesman, Sir Randal Cremer, whose death was the saddest news which greeted us upon the morning of our arrival here. I remember Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was the centre of that great meeting which laid down the programme which will remain the central and most important programme of the Peace Party until it is all written into International Law. It was a demand for universal obligatory arbitration, for an international Parliament, for an independent impartial commission to inquire into quarrels before there were any overt acts, for immunity of private property at sea, and for the limitation of armaments.

When men tell you the Hague Conference was a failure, I ask you to remember that the memorable outcome of the first Hague Congress was an international tribunal; and now we have it settled that the world's Parliament will hold its regular sessions as automatically as the British Parliament. I ask you to remember as concerning obligatory arbitration that we have already sixty treaties of arbitration between nations. I ask you to remember as concerning peace budgets that England only six weeks ago, through the mouth of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, assured you and the world that, as far as England is concerned, she will appropriate money regularly for purposes of international hospitality. I assure you that the other nations will fall into line, and we shall see a time soon coming when any nation which has a secretary of war and does not have a secretary of peace will not be accounted worthy of civilised society. (Applause.) As

touching impartial commissions of inquiry, I am glad England was a party to the most important arrangement of that kind which history has yet seen, in the arrangement which so peacefully settled the Dogger Bank incident, and prevented two great nations from going to war. Inviolability of ocean commerce in war and the limitation of armaments are subjects upon which this Congress will give no uncertain sound. I ask you to remember as you look back upon this, and when you and I are taunted as dreamers, that the boldest dreams have not been able to keep pace with the fact.

If you had been told ten years ago that we should have an international tribunal, an international Parliament assured, sixty treaties of arbitration, and an international prize court, I say the boldest of the dreamers would not have believed it. They did not prophesy it, but the fact has outrun our boldest dreams. We have never had such official recognition as the Congress is receiving to-day, yet I ask you to remember that at the Congress at Boston Mr. Root, the Secretary of State, said that Governments could not help peoples half so much as peoples could help Governments. While we are thankful to Ministers and Presidents and Kings, let us ask Governments to remember that they need us, because all over the world there is rising such a tide of determination on behalf of peace, and the welfare and order and justice of the world, that no Government which does not fall into line has any long lease of power. Let London speak this word with power. We are met here in London on the third centenary of the birth of London's greatest son, John Milton. Next year comes the centenary of the birth of your great poet, who gave us the words which are oftener quoted than any others in connection with our meetings—the time when the war drum shall throb no longer, and the battle flags are furled. It was Tennyson who said of Milton, "That he was the organ voice of England," and what did the organ voice of England say? The organ voice of England and the world said, "that war can only breed further war." And the organ voice of England also said, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." It is to achieve one of those victories that we are gathered here, and when this Congress closes let us go to our homes across the mountains or across the seas with the glad consciousness that we have added another victory in the great warfare which is supplanting the system of war by the system of order and of law. (Applause.)

The REV. DR. CLIFFORD: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure I may start my utterance with a declaration that the lines

have fallen to us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage. Nothing astonishes me so much in the peace movement as its popularity. Verily this is a time in which the peace movement is receiving general acknowledgment. I only have to go a little way back in the history of the country to find myself face to face with very different conditions, to the time of the Boer War for example. I recollect the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not preserved from all possibility of attack by the authorities of Birmingham, but had to escape in an ill-fitting suit that belonged to a policeman. To-night we have had him here, speaking upon the great subject of peace, evidently a subject dear to his thoughts and dear to his heart. Before the week is out we shall have the opportunity of listening to a speech from the Prime Minister himself. (Applause.) Certainly the Government to-day is completely with the Peace movement, and we may count on it to further peace in the interests of England and the interest of humanity.

Another feature that is, I think, to be recorded with great gratitude is the position which King Edward VII. is taking up. He is not simply a peacemaker, but we may describe him as an apostle of peace, going about the Continent of Europe for the purpose of bearing his testimony in the Courts of Kings for peace. Our late Queen Victoria won her way into the hearts of the people of this country by her love of righteousness, justice, and peace; and I am certain the action of King Edward, so strenuous and sincere, obviously, from the speech he made yesterday, will win for him an abiding place in the heart, in the affection, and in the gratitude of England and the world. (Applause.) Is it not a fact worth noting that we seem to have reached a stage in which we are perfectly certain war is a passing incident in human development? We regarded it as inevitable in the past, but we have attained to the position when people have come to realise that war belongs to the savage, the barbaric stage, and that, therefore, it has to go. (Applause.) Precisely as the duel between two people has been abolished, so the duel between two nations is becoming discredited, and the nations encouraging it will find themselves receiving the opprobrium of all intelligent, honest, and brotherly men. Nor does it seem necessary, so popular is the peace movement, to argue in favour of arbitration courts. The position is at once granted. There is no need to urge acceptance of the position. Verily the popularity of the peace movement is one of the brightest signs of the times.

In a sentence, I should like to say, let us be grateful

to the pioneers who, in the dark time, took the seed of peace and scattered it in the unpromising fields of humanity, the harvest of which we are reaping to-day, and in its fulness are found rejoicing. Richard Cobden, John Bright, Henry Richard, and Sir Randal Cremer—these are names of men who have made sacrifices. They went on in front, and did the work with fortitude and real sacrifice; and there are living workers, as well, for whose services we are unspeakably thankful. But remember all is not won. We have still to continue the struggle. The work our predecessors have accomplished is for us a promise, but also an obligation. It puts on us the duty of carrying on their task until it is successful, and to do that we must face the stern realities of life, look facts strongly in the face, and we must not forget what is the character of man as he is to-day—exceedingly explosive, compacted together, to use a Shakesperian phrase, not so much of imagination, but of racial and national prejudices; and, therefore, if a spark falls upon him, scarcely has it touched him before you have the energies that are in him let loose in desolating and disastrous energy.

We have to recollect that man is growing undoubtedly, but he has not grown far yet. His education requires to be extended on all sides, and moreover, not his education only, but also his relation to institutions. The governing classes have some of their vested interests in the continuity of war. What would happen to their younger sons if they could not become members of the navy or army? And the vested interest is a mighty force. We have got to get rid of that somehow or other, and we have to destroy the charm which war possesses for a great many minds. The reduction of armaments is difficult because the reduction of interest in them for these people is difficult. It is to their advantage that Dreadnoughts should be built. Constructors of the navy have their pockets filled that way, and the pocket is a powerful instrument yet. There must be no illusion. We must not permit ourselves to be deceived. We must look the facts fully in the face and ask ourselves what we have to do in order to bring in what the Baroness has called inevitable peace.

The first thing I want to suggest is, that we must not be content simply with sentiment against war. A negative policy is not sufficient. There must be something positive. If you simply create in people a sentiment against war, then in some unsuspecting moment when some newspaper or other creates a war scare, you will find sentiment worth nothing, and you will have a Mafeking night pre-



**Group of Delegates.**

Including Miss C. E. Payne and Miss D. Howes, the Baroness von Suttner (Nobel laureate), Mr. Charles Weiss, Mr. J. Frederick Green, and Mr. Felix Moscheles.  
(See list of Council officers, and Hospitality Committee.)



sented to you. Our King understands the situation thoroughly. What said he yesterday? He said, "It is necessary that we should secure a mutual understanding and a cordial friendship between the nations." That is a positive point of view. That will count in the day of trial. Towards that we must move. To do that we must alter the ideals of the people, and we must start with the child—(applause)—and give it a different ideal of what is greatest in a nation and in a man. Still abroad in our history books and school books is the notion that a nation is great according to the number of its armies, and the glory it can win on the battlefield. That is a false ideal which must be driven out. (Applause.) Still is the ideal put before children that Wellington is greater than George Fox. Preposterous! (Applause.) It is still put before them that Nelson should rank higher than John Milton or Bunyan. Absurd! We have to create ideals after the type and pattern presented to us in the Christianity of Jesus Christ.

You must prepare for peace. How? Prepare for peace by being peaceable yourselves and by contributing to peaceableness in other people. You don't prepare for your individual security and peaceableness by carrying a pistol in one hand and a dagger in your girdle, nor do you prepare for civic peace in that way. Why then give us that eternal nonsense about avoiding war by being ready for war? Lastly, you must secure legislative unity amongst the nations of the earth. Tennyson—the poets almost always have the true conception of the future—talks about the federation of man and the Parliament of the world. What we have to do is to lift Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Chinamen out of nationality into a divine and broad humanitarianism. (Applause.) We have to persuade them to go beyond the boundaries of national life, and take care that legislation is shaped and framed, not merely for a particular nation, but for the wider interests of humanity which, being secured, will secure the best and most enduring interest of the nation. Organise on that line. In all countries let this be your purpose; and, above all, let the Christian Churches know that their supreme business is to lead.

Jesus Christ never meant us to take a second place in self-sacrifice, self-suppression, in leading the people on to His high ideals. We have to be in front, not to be conformed to the world and be measured by it, but to conform the world to Him and his ideals. That is our business. How far the churches have to go to discharge that business the Boer War shows you. God help us, as Christian men

and women, that we may not accept the authority of the Prince of Peace and be at variance with Him in time of stress or trial, but in that time may we be found standing upright with our faces set towards the sun, our will set to secure the will of the Christ. Time is on our side, and the trend of the world's currents is all towards the best. The people are looking out for the morning. They are asking for self-government, wishing to bridge over the chasm between nation and nation. The democracy is coming to its own. A democracy that is cursed by intemperance or the military spirit is a democracy going to its doom; but a democracy that is set on brotherhood, on the triumph of peace between man and man, nation and nation, is going to further serviceableness, and in that further serviceableness to further greatness and glory. (Loud applause.)

DR. EVANS DARBY said: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, there is at least one advantage that falls to the last speaker on the programme. The lateness of the hour releases him from any obligation to make a formal speech. So many excellent things have been so excellently said that it is a pity to spoil the effect. I want to keep your good opinion, so with your permission I will say ditto to all the rest.

The proceedings closed with the singing of the song, "God bless our native land," by the whole audience, to the tune of the National Anthem.

## SECOND SESSION OF CONGRESS, CAXTON HALL,

*Wednesday morning, July 29th.*

*Chairman:* MR. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER.

The CHAIRMAN: We commence by reading certain messages that have arrived. "Humanity, justice, equity, in the name of these three lights we fight and we shall win. The Friends of Peace in Freiburg, Baden." Then from Madame Séverine, the distinguished French writer. She sends us also a message of regret. I have also a message from "The Association de La Paix et le désarmement par les femmes," whose President is Madame Flammarion. Madame Flammarion has not been able to be here herself, but a lady has come on her behalf, Madame MacKenty, Vice-President of the Association.

MADAME MACKENTY, speaking in French, said that Madame Flammarion sent her to speak on behalf of the Society of Peace by the action of women. She said they did not consider that women should take the place of men, but that they should be, on the contrary, the tender collaborators of men in all their efforts to improve the world. If progress is slow, it is because humanity has not understood. The understanding will grow as mothers realise better their duty, and as mothers know that in bringing up children it is not merely a question of developing limbs and muscles and physical strength, but it is a question of developing the soul which is within us, so that we may understand fully the righteousness of the great cause we serve.

The CHAIRMAN said: I have to rectify an omission. I ought at the beginning to have asked two of the Vice-Presidents to take their seats on the platform to-day. Our general rule is that each morning by turn we invite two Vice-Presidents, representing two countries; and we take first Germany and Austria. I present these

two Vice-Presidents, Baroness Von Suttner and Dr. Richter. (Applause.)

M. ARNAUD read a letter to the Congress from a Russian group of advocates of peace deploring the absence from the Congress of an official Russian delegation. They were convinced that every Russian who was capable of thought was in favour of peace. They desired to confirm the words so eloquently expressed recently in Count Tolstoy's letter, well known to them all. They wanted to see the abolition in Russia of capital punishment, and they called the attention of this Peace Congress to the terrible bloodshed now going on in Russia. They appealed to the delegates' sentiments of solidarity to do whatever was wise and possible to put an end to the disastrous state of affairs that prevailed at present within the Russian Empire. The manifesto or letter was signed by the celebrated Russian poet Menski and a large number of ladies and gentlemen, for the most part journalists, authors, and poets.

The CHAIRMAN: We have also a message from the Cologne group of the German Peace Society, which sends heartiest greetings to the pacifists assembled in the Seventeenth Universal Peace Congress, and hopes a further step forward will be taken in the organisation of the world; and especially that Germany and England may become still further united in closer friendship. And one more greeting—this time again a personal greeting. We were reminded yesterday in connection with Sir William Randal Cremer's work among working men, that other professions should unite themselves in the same way in international bodies on behalf of peace; and it is very pleasing to have here a representative of a large international association, a medical association, for the suppression of war. Its president, Dr. Rivière, is here, and will also say a few words.

DR. J. A. RIVIÈRE: "The International Medical Association for Aiding the Suppression of War," of which body I have the honour to be President, in this imposing peace-gathering, distinguished yet more by the illustrious support given to it by King Edward, le Grand Roi Pacificateur, and by the presence of eminent Ministers of a country, humanitarian par excellence, has contributed its stone to the sacred edifice that the good will of nations helps each day to consolidate. The medical man, like the minister of religion, so worthily represented in this Congress, is called to be brought into direct and close contact with physical and moral miseries of all kinds, and to sympathise with them. His character and his functions place him in the position to encourage the

downhearted, to prevent or correct errors, to speak words of reason and concord. Since the foundation of our Association, in moments of grave trouble when the political horizon seemed charged with dark clouds, when minds were pessimistic and led astray, we have endeavoured to convince by our arguments all those who—whether in the Press, or in the Legislature, or in diplomacy, or in the world of arts of literature—exercise an influence in the affairs of the world. We have tried to impress upon all that a war in these days is as great a disaster to the conqueror as to the conquered—(hear, hear)—and is equivalent to a retrogression of human intelligence. Of recent years we have looked on at a rapid and un hoped for evolution in the mentality of peoples, and this evolution has enabled great statesmen, imbued with the spirit of peace—from their own sentiments as well as from principle—to contract those alliances and those ententes which mark the dawn of a new era. We base our hopes of a better humanity not only on a rational re-education of the masses, but also on our conception of justice based upon two tribunals. The first of these tribunals is the International tribunal. The other is the Humanitarian tribunal. We consider that the moral force of these two tribunals, backed up if necessary by an international constabulary, will of themselves be sufficient. It is also our firm conviction that international health, like the health of a nation or of an individual, is essentially connected with Free Trade. This globe of ours is not so crowded that there is no longer any room left for personal initiative. Science and observation of facts serve every day to demonstrate the solidarity of the human race.

The CHAIRMAN: I have now an interesting statement to make to the Congress. The members speaking the English language will be aware that there is a meeting now being held in London, the great Pan-Anglican Conference of Bishops, and that distinguished body has determined to send to us a deputation to-morrow morning at 10.30. I am sure we shall be very proud to receive such a deputation from so important a body.

Mr. J. F. GREEN: It was decided that we should follow this year the practice adopted at the Congress of Munich last year, to ask the speakers on the various questions when they have made their speeches from the platform to write out a short précis in order that it may be compared with the official shorthand report of the Congress. Speakers are to go into that room with "no exit" over it—it has an entrance—and they will find papers in three languages, English, French, and German, asking them to write that

précis. If they do that after they have made their speech it will greatly facilitate the preparation of the report. One other notice—I want to draw the attention of the delegates to the fact that, after the return from Windsor this afternoon, we have arranged that the train should stop at the Uxbridge Road Station, close to the Franco-British Exhibition. This evening, at 8.30, there is a meeting to be held in the Congress Hall of the Exhibition. It is especially for foreign residents or visitors to London. The speeches will be made in French, German, and Italian, and we hope as many of the delegates to the Congress as possible will attend and also take the opportunity—the best they will get during the week—of seeing the Exhibition.

Mr. NEWMAN: The National Liberal Club, in Whitehall Place, is one of the most beautiful of the London Clubs. It is a club for men, and has been good enough to make all our foreign delegates temporary members. They have only to go there and present their card of membership, and their names are there in the hall, and they will have all the privileges of the Club. Besides that, the National Liberal Club invites all the Congress, ladies as well as gentlemen—the whole of the members of the Universal Peace Congress—to meet on Saturday, 1st August, at 9 p.m. The cards of invitation for this are on the table by the post office in the reading room.

DR. QUIDDE said: I wish to say a word of excuse because the report of the last Congress was not published this year. Now it is ready, and I must say that I am guilty. You have paid us many compliments about the organisation of the last Congress; but after all I have been a great sinner. The report now, at the last moment, has been published.

The CHAIRMAN: Now we proceed at last to the business. I am sorry to have to tell you that we are obliged to change the order that has been announced. We had hoped in the Organising Committee that our friend M. Arnaud would be able to present to us this morning his report on the last and future Hague Conferences. That has not been possible; and therefore we are taking up some resolutions that are ready, and I am sorry to say we have not been able to get them printed, but I hope they will be sufficiently understood if read in the three different languages. We will first take up from Commission C a resolution with regard to the Lucerne Museum—of some importance, but which I hope will not need any discussion. It would be better I should just mention the other things likely to come on afterwards. We next take a resolution

from the French National Peace Congress about Morocco. That is a very different question ; but seeing it is a resolution coming to us from our French brethren I hope we shall not find it necessary to discuss that at any great length. It is from the National Congress held two months ago at La Rochelle. We have from Commission F a resolution on the relation of the workmen's movement to the peace movement ; and finally we shall hope to commence a report from Commission B (if there is time) on the organisation of international life, with report by M. Duplessix, if that is reached.

### **The Lucerne Museum.**

PROFESSOR L. STEIN (who spoke in both French and German) recalled the history of the Lucerne Museum. He said: You are aware how it was started after the Lucerne Congress, amid great enthusiasm, and how a donation of 400,000 francs was promised for that institution. They began to build ; but it was discovered that the promise was a will-o'-the-wisp, and no money was forthcoming at all. But the donator who did not give had died, and his heirs have given something, not 400,000 francs, but 60,000 francs. They now discover they have not got the land on which they have built, and the town is willing to give them land in another district ; but how are they going to bring the land from one district to the building which is in another ? They have thought of meeting this by issuing shares, and if I understand correctly the town of Lucerne has offered to spend on the matter some 400,000 francs. The Berne Bureau has subscribed for 20,000 shares, and friends for 15,000. The moral of the story is that there is need for £4,000 or 100,000 francs to complete the thing in a satisfactory manner, and they can give a minimum of 3 per cent. interest to any of those who take up shares to make up this 100,000 francs. Prof. Stein concluded by appealing for support for this project.

The CHAIRMAN: I have then to present the Resolution, which has not yet been read. I will read it in English and French, and M. Stein, I hope, will read it and add the remarks in German. The resolution proposed by the Commission is:

RESOLUTION I.—“Whereas the International Museum of Peace at Lucerne, which is frequented by from 60 to 70,000 foreign visitors annually, has become, in accordance with the intentions of the founders, and in particular the late M. Jean de Bloch, a powerful means of propaganda, which it therefore becomes our duty to maintain ; whereas that Museum provisionally erected on a site belonging to the city of Lucerne has now to be installed definitely and without delay ; whereas out of the total amount of 600,000 francs required for re-building the same, 100,000 francs, or £4,000

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still remain to be found; whereas the Museum Association has decided to issue priority shares of 500 francs, or £20, each for that amount; whereas the present rate of the Museum takings already assures the holders of such priority shares a minimum dividend of 3 per cent. per annum; this Congress urgently appeals to its members, as well as to peace societies, and all friends of peace generally, to secure the conservation of the Museum by subscribing the said capital as quickly as possible. Subscription forms to be filled by intending shareholders will be placed at their disposal by the Berne International Bureau."

M. Stein is ready to receive subscriptions. Will you allow me first to say one or two words in support of his resolution, especially as it gives me an opportunity of speaking of one of those of our friends who have passed away during the year. Many of us who were at the Lucerne Congress three years ago will not forget our visit to the Museum under the guidance of Mr. Hunt Cook, with whom some of us had already spent a never-to-be-forgotten day on the mountains. Mr. Hunt Cook was a retired Baptist minister, who for several years in succession acted as guide and chaplain, chaplain especially, but a guide he was most admirably too, to the Polytechnic parties which go fortnight by fortnight every summer to Lucerne. He knew how to interpret that Museum; complaints were made in the Congress at Lucerne that that Museum was more a museum of war than of peace; but under the guidance and with the teaching of Mr. Hunt Cook it became indeed a museum of peace, and in that respect I am quite sure that, fortnight after fortnight, he rendered a great service to the cause of peace in connection with the Museum by pointing out the moral of these things, especially to the young people who form these great fortnightly parties. Something that is still more desired, it seems to me, than the money, though that is necessary, is that we should find a continuation of Hunt Cooks, to be the guide and interpreter of such a museum as that which exists at Lucerne.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: We pass now to the question of workmen's movements. The rapporteur is M. Gignoux (Nîmes), who represents among us one of the great working men's societies of France.

## The Relation of Working Men's Movements to the Peace Movement.

M. GIGNOUX, speaking in French, expressed the joy of the French workmen at taking part in that Peace Congress. He pointed out that they had present representatives of the miners of France and also of working men's co-operative productive associations. He was glad to be in a country distinguished for so many practical reformers and the accomplishment of so many practical reforms. M. Prudhommeaux, in France, had struggled for long to obtain the support of the trade union movement of France for the peace movement, and he had spoken in the Commission of the great difficulties that were to be contended against, notably the success achieved of late years among the trade unions of France by that form of propaganda known as Hervéism. Generally speaking, the French organised worker attributes war to the action of capitalism, and maintains that peace will not be obtained so long as capitalism remains, and that the real means of preventing war is to do away with capitalism. (Hear, hear.)

This, however, he thought was somewhat too simple an explanation of the phenomena; and if perfection could not be obtained until the advent of Socialism, in the meanwhile some improvements could be achieved, and wars could be prevented, and had been prevented by submitting the subject of dispute to an international tribunal. Undoubtedly if all the world accepted the proposal that workers should refuse to fight, he would be delighted. The proposal is—the proposal that was made in the French Congress was that the workers of the different countries should absolutely refuse to take arms unless the question about which the quarrel had arisen had been submitted to an impartial international tribunal. So long as no reference had been made to such a tribunal everyone, it was proposed, should refuse to take up arms. Unfortunately, this again was too simple a solution of the difficulty; because as a matter of fact, in practice, it would be the nation in which the highest principles had been developed, the nation which was more advanced in altruism than any other nation, it would be that, the very best of nations, which would be the first to refuse to take up arms, and therefore the other nations not so advanced in justice and civilisation would overrun that one good nation and annihilate the best elements of human civilisation.

What then could be done towards winning the support

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of the working class organisations? They had here representatives of the railway servants, representatives of various co-operative societies, and representatives of the miners, and he called their attention to the fact that at the last International Congress of Miners, held in Paris at Whitsuntide, two resolutions were passed in favour of international arbitration, and the Miners' International Congress passed a resolution saying that it was in the interests of the workmen of the entire world that the organised workers should use whatever influence they could upon their respective Governments so as to lead these Governments to accept the principles of arbitration instead of war. If the compositors, if the metal workers, if all the other trades would follow the example of the miners, and if notifications could be sent to these trades at least three months before they held their international congress inviting them—by a regular propaganda of this description, a great work would be done. He also drew attention to the fact that the Socialist party was beginning to understand that something could be done short of Socialism. Socialists had always been, of course, and at all their congresses had carried resolutions, in favour of international peace; but they had not, perhaps, realised as much as the speaker would wish them to do, that something could be done even before the advent of Socialism. Their greatest of speakers, and perhaps the greatest orator in Europe, Comrade Jaurès, had undertaken to advocate in Parliament and out of Parliament the cause of arbitration as opposed to war. He therefore considered that great progress was being made in the labour movement, and that, while the workers were not abandoning in any way their Socialist ideals, they were ready to join in the more practical and immediate work of advocating pacific means at the present time. He moved:

RESOLUTION II.—“That the Seventeenth Universal Congress of Peace, recognising with satisfaction that the London Congress has a much larger number of working class representatives than former Congresses, that it is of great importance for the peace of the world that the working masses should support the pacifist programme, requests the organisers of future International Peace Congresses to invite, at least three months in advance, the great working class organisations, federations of trade unions, etc., to take part in the Congress.

“It considers that it is the duty of the peace societies in all countries to form committees for the special purpose of making known the pacifist programme among the working classes of their respective countries. These committees should submit to each International Congress a report of their activity during the preceding year.”

Mr. WESTROPE (of York) referred to the closing words of Mr. Lloyd-George's speech at the Queen's Hall, in which he advocated the establishment of a new crusade. That new crusade had already begun. It was an international crusade, not merely with humane aims, but to establish a city of God founded on peace and justice. They had the beast of militarism to contend with perhaps for a long time to come. Its teeth, however, could be drawn, and it could be made practically harmless. His suggestion was to begin earlier—to begin with the child in the home. As soon as he understood right and wrong he should be instructed by his parents regarding the evils of war, and practically sworn never to raise the sword except to repel any invader that might attack his country and destroy his home.

Mr. ADOLPHE SMITH said: I have no desire to make a speech, but as official interpreter at the International Congress of Miners, to which allusion has been made, and which was held in Paris in Whitsuntide, and last year at Salzburg, in Austria, I thought it might interest you to know that both in Salzburg and Paris the miners very earnestly discussed the resolution to which allusion has been made, whether it would be practicable to take any action to prevent war. The International Committee has received instructions, on war menacing Great Britain or any European power, to convoke immediately a special congress of miners. If there is a serious menace of war, the Congress is to be convoked on the question of war, and of course the one thing that they can discuss and the one thing that they can do is to stop the coal supply in the event of war. Whether they are sufficiently well organised to do this is not for me to say; but as the thing was said in open Congress, I can perfectly well repeat before you to-day that the great idea was to see how far it would be possible for the miners, as miners, to render war impossible. (Applause.)

Mr. A. PRUST (Launceston) said: The hope of peace lies with the workers of Europe. There is great need that the workers, especially of our own country, France, and Germany, should not only see and feel aright as they do, but that they should combine. There is in this country an influential party who are endeavouring to bring in the system of compulsory national military service. And, if you notice, in nineteen out of twenty of their meetings, they libel Germany, and they are doing their utmost to breed bad blood between us and Germany. It would be sheer insanity to go to war with Germany. Yet, at nineteen out of twenty of their meetings they are libelling Germany to the utmost. You will see my

point, I think. There is need not only to see and feel aright, but we should be combined. The three countries should form a triplice, and war would be impossible. I trust a way will be found shortly and speedily to unite the three countries in an alliance against war.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P., said: I am here along with my friend Mr. Ben Cooper, representing practically the whole of the organised workers of this country, something like one and a quarter million, namely, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, to which something like 300 trade organisations are affiliated. I have very much pleasure in supporting the resolution, and I was delighted to listen to the speech that was made by the reporter of this resolution. But I am very much afraid that some of the remarks that he made would be a very difficult job to carry out, because he said that if the whole of the workers of the country were to refuse to fight war would be quite impossible. Well, I assent to that proposition, if the whole of the organised workers in this country were scientifically organised so that they would be able to carry a proposition of that kind into operation. But all of us know that the soldiers in all countries are under military law, and in consequence of being under military law, if either one or a number of them were to refuse to carry out or obey the instructions of their superior officers, every one of them is liable to be taken out into an open field and shot, and I think, therefore, the remedy would be perhaps a great deal worse than the evil. I have attended a very large number of International Socialist Congresses in different parts of the world, and at every one of these International Congresses at which representatives of all parts of the civilised world have attended, resolutions have always been carried in favour of the abolition of all standing armies and in favour of a citizen force.

I want to see the time arrive when all standing armies will be abolished. (Applause.) Of course, I recognise that is a rather tall order, but, nevertheless, as soon as the organised workers make up their minds that all standing armies shall be abolished, they will be abolished. In some countries the reason why men join the army—I do not say it applies to all countries, because I know in some countries we have what is called conscription, as France, Germany, and I am not quite sure about Switzerland, but in some countries they have what is called conscription, and every young man has to serve a certain amount of military training. I am rather isolated in some respects, because I believe, as an individual,

that if there is any fighting to be done I want to take my share of it. I do not believe in delegating my responsibilities and duties to someone else. I am in favour of compulsory military training, not compulsory military service, because there is a very great deal of difference between compulsory military training and compulsory military service. I think as soon as we alter the economic conditions of the workers of the country, it would be a difficult job for countries like England or America to have a standing army of any kind.

Now, one of the speakers referred to the question about the workers of this country and the Germans. I am very delighted to see we have a very large number of Germans at this conference. I want to tell our German friends and German companions that, as far as the wage-earners are concerned, we have no quarrel with the wage-earners of Germany. I take it the wage-earners of Germany have got no quarrel with the wage-earners of this country. As a matter of fact, the wage-earners of all countries have no quarrel with their companions; the only quarrel we have got is with the landlord and exploiting classes in all parts of the civilised world. As long as you have got capital in existence, wars will be brought about, because all countries at the present time have a great difficulty in finding fresh avenues for their capital on account of the severe competition in all parts of the civilised world. I take it all of us are in favour of the reduction of universal armies, and I think it is the duty of representatives of all Governments in all countries to urge upon their Governments the question of reducing armaments at the very earliest opportunity; but I want to say, if we are going to save something like twenty or thirty millions of money in this country by reducing armaments, unless we are exceedingly careful it will mean that the wage-earners will be very much worse off than they are to-day. (Voices: "No.") Let me point out to you that by reducing armaments to the extent of thirty million pounds sterling, it would mean the displacement of a very large number of men in the dockyards and factories, and in shipbuilding in all parts of the country, but—just half-a-minute, my friends—under the present existing Governments in all countries what would happen with the thirty million pounds sterling that you would save in the reduction of armaments? You would have a reduction in the income tax; and the result would be the direct taxpayers would benefit, and the wage-earners would be left out in the cold. But on the other hand if, instead of reducing the income tax, all that amount of thirty million sterling that would be saved on the reduction of armaments.

was invested for productive purposes for our workers and industries, and putting the people upon the land for producing food, clothes, etc., I say the money would be better spent. (Applause.) Now, Mr. Chairman, I have nothing more to say with the exception of this, that in this country we spend ninety-six million every year on the army and navy, and paying off the interest on past wars, out of a total expenditure of something like a hundred and fifty million pounds sterling. I say, Mr. Chairman, that the armaments of all countries are eating the life blood out of all nations; and as a matter of fact, this great increase in armaments in all countries will have to cease eventually, because, as we find in Germany according to report, they talk of building three or four of the Dreadnought type of ships next year, and England talks about building more ships of the Dreadnought type. Of course, what the Germans say, what England goes on to say, is we must increase our navy, we must spend three or four millions of money on our navy; and please understand in the next session of Parliament—and what I say now I know—you will find in the next session of Parliament there will be a big demand by the Opposition. I was surprised to hear that letter read by Mr. Balfour when he talks about peace and goodwill towards all nations. I say that next session the party Mr. Balfour leads, in the next session of Parliament, will be demanding another four millions of money to be spent on the navy next year. What will the Germans say to that? They will say, “Oh, well, if you are going to increase your navy by three or four millions then we must spend a few millions,” and so the game goes on all round. I trust all the organised workers in this country, and if there are any workers from other countries, that they will urge on their respective Governments that this suicidal policy should be put an end to at once; and let us build an Empire, if we do have one, on humane lines; so that the men and the women and the children in all countries will be properly housed, properly fed, and properly clothed.

PROFESSOR KRAUTERKRAFT (Turin) said: He thought it would be interesting for the Congress to know what was the opinion of the workmen employed at the Armstrong Works near Naples, in Italy. He had had opportunities of talking with many of them; and they had replied that certainly if they were independent they would make things that would be much more useful than the guns and other war things on which they were employed by Messrs. Armstrong at Naples; but they were ignorant, and they





Congress Delegates at Windsor Castle.



Congress Delegates at Windsor Castle.

were taught it was necessary to fight, and they worked at making weapons for war. These workmen said, "Give us education, teach us, and you will soon see the huge manufactories of weapons disappear; and you will find that the working class has only one desire, that of working at something that will be useful and beneficial, and not at something that is destructive to humanity."

The resolution was carried unanimously, and the Congress adjourned until Thursday morning at 10.30.

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## CONGRESS EXCURSION TO WINDSOR.

Wednesday afternoon was spent in a delightful way by between 400 and 500 delegates of the Congress and friends in a visit to Windsor Castle, the historic residence of the Kings of England on the upper Thames. By command of King Edward VII., the whole of the State apartments were thrown open to the visitors, who were received with the greatest courtesy, on the King's behalf, by the Master of the Household and other officials of the Court. The treasures of the Castle, both pictorial and antiquarian, were inspected with much interest, and the splendid views of Eton and the Thames Valley were much enjoyed. The tour having been completed by a visit to St. George's Chapel, the visitors had tea together at the White Hart Hotel, and caught a train back, in the late afternoon, to town.

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In the evening a public meeting was held in the Congress Hall of the Franco-British Exhibition, at Shepherd's Bush. Mr. J. G. Alexander presided, and speeches were delivered by Professor Ruysen (France), Dr. Heilberg (Germany), Signor E. T. Moneta (Italy), Pastor Umfrid (Germany), and Senator La Fontaine (Belgium).

Simultaneously some local peace meetings were held, notably by the South London Peace Society at the Central Hall, South Street, Greenwich, when the Mayor (Mr. Donald McCall) presided, and addresses were given by Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P. (the Member for Deptford), and others.

Earlier in the day a party of delegates had been conducted round Westminster Abbey by the Sub-Dean, the Rev. Canon Duckworth.

## THIRD SESSION OF CONGRESS,

*Thursday morning, July 30th.*

*Chairman:* LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH.

The CHAIRMAN said: We begin to-day with an interesting episode. A deputation has been sent to us from the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops with a message of greeting. I will call on the Bishop of Ripon to read the resolution.

### **From the Lambeth Conference.**

The BISHOP OF RIPON said: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I feel myself honoured in being allowed not merely to be the mouthpiece of the Bishops assembled in Conference at Lambeth, but in being permitted to appear before you who are joining together in so laudable and so interesting an object. We have met as an assembly of Christian ministers at Lambeth, and have discussed many questions affecting the welfare of the Church and the welfare of the Christian communities throughout the world; but we have not been unmindful of the great and pressing question which is occupying your minds, and there has been passed a resolution, and I may venture to say that that resolution carries with it the whole weight of the Anglican Episcopate—a resolution on the subject of peace and arbitration. I may explain that the resolution was passed not with the thought of bringing it before your Congress, but it was passed on the merits of the case itself. (Applause.) It may, perhaps, be interesting to you that I should read the terms of the resolution as passed by the Lambeth Conference.

It was to this effect:

“That this Conference, while frankly acknowledging moral gain sometimes won by war, rejoices in the growth of higher ethical perceptions evidenced by the increasing willingness to settle difficulties among nations by peaceful methods. It records, therefore, its deep appreciation of the services rendered by the Conference at the Hague; its thankfulness for the

practical work achieved, and for the principle of international responsibilities acknowledged by the delegates; and finally, realising the dangers inseparable from national and commercial progress, it urges earnestly upon all Christian peoples the duty of allaying race prejudice, of reducing by peaceful arrangements the conflict of trade interests, and of promoting among all races the spirit of brotherly co-operation for the good of all mankind." (Applause.)

If I may add one single word or two respecting the purpose and drift of that resolution, I would ask you to notice that it deals with what I suppose we must all recognise as a source of danger, and as certainly an unworthy spirit which sometimes is met with in international life—that is the spirit of race prejudice. I feel positively certain that there is not one amongst you here who are labouring for peace who does not wish as far as possible to minimise, to reduce, to annihilate shall I say, the existence of that spirit of chauvinism. I may say that it is to me a wonder that any nation which has advanced with the civilisation of the world could entertain that spirit within its bosom much longer. Surely we have passed beyond the stage in which ignorance should be allowed to breed prejudice. It is surely true that the more nations understand one another the more they will respect one another. If the Providence of God governs the evolution of the world, then race conditions mean race contributions to the general weal. He must be blind, indeed, who does not see that for every nation there is given opportunity for contributing some special gift to the advancement and progress of humanity.

I may remind you of the story of which one man is supposed to be the hero, who, when he wished to maintain the prejudice against a certain individual, said, "Please don't introduce me, because I want to hate him." Now you have taken a step which diminishes the possibility of international hate, because you have been introducing one another throughout the days of this Congress. Nothing so destroys the spirit of prejudice as knowledge of each other. I don't believe the proverb that "familiarity breeds contempt" is any more true than that "familiarity breeds friendliness." But may I add one other word. If there is to be the minimising of race prejudice, there ought to be the extension of international sympathy. It does seem to me that one of the risks we run to-day arises from the fact that we do not put ourselves in our neighbour's place. (Applause.) I may remind you that modern warfares have very largely developed because the pressure of existing circumstances and of past obligations have sometimes combined to war against the spirit of national

aspiration, and the need of national expansion. Surely it is not unfair or untrue to say that the Seven Years' War was largely due to the revival of the spirit of Prussia; that the revival in Italy gave rise to the Franco-Austrian war; and that the felt necessity for a re-organised Germany gave rise to the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars. If there had been an international spirit of sympathy, and people had been able to understand what was the end for which the restlessness of certain nations was groping, in time of difficulties there might have been an introduction of such international accommodation as might have averted war. All I plead for is that we should add to our spirit of amity the spirit of sympathy, and endeavour to understand international points of view.

Further may I say—for allusion was made to this at some previous meeting—that it was the opinion of that great historian, Professor Mommsen, that there was one indispensable condition for the protection of the advancing civilisation of the world, and that was mutual understanding and friendliness between the great Teutonic nations of the world. (Applause.) The story comes to us, I am happy to say, from the pen of an American professor honoured across the water and honoured here, that among the last words of the great German historian were, "Preach this doctrine everywhere and anywhere, wherever you can get an opportunity of its being heard." Speaking for ourselves (the Bishops), we who have met to deal with other matters have sympathy with you in your efforts, because you are forming, I hope, not merely the spirit of friendliness among yourselves, but that large public opinion, which is the greatest power of modern times. If public opinion be against the spirit of war, war will have but little chance. Public opinion, according to an Italian thought, is the queen of the world. God grant that public opinion, in which as it were the decrees of the Hague Conference will find crystallisation, will ever be on the side of those noble ideals which I am persuaded are dear to your heart. (Applause.)

### **The United States for Peace.**

The BISHOP OF MASSACHUSETTS said: Our delegation represents three-parts of the world—England, the United States of America, and that great insular Continent on the other side of the Equator. International peace depends upon the spirit and temper of the great body of people. War bears most hardly upon the wage-earning people. (Applause.) As the wage-earning people gain in intelligence, and also in influence on their own Governments, we may



The Bishop of Carlisle.  
(Rt. Rev. Dr. Diggle.)



The Bishop of Hereford.  
(Rt. Rev. Dr. Percival.)



The Deputation from the Lambeth Conference.

(1) The Bishop of Perth (Australia). (2) The Bishop of Ripon. (3) The Bishop of Massachusetts, U.S.A.



hope for international peace and increase of comity between nations Give an intelligent people time to think, and they will usually think right and honestly. (Hear, hear.) One of the great advantages of the Hague Conference is that it gives the people time to think. It delays war, in order that there may be opportunity for mutual understanding at any critical moment. The United States is a Government of the people, for the people, by the people. She stands between two great oceans. She can be depended upon, we believe, because of her Government and her position, to stand, wherever she can stand with justice, for international peace. (Applause.)

### **Australia and Compulsory Service.**

The BISHOP OF PERTH (Western Australia) said: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I will only detain you two minutes. Though I come from a country which is enormous in area and very small in population, we desire peace just as much as anyone else, perhaps more so, because we want to develop our country, and we know perfectly well we cannot develop it properly unless peace reigns throughout the world. I have only one word to say in explanation of our attitude in Australia. I daresay some of you imagine because we want to have universal service there, that we are warlike. The truth is entirely opposite to that, and let me tell you the reason. We believe that war very often results from panic, and the people most subject to panic are the weak. We believe war very often results from the irresponsible writings and utterances of irresponsible people. (Applause.) Now we think that if all the people who talk loudly about outrages, who talk loudly about insults to the nation, and the people who are always anxious that the British fleet shall come and protect their particular interests in money in different parts of the world, if only these people were liable to be called upon next day to serve, then they would not utter these irresponsible chatterings which cause war. (Murmurs.) Now, perhaps, you will understand why we believe if everybody is liable to be called upon to serve they will be far more careful about what they say, and a great many of the wars which might occur will be avoided. I want to bear a message from Australia to you that we thank you for every effort that you have made and are making on behalf of international peace.

The CHAIRMAN said: It is quite foreign to my duty to make any speech, but you will expect me to say a word or two to thank the deputation for having come to us and for having brought the message they have delivered. (Hear, hear.) That is to me a great

source of personal satisfaction. We had at our first meeting a representative of Archbishop Bourne, who gave us a most interesting statement of what has been done, by the order of that prelate, in all the Roman Catholic Churches of the country—how he had ordered prayers for the good working and good effect of this Congress. We have had support also from what are called the Free Churches of the land. But we were waiting for a message which did not come from the communion to which I belong—the Anglican. It has come, and I am very glad to know from the Bishop of Ripon that it has come spontaneously. It was arrived at without the notion of communicating it to this assembly. It was the spontaneous and yet the deliberate resolution of the Conference of Bishops. We rejoice to know that they are in spirit working with us in this labour of ours. Many men have different opinions as to the way the end will be reached. Many men have different readings of the past and its lessons. I will not enter into this now. I will only say one word with reference to a phrase in the resolution as to the collision of interests through the development of trade. For my part I believe that in Free Trade we have no threats of collision of interests. (Applause.) In Free Trade we have the best security for the maintenance of peace, and I deprecate, for my own part, speaking entirely for myself, even those preferences which arise from feelings of friendship, when I know that particular friendships are not favourable to the good relations of mankind at large, and are not favourable to the maintenance of that ampler Free Trade which knows no distinction of race. We are working here to bring the races of the world together, to let them understand one another, to let them realise that the good of one is the good of all. In that spirit we thank the bishops who have come to us, and desire them to take back to Lambeth the expression of our gratitude.

LORD COURTNEY then vacated the chair, and the remainder of the proceedings was presided over by Mr. J. G. ALEXANDER.

### **Vote of Thanks to the King.**

PROFESSOR QUIDDE moved a vote of thanks to King Edward for receiving the deputation from the Congress on Monday. He said he stood before the meeting as President of the Commission dealing with Actualities, and he thought there was no more actual thing to report than the reception granted to the delegates by his Majesty the King. This was the first time in history that a Sovereign had received the delegates of the Peace Congress. Ministers of State had come or had sent their deputies, but never before

had a King received the delegates of the International Congress. Their reception was very gracious, but more important still were the words uttered by King Edward on that occasion. In those words he expressed himself in favour of the movement and of the methods adopted by the peace delegates. It might be important for other societies to come into contact with highly placed personages, but for the Peace Congress it was of absolute necessity to influence those people in whose power it was to declare war or to declare for peace. Therefore the King's reception and the words spoken by him were of the greatest importance. Equally gratifying was the fact that her Majesty the Queen had expressed the same ideas. (Applause.) The Congress ought to be thankful for that, and Commission A therefore submitted a resolution on the subject.

[The text of the resolution will be found on page 4.]

The resolution was put to the Congress and carried unanimously.

### **The Bishop and Conscription.**

REV. G. HOOPER: A resolution of thanks has just been passed to the bishops. Some of us want to know whether that means thanks for the speech on conscription? We want to know whether now is the time to enter a protest. Some of us have no sympathy with that speech.

The CHAIRMAN: There was no resolution. Lord Courtney expressed his thanks to the bishops for having come, and I am sure we all agree with that. I cannot see that it would be in order to raise the question of the contents of one of the speeches made by the deputation.

PROFESSOR J. R. PATERSON, D.D. (Edinburgh): Do you rule it is impossible for us to dissent from the opinion of a bishop coming as a deputation from the Lambeth Conference and advocating universal conscription? I hold that we ought to be permitted to make some protest and some expression of disapprobation of that speech. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: That matter ought to go before one of the Commissions. No resolution, except on the purest matters of form, can be brought before the Congress unless it has been submitted to one of the Commissions.

The next subject to be dealt with by the Congress was that of the limitation of armaments.

### The Limitation of Armaments.

Mr. G. H. PERRIS submitted the report of Commission D (Limitation of Armaments). He said: For every man and woman who attempts to-day to face the facts of modern society there are two great anomalies which must meet them at the outset. In the first place the problem of poverty, and in the second place the problem of the armed peace. I speak of them as two, but really they are vitally connected with each other. They are not simply evils, though indeed they are evils obviously of the greatest magnitude. The idea that throughout lands boasting civilisation human beings waste months every year of their labour in order to maintain weapons of enmity is a disgusting fact. It is the most disgusting fact in the modern world. It is not simply that it is a criminal and insane waste of the mind and physical strength of men. It is, that it is in contradiction of the best pretensions that men individually and their statesmen on their behalf make every day. This is why I call these facts the two great anomalies as well as the two great evils. They reduce to absolute hypocrisy our pretence to be living in civilised communities. Consider for a moment this problem of armaments.

### Growth of International Friendship.

For ten years past now we have been making rapid progress, we believe, in the way of international peace. Every year the monarchs of the chief European States exchange visits amid the plaudits of a more or less servile Press, and amid the milder interest of the public. Every year they make speeches in which they assure people they have no interest in life higher than ensuring the peace of the world. Practically all great States are in alliance with each other, or have that minor kind of alliance, which may be stronger, which we call the *entente cordiale*. There have been, I think sixty permanent arbitration treaties negotiated within the five years since the Anglo-French *entente*. The number of these treaties, and the carrying out of these treaties, has so increased that virtually the whole civilised world has given its sign manual to the process of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes. A code of international law—rudimentary it is true, and with faults, but still comprehensive and perpetually being extended—has received the assent of the great majority of the powers of the world. In addition to these facts there are a thousand other facts—the private visitations that Frenchmen, Germans, English, and Russians make with growing cordiality.

### **Yet Armaments Increase.**

But in face of these facts, which suggest that men are men and not beasts, there is a perpetual increase of weapons for wholesale manslaughter. If one could imagine one of those romantic visitors coming from one of the other planets to this earth, he would surely say, when he saw this, that he had come to the largest madhouse which could be imagined. Now there is a common superstition that this state of affairs is more or less actively approved by the great bodies of the nations. I don't believe any such slander for one moment. I don't believe for a moment that the masses of labouring people of Europe or the United States love war. They hate war, and they have good reason to hate it. They do not love military service, in spite of the bishops. (Cheers.) You will never get any audience of working people, from the Ural Mountains to the Rocky Mountains, to say they love military service, or that they would not do away with it if they could. I will go further and say, there is no audience of working men who could be got together who would endorse the views put forward by that eminent and wealthy pensioner of this State, Lord Cromer, that we were in peril of some indescribably great European war, which made it advisable to stop relieving the needs of our aged people. These are the superstitions which prevail only among the respectable classes of society. (Applause.) It takes a completely respectable person—I mean a person half of whose manhood has been decayed by perpetually living in the West End of London, or some similar place—to suppose that the correct and proper methods of insuring a house is to fill the house with explosives! Any working man or working woman will tell Lord Cromer that such an idea is an imposture, that it is not really believed even by the people who pretend to believe it, but that they pretend to believe it for a certain purpose. I don't think the peace movement has said as much as it should have done, or has said it as positively as it should have done, on this question.

### **Precedents for Limitation.**

There are, as you know, two or three historic examples of the effective limitation of armaments. Many years ago the British Empire, dealing with the problem of the Canadian border, arrived at an agreement for the limitation of armaments which has been effected without a break ever since. The great lakes of the American-Canadian frontier have been disarmed for nearly a hundred years. In more recent years Chile and Argentina have arrived at an agreement of relative disarmament; and it was one of the happiest

results of the peaceful breaking away of Norway from Sweden that it was agreed that there should be a certain disarmed and neutral zone between the two countries. Those, you may say, are small instances. I venture to say the first case is not a small instance, but one which we should be thankful for. Think of what would be the cost if Great Britain had to defend herself, in the sense in which the word is generally used, across the whole length of the Canadian border land. But these are relatively small instances of the practice of the limitation of armaments. The first Hague Conference, as you know, made a sort of attempt to deal with this problem. I cannot give time to explain why it failed, but I would briefly say that practically the whole efforts of the Commission of the first Hague Conference were devoted to the attempt to stereotype weapons, for instance the calibre of rifles and the size of weapons, and in some kinds to suppress weapons altogether. For instance, they came within an ace of an agreement to suppress submarines altogether. Well, I have always felt myself that was not the right way to approach the problem. At any rate it conspicuously failed, and for that reason and other reasons the second Hague Conference made no attack on the problem whatever. I cannot congratulate our Government, much as I wish to do so, on the way the problem was put forward. In any case our Government, I suggest, never should have accepted the refusal of certain Powers even to allow the discussion of the problem.

### **Study of the Question.**

We of the Peace Party have made several attempts to study the matter in quasi-expert fashion. About two years ago we formed an influential committee, of which Mr. John Hobson, Mr. Leonard Hobhouse, General Sir Alfred Turner, Mr. John Robertson, and several other members of Parliament were members. We published a report which runs into a large number of detailed propositions. One of the most important is one which I shall not do more than mention now, but I must mention it lest I should be supposed capable of ignoring the fact that one of the great reasons for the competitive maintenance of armaments is the fact that Great Britain still stands before the world unashamed in defence of the ancient practice of marine privateering. Besides this British Committee there was an exceedingly influential committee, of which Mr. Mead was probably the prime organiser, which discussed this problem, I think with somewhat similar results. At any rate last year, at the Munich Congress, a special permanent commission on the

question of the arrest of armaments was appointed, and so many as could get together met yesterday and went into certain propositions. There were representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States, Germany, and one or two smaller nations present, and I should say that the resolution which I shall propose to-day had the unanimous acceptance of that commission with the exception that one of our members, Pastor Umfrid, desires to move an addendum. But, as far as they go, I think I am authorised to say that the Commission is unanimous in putting forward these proposals.

### **A Naval Conference Needed.**

Briefly our plan is this. We propose that instead of waiting, and perhaps risking another failure at the third Hague Conference, which will not meet, as you know, for another six years, in the year 1914, that a special conference should be called of the great naval powers, following upon the initiative and the offer which the British Government made to the last Hague Conference, an offer, you remember, to exchange every year its naval programme in advance with other Powers who would do the same, with a view to negotiation for the arrest of naval armaments. Now, those of us here who are Britishers will regard it, I think, as a point of honour that the British initiative at the Hague last year should not fall dead. We cannot let statesmen suppose that the people are not prepared to support them. We have not forgotten that initiative, but we are conscious that that initiative was not strongly enough placed before the peoples of the world. We suggest, therefore, that without any delay whatever a special conference of the Powers should be called, and that the British Government—I hope the British Government—should put before this Conference a practical plan for a limitation of naval armaments, and that this should be done in such good time that it would be possible for that plan to be tried before the meeting of the third Hague Conference in 1914.

### **A Formula of Arrest of Budgets.**

In the second place, we suggest that the proper and practical method of approaching the problem is not to attempt to limit the size of rifles, or to suppress torpedoes, but is to take the total expenditure, and agree for a short term of years not to increase that amount. We claim that that is an absolutely simple and practical idea in its application. England would agree, and Germany would agree, that for three years, let us suppose, they would not increase the total amount spent in the last three years. I think it cannot be suggested that is a suppression of the capacities of mankind—as

might be suggested if new inventions were ruled out—or that it is impracticable in working. At any rate we suggest it for the purpose of discussion at such a conference as we demand. Again I wish to say that this is not a question for the decision simply of comfortable persons like ourselves gathered in this room. I insist on reminding you of the interest of the poor labouring population in this question. The masses of the people may not be eloquent except in cases of emergency, but if they are not eloquent in words they have a perfect knowledge of the difference between words and deeds, and I believe if we could see into the hearts of our own and other peoples to-day we should see a feeling of sickness against the quantity of words of peace and the paucity of deeds of peace. You will remember that in calling the first Hague Conference the Czar warned the world that, unless the nations agreed shortly to arrest armaments, the States of the world would be faced by revolution. I ask what has been the fate of the Czar since his betrayal of those words? He is faced by revolution, and not least among the factors that have brought about that state of affairs is the perpetual growth of the instruments of militarism. At the other end of the scale you have in England a country which is relatively rich and comfortable. Personally, as a Socialist, I don't object to the manufacture of Socialists by the adhesion to antiquated institutions; but I believe there is no sane man who wishes a social cataclysm to be precipitated by the refusal of those who have the power to impose peace to deal with the immense burden which has to be carried to-day in the shape of armaments. I suggest that is a prospect which cannot possibly be ignored. We have to face an absolute choice, within a relatively short term of time, between the achievement of this end and a social revolution directed both by individual action, such as the anti-militarists in France, and by collective action—a social revolution directed against the frightful hypocrisy of professions of peace whilst maintaining the weapons of war.

I therefore beg leave to move these two resolutions, as follows :

RESOLUTION IV.—Considering that, as the first British delegate stated at the Hague on August 17th, 1907, the yearly expenditure on armaments of the Powers of Europe, the United States, and Japan increased, between the first and second Peace Conference, from £251,000,000 to £320,000,000, or £69,000,000 in eight years; and that, if it be not stopped, there will be a further increase of this horrible waste before the third Conference meets in 1914;

Considering the perils of such a failure of international statesmanship, and the advice of M. Bourgeois, the first French delegate, that “between

now and the next Conference the consideration of the question should be resolutely proceeded with ; ”

And considering the offer of the British Government to negotiate with other Governments for a common arrest of naval armaments,

The Congress urges that such negotiations should be immediately entered upon, and that a special Conference of the chief naval Powers should be called without delay, so that a practical plan for such a stand-still may be elaborated and may be put into operation before the meeting of the third Hague Conference, when, if it has worked successfully, it may lead to a more general agreement.

2. The Congress expresses the opinion that, for the moment, a practical method of such an arrest of armaments would be an agreement by the contracting States for a short terms of years not to exceed the average total expenditure on army and navy, jointly or separately, during a similar preceding period. (Applause.)

M. JACQUES DUMAS: If I have well understood what Sir Edward Fry and the other distinguished delegates at the Hague Conference said last year, such a Conference is not yet able to carry out the resolutions proposed, because the previous technical studies are not yet complete. The resolution I would propose is that the previous technical studies should be at once begun, so that the further resolution should be able to be carried out without delay. How are these technical studies to be started? Some of you may be aware that Dr. Jacques Dumas has left me what are called the Thibault funds to help the peace movement on the Continent of Europe. As far as the revenue of these funds may go, I am prepared to consecrate the total revenue of these funds until the next Hague Conference to the technical study of the question of the limitation of armaments. This means that when the question of the funds is completely settled, as we hope it may be in a few months time in the Court of Appeal in Paris, I may be ready to give £500, £600, or perhaps £700 a year to meet the expenses of a technical committee which would study all the technical questions which must be settled previous to the resolution of the States concerning the limitation of armaments.

Mr. S. R. YARNALL (Philadelphia): I shall take only a moment to propose an amendment to come at the end of Section 1. Several of us have talked together since the meeting when the resolutions were framed, and it seems to us the amendment which I propose is necessary to give true effectiveness to the resolution as a whole. There is an old proverb, “That what is everybody’s business is nobody’s business.” The amendment calls upon the British Government to take the initiative in calling such a Conference as that proposed. There seems a special appropriateness for that

action. First of all, because the greatest naval Power should be the one to call a conference to consider the limitation of naval armaments; secondly, because the King of England has so signally honoured this Congress in receiving a delegation from it, and expressing sympathy with its objects; thirdly, because the present Government of England has shown its active sympathy by the appearance of two of its most distinguished members at gatherings in connection with the Congress. A most important announcement is that in to-day's papers that 144 members of Parliament have addressed to the Prime Minister a letter urging that he should consider the limitation of armaments. (Applause.) Therefore I propose this amendment to go at the end of Clause 1:

"The Congress further resolves that the British Government be earnestly requested to call such Conference at the earliest convenient moment."

Mr. G. H. PERRIS: I feel sure the Commission will accept that as an integral part of the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN: I am informed by the Chairman of the Commission that it is accepted by the Commission.

Dr. G. B. CLARK: To argue in favour of limitation of armaments would be about as wise as to argue in favour of the multiplication table or the Ten Commandments, but what I would like would be a discussion as to how we are to bring about this limitation, and what are the difficulties in our way. Now what are the facts of the case? Eighteen years ago at this Congress I proposed a resolution practically similar, and when we had the Czar's rescript and the eloquent and powerful arguments in it, I thought we were in view of coming towards that goal, but, alas! to-day we are as far off as ever. Sir Edward Fry told the Hague Congress there had been an increase of armaments of £69,000,000. I wish Sir Edward had also told the Conference that nearly one-half that increase was made by Great Britain alone. What Government does stand in the way? Where ought we to send missionaries? I regret to say the only country that stands in the way at the present time is Great Britain. Our Prime Minister made a speech the other day in which he told us that where ten years ago we had two soldiers, now we have three. During ten years over 30 per cent. increase has taken place. Where we spent a shilling ten years ago on the army we now spend half-a-crown. Compare that with any other country, and you find the only great Power increasing her armaments and cost is Great Britain. Moreover, one of the speakers pointed out afterwards that the two great military Powers of Europe only spend £59,000,000 a year on their armies; while we, with our two miserable armies,

the one at home and the one in India, spend £51,000,000; and taking in the Colonies, the British Empire spends as much on her army as Germany and France. So the one country which is the greatest criminal and the greatest sinner has been Great Britain. Where you want a crusade is in Great Britain, because Great Britain stands in the way. We are not a great military power, although the military party in the country is a powerful one; but we are a great naval power, and the great difficulty is the question of naval limitation. There is no technical difficulty regarding a territorial army, which can be cut down proportionately and simultaneously, and each Power will be as before. There are difficulties, however, about naval armaments, and we have to face them. Lord Cromer talks about war in the House of Lords, and the gentlemen in the House of Commons talk about war, and the *Daily Mail* and other papers write about it, and Mr. Lloyd-George spoke as if it were a trivial matter, but it is a very serious matter. What policy are we to carry out before we have limitation? The leader of the German party of peace in the Reichstag stated that if we would agree that private property at sea should be in the same position as private property on land he thought his party would be able to prevent any further growth in Germany. If that had been carried at the last Hague Conference, his party would have prevented a greater German navy. Is there any cause for Germany to increase her navy? Technical gentlemen tell us that naval power depends on two things—the amount of mercantile marine a country has to defend, and the character of her coast. The German mercantile marine has been increasing wonderfully fast. Germany now stands second to us, and she has been developing much faster than we have. If you require a fleet to protect your merchant shipping, then Germany requires to have a navy equal to the growth of her mercantile marine. Sir John Fisher and the Lords of the Admiralty are very powerful, and they prevented this being done at the Hague Conference; and until we are able to persuade this Government that the old plunder policy of the past has to be given up, and private property at sea put in the same position as private property on land, there can be no limitation of naval armaments. There were two things very much desired by nearly all the nations at the Hague Conference—one was this limitation, and the other the limitation of laying down floating mines. You know in the late Russo-Japanese war many mines were laid down, and hundreds of Chinese trading junks were blown up, and thousands of lives of Chinamen were sacrificed. But Germany refused to give up that right; but if we give up the right to steal pri-

vate property at sea, Germany will give up that right. That is a problem to be considered. What are you going to keep a navy for? Is it to be a great plundering and stealing force, or only for defence? If you use it for defence, and allow private property at sea to be safe, you will be able to get that limitation. I am glad to say the Lord Chancellor has been doing his level best—(applause)—and we have got some members of the Cabinet strongly on our side. It will be a fight as to whether the war party or the peace party will get the upper hand.

SIGNOR MONETA (Italy) said he noted that all the proposals of the peace party had made great progress. Many years ago the State of Massachusetts proposed that disputes between the States of America should be referred to a tribunal. This idea had grown and taken force throughout the world, but the question of disarmament had made no such progress, but remained stagnant. It was extremely difficult to come to an agreement on the question of disarmament, and the best way would be not to talk so much about it, but to set an example. Italy had done that. She had been disarming steadily of late years. He wished some Great Power would set that example, and pointed out that the moment a great Power began to disarm the financial result, the economic consequences, would be so tremendously to the advantage of that State that the other States would have to disarm also. The State that disarmed would disarm suspicion in regard to other States. He concluded by urging that they should try to exercise their influence to persuade one of the Great Powers to disarm, without waiting for any treaty for international arrangement.

PROFESSOR QUIDDE said he supported the resolution most heartily. He could quite understand Dr. Clark denouncing his own Government, but he thought he had done a little too much in that direction. It was all very well to recognise their own faults, but others had faults as well, and he had to say the German Government had committed as great faults. It was a great mistake of the German Government not to have met the proposals that came from the British Government to reduce naval armaments. The great argument always produced in Germany against this idea was that Germany's commercial navy was growing enormously, and so the battle fleet must grow as well to protect the commercial interests of Germany. But could anybody in Germany believe that a growing German navy would place Germany in a better position? For every battleship Germany built England would build two. This would be done in quite a mechanical way, because the supremacy of the sea

was absolutely necessary for the existence of England as a nation. Therefore, if Germany insisted upon building new ships, England would build more ships, and the proportion would always be more or less the same. They had to find the way to limit this expenditure. They heard much about the financial burden of armaments, but the German people were as well able to bear the expenditure as the British. The important point was that this money ought to be expended for other and better purposes.

The Conference adjourned.

[The continuation of the discussion on armaments will be found on page 128.—ED.]

## FOURTH SESSION OF CONGRESS,

*Thursday afternoon, July 30th.*

*Chairman :* MR. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER.

The CHAIRMAN: There is one little duty that we have not yet performed, which I am sure the Congress would wish to be performed. We miss here amongst us this year our veteran Frédéric Passy, of Paris. I am sure it would be the universal wish of the Congress to send to him a telegram of greeting and of regret. (Applause.) One other of our veterans whom we miss here this year is M. Fredrik Bajer, who is represented by his son, and therefore in that case I suggest we may charge his son with a message to M. and Madame Bajer of our regret that they are not able to be present with us at this Conference.

This was agreed to.

### **The Turkish Question.**

Owing to Ahmed Riza Bey having to return to Paris, the Turkish question was taken before resuming the discussion on the limitation of armaments.

AHMED RIZA (one of the leaders of the Young Turk Party, and who since then has become Speaker of the Turkish Parliament) said: It appears to me superfluous to give in this place any account of the situation in Turkey. To do so would be merely to exhibit to your eyes a picture which, in more than one respect, would be as distressing to you as to myself. I therefore prefer to pass directly to the causes which appear to me to have brought about this state of things. I call your attention to this statement the more urgently because what is called "the Eastern question" has always given rise to the most serious complications between Foreign Powers, and is a grave menace to universal peace.

The chief causes of the present sad condition of affairs have been as follows:—

(1.) The arbitrary and uncontrolled rule. A despotism, at once

cowardly and reactionary, practically discouraged all lofty sentiments, fettered intellectual development, and thwarted every effort after progress. This feeble despotism seeks to create for itself a fictitious strength by sowing dissension amongst the different nationalities of which the Ottoman Empire is composed. This is why it sedulously cultivates among them the spirit of hatred and rebellion.

(2.) Troubles provoked by professional agitators. A host of *agents provocateurs*, introduced from without, excited in the minds of the people a senseless jingoism, based on religious fanaticism and national aspirations as narrow as they are mean. Some missionaries of all persuasions, on their part, act on the minds of the young, and exploit the ignorance and the sufferings of the peasantry. Their propaganda, often opposed to the very spirit of the Gospel, is supported by diplomatic, and occasionally even by military action. A large portion of the European Powers take advantage of the false news put in circulation to kindle the passions of one people against another; whereas their duty is rather to exert themselves in order to effect a rapprochement of these peoples by combating these same foolish prejudices and baseless hatreds which separate them.

(3.) The cupidity of the Powers. The rivalries of the great commercial States arouse violent competitions, conflicts of interests and mutual intrigues; and it is to be feared that their cynical designs of taking possession of all the elements of the country's wealth may bring about an explosion of general discontent and give occasion to a sort of boycott from which foreigners would suffer greatly.

(4.) Diplomatic anarchy. The fluctuations and inconsistencies of the diplomacy pursued by the different Powers express themselves, according to their respective interests, at one time by extreme complaisance towards the Sultan, at another by savage brutality towards the people. Their naval demonstrations, and their continual threats against and violation of the rights of the people, exasperate the national dignity of the Ottomans.

(5.) The partisan, interested and clumsy policy of the Powers. This policy, which consists in favouring the Christian elements of the population in Turkey, has aggravated the confusion, embittered racial and religious passions, and weakened the Government, while it has benefited neither Christians nor Moslems.

(6.) The ill-omened action of Russia in Macedonia. Russia has caused commemorative monuments to be constructed at various

points in Bulgaria. At the inauguration of each monument, her representatives have not failed to recall to the Bulgarians the idea of the Greater Bulgaria. The further gifts of guns and ammunition are intended to complete the work of these inflammatory harangues, which have caused megalomaniac ideas to germinate in the brains of the Bulgarians.

(7.) The warlike state of mind of the Balkan States. The armament of Bulgaria on the one hand, and on the other the abuse of power by the European States and their contempt for the rights of mankind, prove to us that the epoch of violence, of attacks by the strong on the weak, is far from being ended, and that European civilisation is not yet sufficiently far advanced. Being, above all, convinced that only the strong enjoy peace, we find ourselves compelled to arm ourselves in our turn to defend our lives, our national wealth, our independence, and the integrity of our fatherland against those who are already prepared to take advantage of a moment's negligence or of our internal difficulties.

(8.) Economic disturbance. The maintenance of the army on a war footing absorbs the revenue of the country, a portion of which is also appropriated by the palace. Economic activity is thus paralysed alike by want of money and by insecurity. The misery resulting from this is also a permanent cause of unrest and revolt.

(9.) Remedies. A great unrest dominates the East. It is the duty of the Congress to promote peace and brotherhood not only amongst the Great Powers of Europe, but amongst all divisions of human society. The most important task incumbent upon the friends of peace is to avoid the causes which engender conflicts. It is by disarming hatreds, passions, and duplicities that they should seek to bring about a pacific solution in Turkey. It is, in short, moral means which must be employed to reconcile the different races and avoid hostilities. The supporters of peace who defend the wishes of such-and-such a party, or the project of reform of such-and-such a Power, without taking account of local resistance, involuntarily take part in a warlike work. Peace is only durable when it is based on respect for the rights and interests of all. A project of reform must, therefore, be proposed which satisfies not this or that party, but all the subjects of the Empire. The people must be helped to raise themselves by their own efforts. Since all European reforms and innovations are regarded as a means of attacking the rights of Moslems, the Powers ought, in justice, to limit their demands to the application, pure and simple, of the Constitution of 1876, promulgated by the Sultan himself, which has been so happily re-established. We

firmly believe that this will suffice to regenerate the Ottoman Empire, and to assure the maintenance of peace in the East.

The resolution brought before the Congress is as follows :

RESOLUTION V.—“The Congress has learnt with the utmost satisfaction that, owing to the recent events in Turkey, the Constitution of 1876, which ensures religious and civil liberty, has been granted to the subjects of the Ottoman Empire ; and hopes that the various nationalities subject to the Turkish rule will henceforth be invested with the same rights and the same duties, without distinction of race or religion. The Congress asks that the Powers should give their energetic support to the legal and constitutional reforms which have been recently promised, and that they should permit no return to the regrettable state of things which prevailed in the past. The Congress hopes that on the basis of this Constitution it will be possible to bring about an integral pacific solution of the conflicts of nationalities, by giving up the perilous method of special reforms, exclusively in certain groups of nationalities, which endangers peace in the Orient by a fruitless agitation.”

The CHAIRMAN: The resolution as read to you in English is slightly corrected and modified in the last few words. The Commission, represented by its President, Dr. Quidde, does not wish to be understood as committing itself to any blame of the conduct of the Powers in the past, but simply proposes a congratulation upon the results obtained within the last few days, and a desire that reform in Turkey may proceed upon these eminently safe and desirable lines of being the same for all classes and all nations and all religions. (Applause.)

DR. KOLBEN (Vienna) said that he wished to have an addition or amendment to the resolution. He desired it to be understood that the Powers should not take back, that they did not invite the Powers to take back, any promises given to any nationality in the Ottoman Empire, and also that the Congress was not in favour of armed intervention for any nationality at all, so he wanted the following addition :

“That the Congress ask the Powers to press upon the Turkish Government with all peaceful means to achieve the reforms demanded.”

The CHAIRMAN said : “That they should oppose by all pacific means any return to the regrettable state of things which prevailed in the past.” The Commission accept.

MADAME THOUMAÏAN supported the resolution. She said : For eighteen years we have worked for this cause quietly, knowing that in the lands we represent we have to be very quiet, and even peaceful movements may be misunderstood. And I assure you one does get old in pleading a cause for so long, in pleading for nations

which are, as it were, dying. I come in the name of two Armenian Societies to support this resolution. What we want, what we demand—I say the word demand advisedly—what we demand is equality of rights, and of privileges, and of duties. After all, we are all one, all of those nations which suffer in what you call the Near East. Though I am representing really Armenia, I was only too pleased to unite with those others representing another part of the population in the Turkish Dominions, because God made of one blood all the human race. In the hospital I founded with God's help and friends in Turkey we make no difference. We receive Christians, Armenians, and others, and we receive our dear brothers the Mohammedans. Why should the *entente cordiale* be only for two nations? (Applause.) It belongs to all. It is the right of all. Now, do not say that because you have got that Constitution for Turkey, all is right. If you say that, it is because you do not know. We have that Constitution all right on paper. We want it strengthened, fortified, and upheld. You see we have had a great many promises for so long. Now we need bread; and we are mourning because we do not get for those lands the bread. Shall we not, we of the peace movement, do all we can for those countries as well? The breath of liberty we want, which is the right of everyone. Ah, while the populations in the Ottoman Empire suffer, and in consequence are in ferment, what are we doing in these lands? You know that the six Great Powers have done little, but God has given to each of us, if we want to use them, six great powers. These are love, prayer, thought, time, money, and strength. These we all have if we will, but we must deny ourselves, as I said, and sacrifice ourselves for peace, and be more whole-hearted, so that we have peace inside of our land as well as peace outside.

Mr. FELIX MOSCHELES said: When such a question arises as that before this Congress, I snort like an old war-horse, and must be at it again. This question of the treatment of some human beings—we need not name them, you know to whom we allude—in all countries, and more especially in the Far East, that treatment is so horrible that it spoils the best hours of our life to think of it. Non-intervention is a crime. We commit that crime deliberately. Non-intervention will always remain this. It is aiding and abetting crime if not actually participating in it. Non-intervention we have done away with in national relations. We are constantly comparing national and international relations. If we heard the cry of murder, however interesting the speeches we were listening to, we should rush out and try to prevent it, and jump over the wall of our neigh-

bour without inquiring whether we were trespassing or not. Yet the international morality is not the same as the national morality. We know we cannot advocate the use of force, and with our armies and navies go to prevent these horrors; but there is another force which is able to stop all these horrors. I think we must adopt new formulæ. We must not rest upon mere declarations. The strength of public opinion ought to be sufficient to prevent the use of arms exactly as the strength of public opinion in London is enough to establish authority and to prevent murder through the agency of a handful of police. While we are sitting in comfort and warmth, and we have actually had our lunch, there are others who are starving, and are subjected to the most terrible iniquities and indignities. It is to these, then, our thoughts should revert in every moment that we are happy; and for them we must act through public opinion and by the action of Government in all countries. Let us unite with our brothers in every country where the same feelings exist. Let us unite with them not only in protesting, but in raising our voices far beyond the precincts of this Caxton Hall, right through our cities and countries, and we shall succeed in stopping it, as we have already succeeded in stopping the horrors of the Inquisition and other barbarities.

The CHAIRMAN: We have just put in some words to make the resolution a little more expressive: "The Congress has learned with the utmost satisfaction."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. WILL THORNE: May I ask the Chairman to have that resolution circulated amongst the delegates.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, it should have been printed before. We will endeavour to have that done. In answer to Mr. Thorne, the President of the Commission explains that, as the Turkish delegate was obliged to leave this afternoon, this resolution had been taken rather earlier in the procedure than would have been the case otherwise, and therefore it could not be printed before it was submitted to the Congress. But it will be printed now that it has been adopted, and it has been read out in all the languages.

M. RIZA said he apologised to the Congress for this irregularity; it was on behalf of peace. He was obliged to go back at once to Paris and use all his influence to try and assure that now the Constitution has been granted in Turkey, the Young Turkey Party shall not break the peace, but the peace shall be preserved. (Applause.)

### Discussion on Armaments Continued.

Mr. ALEXANDER at this point vacated the chair, which was taken by SENATOR HOUZEAU DE LAHAIE, Brussels.

The discussion on the limitation of armaments was resumed.

DR. KOLBEN (Austria) criticised the resolution before the Congress. He said: There were two resolutions proposed by the Commission. He differed from the view, expressed by several speakers on these resolutions, the view that the States of Europe had first to be federated before the question of disarmament could be approached. This question of disarmament was so important that it could not be deferred, but must be taken in hand immediately.

The question had been studied for a long time. It had been studied almost to death, and it was ready to be solved. If the Governments waited any longer for the solution of this question, the people would take the matter in hand themselves and solve it. His idea of arriving at a solution was that committees be formed in every nationality to urge the Government to give them the material to study the question and to bring it to a final solution. There were now Members of Parliament who brought in collations on this question, but it is not being done frequently enough. This question ought to be before the public eye all the time, and in order to effect this it was necessary to have these committees specially for the purpose. He offered his services to the Austrian Government. He proposed, for no remuneration at all, to study the material if the Government would only supply him with the material. At the present time it was the military who studied this question of disarmament, but they could not expect military officers to commit suicide, or the military profession to kill themselves and erect a monument with the inscription: "Here lies the glory of European militarism." He prophesied that, if they went on with the question as it was proposed to do, they would not be any further next year. He asked them to take an example from the vigorous methods of a section of the women suffragists. (Laughter.) If they did that they were certain to come nearer to a solution than by the other methods, and therefore he proposed the following amendment, which had not been translated into English, he was afraid:

"The Congress desires that in all countries committees be formed to ask the Government to give them materials for the study of the question of disarmament."

CAPTAIN SIR FRANCIS VANE, Bart., regretted that, in hear-



Mrs. Illingworth.



Miss P. H. Peckover.



Rt. Hon. Sir J. T. Brunner, Bart., M.P.



Mr. Andrew Carnegie.



Mr. Joseph Rowntree.



The late Mr. Henry Boden.

Some generous contributors to the Congress Special Fund.



ing the many excellent speeches, he had not heard more ladies speak on this important question. On entering the hall he had met an old friend and comrade in South Africa, who had said, "What are you doing here, a warrior?" It was just because he had seen war, its injustice, its inhumanity, even its squalor, that he was here. While supporting the resolution, he wished to say that there were other ways of effecting our ends than those proposed in the resolution. For example, it is necessary for all practical men to convert the masses of the people, and to do so there is no more effective manner than that which makes the competition in armaments ridiculous. Therefore, as a soldier who had studied military history not a little, he thought one effective method was this. Every man who had studied the question knows that battles to-day are no more bloody than they were three or four centuries ago. Among the combatants no more men are killed by modern weapons, expensive modern weapons, than they were when our ancestors used the bow and arrow. This makes us pause, and it should make the Congress think how best to make this fact known to the people. In the field not a drummer-boy more is killed by Crucesots than by battleaxes, but the expense of modern weapons is much greater, infinitely greater. This expense is borne by the people, by the poor people, and those who live constantly on the verge of starvation. Therefore, in appealing to the bloodthirsty persons who desire for their breakfast tables *Daily Mail* accounts of strenuous combats, you can tell them that they are no richer in sanguinary literature, and to the poor of all the nations represented in the Congress you can tell them that every increase in expenditure on unproductive industry such as war, means that hundreds and thousands of children, who otherwise would have lived, die because of the additional expenditure. This sort of argument appeals, and it is true, and if the members of the Congress will go back to their countries with this message to the poor, that for every unnecessary battleship and every unnecessary battalion they construct or raise, and for every war in which they engage, thousands of poor children, who otherwise might have lived to lead useful lives, are starved to death, we shall progress towards our aims more easily than by many excellent resolutions, and even by many Parliamentary efforts in oratory. Firstly, make increased armaments ridiculous by showing that modern expensive weapons do not cause the death of their foes; then show that these same extravagant implements of war cause, not the death of soldiers, who, after all, are ready to be shot—it is their métier—but the slow starvation of the children of the working

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classes, who, in their time, and had they had a chance, might have become valuable citizens.

PROFESSOR HEILBURG (Breslau) proposed to strike out the second resolution on the limitation of armaments:—

“The Congress expresses the opinion that for the moment a practical method of such an arrest of armaments would be an agreement by the contracting States for a short term of years not to exceed the average total expenditure on army and navy, jointly or separately, during a similar preceding period.”

Now, though this resolution, he said, called it a practical method of solving the question, he thought it extremely unpractical, because the expenditure on warlike preparations is not only to be found in the annual Budgets published by the Government, but there were many other ways in which money was spent. For instance, for strategical railways. Military strength does not simply depend upon the quantity of money voted by Parliament every year, a question that was elucidated by Colonel von Schwarzkopf, the German delegate to the Hague Conference. He thought if they accepted that resolution the diplomats would come and point that out to them, and use the same arguments as were used at the Hague Conference. In regard to the proposition made by Doctor Kolben, who desired national committees to be charged with the study of the question of the limitation of armaments, there existed these commissions already. There existed the International Commission which was resolved upon by the Munich Congress last year, and it was decided that the International Committee should appoint the members. He did not know whether that had already been done. Of course, there would be no harm in accepting the resolution or amendment proposed by Doctor Kolben, but he did not think it would come to very much, because after they all went home now after the labours of the Congress, it was not very certain whether they would have time to do all the manifold duties that the Congress gave them. But if members could be found who would study the subject all the better. He criticised the arguments used by Sir Francis Vane, namely, that in modern wars the number of killed was not greater than in the wars of ancient times when people fought with bows and arrows. That ought not to go unchallenged to the public. Modern wars not only caused great miseries among men and women in general, but also caused a greater number of deaths on the battlefield, so his amendment was, as he had said before, to strike out the second resolution proposed by the Commission on the reduction of armaments.

Mr. EDWIN D. MEAD (Boston, U.S.A.) said: I wish, before speaking on the question, to give notice to the members of the Committee on the limitation of armaments that the Committee will have another meeting to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock, and as a matter referred to this Committee by the last Congress will be considered, I hope that all members will be present, and present punctually at 10 o'clock. Signor Moneta this morning, in speaking for Italy, spoke of the great help that would be given to this movement for the limitation of armaments if some single nation happily circumstanced would try the experiment upon its own feet; that it would at once, by loosing the terrible burden of the present armaments, so advance economically that it would lead in competition. Now I wish to say to you, and this is the importance of this whole question for us in the United States, that thirty years ago the United States stood precisely in that position. Thirty years ago this month John Bright, as we Americans remember, it was on the 4th of July, that he made a memorable speech in which he pictured the terrible burdens of the military system of Europe as something intolerable; and yet in the meantime they have nearly doubled; and he also said, in regard to the United States, that it was practically without these burdens, and therefore had an immense advantage in the economic race, and that if she persisted her competition would be so great as to force the nations of Europe upon an economic basis alone out of the present military rivalry.

Now, as a matter of fact, what has happened? We have had this winter the most thorough discussion of that matter in the United States Congress of recent years, and the Committee of Appropriations in our House of Representatives has called our attention to the fact that in pensions and preparations for possible war the United States to-day is spending more money than any other nation in the world. He also called our attention to the fact that in the appropriations for military and naval affairs for the coming year that appropriation exceeded by twenty-nine millions of dollars, or something like six or seven millions of pounds, all the money which has been spent by the United States from the foundation of the Government upon public buildings. That is appropriations for the army and navy for a single year. He also called our attention to the fact that in the United States, which people like to speak of as a non-military nation, at the present time 65 per cent., or practically two-thirds of our total national revenue, is being expended for pensions and preparations for war. In one year that great American Republic, which all liked to think of as

less military than other nations, has barely one-third of its national revenue to expend upon constructive purposes. Now, I mention these things in order that you may understand why we Americans, as well as the nations of Europe, feel this to be a most pressing question.

The development of the machinery for the arbitrament of differences by law in recent times has been very great, but we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the increase of the machinery of war has kept pace. Now, I lay it down as an axiom—I think we will all agree upon this—that if we are faithful to the spirit of the Hague conventions, the steady decrease of the machinery for the settlement of international differences by war, the steady decrease of that machinery should be commensurate, should keep even pace, unless new dangers can be pointed out, should keep even pace with the steady and now so remarkable development of the machinery for the settlement of those differences by law; that if we do not recognise that, then we are faithless, and the Governments are faithless, to the first principles of the Hague conventions. Now, I hold no proverb to be more irreverent and few to be more mischievous than the proverb that “The voice of the people is the voice of God.” Sometimes it is divine, but sometimes it is a demoniac voice; but I think the man in the street is right when he measures this movement by our attitude upon this subject. When the Congress and other peace congresses meet and go home, and the man in the street says, “All that is very well, and meantime you keep going on as if you did not believe it, and keep on piling up the machinery for settling your differences in the old way,” and says, “You are not earnest in this business,” I maintain the man in the street is right; and it is the duty of the Peace party, and it is the duty of the Governments, to see to it that the decrease of the old machinery keeps pace with the increase of the new.

Now, in the failure to do this I confess my Republic has been a sinner with the rest, and we have never attempted to sin more than this last year, when the proposal came from our administration to add four battleships this year, which, with the appurtenances, will cost altogether sixty million dollars, to our regular budget. Now, though we have a most popular administration, that proposition was voted down by a most overwhelming majority. I am glad to say that the leader of the opposition, Theodore Burton, is in London at this moment, and came and made himself a member of this Congress yesterday. I hope he may be heard in this hall, or in London, before he leaves this

City, and in this matter I wish to assure you, and I believe I speak rightly for American public opinion, I believe in this matter Theodore Burton, and not Theodore Roosevelt—to whom all honour in his place—has the sentiment of the American people behind him. But the question is, how long can we hold that sentiment if the great rival armaments proceed; and that is why it seems to me that we must all work together in this scheme.

Attention was called this morning to one good example which America, in connection with England, set to the world in establishing a three thousand mile frontier between the United States and Canada undefended. That undefended frontier is the safest frontier in the world. (Applause.) It is the safest frontier in the world for the very reason that the gentleman in this world with no pistol in his pocket is always safer than the brigand whose pockets are full of pistols. But let me call your attention to another thing, and I say this by way of an earnest Amen from America to Dr. Clark's noble and pertinent word this morning. America a hundred years ago took up a position about the inviolability of ocean commerce, through Benjamin Franklin, our greatest diplomatist, who signed a treaty defending this principle; and America, through her diplomatists and administration, has stood firmly to that opinion. Now, let us go home, as we failed to go home from Munich last year, and do our duty. Resolutions were passed at Munich last year that we should go home and in every nation—you in England did not need to be reminded because you had already done your duty—we should all go home and create important commissions to sit on this question. We have created such a commission in America of the ablest men in America, with Theodore Burton as chairman of that commission. It seems to me that the other countries of Europe have not done their duty in this respect. I hope we will take our resolution at Munich last year seriously, and address ourselves as we should to this matter. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think it is very necessary to make some order in the voting, because we have before us three or four different propositions and amendments. I will put to the vote firstly the first part of the proposition of the Commission on Armaments. To this part there is an amendment: "The Congress further resolves that the British Government be earnestly requested to call such a conference at the earliest convenient moment." It is an amendment accepted by the Commission, and will be voted on with the substantive motion.

A DELEGATE: It is very difficult to follow the amendment without copies of the resolution in our hands.

Mr. PERRIS: May I say the amendment, instead of saying that the Governments are recommended, simply says that the British Government is directly urged to summon the proposed conference.

The resolution was carried by a large majority.

DR. KOLBEN said he was afraid that even his own countrymen had not quite grasped the idea he meant to express. This commission was to be a commission to stimulate the Governments, to keep them always on the *qui vive*. He expressed himself by a simile that these national commissions ought to tickle the Governments, so as to keep them constantly in movement. If you tickle a person first perhaps he will laugh, but if you continue it will be very uncomfortable for him.

Mr. MEAD said: Mr. President, I think that the appointment or the urging of the Berne Bureau, or the action of this Congress, for the appointment of these committees would be all in vain. At Munich we voted for the appointment of a much more important national committee, and that thing has not been carried out. As a matter of fact, if this Congress should vote this thing nothing whatever, that is my belief, will come of it. There is absolutely nothing whatever to prevent friends of peace in every country organising committees to undertake this business; but for us to issue international mandates, either directly to the Congress, or through the Berne Bureau, is simply to multiply things on paper that would have no attention. I therefore express the hope that friends of peace in all countries might take this matter up on their own account, and that the Congress should take no action. What the best parliamentary form may be I do not know, but I accomplish this by moving that the resolution be laid on the table. I make that motion.

DR. KOLBEN said he was quite satisfied with the remarks made by a member of the Committee recommending the different nations to create these committees everywhere, and therefore he dropped his motion. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We now come to the second part of the resolution, as drafted under heading No. 2. There have been some proposals against that, and the discussion will now take place, and Mr. G. H. Perris will be the first to speak on Part II. of the resolution.

Mr. G. H. PERRIS: I shall only occupy you two minutes in asking you to vote the second part of the resolution, and to unanimously reject Doctor Heilberg's amendment. We have now agreed to ask the British Government to summon a special conference of

the great naval Powers to consider the question of the limitation of naval armaments. In this second part of the resolution we suggest a method, different from the method attempted at the first Hague Conference, by which this end may be reached. When we have a clear idea of how to reach an end and refuse to tell it to the world we simply stultify ourselves. If it can be proved that this is not the method of doing it that is rather different; but certainly what Doctor Heilberg said did not satisfy me on that point. He referred to the speech of Lieutenant-Colonel von Schwarzkopf at the first Conference. You will, perhaps, not remember that speech as well as I do, as I have gone repeatedly through it. It was an absolutely mediæval and antediluvian mix up of every reactionary argument you could possibly think of. (Hear, hear.) And I am glad M. La Fontaine recognises that. Really it was so. Lieutenant-Colonel von Schwarzkopf represented the man in armour of the Middle Ages, speaking absolutely out of the Fourteenth Century, and for him to be quoted upon a peace platform is something too astounding. Dr. Heilberg, in the second place, has suggested that an arrest of the total expenditure upon the navy—an arrest, that is to say by the average of a certain number of preceding years—is not a practical method of effecting this end. I will venture to say that if that is not a practical method, there is no practical method, I venture to say to stand still in any business in life is exactly the easiest thing to do. There is sometimes difficulty in going backwards, and very often, unfortunately, in going forward; but there is something terribly easy, and that is to stand still. I will ask any housewife present if there is anything easier, except spending more money, than regulating her budget for the next month by the last month. Because a budget has items which include all the other items, I ask you to dismiss the ingenious ideas of experts about fixing the calibre of rifles and the weight of shells as has been suggested now, and seize upon the fact that money is spent upon these articles, and if you forbid the Chancellor of the Exchequer to spend more money the thing will be stopped; the thing will be arrested gradually. That is all I have to say, but I trust we shall be as unanimous upon the second part of the resolution as we were upon the first.

Mr. MEAD: Mr. Chairman, I shall not delay the Congress a moment. I simply wish to say emphatically my position is precisely that which Mr. Perris has so clearly defined. I would add simply this, that again and again when we have had recommendations of this kind we have been met with objections that it was all

very well to make such recommendations, but we never suggested any method or next step. It is incumbent upon us to suggest a method, and I believe it is not only thoroughly practicable, but I believe it is possible, and in that matter I speak, I believe, for the American delegates. We were rejoiced this morning, and the friends of peace throughout all the world were rejoiced, by the petition of the 144 members of the House of Commons to the Prime Minister on behalf of the limitation of armaments. Let the newspaper readers of London and of the world read to-morrow that this Congress unanimously, or by an overwhelming majority, has adopted this, the most important vote upon this question of the limitation of armaments to which the Congress has ever come.

Mr. ASKEVOLD, speaking in German, said he thought it would be difficult for the Congress to propose practical means of arriving at the solution of the question, and he thought the question of the abolition of the right of piracy in war times was of greater importance than the question of the reduction of armaments. In order to arrive at the unanimous acceptance of this resolution, it would be necessary to put this second half of the question again before the Committee. He proposed that the Committee meet again and consider the second part of the question, and propose a resolution upon which all the members of the Congress were agreed, and which, according to his idea, would meet the needs of the case.

The CHAIRMAN: The proposition has now been made to refer the text back to the Commission, and it is according to the rules of this Congress that, when such a proposition is made, such a proposition should be voted upon in the first instance.

The motion to refer the text back to the Commission was lost. The vote was taken over again by card, and was declared to be lost.

The CHAIRMAN: The proposition made by the Delegate Askevold and another proposition just come to hand from the Portuguese delegates will, according to the rules of this Congress, be referred to the Commission that deals with that subject. The discussion now is in view of the vote on No. 2. The text is: "The Congress expresses the opinion that, for the moment, a practical method of such an arrest of armaments would be an agreement by the contracting States for a short term of years not to exceed the average total expenditure on army and navy, jointly or separately, during a similar preceding period." That is the text which the Congress has got now to discuss.

DR. HEILBERG said that now the proposition of Mr. Askevold had been rejected by the Conference, he thought that

the second part should be accepted. He referred to the remarks made by Mr. Perris, and said the "antediluvian" opinion expressed by Colonel von Schwarzkopf was not his; but that did not change the matter. Even an antediluvian man might sometimes be right on some points. With regard to making a step forward, they had to take care that they did not make a step forward that would prove injurious to the movement in favour of peace, and that was in reality not true progress.

The resolution, on being put, was carried by a large majority.

The CHAIRMAN: I think I ought to mention that several sums have been received for the Lucerne Museum. The members of the Berne Bureau, who had already subscribed 20,000 francs, have now subscribed some 10,000 francs in addition, and £50 has been received from an English lady, and it is hoped that further progress will be made.

Mr. J. B. HODGKIN: I want to ask, Mr. Chairman, whether the resolutions just passed can be sent immediately to the Government in order that the Prime Minister may have them before him before he speaks to the Congress to-morrow evening. (Hear, hear.)

The Congress adjourned until Friday morning at 10.30.

# YOUNG PEOPLE'S MEETING

AT

QUEEN'S HALL,

*Thursday, July 30th, at 7.30 p.m.*

*Chairman* : MR. J. G. ALEXANDER.

This meeting, which had been carefully organised by a Special Committee, was one of the most interesting of the Congress. It was estimated that some 1,500 young people of both sexes were present.

The proceedings opened with a display of life-saving methods, by prize companies of the BOYS' AND GIRLS' LIFE BRIGADES, under the direction of Captain H. E. Norton.\*

The first portion of the display consisted of demonstrations of FIRST AID by the 18th London Company Boys' Life Brigade, under the direction of Captain H. Darby. (This Company holds the Challenge Shield for First Aid and Stretcher Drill, annually competed for by the London and District Companies). "A building is being fitted with electric wires. The wires fuse, causing a serious gas explosion. Five workmen are injured. B.L.B. Company, at drill near by, hear explosion and rush to render first aid. Injuries attended to are: (1) hands burnt by live wire; (2) profuse bleeding from the nose; (3) compound fracture of forearm; (4) serious cut over the eye and concussion of the brain; (5) broken kneecap."

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\* The Life Brigades Organisation was formed some ten years ago, and is on somewhat the same lines as the other Brigades—that is, it is divided into battalions and companies, which meet regularly for drill, inspections, Church parades, etc., with (in the summer) route marches and camps. Each Company is associated with some Church, and every member must attend Sunday School or the Company Bible Class. *Exercises and instruction in the use of military weapons are excluded*; the subjects taught include drill, gymnastics, first aid, stretcher drill, swimming, life-saving from water, and fire drill. The Life Brigades comprise 400 Companies, 15,000 members, and 1,300 officers. The office of the Life Brigades is at 56, Old Bailey, London, E.C.

This was followed by DUMB-BELL AND SKIPPING DRILL by the 1st Leytonstone Company Girls' Life Brigade, under the direction of Captain Ethel Sellars. (This Company for two years held the Challenge Banner for Physical Drill, annually competed for by London and District Companies. It is now held by the 1st Harlesden Company).

Last came an exciting display of methods of SAVING LIFE FROM FIRE. For this purpose a wooden erection, representing the front of a three-storied house, had been specially built, reaching from the floor of Queen's Hall to the topmost balcony. The audience was roused to a high pitch of excitement as the lads of the Life Brigade scaled the high building with wonderful speed and precision, broke their way into the (supposedly) burning building, and emerged with (living) figures in their arms, which they proceeded to let down to safety from the dizzy height by means of life-lines. The whole display was carried through without a hitch, and well deserved the enthusiastic cheers with which the audience greeted it. Here was shown a field for courage and agility second to none, and the end of it all was the saving, instead of destruction, of human life.

The following account (from the programme) of the last section of the display may be printed here for reference: "By the 1st Leytonstone Company Boys' Life Brigade, under the direction of Captain E. B. Sulman. A three-storied building is supposed to be on fire. An alarm is raised, and the inmates find their escape cut off. A detachment of the Fire Section of the Boys' Life Brigade comes to the rescue, and promptly illustrates the different methods of saving life: (1) the jumping-sheet is used; (2) an extension ladder is put into position, and those inmates who are overcome by the smoke or are too nervous to jump are carried down; (3) pompiers scaling ladders are used in order to reach the upper floors, whence the inmates are lowered by life-lines. First aid is rendered to the inmates who have been overcome by the smoke (the new Schäfer method of resuscitation being illustrated)."

In addition to the display of life-saving methods by the Boys' and Girls' Life Brigades, one or two other special features of the meeting must be recorded. Miss F. Ferrar had arranged an admirable programme of music. The songs were led by a choir of fifty voices, under the direction of Mr. Cuthbert Kelly (of the Oxford House Choral Society, Bethnal Green).

The Queen's Hall organ, being under repair, was not available. Mr. Westlake-Morgan (organist of St. Bride's, Fleet Street) made,

however, admirable use of a piano in the accompaniment of the music.

The meeting proper commenced at 8 p.m. with the singing of the hymn, "Not with the flashing steel."

Not with the flashing steel,  
Not with the cannon's peal,  
Or stir of drum;  
But in the bonds of love,  
Our white flag floats above,  
Our emblem is the dove,  
'Tis thus we come.

What is that great intent  
On which each heart is bent  
Our hosts among?  
It is that hate may die,  
That war's red curse may fly,  
And war's high praise for aye  
No more be sung.

On, then, in love's great name!  
Let each pure spirit's flame  
Burn bright and clear;  
Stand firmly in your lot,  
Cry ye aloud, doubt not,  
Be every fear forgot,  
Love leads us here!

So shall earth's distant lands,  
In happy holy bands—  
One brotherhood—  
Together rise and sing,  
Gifts to one altar bring,  
And Love, man's future king,  
Pronounce it good.

The CHAIRMAN then said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am here only as a substitute. I very much regret, as I am sure you all do, that Lord Courtney of Penwith is not able to be with us this evening. He has been doing some splendid work for peace this week, in his various speeches to our Peace Congress and meetings in connection with it. He has been giving us some grand historical lessons, and applying them to the circumstances and facts of to-day. I have no pretensions, and I am not asked, to take his place by making a speech, and I have great pleasure in calling at once upon the first speaker, Sir W. J. Collins, M.P. (Vice-Chancellor of London University).

SIR W. J. COLLINS, M.P., said: I think you would rather continue to witness the interesting spectacles which we have been privileged to have performed before us, or join in the songs on the paper, than listen to a jaded M.P. who is attending midnight meetings at Westminster, and who, I am afraid, is not in very good voice to address a big meeting like this. But I have been sent to the International Peace Congress as a representative of the University of London. (Applause.) And I think it is a good sign of the times that our universities, our colleges, and our schools which are engaged in moulding the characters of the citizens of to-morrow, are throwing in their lot with this great and beneficent international movement. While it is perfectly true that literature and art have drawn some of their noblest conceptions from the field of battle, while it is also true that science, especially in the recent and wonderful development of chemistry and engineering, has contributed so much to the destructiveness and deadliness of modern warfare, it is, I venture to assert, nevertheless true that arts and sciences can only flourish and develop in the most perfect fashion when the conditions of life are tranquil and peace is observed amongst the nations of mankind. It has not been always that universities and colleges and schools have been associated with this peace movement. There are some persons even among us to-day who look to the universities, colleges, and schools as suitable places to foster and encourage the military spirit—a spurious form of patriotism; and only last year, in this country, in connection with the Territorial Army Bill, there was at one time some danger that the elementary schools might be utilised for the purpose of fostering and encouraging militarism in those schools. When this danger threatened, some of those with whom I have the honour to be associated made representations to the Minister of War, Mr. Haldane, and endeavoured to get struck out, and did get struck out of that Bill, the clause which had for its object the “fostering and encouraging of cadet corps” and rifle ranges in the schools. I will tell you why we did that.

### **Exploiting the Schools.**

When I was Chairman of the Education Committee of the London County Council, I at any rate learnt two things: one was that there was no need for any artificial stimulation of pugnacity, at any rate among the young citizens of the schools, but rather it was necessary for us to advocate a spirit of tranquillity, peace, and observance of law. I also learnt there was

a great tendency, on the part of persons who had particular fads, to endeavour to capture the organisation of the schools for the purpose of pushing these fads and the particular views they held. I say it is not right to use the schools of the nation, where the children are compelled to go for physical, mental, and moral education, for the ulterior purpose of pushing any particular view, or exploiting the schools for any particular purpose, whether it be clerical or whether it be military. The schools ought not to be used for these ulterior objects, especially when the children are compelled to attend them. Moreover, I say it is not right for young boys of fourteen or fifteen to be made to specialise in any particular direction of education at that early age. Premature specialisation is one of the banes of modern education; and as we are told in this country at any rate, anything like conscription is out of the question, then we ought not to look upon every boy attending our elementary schools as a prospective soldier, and there is no need, at the early age of thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen, to endeavour to give his education a particular bent in that direction.

### **Keep the Drill-Sergeants Out.**

Moreover, we have some of the best authorities on educational matters opposed to any such thing. Sir Joshua Fitch, a great educationist, said "Handling a rifle, forming fours, and preparing to receive cavalry, are no necessary parts of a good system of corporeal drill; and those who urge that these and similar evolutions should be borrowed from the recruiting ground, do so without any reference to the educational value of the exercises, but with the ulterior political object of exciting patriotic enthusiasm and of encouraging the martial spirit among boys." Now, I am glad to say that, when Mr. Birrell, Minister of Education, was asked a question upon this subject in the House of Commons, he made his views very plain. He said that "rifle shooting was not regarded by the Board of Education as a necessary part of physical training, neither did the Board consider it necessary for the purpose of national defence. He was not aware of any new danger confronting the country rendering necessary increased preparations for defence in elementary schools, and the Board of Education was not to become a preparatory training authority and auxiliary of the army." And I am also glad to recognise that many of the most distinguished military authorities and writers upon this subject have the same view. Colonel Maude in his book, "War and the World's

Life," said: "I am by no means an enthusiast for drill for undeveloped boys. It is even more dangerous to entrust the delicate machinery of a child's body to a zealous schoolmaster who has picked up a travesty of the methods employed by experienced drill-sergeants, than to give a valuable two-year-old colt into the hands of an average horse-breaker."

### **Do not foster the military spirit.**

Those views, I venture to say, are sound, and it is not true to assert that the use of the rifle and these military evolutions are, as a matter of fact, good physical drill. We are all in favour of good physical drill in the schools. We believe that the spirit of comradeship, in the elementary schools at any rate, is more likely to be fostered in the cricket field and on the athletic ground than by regimentation of the schools and putting them through the mechanical evolutions. Indeed, the regimentation of schools is opposed to the best principles of education. Such an authority as Matthew Arnold said, "The principle in all education is to endeavour to find out the special aptitudes of each individual scholar, and to educate these special aptitudes up to the fullest possible limit." The military system is the reverse of that. You treat a school not as individuals but as a whole, and do not attempt to discover the special aptitudes of each child. Now, I agree with the words which fell from our late great statesman in this country, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, when he said: "If you want to seek peace you must ensue it," and the way to seek peace and ensue it is not, I say, to foster the military spirit in our schools. It rather develops that other quality which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman denounced, that quality of swagger which has done so much to cause a degeneration of the tone of our young people, and also of those of an older growth.

### **Danger from "press-scribblers."**

I am afraid we sometimes have to look to the Press as partly responsible for that altered tone, and that tendency of swagger, and that arrogance which enfeebles our voice in the comity of nations. I was reading only the other day the writing of Samuel Johnson in *The Rambler*, and I came across a passage which struck me as particularly suitable for this occasion. He said: "Among the calamities of war may fairly be numbered the diminution of the love of truth, by the falsehoods which interest begets and credulity encourages. In a time of war a nation is always eager to hear something good of themselves and ill of the enemy. Peace will

equally leave the warrior and the relator of wars destitute of employment, and I know not whether more is to be dreaded from streets full of soldiers accustomed to plunder, or from garrets full of scribblers accustomed to lie." That you will observe is thoroughly Johnsonian. I do not think it is true to-day in regard to our soldiers, but I am afraid possibly the evils have been multiplied ten or a hundred-fold since Johnson's day in regard to the Press, or that section of it which has departed from the honourable legitimate traditions of journalism, and has tended rather to foment international strife and raise international jealousies, and arouse calamitous wars among the peoples and nations of the earth. It was the poet Wordsworth who said, "The power of armies is a visible thing," and it is because some of us think that it is amongst the invisible things that we find the loftiest conceptions and highest ideals that are, in the long run, the supremely practical things, and whose kingdom is where time and space are not, and because we think our seats of learning should associate themselves with this great international movement, that we urge the older and the young represented here to-night to join hands in doing what in their power lies to promote peace and goodwill amongst mankind. (Loud applause.)

Miss ELLEN ROBINSON (Liverpool) said: Mr. Chairman and my dear young people, for it is the boys and girls, and those who have already entertained us so interestingly with their demonstration, that I wish especially to address myself to just now. You know that this demonstration has been held in connection with the Seventeenth International Peace Congress, which is now being held in London; and before we came up here, just a day or two before, we heard of the death of a very earnest worker for peace, one whom we all valued very highly and respected deeply for his work in the cause of peace. I refer to Sir William Randal Cremer—(applause)—who passed away at a ripe age, having done excellent work in the cause of peace. And not only Sir William Randal Cremer, but many other veterans in the cause of peace have passed on into the higher world (as we believe) of late years. And many of us who are still working in the cause feel that our years cannot be very long on earth to work on. So I want to make a special appeal to you who are young, to you who are to be men and women of the future, to you who will have such great things in your hands in future years, to think even now, while you are young, of this great cause, which means so much for the future well-being and the happiness of humanity; and to think for yourselves what you can



Miss S. K. Huntsman  
(Hon. Sec. Young People's Meeting Committee).



Miss Ellen Robinson.



Sir W. J. Collins, M.P., M.D., etc.  
(Vice-Chancellor, London University).



Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A.



Mr. G. H. Perris.

Young People's Peace Demonstration.  
Queen's Hall, July 30th, 1908.



do to further this cause of peace. We have need of fresh workers, and we are looking to you with hope and with confidence that you will come on to fill up the ranks of those who are departed, and to fight the good fight of peace.

### **Heroism, Old and New.**

Now, in the days of old the thought of heroism—and I want you all to be heroes and heroines—the thought of heroism was associated always with violence and slaughter; and in savage races and backward races, and even in some races that ought not to be savage or backward, we still find that the thought of heroism is associated with violence and killing. The Indian chief thought he was glorified and honoured the more scalps of men he wore at his belt. The Hottentot liked to have notches on his spear for every man he had killed, and became a great man as he had destroyed his fellow men. The great conquerors of the earth, the men called great in days gone by, were those who overran the earth with destruction and slaughter; and even in the Old Testament times among the Jews we find the same thought, that the kings and heroes must be those who conquered and slew, who “hewed Agag in pieces.” In the beautiful Psalms we find sung, “Happy shall be he that takest and dashest the little ones against the stones.”

I want to show you how different that is from the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, who, when He came, revealed the truth which man had not learned, or had forgotten. He taught the wondrous principle that we are all brothers and sisters; that the earth is one great family, a family of God; that one touch of human nature makes the whole world kin; that we are really all joined together in the ties of one great humanity. Still the seed that He sowed on this earth, the truth that He proclaimed, has taken long, long to grow. Men still think they must struggle one against the other, men still prepare for slaughter; but we are thankful to say that the present age has come to know that the thing is false, that the thing is wrong, that the thing is untrue; that the idea that we are all surrounded by enemies is a pernicious idea and a false one; that we are all brothers; and one country is here to help and serve another country; that a country does not stand out with all the others around her as enemies, but a country is one part of a whole, and we need to help and serve one another.

### **Zest in war gone.**

When men now go out to fight as soldiers, they go out with far different feelings from those who went out in days gone by. I know,

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I have been told, that many of those who went out only a few years ago to the South African war were absolutely horrified and shocked when they found what war really meant. "It is a massacre," they said, "this war," and they came home with their hearts filled with disgust at war, and with horror at the thought of killing their fellow men, and of making widows and orphans of their sisters and the little ones. In days gone by we heard of the Spartan mother giving a shield to her son, and telling him to come home with it or on it; but now we hear letters are written to the soldiers in the field, such letters as this, "I pray night and day that you may not be guilty of the blood of a fellow man. I pray that you may not kill anyone in this terrible war." These are the thoughts, my dear young people, that are entering into our hearts now. We cannot hold the two things in our hearts. We feel the awful contradiction between this brutal and violent and bloody warfare, and the consciousness which has entered our hearts that we are all children of the Father in heaven, and that all men and women are related to us as sisters and brothers.

I want you to take this thought home to your hearts, and know that true heroism does not consist in destroying life, but in saving life. I want you to think of those valiant men and women in all classes of life who have been willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of others—the fireman who will rush into a house to save from fire; and I hope many of the boys who have been showing us how to do it this evening will show they, too, can save life in this way. The brave miners, who, when they wish to save the life of their fellow miners, will put them in the cage to go up first because they have a wife and child above, and the man who saves them perhaps has none. The engine-driver, who will drive his engine through the prairie fire when almost roasted to death that he may save the train of people behind him. The woman, the nurse, who to save a little one from a mad dog will suffer herself to be torn to pieces. Over and over again we read of the most magnificent heroism, of the lifeboat men, the children even, who jump into water to save their companions. Surely, all this is heroism—the truest, the noblest heroism; and I want you to understand that what we have to do is to fight, to fight bravely, but to fight for humanity and never against; to fight for humanity, to fight against the terrible evils that devastate the world, to fight against intemperance and war. We are looking to you, the boys and girls who are here this evening, to be the heroes and heroines of the future, not on the old lines of violence and bloodshed, which are

passing out of date, which are barbaric things, and which ought to be things of the past. We are looking for you to be heroes and heroines, following the teaching of our Lord himself, who taught us to save and not to destroy. (Applause.)

The audience joined in singing Oliver Wendell Holmes's song, "Angel of Peace," to the music of Keller's American Hymn.

Angel of Peace, thou hast wandered too long!

Spread thy white wings to the sunshine of love:

Come while our voices are blended in song,

Fly to our ark like the storm-beaten dove:

Fly to our ark on the wings of the dove.

Speed o'er the far-sounding billows of song,

Crowned with thine olive-leaf, garland of love.

Angel of Peace, thou hast waited too long!

Joyous we meet, on this altar of thine,

Mingling the gifts we have gathered for thee,

Sweet with the odours of myrtle and pine,

Breeze of the prairie and breath of the sea,

Meadow and mountain and forest and sea:

Sweet is the fragrance of myrtle and pine,

Sweeter the incense we offer to thee,

Brothers once more round this altar of thine!

Angels of Bethlehem, answer the strain:

Hark! a new birth-song is filling the sky:

Loud as the storm-wind that tumbles the main

Bid the full breath of the organ reply.

Let the loud tempest of voices reply,

Roll its long surge like the earth-shaking main:

Swell the vast song till its mounts to the sky:

Angel of Bethlehem, answer the strain!

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. G. H. PERRIS (London), who said: I have very great pride, as well as a very great deal of pleasure, in speaking to you to-night. I have also a very glad recollection in seeing in this audience and on the platform some of our American friends, because, if I remember rightly, it was in New York that the first idea of the Young People's Meeting on behalf of peace arose. At any rate, I am hoping that I was a sort of conduit pipe for the idea to come to home; and I think, perhaps, in one respect at least, in the case of the burning house, or hypothetical burning house, our American friends will take back an idea with them. To me this meeting is the most interesting and the most important of this great festival of peace we have been holding during the week, because I think the young people are almost the most important part of society. After all, most of

those on this platform and the other platforms from which words of peace have been going out during this week have done most of what they can do, and have said long ago the best words they can say for peace, but with the young people everything remains, the world is before you. It is perfectly true we have had this week the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not to say the Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, and before the end of the week we shall have several other Cabinet Ministers, I think, speaking on our behalf; but it would puzzle anyone to say how many future Prime Ministers there may be in this audience to-night. I think it would even puzzle anyone to say whether it is not possible that there may be a female Prime Minister among them. (Laughter.) Few of us between the ages of fourteen and twenty—and indeed it is one of the tragedies of life—realise how much we could do if we set our shoulders to it. Perhaps some of you boys, Life Brigade boys, would like to do a sum. If so, I suggest your asking yourselves if everyone of you, supposing there were a thousand, managed to make five converts a year each, and every one of these five converts made five more, snowball fashion, how many years would it take to convert the whole of the adult population of the United Kingdom? It would take a comparatively small number of years.

### **Internationalism advancing.**

Before you are very much older I venture to say you will see something much more than an embryo of the gathering of the world. You will see the Hague Conference, occasionally meeting now at a little Dutch capital, develop into a frequently-meeting Congress of all nations, a Congress of the nations which we used to call a poet's dream, when Tennyson wrote some of his most popular poems. You will see a thoroughly comprehensive system of law courts established, with its centre at the Hague; and you will see what perhaps you have not thought of, an International Civil Service. You do not see it at present, although it is actually working, because it is scattered about the countries of the world. You would not get your letters in the morning from foreign countries, or railway tickets, or international telegraph rates, or international sanitary measures, as you get them to-day, if there were not already in being a Civil Service for the world, as there is at Whitehall a Civil Service for this country. But within your lifetime, if not within ours, all these offices which run the international machinery of the world will probably be gathered into a single

capital; and before the end of a generation there may be a practical example of how the world is governed on the same model as each of our countries is governed.

### **Modern warfare not heroic.**

I want for a moment to combat an idea that I find especially among my lady friends. It is that among you boys, growing up, reading papers like *Chums*, as we used to read the *B.O.P.*, there is some weird love of warfare, which has to be extracted from you, in the way a bad tooth is extracted from your mouths. I repudiate any such doctrine. I read many Red Indian stories when I was young. Mayne Reid was one of my classic authors; Fenimore Cooper was another; and I think I traversed the whole gamut of boys' heroic literature of that kind, and I can still read a great deal of it. I think there is a vital difference between that kind of literature and the warfare it sometimes parodies. What is the essence of what appeals to the healthy-minded boy in boys' literature? It is most frequently a combat against great odds. It is his basic ideal of heroism. Is that the idea of modern warfare? Nothing could be further from it. The idea is of two great impersonal machines grinding at each other. Men firing at each other at distances of ten miles, never seeing each other. They are absolutely impersonal; and I should say there is no possibility of heroism about it. There is a deep and vital distinction between appealing to the healthy boy's mind, and that which we see to be a relic from ages of barbarism, the machine war of to-day.

### **More truth-telling needed.**

I want to vindicate my boy friends. If boys do not understand that wars are to be thoroughly loathed from the beginning, that the weapons of war are not to be touched from the beginning, it is our fault, and the parents' fault who have not told them what a valley of mutilated and decayed human bodies is like, and have never pictured what the orphaned and widowed at home are suffering. It is not primeval wickedness in the boys; it is our fault, and a fault we should make good very shortly. Personally, I feel confident that if you give me a boy who is healthy-minded enough to like a stand-up fight on equal terms between two of his fellows, who has an instinct in all his doings, whether in the playground or class room, for equality, fairness, and justice—I do not care whether it be in the little combats of the school ground or his lessons, give me a boy who understands fairness between man and man, and I say you give me a future man of peace.

### **Appeal to the sense of fairness.**

The idea that underlies peace is not lying down and inviting someone to kick you. The idea at the root of organised peace is that of fairness, justice. Why do we ask that two nations who quarrel should go to the Hague to arbitrate? Not simply that they may not fight, but because we know the only way of getting fairness and justice for two people, whose blood is up, is to refer it to another party whose head is cool. I will only say one more word because Mrs. Mead is going to follow me. It is that so many of you as feel, after what you have heard and seen to-night—and I think you will be rather hard-hearted if you feel no enthusiasm—so many of you as feel an attraction towards any of the organisations working for peace, do not come into it because you have been told it is a respectable thing to do, because the King has patronised it, and the Government has patronised it. I venture to say the thing which has become respectable is already half dead. It is already half dead, or it is nearly accomplished. Now our peace movement is not nearly accomplished. The objects of the peace movement are not nearly accomplished. It is perfectly true we do not get our heads broken now, when we meet in Queen's Hall; but who knows what is going to happen when Great Britain embarks on her next war? It may be the same. In any case, the way of peace is not always an easy one. Many titled persons have spoken to us this week, who will only go half way up the hill. We want you young people who come into this movement to know what we are doing, and go on with it thoroughly, as we are doing, when you grow up, and never vote for any man who stands for a member of Parliament who is not sound on this question. I want you to go into the peace movement so convinced of the horror of warfare, and the insanity of perpetually piling up the instruments of manslaughter, that you will talk to your schoolmasters, and educate them if necessary, and take your parsons aside and educate them if necessary; and if that crisis ever comes when you are asked to submit to something in the nature of compulsory military service, you will refuse, even to the point of going to prison; and when you get as many young people as there are in this hall who believe sufficiently in peace principles to act in this way, then the peace movement can afford to become respectable, because its success will already have been achieved. (Applause.)

Mrs. LUCIA AMES MEAD (of Boston, U.S.A.) said: I come to bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people

who can understand the meaning of the wonderful history which the world is now making. It is this—whereas in the eighteenth century a little body of people met together in Philadelphia and worked out a method by which thirteen jealous American colonies could have peace and justice between each other; and whereas in the nineteenth century those same principles brought peace and justice between forty-six United States; so in this twentieth century we are to see those principles extended and applied to the forty-six nations of the whole round world. (Applause.) The United States is to show how we may have a united world. I come to bring you the good news that international war is going to end in this century. If it does not end in my lifetime, it will end in the life of those little boys up there, or at least of their children. How do I know it? Because we have found out certain things. We have found out that it does not need a complete change of human nature to bring it about. Certain things have happened, and we are very stupid, indeed, if we go on talking about war as if nothing had happened.

### **New world-conditions.**

We have steam and electricity and wireless telegraphy to-day, and that means that this whole world is bound together, so that every morning we hear the news of Tokio, St. Petersburg, and Melbourne. We can't make war as we did a hundred years ago. If a war had taken place in Manchuria, should we have taken any interest in it? It would have taken five months for a fast sailing vessel to have brought us the news. We should not have known of Port Arthur falling till six months after it happened; and we should not have cared; and it would not have affected stocks; and we should not have had missionaries there. The modern business world is not much longer going to tolerate the anarchic conditions in which the nations are to-day. Because the business world demands it, and we have discovered it does not need any change in human nature, this change is going to come. How? By organisation. We are organising everything in the world to day, from boys' clubs to trusts; and the greatest business organisation in the world, says the Bishop of Hereford, is the United States. We are going to organise the world, and I want you to remember *that*, if nothing else—*organise the world*.

### **Limiting the area of violence.**

Six hundred years ago the Scottish clans were fighting each other, and Scotland was fighting England, and down in Italy every

city was absolute, and had its own little armies going to fight the next city. Siena fighting Pisa, and Pisa the next city. What is the difference between then and now? Is it because the babies born to-day are better than the babies in the days of St. Francis and Giotto? No, because Italy is unified. That is why, and that is why you have peace between France and England, and Scotland and England. It is by this principle of organisation, without any miracle, without waiting for the millenium, that this thing is brought about. Mind you, I do not say anything foolish. I do not say we are going to get rid of all violence, and there will be no more lynchings, or murders, or civil war; but war between nations is going to be as effectually stopped as war between those two turbulent States of Kentucky and Tennessee in my own country, where there are often feuds within the States, but never feuds between States.

### **How and what to read.**

I have attended a great many peace meetings which I thought were perfect failures. A great deal of talk about peace does not amount to anything, because it does not tell people what they can do. Everybody must know that he has something to do, even if he is no older than the twelve-year-old boys in the gallery. The first thing for you to do, whether twelve or sixty, is to study this question. There is no question in the world so little understood; and a boy twelve years old who studies the question knows a great deal more than a man forty years old who has not; because that man knows a great many things that are not so. (Laughter.) You boys and girls are now beginning to read the newspapers. It makes a mighty difference, let me tell you, what newspaper you read. If you read the newspapers that are full of slights and sneers about neighbouring nations, if you read the kind of papers I have heard mentioned so many times this week—the *Daily Mail*, which is trying to make trouble between you and Germany—you will get very different information than in the *Daily News*, which is trying to make friends between you and Germany. It is high time, when you are fourteen years old, if you are reading the newspapers, to read something more than the sporting column. The Olympic games are all very well, but there is something more than the Olympic games, and I hope the girls will find out that there is something more than the fashion news.

### **England's enemy is whisky.**

The history we are making to-day is more important than that

you are reading about in the history book. It is more important to know what has happened in the last ten years than all the wars of the Plantagenets. One of the things you have to study is England's enemies. You are to be England's defenders. In five or six years you will be sending men to Parliament. As boys and girls it is for you to study who are England's enemies. Many people are telling you to-day Germany is England's enemy. Let me tell you England's enemy is not Germany. It is whisky. Whisky and rum have destroyed more English men, women, and children, and more English property, in the last ten years, than your foreign wars have in a whole century.

### **Study humanity.**

We at home in America have been told that Japan may be our enemy. Now, we shall never have any trouble with any nation unless we make it. We have begun every single war we have had, and it is humbug and nonsense to talk about our being attacked. Our danger is not from Asia, but our own arrogance and the enemies within. The enemies to be fought are not to be fought with bullets, but with ballots. Let me tell you something. If there is any friction possible between you and a friendly country like Germany, study the Germans—the German language, its beautiful literature, poetry, art; travel, if you can, and get into correspondence with German boys and girls, and you will find they are not so bad after all. In America we have learned much from our German immigrants. They have brought us beautiful music, and are orderly, and we have much to learn from them; and let me tell you, last year when I came into Liverpool Street Station I saw more dirt and rags in ten minutes than I saw in all Germany in a month. The most important thing you can study is human nature, not merely English nature. What I want to know of you girls and boys is not whether you know how many tributaries there are for the Euphrates and the Amazon, and the exceptions to the dative case, but whether you understand the Chinaman who has a laundry in the back alley, what he is writing to his mother about the way the Christians treat him? What is that black-eyed Greek writing home to his mother in Sparta about his life here? Can you feel for the poor Jew, whose mother was massacred at Kischinieff? These are the things for you to study, along with other studies in the school. Boys and girls, you may never call yourselves educated until you can truly say with the great Latin poet, "I count nothing human foreign to me." (Loud applause.)

The REV. C. SILVESTER HORNE (of Whitefield's Central Mission, London) said: I am exceedingly grateful to those who organised this Congress for the invitation to take part in this particular meeting, of the series of meetings, and to have the opportunity at any rate of speaking a word to those who have just been so brilliantly addressed by the lady who has preceded me, whose words I am perfectly certain no boy or girl, young man or woman here will forget; they were so pointed, so practical, and the spirit of them was so altogether admirable. I think those of us who are here to-night feel that whether there are more of us, or fewer of us, than have been at other meetings, we at any rate are the most important people who have been meeting in this hall during the time of this Congress; because if we can only get all the boys and girls right on this question, we shall, at no distant period, have England right on this question; and if we can enlist now your enthusiasm for the right things, without in the least degree trying to quell the true fighting spirit within you, but turning the fighting spirit to the things worth fighting for, and the things that ought to be fought against, I am perfectly certain that the meeting is the most important and influential of all.

It is quite true, of course, that we have a certain negative witness to bear. We have to witness against the colossal armaments that are being still built up in this year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and eight—one nation against another. We have a certain witness to bear against false theories and mischievous theories which are, as you have just been reminded, advocated in so many of the newspapers at the present time. It seems to me what has been witnessed in this hall to-night shows that we realise that the positive witness we have to bear is the most important witness of all. One of the theories against which we have to contend is the assertion that it is the duty of every nation to make other nations afraid of it. We don't believe that that is the business of one nation towards another. The business of one nation to another is not to make all nations afraid of it, but to win the affection and respect of all the other nations. It is always perfectly easy to make the boys understand that. I am not so sure that it is always easy to make the girls. Girls never bully girls—I am told not. I have never been at a girls' school myself—(laughter)—but all the boys know what a bully and braggart is, and that the real enemy to the harmony and the peace and the real progress of a school is the bully and the braggart; the bully who is provided with a superabundance of brute and muscular force, and wants to make his mark on the school,

and wants to make every other boy afraid of him. That is his great idea in the school, and those weaker than himself he provokes to some kind of quarrel or the other; and either the unfortunate weak boy, who has done nothing whatever that is wrong, suffers from an intolerable cruelty and tyranny, or perhaps the state of things produced becomes so intolerable that the masters of the school themselves have to interfere, and take various methods in order to see this bullying spirit is put down. You have only to transfer the spirit of a bully in a school to the spirit of a bully among the nations of this world and the peoples of this world, and every boy will be on the side of that right spirit which says that at any rate the bully shall not prevail in the days that are to come. (Applause.) We are going, I believe, to discount the braggart in the days to come, the person who simply has an idea that his interests are the only interests that are concerned, and who devotes himself to the adulation of himself and the flattery of himself, and uses all kinds of provocative language. I hope that in the nations, as well as in the schools, we shall succeed by and bye in so discounting the bully and the baggart, that by degrees we shall begin to have things settled on lines of justice and equity and righteousness, and not lines of brute force at all.

### **War against the wrong.**

Another thing is suggested to my mind by the various exercises you have had in this hall to-night, and that is this. I do not know whether the boys and girls will understand it, but I am sure the older ones will, when I say there is a certain instinct in us all, an instinct with which we may not quarrel, and which is in itself a perfectly righteous instinct. I believe it was divinely planted by God, but I believe his intention was that we should fight against what is obviously wrong and obviously oppressive, and obviously unjust; and we should learn that there are Christian as well as un-Christian methods of fighting this kind of honourable and holy war. Now, in what you were doing here to-night, the various physical exercises, there was the recognition of this fact. Every boy and girl here has got plenty of physical energy. You want to devote that physical energy to one purpose or another, and we believe who meet in this hall, that it is not something to be repressed, but it is something to be encouraged; only it has got to be directed, boys, to the two ends. You do not imagine I stand on this platform to discourage, for instance, the development of physique. Why, only yesterday, I was fool enough to play in a cricket match,

which was the reason I limped into this hall a few moments ago. The military people have tried to monopolise the idea of physique, as if it were a sort of special brand which belonged to military people alone; and because physical exercises are so good for us, and the development of the body is so good a thing, they have tried to step in and link it all on to the false and mischievous idea of militarism. We are not going to let them monopolise this idea. We are going to take the simple straightforward line that, after all, we peace people are the true guardians of the body. We do not believe it ought to be destroyed. We believe, on the other hand, that it is a great and divine gift, and we ought to take all the care we can, not only of our own bodies, but other people's bodies too.

### **Proper development of the body.**

I do not suppose that I need argue the point for a moment, but there are in this hall a large number of you young people, and you want to know what is to be my duty to this physical body and all that it contains? Well, we say first of all, lay down the law of Christ as to the sacredness of human life; and, if it is sacred, then of course it is to be treated with all jealousy and care, and to present our bodies an acceptable sacrifice to God is one of the commandments of the New Testament. I hope, if I may slip that word in here, that you boys and girls, not only by following out the true ideas of chivalry and peace, but by recognition of true purity and chastity, may keep the body sacred unto God who gave it. But, you say, what are you to do? Well, we believe in this hall in building brains up, not in blowing brains out. What was your brain given you for? Your brain was given you to think with. Your brother's brain was given him to think with, and you know no brain is controlled by itself, and you have to bring brain to brain, talk things out, argue things through. That is the divine intention; and if, instead of doing that, we were to say, "I will blow his brains out, and he will not have any brain to think with at all," that is not the divine purpose. You have to bring his judgment to your judgment, and thrash things out; and then, at the last, the right and sober verdict is the one that ought, and must, in God's good time, prevail over all. If it is true of the mind it is true of this great store-house of physical energy and force.

### **To help the weak.**

Of course, there are right things to do with your physical force. We men think there will be more and more ends and aims with which everyone can sympathise to which you can apply this great

store-house of physical force, not to diminish life for anyone else, but increase their life and happiness. You will be able to bring your physical power to the help of the weak. You will be able to bring it to the succour of the distressed, and constitute yourselves the friends of all those who are weaker than yourselves; and all this will mean the Christian exercise of your powers; and I am perfectly certain you will find you have got all your work cut out for you to keep your body sound and strong in order that you might be, as I say, one of God's great, true, and holy powers in this age, in order to make it better. You don't need I should indicate them to you, because they have been indicated already; the campaign is waiting for you.

I want, if I may remind the lady sitting on my right, to repeat a story told by Professor Peabody, of Harvard College, in regard to the 250th anniversary of that great college in America. There were in the college men in the third year, and there were men in the college in their second year, and there were in the College men only in their first year, and they marched in procession, and they carried characteristic banners; and when the young fellows came along who had only just come to college, what do you think their banner was? "The University has been waiting 250 years for us"—and a very good motto, too. And you boys and girls, Christianity has been waiting nearly 2,000 years for you, for you. If the people who have gone before had been afraid of this question, don't you be afraid. Don't you funk. Supposing it is a big giant with which you have to contend—never mind. There is, I venture to think, pluck enough in you, there is common sense enough in you, you boys and girls here, to be able to take your stand against a general opinion of the world, if you have to do it, and to guide and mould and fashion the opinion into something better, because at any rate you will not be amongst those whom you see sometimes who are not in the fight themselves—the meanest people of all I sometimes think—all standing round and egging the people on, and saying, "Go in and win," when they do not intend to go in, they are going to keep their skins all right.

### **The meanness of war-fomentors.**

Only the other day, in one of the back streets near where I live, I saw a ring of boys trying to make two dogs fight, and egging them on; and there are people who are not ashamed to form a sort of circle around two nations—it may be England and Germany, or it may be England and America, and egg them on, trying to

make the one angry against the other. Whatever you do, do not belong to that mean and damnable crew. Oh no, believe me, boys and girls, the finest victory that you are ever going to win in this world is going to be the victory, shall I say, of self-control. Life's battle is not half fought, or its victory half won, until you and I have learned to master our prejudices and our passions, and to hold ourselves in until we have taken a second thought, aye a third thought, and a fourth thought if necessary, before we say a provocative word or do a provocative thing. It is one of the things that all good people have to try and learn, and we need such a lot of teaching, because, I suppose, of the instinct of the fighter within us. We need to think these things out, and we need to think these things through, but I am speaking now to an audience which is determined to enlist in this good cause, and steadily practice for themselves, as well as preach in public, this virtue of discipline and self-control.

### **Power of moral resistance.**

And now let me close. After all, the people who have won the biggest victory in this world have been the people who have acted on this principle. I do not speak now as a Quaker. I am not a member of the Society of Friends ; but I have a tremendous admiration for that Society ; and I do not hesitate to say that in the whole annals of England there is nothing finer than the way in which the Quaker fought and won his battle in England for freedom of conscience and freedom to worship God. He did not go and take down, as they say, his father's sword, because his father did not have one. He did not clothe himself in any sort of military armour and go out to the battle, but what he did was this—he built his little place in which to worship God, and he went and worshipped, and, of course, he left the doors open for anyone to come in who liked, and in came the soldiers, and the soldiers seized the Quakers who were worshipping, and flung them into prison and dispersed, as they said, the meeting. The Quakers waited in prison until the time was up, and as soon as they got out again they went again to the old meeting-house, and left the doors open ; and back went the soldiers and broke them up again, and flung them into prison again, and said, "At last we have got them under." They waited, some of them died, but as soon as the others came out, they went back again to the old meeting-house, and left the doors open for people to come in if they liked. What happened? The soldiers at last gave it up. They could not fight with those who would not fight with them, and so they gave it up. (Applause.) Yes, and when a

few sad years ago there was a great and aggressive war party in this country, and things were being made pretty hot for a good many people, and it was very difficult to speak a peace word and take a peace line, there was a certain English poet who was writing to the papers calling on us all to remember certain "absent-minded beggars" who had gone away to fight; and a lady, a Quakeress, wrote these lines, which have always stuck to me since then, as a reply to Mr. Rudyard Kipling:

We, too, have a hero, Rudyard, but his coat is plain and straight,  
And his hat is somewhat broadish in the brim,  
He's a sober-minded person, and his manners are sedate,  
But the General never lived who conquered him.

And it is perfectly true. It is the most literal history—what you can learn when you go to school—only in many schools they do not teach any interesting things like this—but you can learn that history for yourselves if you like. And there is no more magnificent way of fighting than the way in which the Quaker fought and won; and when once we get the whole Church of Christ into line to fight like that, for things worth fighting for, then I believe the triumph of the Peace Congress will be secured. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Will you allow me just a few words of closing before we sing our last hymn? I have been reminded of a story I read last week in the paper about Sir William Randal Cremer, who was spoken of just now. A good many years ago, it must have been when a young working man, in a Hampshire town, he went to a little peace meeting, and he heard the new idea that war was a thing that ought not to be, a thing of the past, a thing that belonged to barbarism, and the time should come when there should be no more war. And it made an impression upon his mind; and the next day he went and talked it over in his workshop with two or three fellow workmen, and they all said, "Oh, no, war has always been, and therefore war always must be." But Sir William Randal Cremer (he was not Sir William then) stuck to his text, and got it into his mind, and the talk with his fellow workmen did not drive it out of his mind, that the time ought to be when war should be no more, and he kept that end in sight. He did two great things; he founded the first Working Men's Peace Association, and set going this very labour movement which we shall see something of on Saturday afternoon in Trafalgar Square. And later on, when he got into Parliament, he did a still greater thing. He founded the Inter-Parliamentary Peace Union, which was the means of bringing about the Hague Conference, and many other great triumphs for

the cause of peace. I want to say to you, you have been receiving teaching this evening, which I hope to some of you has been fresh. Do not let it be talked away from you, when you go amongst your comrades. Talk it over quietly, and hold to your truth that has been taught you this evening. It may be more difficult to you, who are not working men, in the counting house, or the school, or the university, among those classes it is more difficult to get this truth into their minds. But stick to the truth you have heard this evening, and go forth to spread the truth, and this meeting will then have been a glorious and blessed one.

Miss MARY E. PIERSON (President of the Young People's Peace and Arbitration Association, New York, U.S.A.) said (after the singing of the hymn, "Oh, beautiful, my country"): The thought that came to me as we sung that last hymn was a feeling that there was no England, there was no America, there was no Germany. There was no nation, but one grand family; and I go home now with joy in my heart to feel that this is the third great meeting that has been held for the young people. For all the words that have been said to-night, emphasise the fact that they are the ones with whom you and I must deal. They are the ones in whom you and I may plant the great thought. At the top of your programme you have the line that "Thinking is what we must attend to." I believe that unless a man thinks rightly he cannot live rightly. That is the thought that we must begin and plant in the child as early as possible, and make him realise that as he thinks so he will be. If he thinks the spirit of hate, hate will be his portion; if he thinks the spirit of love, love will be his portion. And what is true of the individual will be true of the nation. It is my great joy to give you a message from the young people in New York; for, as Mr. Perris said, it was there that the first great meeting for young people was held. It was through the instrumentality of our noble superintendent of schools, Wm. H. Maxwell, who stands for all that is highest in education. He saw this great thought. He gave his consent. We were able last year to have a second meeting, and I hope that this third will be the beginning of many trinities.

This concluded the meeting.

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It was announced, during the course of the evening, that a Prize Essay Competition would be held, with the object of perpetuating, in the minds of those present, the lessons that had been taught.



Young People's Peace Demonstration, Queen's Hall.  
Display by the Boys' and Girls' Life-Frigades. July 30th, 1908.



## FIFTH SESSION OF CONGRESS, HELD AT CAXTON HALL,

*Friday morning, July 31st.*

*Chairman :* MR. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER.

### **The Bishop of Perth and Conscription.**

The CHAIRMAN said : I ruled yesterday that the Congress could not discuss the opinion expressed by one of our visitors with regard to the question of conscription. But that visitor expressed the opinion in connection with a statement of fact, and therefore I think it right to read a correction, or at least a counter-assertion. Captain Hitchcock, a delegate from London, asks me to announce from the chair : "As for many years a resident in Australia, I question whether any general Australian desire exists for conscription. I should therefore desire to speak briefly against Australian desire for conscription." I think it is only right I should just mention that the fact is very doubtful upon which the Bishop based his arguments.

We sent yesterday, as requested by the Congress, a telegram to our venerable friend Frédéric Passy. We have just received a telegram in reply : "Thanks for your remembrance. Congratulations and good wishes. Passy." We commence business to-day by taking up the question of the Neutralisation of Norway and Sweden.

### **Guarantee Treaties for the States of the North.**

Dr. KOHT (Norway), on behalf of Commission A, proposed the following resolution :

RESOLUTION VI.—The Congress notes with satisfaction the efforts made for the maintenance of peace and the protection of the rights of the smaller States, which found expression in the Treaties of 1907 and 1908 guaranteeing the integrity of Norway and the territories bordering on the North Sea and the Baltic ;

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Nevertheless, the Congress at the same time insists on the principle that a durable and certain security must be sought, not only in the relations already established by the greater Powers for the protection of the smaller, but in the development of identical juridical relations among all independent nations.

He said the heading first proposed—"Neutralisation of Norway," etc.—was not a proper one. The title should be, "Guarantee treaties for the Northern Coasts." In November, 1907, a treaty was concluded between France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia on the one part, and Norway on the other part. This treaty was to maintain the integrity of Norway, and it had been concluded for the space of ten years. The great Powers could only interfere in case the integrity of Norway should be assailed. Dr. Koht referred to some other treaties of 1907 respecting the integrity of the borders of Norway, on the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. These treaties were only an extension of the late treaty of 1855, a treaty made by France and Great Britain on the one part, and Norway and Sweden on the other part. There was no doubt that the new treaties were a great advance on the old one. The old treaty was directed against Russia, but in the new treaty no such point was to be found; therefore, he thought the Congress would welcome those treaties. However, the treaty about Norway had created some disappointment in Sweden, where it was felt that it was not proper that the integrity of Norway should be guaranteed by force, and not on the basis of law.

Pastor UMFRID supported the resolution. He said the treaty guaranteeing the integrity of Norway was of great moment for the peace movement, because it showed, as in a convex mirror, the future of the European States. It furnished them with the key of the situation, and therefore, these treaties being of such great importance, he hoped the Congress would accept the resolution submitted to it.

Mr. W. A. DE SILVA (representing the Buddhist Societies of Ceylon) said: I am glad to find that this resolution has been brought forward; especially as, although the first portion is confined to European States, there is no limitation in the second part. There is a tendency now, to a great extent, to forget the less powerful States in the world. That, I believe, will be giving a premium to the idea, which is fast gaining ground in the world—unfortunately for the cause of peace—that justice is only obtainable by those who are strong. That is an idea which is fast gaining ground in the world, and if it once gets into the minds of the Eastern nations,

perhaps the attempts you are making here in Europe to conserve the peace of the world may fail, by making some of the Eastern nations spend money on armaments whenever they can get the opportunity to do so. I am glad the resolution does not limit the expression of opinion to Europe, and I should be glad if, in the preparation of other resolutions, some reference could be made to the Eastern States. There is the independent State of Siam, between two powerful countries, and I am afraid those who have read history will find that slices of Siam have been cut off year after year. Unfortunately, powerful nations went there, and the country was exploited over again, and men made to fight, and become victims of the mania of the West. Now they are opening their eyes to the dicta that justice has to be obtained by force, especially since the success of Japan. I want to impress upon you that we may neglect to think of the fact that bad public opinion may gain ground in some of these countries—the opinion that to obtain justice they must be strong. If China gets that idea, all the Peace Congresses may not prevent her being a formidable foe. I hope an endeavour will be made to influence those Eastern nations to take an actual part in the Congress, and by so doing know the opinions expressed by the best of men in Europe; otherwise they may think that Europe is trying to plunder them, and that there is no other public opinion.

The CHAIRMAN: I can't let the last speech pass without some reference, because it touches me nearly. I am sure I shall be speaking on behalf of the whole assembly when I say how glad we are to welcome among us a representative of these nations of the Far East. (Applause.) A year ago I had just returned from a long voyage in the East; and as far as I was able, I tried to speak of the claims of those great Eastern nations, and of the great danger lest they should follow the example of the Western nations. They are beginning to do so, and some of you on Monday afternoon heard a speech from a missionary in China, who bore strong evidence of what is being done. I am particularly glad, therefore, to have an Eastern representative coming to voice this danger which menaces the Western world—if it does not mend its ways.

Dr. W. EVANS DARBY: I want more especially to emphasise the second section of the resolution. That, you will see, raises a very important principle. These treaties to which the resolution makes reference, are, of course, excellent in their way. They are doing that part of the work which needs to be done in Scandinavia, especially in securing the independence and safety of the smaller

nations, but you will observe—and that is what this calls attention to—that all that is done by the greater Powers on behalf of the smaller. Now that I, for one, cannot help feeling is an impertinence. The nations of the world are legal personalities. Smaller nations, before the law, have a right to be deemed equal with the greater nations. Size has nothing at all to do with it. That is the principle involved, and therefore I must heartily support this clause of the resolution. Before sitting down I want to bear my testimony to the noble way in which the Norwegians especially took part in the earlier diplomatic discussions. I had the privilege of being in Christiania just at the time the Conference was being held, and was discussing the question of peace and war between Norway and Sweden. I have not had an opportunity before of expressing my own impressions, and I want to say here that I was filled with admiration at the noble self-control manifested by the people in Christiania. (Applause.) As pacifists, we have to congratulate these two great Northern nations on the way they settled a great political difficulty without going to war. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Having been present with Dr. Darby and Dr. Trueblood, I wish also to bear my testimony, and endorse every word Dr. Darby has said about the self-control manifested. I think the Conference will at once agree to the alteration of title of this resolution to "Treaties of guarantee for the Northern Countries."

The resolution was carried unanimously

### The Morocco Question.

M. TH. RUYSEN submitted the following resolution on the Morocco question:

RESOLUTION VII.—The Seventeenth Congress recalls the resolution which was voted last year at the Congress of Munich, in these terms: "The Congress, considering that the obligation undertaken by one or more civilised States to police a less civilised country may on occasion degenerate into a war of conquest against the country, or even an armed conflict amongst the civilised States interested in the maintenance of order therein, expresses the opinion: (1.) That operations undertaken in Morocco by France or Spain should be strictly limited to the re-establishment of order and assurance of the safety of foreigners. (2.) That the police force in Morocco, even if it should still be entrusted to a limited number of Powers, should preserve (as in Macedonia and Crete) an entirely international character, by virtue of an exact agreement to this effect between the interested Powers in completion of the Act of Algeciras."

The Seventeenth Congress confirms this resolution. It also repeats the resolutions adopted on different occasions by the former Congresses in regard to the imprescriptible rights of the minor populations. Further, it expresses regret that a question which touches neither the vital interests nor the honour of the European nations should be considered in certain circles with a violent and prejudiced animosity which might lead to graver and more general conflicts. And it asks that in case such conflicts should arise, they be sent without exception to the Hague Tribunal.

M. Ruysen recalled the fact that when France and Spain had to perform the part of policeman in Morocco, so as to secure the safety of European inhabitants, the matter was discussed at the Munich Congress. The Congress did not then feel itself competent to discuss as to how far European provocation had led to the state of affairs which led in turn to European interference. The Congress carried a resolution which was repeated in the resolution now before the delegates. As the diplomatic situation had not altered, the resolution could stand. M. Ruysen went on to say that he considered, however, that they should add something to it. They had not sufficiently considered the interests of the nation which was the most concerned, viz., Morocco itself. They had always protested against annexation. If Morocco had not caused a European conflict it was because of the very frank attitude of French and Spanish diplomacy; but on the other hand a dangerous Press campaign had been started which might have brought about a European war. Therefore, they had a right to protest against this action on the part of the European Press. That accounted for the addition made to the resolution passed at Munich.

M. TARRIDA DEL MARMEL (Portugal) protested against the first portion of the resolution. It seemed, he said, as if they were deliberately recognising an act of piracy. There was no need for European intervention. Cunninghame Graham and others who knew the country had testified to the fact that the disturbances had been caused by Europeans, and had not sprung from the Moors. Some abominations had occurred in Morocco, but how many had occurred in London and Paris? There were crimes in Morocco, but no more than in other countries. They should have the courage to protest against the spilling of blood. Europeans had gone to Casablanca and massacred women and children wholesale. They ought to protest. They ought not to approve of the so-called "operations" in Morocco. The only operation of which they could approve was the immediate withdrawal of European troops from Morocco.

Mrs. DRYHURST said: I wish to support M. Marmel's protest

against that part of the resolution in which it speaks of the intervention of the Powers. 'The only time these combined Powers seem to interfere is when there is a chance of liberty springing up in a country. The moment they get their troops in, they stay there, and it means national destruction. The Sultan of Turkey—to whom personally I should like to send congratulations in the name of the Congress, but I suppose you won't do that—ought to be congratulated on giving a constitution to his people. It is the wisest thing he has ever done. The Sultan is a bad ruler, but such as he is the Turks have elected him themselves. They would prefer that to a domination of combined Powers, and, as I say, in every country where they go in, we have that country robbed of nationality, which is the only safeguard there is of a people's honour and development. I only wish now to support M. Marmol heartily in his protest, and I hope it will be wiped out of the resolution. They should be called upon to withdraw as speedily as they can.

M. HUCHET (of Havre, France) said he was glad that a Spaniard had protested in this matter in the name of morality. As a Frenchman, he was ashamed and blushed at the terms of the resolution. They were making themselves accomplices of the crime committed in Morocco if they passed the resolution as it stood. A few Frenchmen, perhaps a dozen, were killed in a disturbance, and then a French army was sent out and shot down not a dozen, but thousands, not of men, but of women and children; and committed every act of brutality and cruelty in the so-called name of civilisation—such cruelties that they had been condemned in the French Parliament by French Deputies. Were they in the Peace Conference to be more timid than the French Parliament? Their best men in the French Parliament had asked that the army should be withdrawn. It was said that life was not quite secure in Morocco, and that sometimes foreigners had been attacked. Well, what need had foreigners to go there? Foreigners went to France and to England, and in Paris they were sometimes attacked by Apaches. Did anyone propose to send an army to Paris on that account? If people went to Russia they stood a chance of being shot down. If they wanted to interfere let them go and interfere in Russia, instead of appearing as at present to approve of the deeds of bloodshed in that country. There was only one thing to be done, and that was to reject the resolution, and substitute one requiring the withdrawal of the Powers from Morocco.

M. RUYSEN pointed out that if there was a section of the Press that pushed towards war, there was also a section which, while in

many respects sympathetic with the peace movement, was guilty of exaggeration. According to that section of the Press, no man could wear an epaulette or a sword without being a brute, and no army could perform an act of police without dealing in brigandage. This was a very complex question, and he claimed that not one per cent. of the people understood the points at issue. They did not say in the resolution that intervention was necessary. They only said that as intervention had been decided upon, they insisted that it should not degenerate into an army of annexation. They were not capable in that Congress of pronouncing on the morality of the question. At a Congress in France they were equally divided in opinion. They had not the information that justified them in pronouncing a verdict, but they could do with regard to Morocco what they did with regard to Turkey. They had not the information which would enable them to say whether in Macedonia it was the Bulgarians, the Greeks, the Servians, or the Turks who ought to be dominant ; but they could protest against violence and war. Let them do for Morocco what they had done for Turkey.

M. LÉON BOUILLON (Basses Pyrenees, France) protested against the suggestion that it was a Christian civilisation that sent troops to massacre in Morocco, and quoted a number of Biblical texts to show that Christianity was not in favour of massacres, and did not go out with a sword to destroy.

M. ARNAUD said he hoped that the Congress did not intend to blame any of the unfortunate simple soldiers, who were the victims of the system of compulsory military service, in being sent to Morocco. They might, possibly, have committed atrocities ; because, although soldiers were taught laws for humane fighting, as a matter of fact when men once got fighting they forgot all such laws, and became brute animals. No amount of legislation would ever make war less horrible. In Morocco, soldiers who were taught to be humane had not been humane at all. If they wanted to go to such countries as Morocco, they should send forward their missionaries, not merely religious missionaries but secular missionaries, to teach the arts, and crafts, and sciences in those countries. Occasionally such missionaries would be killed. Let them be killed. That would not mean half as much bloodshed as war entailed ; and in a little while the people would realise the disinterestedness of such secular missionaries, and their glory, and the good they would do would be permanent, and would be a benefit to all nations and peoples. He considered that in Morocco they were face to face with an extraordinary fact in that the French troops were actually

being withdrawn. They were now leaving ; and perhaps, after all, the famous promise that they were to act merely as police, and would not annex the country, as is generally the case—perhaps the great miracle would take place, and the French would not seek to annex Morocco. If that were the fact, they ought to pay some attention to it, and notice its existence. Perhaps it would be better to leave aside the resolution previously carried (at Munich) in regard to Morocco. It was out of date, and they need not repeat it. He thought the latter part might be amended to read :

This Congress demands that, in cases where such conflicts arise, the subject of dispute should be, without exception, sent to the Hague Court ; and a special treaty, of permanent arbitration, admitting of no exception whatsoever, should submit all such differences to the Supreme Court at the Hague."

He pointed out that in regard to these treaties the question of integrity of territory had been hitherto always placed outside arbitration, but all African disputes without exception could well be obligatorily sent to the Hague.

M. DUPLESSIX said he wished to protest against the calumnies levelled against France in the course of the debate, but he considered they had been sufficiently answered by other speakers, and therefore he would withdraw his right to speak.

Prof. QUIDDE said the first part of the resolution did not justify the action of the European Governments in Morocco, but only considered it as a simple fact. The Congress was not competent to judge of that action, because it did not possess the necessary knowledge. In order that the resolution might be accepted unanimously by the Congress, he would agree with the amendment suggested by M. Arnaud. He desired that no bad feeling should be left behind. They were not in a position to deal with the morality of the question. The criticisms and difficulties were mostly based on contradictory newspaper talk. The Congress was not competent to decide who was right and who was wrong. Therefore he asked the Congress to accept the amended resolution.

The CHAIRMAN read the resolution, as amended, in the following terms :—

RESOLUTION VII.—With regard to the operations undertaken in Morocco, the Congress repeats the resolutions adopted on different occasions by the former Congresses in regard to the imprescriptible rights of minor populations.

It especially expresses regret that a question which touches neither the vital interests nor the honour of the European nations should be considered

in certain circles with a violent and prejudiced animosity which might lead to graver and more general conflicts.

The Congress asks that, in case such conflicts should arise, they be sent without exception or delay to the Hague Tribunal, and that a special permanent arbitration treaty, admitting of no exception, should refer to that tribunal all differences of the same kind.

With one dissentient the amended resolution was adopted.

### Airships and War.

Prof. QUIDDE said he had a resolution to submit on a question which would not need any great discussion. It treated of a great modern invention; the invention of the dirigible balloon. In reading the newspapers they must have found that the opinion expressed was one considering this new invention to be an excellent means of making war. They never looked on it as a great invention which would be of immeasurable use to civilisation. The following was the resolution he wished to submit:—

RESOLUTION VIII.—The Congress protests, most emphatically, against the attempt to see in the great invention of the airship only a new means of carrying on war. It considers that the conquest of the air is an event which will benefit the development of civilisation, and deems it grave aberration to look upon this great progress solely from a military standpoint.

M. LA FONTAINE (Belgium) said at the Hague Conference in 1899 the States agreed that they should not drop shells from balloons into towns, but the agreement was valid only for five years. A proposal was made in 1907 to renew that agreement, but a large number of Powers refused, among them being France, Germany, and some of the South American Republics. He wished to add to the resolution some point urging the nations to renew this treaty. He therefore proposed to add:—

The Congress urges the twenty-two States which refused in 1907 to sign the renewal of the Convention of 1899, prohibiting the throwing of projectiles from balloons, to adhere to this Convention.

M. VANDERPOL said he thought they ought not to exaggerate this question about war balloons. They would never be powerful enough to enable people to carry much ammunition. They would be manned by a very few people, perhaps three or four persons, and they would carry a few explosives which they would drop with great care on the general staff. They might succeed in killing a few generals, but a general was only a man like other people. They might also perhaps blow up critical points on the railway. On the

whole, however, he did not think the use of balloons in war would lead to killing more people, though they might kill more appropriately. However much we might regret that all the conquests of science should be immediately turned to profit by military men, it seemed that the Congress would take a false step by demanding that the use of explosives from balloons should be forbidden—this manner of fighting being, in his view, one of those which would cause (whilst permitting important results to be obtained) the least loss of life, as compared with the usual methods of warfare to-day. Then, supposing balloons seeking information to be attacked, were they not to have the right to defend themselves? A friend of his, the engineer of M. Lebaudy, who constructed the first dirigible balloon employed in an army, argued that the employment of dirigibles in war would result in sparing a number of lives. A fleet of ten balloons, he said, in effect, could destroy the strategical position which constituted the centre of the defence. To obtain this result, at Mukden, no less than 40,000 lives had to be sacrificed. It could, by dropping its projectiles upon the headquarters staff, dispose of the commander-in-chief, reduce the army to the condition of a leaderless crowd, and make it lose the greater part of its value, and that, at the cost of a minimum of victims. It could occasion the enemy irreparable loss, and always with a minimum of human sacrifice, by destroying railways, bridges, fortifications, etc.; and by dropping explosives upon ammunition supplies and magazines it could annihilate the strength of an army in the field or of a besieged city. In short, the employment of the dirigible balloon was capable of producing the most rapid results, whilst reducing as much as possible the effusion of blood.

The BARONESS VON SUTTNER said she thought the Congress ought not to deal themselves with the laws of war. They must say they did not want new cruelties, but they must not enter into details about the dangerous or non-dangerous character of weapons. Let them only say that it was a shame that a great invention for civilisation should be put to the uses of war.

The original resolution of Prof. Quidde was put to the meeting and carried.

Prof. QUIDDE said this was an old dispute between the Baroness von Suttner and other members of the peace movement, as to whether the movement should concern itself with questions relating to the conduct of war or not. Personally, he thought they ought to so concern themselves, because they thus extended the operation of the law. As a member of the Commission, he could not say

anything. He did not want to go into the merits and demerits from any point of view, and would leave it to the Congress to decide.

M. DUMAS said he was very sorry to be on the opposite side to the Baroness von Suttner. He took up his attitude not merely on principle, but on a question of fact. Since the first Hague Conference, it had been practically proved that the Governments had never consented to enter into international agreements except under the false motive that those agreements were meant to rule war. He did not believe in the ruling of war, but they could not establish a complete separation between the law of war and the law of peace. When they took up facts and principles, it was impossible to say that a particular fact or principle belonged to the law of war or to the law of peace. The two questions touched one another on all sides, and they could not separate them completely. Since it was proved that many Governments only consented to send delegates to the Hague because it was said that they were only sending them so as to rule war, it would be unwise to pass a definite resolution against ruling war, since the law of war was the only practical way of getting a law of peace.

M. FRIED said he thought they could proceed to the vote. They could not prevent inventions, but they might try to regulate the use of them.

The rider proposed by M. La Fontaine was put to the meeting and carried by a large majority, and the Conference adjourned.

## SIXTH SESSION OF CONGRESS,

HELD AT CAXTON HALL,

*Friday afternoon, July 31st.*

*Chairman :* MR. JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER.

### **Messages of Greeting.**

Mrs. COLBY (Portland, Oregon, U.S.A.) said : I have a greeting sent to the Congress by a meeting of the Women's Freedom League : "That this meeting, held under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League, sends greetings to the International Peace Congress, and expresses its sympathy with the aims of the Congress, and desires to point out that the International Council of Women, representing millions of women of every country, adopted the movement of peace and arbitration as the first plank in its platform in 1888."

Prof. QUIDDE presented a message from one of the organisations of trades unions in Germany, in which he said some hundreds of thousands of workmen sent hearty greetings and wishes for the success of the Congress.

### **Obligatory Arbitration.**

M. ARNAUD, on behalf of Commission B., submitted the following resolutions :—

RESOLUTION IX.—(1.) Considering that the principles of progress voted for by twenty-six Powers at the Hague Conference of 1899, and by forty-four Powers in 1907, may be looked upon as a definite result, this Congress takes note of the unanimous resolutions, which form a solid platform from which further progress may be developed :

*"All the Powers have the duty to take part in the maintenance of general peace, and to favour by all their endeavours the pacific arrangements of all international litigation. The civilised nations form one single community,*

*whose members are bound by the links of solidarity, subject to the supremacy of law and of international justice. Arbitration must be made obligatory. The laws of humanity and the demands of public conscience have an imperative character for all those whom international law does not sufficiently protect. The appeal to arms is only an ultimate alternative for cases in which the intervention of third parties has been of no avail. Its disastrous effects must be limited, their survival must not prevent the limitation of the military charges that weigh upon the world."*

This Congress calls the attention of all peoples to the importance of these principles, and urges upon them to secure their application for the greater profit of civilisation and mankind.

(2.) This Congress expresses the desire that the Powers who have declared themselves favourable to the application, in definite cases, of obligatory arbitration, should conclude as soon as possible, between themselves, a general treaty of permanent and obligatory arbitration.

(3.) This Congress expresses once more the desire that the Governments should establish national committees, and an international committee also, with the object of framing an international code of public law.

He reminded the delegates that eighteen years ago the Congress met in London, and a day or two afterwards the inter-Parliamentary conference took place in the same hall of the Hotel Metropole where they assembled for the President's reception on Monday night. In those days it was the custom to hold the Peace Congress and the inter-Parliamentary Congress in the same town, at about the same date. He regretted very much to find that that was no longer the case. It was very useful to have that close connection.

The CHAIRMAN interposed to say that at the present Congress a considerable number of members of Parliament, though much absorbed by their Parliamentary duties, had nevertheless found time to be present in the hall to listen to the proceedings of the Congress.

M. ARNAUD said he regretted that the French Deputies had not shown the same zeal, although a good many of them came to London to inaugurate, at the Franco-British Exhibition, the wonderful chart of the international treaties concluded since the year 1903. They seemed to have come to London just a few days too soon, as if on purpose to avoid that Congress. Eighteen years ago it was necessary to explain what they meant, to give descriptions of what they thought could be done, and if anybody at that time had come forward and said that ten years hence the leading nations of the world would unite in an official congress to try and carry out their suggestions, he would have been thought altogether Utopian. Nevertheless, in ten years twenty-six States had united, and more recently forty-four had united, and they had signed declarations of principle taught from the first by peace congresses. It could not be said,

therefore, that they were Utopian. It was true that England was the country where the word originated, but all that which was found in the book of Utopia might be found actually existing now in real life. All the exceptions in the realisation of their ideals were justified, in a way, by the lack of absolute agreement among themselves. There were people who still believed that in extreme cases reference to war still remained justifiable ; but the nations of the world had agreed, according to the text of the resolution before them, that all the Powers had a duty to take part in the maintenance of general peace, and to favour by all their endeavours the pacific arrangement of all international litigation. The civilised nations formed one single community, whose principles were bound by links of solidarity subject to the supremacy of law and international justice. Those were not words formulated by members of this Congress. Those were not words that expressed what they desired, but were words which had received the sanction of official representatives of forty-four different nations. They represented what had now been adopted as constituting the duties of nations. Each nation had now a duty to consider the interest of other nations, and behave themselves in a manner that should harmonise with the rights and interests of all their neighbours. (Applause.) The principle of solidarity, after all, had been agreed to by forty-four official representatives at the Hague Conference. The second paragraph was adopted by the first conference, and was drawn by the very committee whose business it was to discuss how war should be conducted ; and they also seemed to be animated with the same principle that where the sovereignty of one nation began, the sovereignty of another nation ended. The speaker recalled the fact that the member of the Italian Government who spoke at the Milan Congress said that the Italian Government were not in need of any resolution to encourage them in the policy of peace. What they wanted was a precise formula—a precise indication of what could be done, and practical suggestions as to how to do it. That, he claimed, was the significance and object of the resolution he put before them.

Pastor UMFRIED proposed to leave out the sixth paragraph of the first resolution, and also to omit the third resolution. He said the Congress could not note with satisfaction that the Hague Conference had decided that the appeal to arms was only an ultimate alternative for cases in which the intervention of third parties had been of no avail. That was the argument generally used by opponents of the peace movement ; and if they said that themselves they

would give away their case. They must always advocate the thesis that there was no war which was not avoidable, if some goodwill were shown. That was the position which ought to be taken up by that Congress. War was no remedy at all. War created new difficulties, and might lead to other wars. In reference to the third resolution, which he wished to be struck out, the speaker referred to a book written by Professor Lippold, of Berne, in which it was held there could not exist such a code of laws. What could be made would be a code of treaties, and that would be a very difficult thing. The only practical course for the Congress to pursue was to strike out the third resolution, as well as the sixth section of resolution one.

M. LA FONTAINE pointed out that the paragraph to which objection was taken by Pastor Umfrid was not the opinion of the Congress. It was a quotation of what was done at the Hague. It was not exactly what the Peace Congress desired, but it was an historical fact. They could not alter what had been done, and they must quote correctly. As to the third resolution, he thought the codification proposition was quite possible, and not only was it possible, but it had been attempted. The speaker mentioned four different authorities on jurisprudence, in different countries, who had drawn up such codes. Many diplomatists, he continued, objected to treaties of arbitration because, they said, we have no code of law on which to plead when before such a tribunal. Therefore, the proposal to draw up such a code was not only practical, but was necessary.

Dr. TRUEBLOOD said: I have only one remark of a general character in support of this resolution. I quite agree with Dr. Umfrid about this Congress granting that war sometimes is allowable; but as that is a quotation, I don't think the criticism was at all appropriate. It is a quotation from what the Hague Conference actually did. But the practical remark I want to make is that I think it is the duty of the pacifists to make the most of what the second Hague Conference did. I find, everywhere I go, a general disposition to depreciate and under-estimate the actual results of the conference; and the pity of it is I don't find one person in twenty who can sit down and in five minutes state to you what the conference did. The first duty of peacemakers—French, German, Italian, English, and all of us—is to study and give to ourselves an account of what the Hague Conference did. Until we really know what the Hague Conference did, we cannot talk intelligently about it. My own judgment is, that the Hague Conference went much further

in the direction of the permanent and official organisation of peace and organisation among the nations, and much further in suppressing war and driving it out of the world, than most people imagine. In American peace societies, nearly all speakers since the Hague Conference have felt it their duty to interpret that conference, and we find people everywhere need it. Because of the scrappy or perverted reports in the newspapers, people don't know; and I don't find one person in a hundred that has read one of the Conventions. I wish we might have had a resolution drawn up by some committee in a form that would have stated in five or six definite propositions what was actually done. (Applause.) I hope that the conference will ask the committee who will edit the report to prepare, and put in as an appendix, or in some form, a clear definite statement of the five or six important things which the conference did. Very few people know that the Hague Conference has virtually established a permanent regular international congress or parliament, at first advisory only, but really such. Very few know that it voted unanimously in favour of the principle of general obligatory arbitration, and it was only one or two Powers that refused to sign a treaty of that kind. These things ought to be known and published abroad, and our campaign before the third conference ought to be based on what the second did. We ought to attach ourselves to what was done, instead of firing in the air—if you will excuse the military expression. I think there ought to be printed in the proceedings of this Congress what the Hague Conference did on the great lines of our movement.

The CHAIRMAN said the paragraphs quoting what the Hague Conference did ought to have been printed in italic type. Care must be taken to make it clear that it was not an expression of opinion of this Congress.

Dr. CLARK said: I think there is an important point here, and I would suggest a slight amendment. I don't agree with our German friend that the third resolution should not be adopted, because I think it is very desirable that we should have international law codified. But in the first resolution you will find that paragraph 1 is preamble, and paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 tell you what was done by the Hague Conference. The next one is to recommend that to people, and if we adopt it in that form we really admit war may be necessary. I suggest that it should read, "While this Congress cannot admit that war is ever necessary, it calls attention, etc."

M. ARNAUD accepted this amendment.

M. DUMAS, speaking on the third resolution, said the principles

of international law were completely different from private law. He would give two instances to prove that. In national law they had a statute of limitations. There was no limitation in international law, since they all declared there could be no limitation of national rights. Again in private law, they could not promise anything with reference to a third party. In international law they could make such a promise.

The resolution was adopted in the following form :—

RESOLUTION IX.—(1) Considering that the principles of progress voted for by twenty-six Powers at the Hague Conference of 1899, and by forty-four Powers in 1907, may be looked upon as a definite result: This Congress takes note of the unanimous resolutions, which form a solid platform from which further progress may be developed: "All the Powers have the duty to take part in the maintenance of general peace, and to favour by all their endeavours the pacific arrangements of all international litigation. The civilised nations form one single community whose members are bound by the links of solidarity subject to the supremacy of law and of international justice. Arbitration must be made obligatory. The laws of humanity and the demands of public conscience have an imperative character for all those whom international law does not sufficiently protect. The appeal to arms is only an ultimate alternative for cases in which the intervention of third parties has been of no avail. Its disastrous effects must be limited, their survival must not prevent the limitation of the military charges that weigh upon the world." While this Congress cannot admit that war is ever necessary, it calls the attention of all peoples to the importance of these principles, and urges them to secure their application for the greater profit of civilisation and mankind.

(2.) The Congress expresses the desire that the Powers who have declared themselves favourable to the application, in definite cases, of obligatory arbitration, should conclude as soon as possible, between themselves, a general treaty of permanent and obligatory arbitration.

(3.) This Congress expresses once more the desire that the Governments should establish national committees, and an international committee also, with the object of framing an international code of public law.

### International Organisation.

M. DUPLESSIX presented a report on international political organisation from Commission B, and submitted the following resolutions :—

RESOLUTION X.—Considering that general disarmament is a simple measure, and of easy application, but only at an epoch when a more perfect international organisation shall give to every State a guarantee of security and justice superior to that now given to them by army and navy:

(a) The Congress is of opinion that the peace party should earnestly

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endeavour to preserve and to perfect international arbitration, but that it must be done in the way traced by the Hague Conference of 1907, by demanding that beside voluntary arbitration there shall be instituted an obligatory tribunal of justice analogous to those that exist in civilised countries.

(b) A very complete international organisation will be necessary to ensure the normal working of this tribunal.

(c) The only way to conform the projected organisation to the needs of peoples, and to the present condition of their evolution, is to give it the form of an association which, while allowing the different States to keep their individuality and their self-government, would allow them also to have in common their common interests, that is to say, security, justice, and certain intellectual and economic interests.

(d) The working of this society will require the institution of an international authority. This authority should be composed of delegates appointed by the associated States, and will include: (1.) A legislative council charged with preparing the international law. (2.) A judicial authority applying it. (3.) An executive with the authority necessary to watch over those interests common to the different peoples, and to see to the observance of the law and the execution of the judicial decision.

(e) When the organisation is in working order, the States, in return for guarantees of security and justice, will be obliged to disband their armies and navies, and to destroy their war stores. They will only be allowed to keep the police forces necessary to maintain order in the mother country and in the colonies.

He explained that his individual opinions would be published in the official report. After insisting at some length on the folly of armaments, he went on to say it was futile to denounce armaments unless they could propose some method which would afford to peoples at least as good a security as armaments themselves afforded. People required to feel safe, and they found some safety in being armed. They had to show them that there was still greater safety by other means. Now the one means of security, the one thing that made the individual and would make the nation feel secure and safe, was the knowledge that there was real justice in existence, firmly and successfully applied. Where such justice already existed, it had to be cultivated and developed. But, after all, complete and thorough justice would only come when they had a federation of States; and it must be an universal federation; because even if they had the united States of Europe it would be no progress. To have great wars between great continents, the federation of Europe fighting the federation of Asia, would not be progress beyond one nation in Europe fighting another nation in Europe. Federation must not be European federation, but universal federation. They must find a basis for such federation, and that basis,

to be successful, must be a basis of interest. They must find out where it was to the interest of the peoples to federate. It was to the interest of people to preserve their own homes, their customs, and their idiosyncracies. In private life when one individual associated himself with another, and drew up a deed of partnership, he seemed to surrender his individuality so far as the business enterprise was concerned; but the different partners, intimately connected in business, had in the privacy of their homes a particular way of doing things which did not prevent their being good partners in business. That is what they suggested the nation should do. Be national as far as private life was concerned; absolutely international so far as public life among nations was concerned. The Hague Conference laid the basis of such a federation, without attempting to define it. In defining it the great point is to find means by which the security of each nation shall be preserved. Mons. Duplessix went on to give a number of proposals that the federation in future should be based on the preservation of the independence of each nationality, and that its independence should be guaranteed by all other nationalities, so that there could be no wars about such matters. The rights of all must be enforced by international law. International law must be supported; and it was necessary to elaborate the international constitution of Parliament and Tribunals. The whole history of human evolution led in that direction. At first the individual fought the individual, then he associated himself in tribes, then came countries or provinces, and finally states and nations, and people belonging to the same state or nation did not as a rule fight each other. He maintained that the evolution from the individual to the tribe, from the tribe to the nations, was not the end of evolution, and the completion of it would only be reached when there was but one nation, and that nation a nation of humanity.

Dr. HEILBERG accepted the resolution with the reservation that it was only a programme showing the ultimate aims of the pacifist movement. As far as it applied to present circumstances it was a mere Utopia. From that point of view the German delegates could vote for it, but it was a theoretical resolution, having no practical bearing on the present condition.

Mons. DUMAS said he wanted to say a word or two on resolution D. They had all heard, he supposed, of the man who went to his friend's wedding, and on being asked how he liked the wedding, replied, "Oh, I liked it very much, but the bride was too pretty." He would say the same about the resolution. It was too fine for his taste, and he was afraid it would be too fine for their Govern-

ments. Although, personally, he was not afraid of the idea of federation, or its results, he did not think any one of our present Governments would be prepared to accept the executive with the authority necessary to watch over the common interests of the people. Therefore he believed, although they must admit the idea and principles of federation, and although it must be their aim to carry out the principle with all its consequences, that they could not yet speak of one international executive power. They had already judicial authority in the Hague Tribunal, but he did not think people were yet prepared for an international executive, though the time might come. As he did not want them to be considered mere Utopians, he wished that the third resolution could be altered in this way, that they admitted already legislative council and judicial authority, but as to the executive, they must be content with saying that in the present state of affairs this executive must be considered as being simply the ruling power of the nations as they were represented at the Hague.

M. LA FONTAINE said the resolution was very definitely worded, and emphatically stated that the object in view was an object to be realised in the future. There was no illusion. They did not suggest it would be attained at once. As for being called Utopian, they had been called that before; and the Utopian ideas of years ago had now become realities, so they need not fear that word.

Resolutions A, B, and C were put to the meeting and carried.

Miss COOKE said: It seems to me to be not quite certain that we shall develop an executive for the whole world. The tendency of modern political society seems to be not towards centralisation, but towards decentralisation. We are getting more faith in government by localities, and it would seem that there might be considerable danger in appointing executives for the whole world. If it develops, I think that will be another thing. It seems to me not only premature, but in some cases objectionable, to speak of an executive for the whole world.

M. ARNAUD said he was anxious, in reference to the remark made by Miss Cooke, that there should be no misunderstanding, because they ought to be unanimous. They wanted to dissolve armies, but they could not do that unless they instituted a system of tribunals. Quarrels would continue, differences of opinion would arise, and if they were not to be decided by war they must be decided by law. But they did not want to coerce people into accepting treaties. They wanted to put a good law into the place of armies.

Unless they had a good system of international law they could not possibly do away with armies.

M. LA FONTAINE said he thought the matter was not quite clearly understood. He conceived that Miss Cooke objected to executive power of an international description because the tendency was to decentralisation rather than centralisation. But such executive power would be a very minimum, and would not enter into many details. In any case, such power was not only necessary, but it actually existed where international organisation existed. The international organisation did exist, notably in regard to railways, which were governed by an international executive sitting at Berne. All the countries of Euorpe had to obey that executive. There was no army, or police, but it was governed internationally.

Resolutions D and E were adopted by a large majority.

The Conference then adjourned.

# CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS.

HELD IN THE  
COUNCIL CHAMBER, CAXTON HALL.

*On Friday, July 31st, at 3.30 p.m.*

*Chairman:* PROFESSOR SIR JOHN MACDONELL, C.B., LL.D.

The Council Chamber was entirely filled by an audience which included a large number of British and foreign teachers.

Opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said: I confess that I have not lately addressed an assembly with a greater sense of responsibility than on the present occasion. You teachers come from many lands, I understand. You stand for so much in the present, and you stand for still more in the future. The pulpit and the Press are great powers; but after all, the pulpit and the Press in the main address the mature, the convinced, those who will quickly pass from the scene; but you speak to the young, to the susceptible, the impressionable, at the time when they are most plastic; and from you, in all probability, they will receive the convictions, the driving force, of their future lives. If the future generation is, with regard to this question, to be different from past generations, the change will in the main depend upon you. Whether that will come about will, ultimately, I suppose, depend upon the strength and the fervour and the intensity of your convictions within. That no doubt will be the main force. But it will also, to some extent, depend upon the tools that you have in your hands, in other words, upon the books which you put into the hands of your pupils.

## **Faulty Text Books.**

Now, I would ask those who are engaged in the practical work of teaching, whether these books are all that they could desire? I would further ask whether some of them are not the very opposite, whether some of them do not, unconsciously I admit, unwittingly so far as the authors are concerned, whether some of them do not

pander to the worst passions of mankind ; whether they do not present history in the main as a long string of militant incidents, and suppress, or at all events pass over as comparatively unimportant, the great incidents of civic life I would put it to you who have knowledge of text books, whether or not what I may call the war party have not captured some of our text books? I would go a step further and I would ask you to note whether or not, not content with that victory, some of those who belong to the same party are not desirous of capturing the schools also? Each person has his own method of controversy. Mine may be the wrong one. It consists in attributing to one's adversaries the best of motives ; and I have not the slightest doubt that some of those who advocate what I deprecate, advocate it from the very best of motives, and among them are those whom I must admit I in many ways respect. Some of them would introduce something which I might term juvenile military conscription into the schools. Some of them would create among the pupils a class of what I may call military half-timers ; and some of them would make imperative and obligatory both religious instruction and the right to use a rifle. Well, now, I not merely believe they make a great mistake. I believe that any of those proposals would eventually produce great mischief.

### **How to Keep the Peace.**

What, after all, is our safety for peace in the future? One answer is, "More Dreadnoughts"—and then, if that fails, still more Dreadnoughts. But that solution of the problem does not carry very far ; and I venture to think, and I put it to you, whether peace is not to be obtained in the future between nations in the same manner as it is maintained between private individuals—by courtesy, by mutual respect, by abstinence from vain glory, and by not brandishing patriotic flags, and patriotic statistics, and by avoidance of all the arts of pin pricks and petty irritation so commonly used. I would make one concession, if I might be allowed to, to those who advocate those measures which I deprecate, and that is this—that I do not believe you teachers will captivate and carry with you the convictions of the young unless you appeal, and appeal strongly, to what I may call the heroic instincts latent or living in their youthful breasts. Speak to them of the woes inseparable from war, and drag into the light of day all its horrors, and that squalor which it is the business of military historians and those who extol war to keep in the background ; do all that, but you will still find many of your pupils cold and indifferent.

### **The Heroism of Peace.**

But appeal to another side of their nature. Tell them of the possibility of an heroic life being led in civic paths, and then I venture to say you will not speak in vain. I trust that some of you teachers who are skilful in the use of a pen will compile for the use of your pupils what I may call a Golden Treasury of Peace, a book in which will be recorded the civic acts of heroism performed by persons to whom was awarded no Victoria Cross—performed by miners, performed by doctors, performed by nurses, performed by the vast multitude of persons now nameless and obscure. I venture to think that if you teachers—for it is to you I am speaking above all—if you rest your case largely on these grounds, if you appeal to the ideal, then your results will be more practical than otherwise. I may be permitted to present to you one or two reflections upon this subject drawn from the region which it has been my duty to some extent to explore. It has fallen to me to study, and to some extent to teach, international law, a science which I think makes for peace; for what, after all, is international law but the carrying into the relations of nations the rules of justice? Well, I would venture to make two or three reflections drawn from that science, and the first is this. It has often been the aspiration and desire of men in the past to form some great community which would be more comprehensive than any nation. That was the dream of men such as Dante or Leibnitz, and a great number of thinkers and far-seeing men. Well, that dream is rapidly coming true. They were a little before their time, but they saw what was coming; and slowly but certainly there is arising not merely a conception, but the reality, of a structure wider than any nation, more comprehensive than any nation, a community in which every lover of peace is a citizen.

### **Growth of Internationalism.**

Already there are certain movements as to which national boundaries do not exist. The soldier has his boundaries, the customs officer has his boundaries, the politician has his boundaries as he always had; but for a large number of the movements which concern the deepest affairs of mankind, the boundaries are at an end. That is the first reflection that I would make, drawn from international law, and I would like to put to you teachers of history that you should press that reflection upon your pupils. The second reflection, also drawn from the same fruitful source, is this—sometimes when one is looking through history there seems to be absolutely no progress. Nations stumble from crime to crime along a

path that seems to be no better ; but if you take a long view, and the longer you take that view, the more clearly do the lines of progress appear. About 150 to 170 years ago a certain monarch, the wisest of his time, at the close of his reign, wrote down certain reflections for his own justification, and as he said, for the edification of posterity. He described therein the great events in which he had played a part, and he told what was the policy that had dictated them. He said, for he was frank and candid, he said that throughout these transactions he had been actuated by not the slightest regard to morality as understood between men, and always that his one object had been what would conduce to the greatness of the State at the head of which he was ; that he had done everything that could conduce to that, regardless of moral rules. He added that, in doing that, he had done no worse than his contemporaries, for such had been their universal rule ; but he added, for he was clear-sighted, the hope that at some future date rulers might be able to follow a higher law than that which he had been forced to obey. He expressed a hope that one day those placed in a position such as his would be able to apply between nations those rules of morality which he acknowledged existed between man and man. Well, as I say, something like 150 to 170 years have passed since those words were written down. Has there been no progress since ? Would any living statesman commit to paper in his most cynical mood reflections upon his conduct through life like those which Frederick the Great wrote down ? He would not, for after all what is international law but the coming into the relations between nations of the laws that prevailed between human beings, and what is the present state of international law ? Weak and unstable though it is, it is a partial realisation of the hope which Frederick the Great 150 to 170 years ago expressed. Again I would say to you teachers of history, press that reflection upon your pupils.

### **Trial by Combat.**

The third reflection, which I shall draw also from the same source, perhaps from a somewhat wider source, is this : Suppose that, 600 or 700 or 800 years ago, there had been a dispute with respect to some matter—it might be the right to a piece of land, it might be the ownership of a horse or a cow, it might be a charge was made against someone of murder or high treason. How was that tried ? In all probability, if the scene of the dispute was here, the place where it was tried would be only 200 yards from this, the Palace Yard of Westminster. The disputants would go into Palace Yard.

Those who claimed the horse, or those who claimed the land, would go there armed, and would meet their opponents also armed ; heralds would blow their trumpets and the battle would begin, and the land would be awarded to the person who had beaten the other or had killed him. Well, it is rather curious to know that that practice prevailed for centuries. It is still more curious to know that it was supported by arguments which are strangely familiar at the present time. It was said it encouraged manly virtues. It was said it destroyed the degenerates. It was said it did not encourage perjury, which litigation did. All these simple qualities were urged in favour of it, and it is recorded that when some king was remonstrated with for permitting it by the clergy, he said with great force to them, " Does not the event of private and public warfare depend upon Divine judgment ?" And they had no answer, and so it went on. It existed in this country even at the times when our Courts were strongest ; and it did not terminate, at all events in theory, till 1819. That practice, the form of the duel, exists at the present time ; at all events, in regard to questions in which are involved, to quote familiar diplomatic language, points of honour. It still exists in various countries. Now, what I have been describing, that barbarous practice which I have been describing, is that which has prevailed among nations for centuries, prevailed without any check until, I believe, the end of the eighteenth century, when the beginning of a better state of things was made, I am proud to say, by two nations, England and the United States of America. Since that time there has been the beginning of a better state of things. That is the third reflection which I would venture to press upon you teachers of history.

### **Victory of Reason and Law.**

One word in conclusion, and it is that you—if I may still address those engaged in the teaching of history—ought to press upon your pupils a consideration in regard to the short history that I have succinctly described, of the enormous conquest it means ; a conquest far greater than any achieved by military commanders ; for it is the acquisition by morality and justice of a region from which, until the use of arbitration and other expedients, both morality and justice were expelled. My advice to ladies and gentlemen engaged in the study of history is, while dwelling upon the past, the marvellous progress that has been achieved in the past, to dwell also on the significance of its consequences for the future. The world is becoming much too small, the aspirations of mankind are becoming far too high, for this strife to continue. The duel has gone ; and

war must sooner or later go the way of the duel. There is other work for mankind to do, and that other work presses. Turn, I venture to say again, speaking to those engaged in the study of history, turn the faces of those whom you instruct to the light of the dawn now visible; prepare them by familiarity with high ideals; for the day is very near when, between nation and nation, as between man and man, justice will rule. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. J. A. Hobson, M.A., the well-known author and economist, to speak first to the resolution before the meeting.

Mr. JOHN A. HOBSON said: I could have desired that this resolution should have been placed in the hands of one who had had a closer and fuller and more recent experience in the practical work of education, because I feel that in a gathering like this our main difficulty is not to secure a general moral adhesion to the principles of peace, but to realise that responsibility in terms of actual practice. Now, teachers are wearied with being saddled with the responsibility of the whole course of civilisation and human progress; which it is constantly said, and with a large element of truth, lies in their hands more than in that of any other single class of the community. There is a sense, of course, in which education may be spoken of entirely as being a peace movement. That is to say, it is essentially a substitution of intellectual and moral force for physical, the domination over the physical forces of the external world, and the cruder animal powers of human nature, by those mental and moral powers, the use of which constitutes culture in the individual, and civilisation in the race. But the peculiar responsibilities of the teaching profession are not confined or defined by the particular moral attitude of the individual teacher; but rather by the conditions of the art upon which he is engaged, and the place that art has been allowed to occupy, by custom, and by the proclivities of each nation, as an integral part of national progress. Now, if we are to deal with the desired reforms which would assist the teaching profession to forward the peace movement, we shall, I think, be obliged almost to look at three points of view, one having relation to the substance of what is taught, another to the method of teaching, and the third to what I will call, provisionally, the atmosphere.

### **The Substance of Teaching.**

Now, with regard to the first of these, the substance of the culture which is conveyed in schools and colleges, Sir John Macdonell has, I think, laid his finger, with unerring accuracy, upon the

largest of the vices of the present system which prevails, at all events in England in most of our schools, and I would add, our colleges. That vice consists primarily, I suggest, in a distortion, a perversion of the true meaning of the word history; that is to say, a failure to convey that course of history which explains what one would call the spiral of civilisation. From the standpoint of the ordinary history book we know very well what is at fault. It is that too much stress has been laid on comparatively unimportant and unessential factors in history; upon the details of those wars, and conflicts, and magnificences, which have expressed the life of a small section, and of a small portion of the great nations of the world. We know, of course, that those incidents which figure so prominently in our histories relating to such wars as the Wars of the Roses, or in recent times such a war as the China-Japanese war—these things have never been heard of by the great mass of the peoples supposed to be engaged in them, and whose life in some measure, at any rate, was being affected by them. These are not the essentials of history, and we understand how it is that this first perversion has been brought about. It is, that the record of history has lain entirely in the hands of a certain class, whose importance and the importance of whose lives has been grossly exaggerated in the history which has been written. The lives of the great silent labouring masses of the world, those whose efforts, combined and conjoined, have slowly lifted our civilisation to the not too elevated height it has reached at present—the story of their lives, and what is of importance to them, has been erased from the pages of history. That is almost inevitable, and we cannot therefore complain that the history books do not deal with matters which can find no register in the past.

### **Distortion of Historic Truth.**

There has been a notion not only that these wars and dramatic conflicts are the most interesting portions of history, but that it is essential to lay stress upon these in order to attract the intelligence and encourage the minds of the young; because, we are told, after all, the life of a child is a recapitulation of human history, and you must deal with the young mind as a barbaric mind, appealing to it by its barbaric instincts. That, I suggest, is the grossest of all defects in our educational system. Instead of laying hold of boys and girls by their higher instincts, not necessarily their present stronger instincts but their higher instincts, by refusing to lay hands on these, and treat them as the guiding and ruling factors in the formation of character, we have deliberately, to a large extent,

seized upon those instincts which are easier to handle because they have obtained an early prominence. Nothing can be gained in the cause of education by treating children on their lower instead of on their higher plane. (Applause.) But this evil is not confined to what we call the ordinary history books taught in our primary or secondary schools. It has reached our colleges and universities. The whole course of the teaching of biology has been distorted for sociological purposes ; and the true meaning and relative importance of the great living portrait of humanity have been distorted in the same way as the histories of our younger children have been distorted. We have been taught that civilisation is essentially brought about by the struggles of individual organisms. I do not say that no stress is given at all, but a quite inadequate attention is given to the policy of Mutual Aid, which, from the beginnings, not merely of human life, but pre-human life, has been the real elevating force. My complaint is not primarily a complaint against the morals, but against the bad sense, of this new sociological treatment. I want a history of mankind, a treatment of civilisation, which shall give its proper place, if you like its fully proper place, to the barbarous instincts—to the instincts which have led to strife between man and man, and nation against nation ; but which shall not exaggerate the importance of these, and shall not pretend that these have been to civilisation in any degree comparable with the display of social human life and human affection, which are the true makers of what is great in the history of individuals and of nations. So much I would say on what I call the substance of the culture of our schools and colleges. Much more might obviously be said, but I want to confine myself to what seems to me the most important and pressing points.

### **Methods of Instruction.**

With regard to methods of instruction, a great change has taken place in the schools of this country since I was a boy ; and that change, I hold, has always been entirely beneficial. It has consisted in a far closer attention to the real means of intellectual persuasion than existed a generation ago, and the consequent neglect of those methods of forcible imposition of knowledge, forcible extraction of thought, which underlay the instruction of former generations. It used to be supposed, to be assumed, that boys and girls went "unwillingly to school," and it was necessary to force into their minds a certain number of hard facts, and pin them down by pain. I do not think that is an exaggeration of the old notion about methods of instruction. Now our notions of discipline have

been humanised, as our methods of instruction have grown more scientific, and more truly artistic in their character; and we are learning to use in a more powerful and insistent way the powers of reason and of sympathy, to guide and lead the mind of the young along a path which is not a path of thorns, but rather a path of flowers.

### **The Atmosphere of Teaching.**

Atmosphere is a term which has attained a sinister significance in educational controversy, and I will only say one word—that any atmosphere imported into any school or college which is not primarily, simply, and solely, an educational atmosphere, is an atmosphere of poison. You can take that word with a broader signification. It covers any attempt to use educational machinery for the purpose of giving priority to any creed, or party doctrine, or class point of view; and still more when it is used, as it is too often used in our schools and colleges to-day, to impose ideals of barbarism instead of ideals of civilised and serious citizens. What do I mean by that? I mean, primarily, that those who know our public schools, the schools to which our wealthy parents, our educated parents mostly send their boys and girls, will find, at all events so far as the boys are concerned, that the ideals are ideals of the sportsman rather than ideals of the scholar, or even of the gentleman. Sport as an element of physical education is a distortion of the just and excellent desire for recreation. As soon as we get recreation and games mechanised into sport, then we have struck a most injurious blow at the culture of any individual or any class; and that is one of the most salient defects of our schools and colleges to-day.

### **Militarism in the Schools.**

It is not that we should abolish just and wholesome and pleasurable recreation; but to assign them the place they have now is the perversion of education, and that perversion has opened the dawn now for an even greater danger to which your Chairman alluded in his speech. An attempt is being made at the present time to introduce into our schools the military spirit and the military system; to make them not schools for culture and for the training of British citizens and gentlemen, but primarily for the instruction of people how to kill their fellow men, and to avoid being killed by them. Until we can organise, and insist that the true meaning of education shall expel this, and every other false atmosphere, from our educational institutions, we have no security that the true meaning

of human society shall be subserved by our schools and colleges; that we shall ever be able to get the full force of human sympathy from our young people, to bear upon the great and difficult task of helping in their own nation and in that society of nations which is slowly but surely springing up—that we shall get them to give their full energy of mind and their full sympathy of heart to the cause which is the cause of education and the cause of civilisation. These things are sometimes spoken of as though they were mere abstract ideas, as though they could not be made interesting to children. Well, I happened to cast my eye a few days ago upon the literary supplement of the *Times*, upon a review of a history of the Popes which was printed there. The opening words of that review struck me as so significant that I noted them to put them before you this afternoon: “Almost every time we close the history of any period we are left with that same reflection, how dull and dead are wars and conquests; how interesting, how living are ideas.”

I have travelled, ladies and gentlemen, somewhat broadly from the matter of my resolution, interpreting its spirit rather than its letter. I will now conclude by reading this resolution to you:—

That this Conference of Teachers, held in connection with the 17th Universal Peace Congress, believing that students in schools and colleges should have their sympathies enlisted in the great principles of the Peace Movement, urges that endeavours be made to secure the inclusion of peace teaching in the syllabuses of all schools, colleges, and universities, and the earnest co-operation of all teachers in such instruction, and condemns all attempts to bring militarist propaganda and training into connection with education, as calculated to lower the ideals of youth and impair the efficiency of educational work. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. H. S. Perris (Secretary of the Congress) to second the resolution.

Mr. H. S. PERRIS said: Sir John Macdonell, ladies and gentlemen, I will try to be as brief as I can, because we have some speakers here to-day who will tell us—and I think it will be a great help to workers in England—what is being done in the United States (about which Mrs. Mead will speak) and if Madame Carlier is here, what is being done in France—in both nations the work is far ahead of anything done in England—to set on foot some definite and large attempt to interest children in the peace movement, and set up from the foundation a great army of lads and girls who will eventually become workers throughout the world for the peace of the world.

### **Militarist Propaganda since 1900.**

I want to address myself, in the few minutes that I have, to a practical application of Mr. Hobson's excellent remarks. Mr. Hobson has dealt, far more ably than I can possibly claim to do, with the general theory for which we are contending, and the general principle; and I should like, if I might venture, to try and give point to that, by reminding those of you who are English people here, and mentioning to those who do not know, one or two recent events which have been happening in our country since the conclusion of the South African War. As far as our country is concerned, a most persistent and wide-spread propaganda, not simply to uphold the old prejudices and prepossessions in favour of militarism—far more dangerous than that—to extend them, and gain new recruits for those ideas, has been set on foot throughout the length and breadth of this land. These efforts have been started by men who have acted, as they think, from the highest and most conscientious motives. We simply differ from the rightness and worth of their aim, and impute nothing against their motives. But I most strongly protest against the attempt they have made, with, I am sorry to say, great success, to introduce once more the old virus of military prejudice, and, as members of the Congress think, mistaken military ideals, into the minds and hearts of the rising generation. I do not know whether all in this room realise the extent to which this campaign has gone, and the large amount of success which it has achieved. I think if all the teachers in England knew what has been happening in their country there would have been set on foot, before now, a stronger and more determined effort than I have heard of to counteract it, and try to save our schools, colleges, and universities from the introduction of these antiquated principles and ideas and views of human history.

### **Rifle Clubs and Cadet Corps.**

May I mention one or two facts? Amongst the numerous juvenile rifle organisations established in the country in the last four or five years, one alone—the Society of Miniature Rifle Clubs—has more than 1,100 branches throughout the country, each of which includes a number of lads who are going to be trained as boy-marksmen. That is only one society, the Society of Miniature Rifle Clubs. In addition we have the great organisation of the Boys' Brigade, and others, which, with many excellent features in their programme, contain this one blot—that they allow the boys to carry a rifle, train them for the work of human slaughter, and point



**A Group of American Delegates to the Congress.**

Names, reading from left to right:—Front row: George W. Fulk, Prof. Hibbard, Mrs. Raymond, Judge Raymond, Miss Anna B. Eckstein, Edwin D. Mead, \_\_\_\_\_, Rev. J. L. Tryon, \_\_\_\_\_, Miss Mary B. Seabury, Mrs. Clara Colley, \_\_\_\_\_, Second Row: Miss Helen H. Seabury, Miss Lucy S. Patrick, Dr. J. J. Hall, D.D., Mary J. Pierson, Dr. Sylvester F. Scovell, \_\_\_\_\_, Carl Ehlerman, \_\_\_\_\_, Dr. B. F. Trueblood, Mrs. Corinne H. Wilson, Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, Mr. George F. Lowell, Miss \_\_\_\_\_, Rev. L. O. Williams, Stanley R. Yarnall, \_\_\_\_\_, Back Row: Prof. Carl C. Lorentzen, \_\_\_\_\_, Rev. Charles E. Beals, Rev. F. L. Goodspeed, \_\_\_\_\_.



their eyes and minds in the direction whereto we do not wish them to be pointed. In our universities we have had professorships established in military strategy and tactics in the last year or two. In the public schools cadet corps have existed for many years unobtrusively ; but since the organised campaign has begun, they have been largely extended—as a glance at the pages of the Public Schools Year Book will show you. The Public Schools (I should explain, for our foreign friends) are the schools where the sons of our richer classes are educated. Not the primary schools—what we in England call “public schools.” In these, military training has been set on foot as a regular part of the school programme ; paid for by the parent, in very many cases ; and the attendance is often compulsory.

### **Introduction of Compulsion.**

We talk in this country, constantly, as though conscription were but a thing to dream about ; but, in a real sense, conscription already exists in this country. We have in our country now many schools, where the sons of the rich are educated—a considerable number—where compulsory military training is in force, where the young men are compelled to enter the cadet corps and rifle club, and go through a regular training. That is conscription ; and the only idea of the promoters is that that should be extended from the public schools, when the opportunity arises, to the schools of the masses. Largely through the efforts of members of Parliament like the gentleman we heard last night (Sir William Collins) and his fellows, that attempt has been for the present repelled. When Mr. Haldane's Territorial Army Bill was before Parliament, a determined attempt was made to extend it to the elementary schools, and the attempt was rejected through the self-denying efforts of a handful of men who knew what it meant.

### **A Counter Movement Needed.**

I want to make it my business this afternoon to bring home to those of you who did not know these facts—I am speaking of my own country ; I hope the facts are not so bad in other countries—how serious the position is. We are not simply fighting in the air about the desirability of the introduction of education in history on more humane, progressive, and enlightened lines than the old “drum and trumpet” history of the past. That is a more general proposition. What I wish to bring home to you teachers is the imperative necessity of a counter-movement being set on foot without delay, because the enemy have stolen a march on us ; have captured the

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schools of the richer classes; have introduced their propaganda into the universities; and, if we do not take care and attempt to repel these attacks, and keep our programme before the eyes of the public, and get it into the Press and magazines, and have it clearly and boldly stated in the House of Commons, we shall find our peace work checked and hindered for many a long year to come.

Whilst we are rejoicing that our movement is making rapid progress, and the King and the Government of the day smile upon us, underneath the surface new jingoes and militarists are being manufactured in our centres of education. It is time our teachers in this country set their minds to this great task, and realised its urgency; and I hope those who speak after me this afternoon will give us encouragement about what is being done in other countries. I know much is being done in America, and I believe much has been done in France. I wish Madame Carlier were present, because she is the head of an association in France numbering thousands of adherents amongst the teachers. They are much ahead of us in this department of peace work. I hope this conference will succeed in drawing public notice to it, and arresting the attention of men and women teachers of all classes; so that, after the conference is over, something may be set on foot to redeem our educational system from that with which it is threatened—a re-infusion of barbaric ideals into the minds of our youth. I cordially second the resolution. (Applause.)

The COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I am very glad to be allowed to say a few words this afternoon as a representative and the delegate of the International Council of Women. I have been very sorry that I have been unable to attend at an earlier meeting to give the greetings of the International Council to this Congress. But I am glad to know that the Council was very much more ably represented by our friend, Baroness Bertha von Suttner. Ladies and gentlemen, the International Council of Women may not be known to many here, but it consists of a federation of National Councils for Women, which exists now in most of the civilised countries of the world; these national councils of women being again, in their turn, federations of all the different societies in their different countries, which in some way or other, are working for the public welfare. The societies may have very different aims and objects, but in some way or other they are striving to make for the public welfare. I am only going to describe these organisations in order to show you that it is of some importance that this organisation has at three successive

quinquennial international council meetings, declared itself, and the National Councils belonging to it, not only in sympathy, wholly and entirely, with this movement, but desirous, through its councils and through the many hundreds and thousands of organisations connected with it, to throw the influence of those associated with it upon the side of the movement in favour of peace and arbitration. (Applause.) We have felt at our meetings that we have held in connection with the peace movement—we always have them in connection with our council meetings—the feeling has again and again been expressed, that we women must realise that a great deal of the responsibility for the war spirit has, in the past, rested with women; quite contrary, I think, to the general idea that women are naturally the supporters of peace—doubtless they should be. At the moment when war is about to break out, when there are feelings abroad which have a disposition to incite to war, I am afraid if you look through our homes, you will find that very often it was the women in those homes who were the most ready to buckle on the armour of those who were near and dear to them, and therefore it is that we, of the International Council, feel that it behoves us to do our very utmost in this matter, and the particular subject which calls you here this afternoon, dealing with the education in the schools, combined with education in the home, is naturally one which claims our very best attention.

### **A Word on School Books.**

We have been trying through our different councils to collect the school books and reading books of which frequent mention has been made this afternoon. A very strange and sad collection they are. It is almost impossible to believe how it could be that those who have education at heart should draw up, in many cases, such distorted and lying literature, and above all put it into the hands of our children. I suppose it is very difficult for any of us to realise how hard it is to become absolutely consistent supporters of the peace movement, because of the education received in bygone days, because of the ideals which were held before us as great ideals for admiration. The only heroism which seemed to be worthy of admiration was that in connection with the battlefield; and even now, in spite of all you hear in connection with the Congress, and what societies connected with it have done, you know what has been expressed this afternoon by others, how difficult it is to fight against the natural inclination to rank the heroism of militarism above the heroism in other lines of life. I do not, of course, want to deprecate heroism on the battle-

field, or wherever it is found, but I do want to make our boys and girls realise that there is very often another heroism, in other lines of life, and a heroism which they should strive after. The same thing, of course, happens in the different countries of the world. Different states are always more apt to reward, and give medals and recognition to, the heroism of the battlefield, than to those who show equal heroism in other ways, and who are altogether unrecognised.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, this afternoon we are altogether interested in this cause. I don't wish to take up your time, but I do want, if I may be allowed, to convey the greeting of the International Council, and to ask you to allow me, on returning, to carry back a message from you to the International Council, which is to meet in Geneva in the beginning of September, and to congratulate you, ladies and gentlemen, who are teachers, on the great opportunity you have, and to express the hope that we who are parents will be able to congratulate you and support you in the effort you are making in the reform of the education of the young in this matter. (Applause.)

Mrs. EDWIN D. MEAD (Boston, U.S.A.) said : Ladies and gentlemen, I shall speak not only to this resolution, but I understand I am expected to tell you something of our work in America. First of all, let me say that I represent also the Council of Women, that I am Chairman of the Peace and Arbitration Department of it in America, and I hope to go to Geneva to represent the peace work there. I shall speak very concisely as the time is passing, but first let me tell you what we are doing in America.

### **American Work in the Schools.**

In 1904 there was, perhaps, the largest peace congress ever held in the world. We not only had large meetings, three of them going on at one time in Boston, but after it was over we sent delegates to perhaps twenty different cities. They went to New York, and there an enthusiastic teacher got the superintendent interested and had a meeting of the children, and it was addressed by the Baroness von Suttner and others. We had the children crowding there, each with a notebook and pencil, going back to report to their schools. That meeting was a magnificent success. It not only filled the hall to overflowing, but we had to open another hall for other children. I never saw better order kept than by these children for three hours. Last year we had a great National Congress, with thirty States represented, and 25,000 people attended. We had a great

meeting, also arranged by Miss Pierson, who was here to-day. It was attended by several thousand children, who filled our largest hall, *i.e.*, Carnegie Hall, and it was addressed by Baron d'Estournelles and various other foreign delegates. After that came a committee, which was asked to do something to form a Peace League of Children. They decided they must get at the teachers first: and consequently we have now established an American School Peace League, which has guaranteed at least £200 a year for the next ten years, provided an equal sum is raised, and that will be raised. The League is already at work. We want it to be an international movement. We want an English School Peace League to begin for teachers. I cannot tell you what the Committee has done, because it was only instituted this summer; but we have a very efficient secretary, and we hope this next year to have 20,000 teachers registered. We are not only trying to go to the history teachers, but we want to appeal to the other teachers.

### **Celebration of Peace Day.**

First of all, on the 18th of May, which is our "Peace Day," the anniversary of the opening of the first Hague Conference. We want them to give instruction to the children on that day, and all the superintendents of the United States, at a meeting in Chicago a year ago, passed a resolution in favour of special instruction. We have chosen this day, and we hope the rest of the world will perhaps accept it. We don't make it a holiday, but we have special exercises in the schools. In the State of Connecticut last year, they sent orders for programmes for each school. We sent 15,000 programmes for schools of Connecticut, and 6,000 for the schools of another State. And all over the country they are beginning to avail themselves of the programmes. But we do more than that. We want every normal school and teachers' convention to convey to the teachers a different point of view.

### **Arithmetic and Geography.**

It is not merely the teaching of history. In teaching arithmetic you can bring this in if you say to a schoolboy, "How much does the school cost?" "It costs £8,552 and so many shillings." You say, "How much does a Dreadnought cost?" It costs so much. "How many schools can you build for the price of one Dreadnought?" And if you are a teacher, who is attracted to the subject, if you are teaching geography you can bring it in in such a way as to bring out the science of human relations. Someone has written a series of

children's books called "Our Cousins," "Our Cousins in Holland," "Our Cousins in France," "Our Cousins in Germany." That can give us an idea of how to approach the subject. We teach it very stupidly now. As thousands of Americans came over to England, we should teach them a great deal more about England. Our teaching should be vastly more practical. In teaching literature, the teacher with the right point of view can always be teaching the child to discriminate, and recognise that what he hears in the street and the car, or reads in the newspaper, is usually exactly inverted. The most important things are in the small type, and the least important things are in the great headlines. What you want to teach the children is how brave Nansen was in going to the North Pole, how brave David Livingstone was, and what Sir George Grey did. These men did a great service for mankind, and did it without the use of the sword.

### **Scholars Ready to Learn.**

They do not care about abstractions, but if you make it concrete it is just as easy to make peace interesting to children as war. One of the teachers told me how a whole family was reading peace books now. They had eight books, and had a peace shelf, because one school girl got interested through her school teacher. And the other day a lady told me she had a summons to go to school to see the teacher of her boy, and she said, "Your boy was saying something I never heard before. I was telling him it was necessary for us to arm, because though England would not fight us, there was Russia. We must arm and be ready." And the boy said, "I don't agree with you." I asked, "What would you substitute for the army and navy?" and he said, "Economic boycott." (Laughter.) And she said, "What do you mean by economic boycott?" and he replied, "Don't you know that the Chinese, when badly treated by the Americans, told us they would not buy our cotton goods, and that they made the Americans give in!" I asked, "How did you hear that?" and he said, "A lady was talking about it at our house, and I sat outside and heard it." This teacher has now plenty of peace books, and last 29th February he was allowed to read Washington's magnificent statements about peace to the children. (Cheers.) It is quite possible for a boy twelve years old who studies the subject to know a great deal more than a man of forty years of age who does not. (Hear, hear.) And what we want now is specific information. There is a great deal of cant, and absolutely wasted talk, about peace.

### **Fallacies about the Peace Movement.**

We want to study common fallacies and sweep them away. One of the commonest fallacies is that we object to all forms of violence. I notice that Miss Pankhurst wrote in the *Daily News* criticising us, because we authorised the police to use violence, and she argued that this was inconsistent. We do not expect to end civil war, or riots, or murders. That is a common fallacy. (Laughter.) We want also to clearly explain the essential difference between the police force and the navy. We are told by our best newspapers at home that so long as we have a police force, so long we must have an international police force, which is the navy. It should be taught to every schoolboy that there is no analogy between the two. The intention of the police is to use the minimum force to get what it wants done. It uses a minimum force to get justice done, whereas our armies and navies are attacking each other. Do the police of London fight the police of Liverpool? Ask your boys that? The intention of the police is not at all the intention of the navy—that is to use the maximum of force and not to bring anybody to justice, or to a court of law. We can make these children, ten or twelve years old, see what we substitute for war.

### **Justice not Secured by War.**

I think we waste a great deal of time in talking about the horrors of the battlefield. We do not condemn war because it costs life and ruins property—so does an earthquake and many calamities. Sometimes it is necessary to suffer and to die, and that is not the worst thing in the world. We must all die, sometime. I hope we are not cowards; but what we condemn war for is because it never aims at justice, it never achieves any degree of justice, except accidentally and incidentally. And on that ground we can appeal to them all, and get them to realise the meaning of the peace movement. If you are going to work in the peace movement, you must have a good deal of the fighting spirit. Flabby people do peace work enormous harm, and we must be just as virile in peace as a soldier in war. We are going to fight, but not with carnal weapons. That is what we must teach the boys. We must teach them democracy, and something which will overthrow race prejudice. That we feel keenly at home. We have many kinds of race prejudices—against the blacks, against the Chinese, Jews against Christians, and Christians against Jews, and in one of our schools I heard they had to let the children from Turkey go home at one time, and the children from Armenia at another time, or otherwise they would fight

in the street. The problem of race prejudice is closely connected with that of peace.

### **Militarism in Schools.**

With regard to the question of conscription, we have no danger at present. With regard to militarism in the schools, we have a certain amount of school drill in certain classes, but not rifle practice, except in the City of New York, which is paid for by private funds. But our good President, who is right nineteen times out of twenty, is certainly wrong once out of twenty, especially when he is pressing certain measures which made us blush sometimes here, and has urged this training of boys in the schools, which we deplore. I don't think there is any danger of it being followed. We are not going to waste funds in the teaching of rifle practice.

### **Work in Colleges and Universities.**

And now let me say one word more in regard to colleges. A year or two ago I attended one of our peace meetings, to which some of the most prominent people in the country are invited every year. There the President of the New York University gave an admirable address, from which I will read a few words: "If a committee should go from this conference to our colleges and universities, I would have them propose to the latter to offer credit at their entrance examinations for knowledge of a text book on the history of the economics of arbitration, as soon as such a text book for high schools could be found—but I would reach as well the college itself. I would have every college require every student, who does not at entrance offer some knowledge of the history and economics of arbitration, to take it up as a freshman or Sophomore course, or half-course, or quarter-course. The same manual that should be prepared for the high school would answer here. It should be so vivid, so accurate, so up-to-date, that the student would want to preserve it as a book of reference, and add to it from his reading in succeeding years." From such an arrangement would quickly spring clubs in our colleges. Why not then suggest to these clubs or societies in our colleges and universities the name of "World Government Clubs?" Are not we hoping for world government? World government is not in the air. It is in men's minds. It is on men's tongues. It is the straight line along which the wills of strong men now run.

As a result of this there was a Commission appointed, of some of our leading citizens, including Andrew D. White, formerly our minister at Berlin, and Seth Low, Mayor of New York; and work

has begun in the colleges, and there is now an Inter-Collegiate Peace Association, whose secretary is here, Mr. Cook, who has been most generously giving his time and energies to this work. They intend to go to the smaller colleges of the middle West, and a few of the larger colleges also, and to get them to compete in an oratorical contest—not a debate—on some subject connected with peace. They all write short essays, and these they deliver, and the best man gets the prize, and the best man from each college competes in an inter-college prize contest, and the best man gets a prize of £15 and expenses, and there is a certain honour about that. What we want is more funds to extend that all over the United States, and have hundreds of colleges take this matter up. It is most interesting to know that the young men whose attention has been first called to the subject through these contests have become so interested in the subject that they are confirmed for life as strong peace workers. That has been one of the great results, and I hope some such movement will begin in your own colleges. I do not know whether anything has been done here. I took the liberty to write to Mr. Arthur Benson on this matter, and had a very sympathetic letter, in which he said that if he had not been ill he would have taken steps. But that is a matter to leave to English initiative. I think there are many other things which might be said, but I am afraid I have already taken too much time. (Applause.)

Rev. F. W. AVELING (of Blackheath, London) said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, as a humble practical schoolmaster of twenty-five years or more standing, I have great pleasure in supporting very heartily this resolution, and I trust you will excuse me if, just for a moment, I go on another tack, and take it from a little lower platform than has been taken this afternoon. I must say we teachers have a far greater chance of doing work for peace than the clergy; many of whom, alas, have not realised that war is the irony of the gospel, as the late Emperor of Germany said. But I want to look at it from this practical point of view. Not only can we bring peace ideas into every class, but particularly in history—we may not only take the high ground taken this afternoon, but I think a very forcible ground, from many years experience, by showing what utter folly nineteen wars out of twenty were. That is what is impressed upon nearly every school teacher as the years go by; and we should impress upon the children that our enormous national debts largely spring up out of these wars, and the wars have, in nineteen cases out of twenty, produced no beneficial results at all. What were we to get by the Crimean war? First, the Chris-

tians in Turkey were to have liberty, and Russia was to keep her fleets within certain shores. We gained neither. And we ought to teach our children that there is something better than the "balance of power." That means one lot of tigers do not eat more than their share of the food! We want, not a balance, but a harmony of powers; and that will come if each neighbour will respect the other's property. I was very glad to hear this afternoon that the duel has been brought up, because that is a strong point with the children. We can teach them plainly that if the duel is wrong, then war is much worse. In the duel the men who quarrel do the fighting. In war it is the other way round.

### **Schools and Cadet Corps.**

I want to join in the protest entered this afternoon against the militarism in our schools. The public schools have been infested by it. The private schools—and I am a private schoolmaster myself, and can speak for them—have largely escaped the pest; but they are trying to get into the private schools as well, and many parents will boycott a school if there is no cadet corps. Thank heaven the cadet corps business injures so much the cricket and football that the boys say, "Bother the cadet corps, let us get to the cricket and football." I ask the teachers, particularly, to see they do not get Jingo books put into their hands. It is pernicious literature of the very worst sort. One word more about cadet corps, because I feel so strongly upon this topic. May I ask you to listen to a quotation I will give you from the lips of a gentleman who approves of cadet corps. I think that will show the mischief they work. In one of our great public schools the headmaster—a D.D. of religion—after thanking God that so many of his boys could fire down a rifle tube all right, said he had known many excellent boys whose ruling desire in life was to shoot down an enemy in fair fight. Not to defend your fatherland! No, to shoot, to kill. And that is what comes from these cadet corps. It instils into the boy's mind the desire for killing. Against that with all my heart and soul I protest. Brother and sister teachers, we have the future of the peace movement in our hands. On us rests a responsibility and privilege, far more than on any other class; and God grant we may do our duty.

Dr. J. A. RIVIÈRE (of the Association Internationale Médicale des Amis de la Paix) said: I have first to thank the Chairman for allowing me to say a few words in the name of the International Medical Association against war, of which body I have the honour

to be president. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the spirit that animated the reunion of to-day shows the importance of the progress made in these last years. This assembly of educators, forming part of the intellectual élite of a great and free country, marks the incontestable progress towards the emancipation of thought, and a sure advance towards reason, hitherto obscured by ignorance. To re-make opinion is to create a new current. It is difficult to make an impression on ripened age, and still more difficult to create, in every respect, a fresh mentality in men already formed, deprived in their infancy of the benefits of instruction, and whom the spirit of routine and ancestral habit seems to have rendered rebellious to the right comprehension of a justice without violence because based on reason, which alone will rule the nations in an approaching future. It is to the young brain, to that malleable wax of thought, it is to the heart, to the sentiments of childhood, not yet hardened by the torments of life, that it is necessary to give attention; to strike without tiring, to speak the language of equity, true justice, and humanity. It is therefore not merely a question of the re-education of ripened age, but a new education, a new word to be taught from the cradle and from the school. Then will humanity reap a rich harvest. Become adult, man will practise wholesome theories learned in childhood; his conscience, formed by logic, will revolt against every attack on reason; and when at times, on poring over the history of the past, his eyes fall on sanguinary pages written by the nations, in the name of right and justice, an immense astonishment, a vast pity, will take possession of his whole being, and he will wonder over the century which gave to the world the steam engine, electricity, aerial navigation; the century which produced geniuses in the art of thinking, constructing, and curing; assisting powerlessly at the sanguinary strife of races and nations slaughtering each other to safeguard or impose a religion, a private interest, or, perhaps, a sentiment of pride and vainglory. This education, this new morality, which the man of to-morrow will reveal, it is your mission, gentlemen, to teach. That is why all right-minded men, all men of goodwill, have their eyes fixed on this group of generous souls that you form here, and who, by your union, your enlightened spirit, will arouse enthusiasm in the hearts of the young generation for the words: "Justice and Humanity!" (Applause.)

Dr. Robert L. BERENDSOHN said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am a German delegate, and I hope you will excuse my lack of the English language. We have heard during the last few days again

and again from our leaders that one of the very first means of getting universal peace is an understanding between nations. When we go to the bottom of this question we see that the most important means of getting an understanding is a universal language, and this want of a universal language during the last few years has made itself felt so much that many such languages have appeared. Out of these Esperanto has won the race, and I should think it a pity to let this assembly of teachers part without drawing attention to Esperanto. You teachers will be able, by learning it yourselves, to do a good deal of practical work for international peace. Just let me say a few words about Esperanto. The whole grammar of Esperanto is on a small page only. It can be learned in ten lessons. And I know gentlemen present at this Congress who have sat down to learn it in the evening, and written a letter the next morning. I think that it will be worth your while to take an interest in this language, and by that do a share of the work of universal peace. It may seem that English people, whose language has spread all over the world, do not need to take an interest in this language, because they can travel and get on everywhere without it. But I say that is not the right view of the matter, because other people who want to come to an understanding with you, on account of the jealousy in which they are educated by history, will not accept the English language as a universal one, and in spite of your position you will do very well to learn Esperanto, as it a very easy matter. I conclude by saying that you will do a great deal of work for universal peace by doing so.

Professor J. KRAUTERKRAFT (Turin) said: Ladies and gentlemen, I beg your pardon for my bad English, but I only wish to say that this Conference is one of the most beautiful of the Congresses. The statesmen-peacemakers speak to the people whose opinion is made, and is not so easy to change; but you teachers, you have the young people, that you can form in the manner you will. Field Marshal von Moltke said it depended upon the teachers to make a war. It depends also on them to make a peace; and I hope that all the teachers, from all the nations, will see that war will not exist any more.

Mr. FELIX MOSCHELES (London) said: I did not mean to speak, but when I heard Mrs. Mead just now, I was so grateful for the information she gave us, that I felt I should like to go and do likewise. I have not the experience of Mrs. Mead, but the subject interests me from her point of view very much more than from the theoretical point of view. I am sorry to say we peace people are

very shy. We do not go forward as the war people go forward. We have in London obtained permission—I headed a deputation to the London School Board asking for permission—to talk to the children, and give prizes for the best essays. Well, after a rather severe cross-examination, we got permission. I have had opportunities, on a very small scale, such as Mrs. Mead has had. I went round asking the boys what would they like to be. I suggested policemen, bootmakers, or omnibus conductors, or soldiers. I warned them I was going to ask them why, and I got occasionally very interesting little answers from the boys. One little fellow alone had the pluck to answer when it came to this—"Why would you like to be a soldier?" He held up his finger to answer the question, and he said, "To cut black heads off." That was a very drastic performance. Now, in answer to that I daresay you will think of a great many better things than I thought of at the moment. I put the question, "What do you do when I stick a pin into your leg?" "I holloa." "What would a black man do?" "He holloas." I may tell you there was a moral to be deduced from that answer, and I did my best. Then on another occasion I had just returned from the Hague. It was after the 1899 Conference, at which I spent several weeks in the Hague. I had just returned from there, and it seemed desirable to hold forth to the school children on the subject of the Hague Conference. I certainly put on view as sober a face as I could, and asked if there was anyone who was present who had ever murdered anyone. They answered "No." "No, to be sure; but is there anyone here who would like to murder someone some day, or poke his eyes out?" "No," and it went on like that, and I wound up with the natural conclusion. I am certain that you can amuse children, and you can do it very easily. You will find you are getting on, and doing the particular work which is more necessary than all, more necessary than it ever was. Even if we do not sow any other seed, we have quite enough to do to extract the tares which are now invading the good soil. I always thought Lord Roberts was bad enough in his efforts to capture the schools, but I now think a great deal worse of General Baden-Powell. I do not know if you have seen his book? It is dreadful literature, the worse kind. It is well adapted to the ideas of the boy in the street. We talk of the man in the street, and we may talk of the boy in the street. There are a good many boys in the street whom you see reading these things, and to those we must have our answer. I have attempted a little answer, some of you may have noticed in the last number of the *Concord*. I want your help in that matter.

There is much in these books we approve of, and that they have taken from us. I wish you would read these books. I daresay you have many similar publications in each of your countries, and do what you can to oppose them.

M. LEON BOLLACK having spoken, the resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

This concluded a most successful gathering.

GOVERNMENT BANQUET TO THE  
DELEGATES OF THE CONGRESS,  
AT THE HOTEL CECIL,

*Friday, July 31st.*

*Chairman :* THE RIGHT HON. LEWIS HARCOURT, M.P.

Saving, possibly, the reception by King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra, at Buckingham Palace, of an Address from the Congress, the "event of the week" in public estimation was undoubtedly the Government banquet to delegates at the Grand Hall of the Hotel Cecil. This magnificent chamber can seat comfortably to dinner more than 500 guests, and its capacity was fully taxed.

The banquet was given at the expense of the Government's new International Hospitality Fund, the creation of which had been announced by Mr. Lloyd-George, a few weeks previously, to a deputation from the Committee of the Congress. Efforts had been made to secure a direct grant of money to the Congress from the British Government; but the Government, anticipating difficulties if this course were followed, decided to dispense its own hospitality, and the Congress was highly favoured to have been one of the first to enjoy this generous bounty. Certainly, the organisers of the Congress had no reason to complain; for they were not only saved the heavy expense of a great function, but were also marked out for the exceptional honour of having at their board the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, and the First Commissioner of Works—all distinguished members of the Cabinet—in addition to many others prominent in various walks of public life. The guests were received most graciously by the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt, M.P. (First Commissioner of Works), in his capacity of director of the new Hospitality Fund. During dinner an excellent selection of music was rendered by a band, seated in one of the galleries.

Seated at the high table, in addition to the Chairman (Mr. Harcourt) were, to the right, Lord Courtney of Penwith (President of the Congress) and the Prime Minister (the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P.); and to his left, Professor Quidde (ex-President) and the Lord High Chancellor of England (the Right Hon. Lord Loreburn). Others who occupied places at the high table were the Baroness von Suttner, Signor E. T. Moneta, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice (Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), Senator La Fontaine, Lady Courtney of Penwith, the Right Hon. James Bryce (British Ambassador to the United States of America), Mrs. Saul Solomon (founder of the South African Women's Federation), Mr. J. G. Alexander, Professor Dr. Theodore Ruysen, Baron E. de Neufville, M. Jacques Dumas, Dr. M. Anesaki (Japan), Professor Sir John Macdonell, Sir William B. Bowering, Bart., Sir William Mather, Miss P. H. Peckoner, Lord Eversley, the Bishop of Carlisle, Mr. J. A. Spender (Editor, *Westminster Gazette*), Mr. A. G. Gardiner (Editor, *Daily News*), Mr. Robert Donald (Editor, *Daily Chronicle*), Mr. Barrow Cadbury, Dr. Halodan Koht, Professor Ludwig Stein (Berne Bureau), M. Houzeau de Lahaie, Dr. Adolf Richter, Miss Eckstein, Mr. T. P. Newman, the Hon. R. Burton (U.S.A.), M. Emile Arnaud, Dr. Polak, Mr. Edwin D. Mead and Mrs. Mead, Sir Richard Stapley, M. Kemény, and Baron L. Staël von Holstein. Others who accepted invitations, but were unable to attend, were the Countess of Aberdeen, the Baroness de Laveleye, the Right Hon. Sir J. T. Brunner, Bart., M.P., and Mr. H. W. Massingham (Editor, *The Nation*).

The CHAIRMAN, after dinner, rising to give the first toast, said: I rise to propose the toast which is always first honoured at every British entertainment, the toast of "His Majesty the King." I can imagine no assembly in which that toast would be more warmly, more enthusiastically received than that which I see gathered within these walls to-night—(cheers)—because the King, throughout his whole life, and especially throughout his reign, has been an invaluable asset to the comity of nations and the peace of the world. (Cheers.) He has indeed proved himself to be a king among diplomats, and a diplomat among kings—(cheers)—for he has added to his native charm and tact all that influence which he rightly possesses, and which he constitutionally exercises through the medium and with the advice of his responsible Parliamentary ministers. In proposing this toast, I take advantage of the occasion to offer you, on behalf of those ministers, a warm and cordial welcome to our shores—(cheers)—and to express the fervent hope that your de-



Professor L. Quidde (Germany).



The Rt. Hon. Lord Courtney of Penwith  
(President of the Congress).



The Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C.  
(Prime Minister).



The Rt. Hon. Lewis Harcourt, M.P.



Mr. Edwin D. Mead (U.S.A.).



Professor Theodorz Ruyssen (France).

Speakers at the Government Banquet to the Peace Congress, July 31st, 1903.



liberations may contribute to that result which we consider to be the highest interest of humanity—the continued peace of all nations. Ladies and gentlemen, I give you the toast of “the King.” (Cheers.)

The PRIME MINISTER immediately afterwards rose to propose the toast of the evening, “The International Peace Movement.”

Mr. ASQUITH, who was enthusiastically received, said: Mr. Harcourt, my lords, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour of submitting to you what I suppose we may regard as the toast of the evening, “The International Peace Movement.” You are assembled here to-night, ladies and gentlemen, from all quarters of the globe, from among almost all the peoples of the civilised world, with an infinite diversity of special interests and associations, and, I should suppose, of social and political ideals, but united by a common desire to promote and secure international peace. (Cheers.) I am told that at your Congress the delegates present have represented no less than twenty-five distinct nationalities and 250 separate societies. In the name of His Majesty’s Government, and on their behalf, I associate myself with my right hon. friend in the chair in bidding you welcome to this country, and in assuring you of our deep and sincere interest in the great purpose which has brought you together. (Cheers.)

### **Do Armaments Safeguard Peace?**

Ladies and gentlemen, to urge the advantages and to advocate the maintenance of peace might seem to be, what it certainly ought to be, an otiose and a superfluous task. Of all the deities in the Pantheon there is none to whom mankind, now as always, is more ready to pay the homage of lip service than to the goddess of peace. We are, indeed, often told by apologists for the existing state of things that the colossal armaments which are inflicting an immeasurable and ever-growing burden upon mankind—(cheers)—are in themselves a safeguard, and indeed, the best insurance against war. (“No.”) Now, it is said that your fighting units are numbered not by the thousands but by the million; that every four or five years your battleships increase in the bulk of displacement and in the perfection of their armaments; the very completeness of the mechanism of destruction, the vastness of the scale upon which it is organised, must prevent statesmen and diplomatists from ever again contemplating the outbreak of war with a light heart. (Hear, hear.) Well, my friend Mr. Stead says “Hear, hear.” (Laughter.) I confess I am not very much impressed by whatever grains or germs of truth may be latent in this idea. (Hear, hear.)

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### **The Grievous Burden of Armaments.**

It certainly does not console me, when I look round and survey the general situation, and when I find that, according to good authorities (I don't pin myself to the precise figures, but according to good and weighty authorities) the annual expenditure of the civilised nations of the world upon armaments is now somewhere between £400,000,000 and £500,000,000 sterling. ("Shame.") These things, ladies and gentlemen, are intended to be used. (Hear, hear.) They are not accumulated, and do not exist, for ornament and display. They are intended to be used, and at some moment, by the sudden outburst, possibly of an accidental fit of passion or temper, they will be let loose upon the world. (Hear, hear.) The question which I imagine you are asking yourselves, and which you, with us, who are in greater or less degree responsible for the management of the affairs of the nation, have to ask ourselves is: Are we to acquiesce in this state of things, in that temper, if I may so describe it, of futile and impotent fatalism, which is now, as it always has been, the worst enemy to progress and reform? (Cheers.) Speaking for myself, I will admit that I am not one of those who are sanguine enough to think that the youngest among us will live to witness the advent of the day of universal disarmament. National security must always hold the first place in the thoughts and in the plans of those who are responsible for the government of any country. They would be false to the most sacred of all trusts if they allowed themselves for a moment to ignore or to neglect these requirements. (Hear, hear.) So long as man's nature continues to be what it always has been, so long as aggregates of men are not less liable—might I not say are more liable?—than individuals, to be swept off their feet by gusts of passion and of temper, so that they find, or think they find, that between themselves and other communities there is for the moment an irreconcilable conflict of interest or of honour—so long as that sort of thing continues, it will be necessary for the prudent statesmen to provide against the contingencies of war. (Hear, hear.) But when that has been admitted, and the greatest allowance has been made for it, the plain fact remains that there is at this moment no enterprise in the world more worthy of the efforts and of the energies of all good men than to devise some practicable means, not only to minimise the risks of international quarrel, but to provide a rational substitute for the arbitrament of arms. (Cheers.) This, ladies and gentlemen, as I understand it, is the noble purpose

to which your labours have been and are being devoted. (Hear, hear.)

### **International Agreements and Tribunals.**

Now, it seems to me there are two or three directions in which real progress has been and may in the future still further be made. The first is in the growth of international agreements. I say agreements, and not alliances—(cheers)—for alliances, offensive and defensive, are sometimes rather hindrances than helps to peace. (Hear, hear.) The class of agreements to which I am referring consists of those which provide, first of all, for the healthy and businesslike process of give-and-take for the adjustment of existing difficulties—(hear, hear)—which go on to demarcate and define spheres of influence and of interest, which further promote and develop unfettered commercial intercourse—(cheers)—and which look ahead and seek to avert in advance the possibilities of future conflict. (Hear, hear.) And I am glad to say that during the last few years there are several examples of such agreements in the diplomacy of our own country here. (Hear, hear.) I pass from that to what is not less important, namely, the substitution where differences exist—and where they cannot be composed by negotiation and by agreement—the substitution of what I may call international litigation for the barbarous methods of slaughter and of conquest. (Cheers.) Of course, it is very easy to cheer that sentiment, but the translation of it into practice is, as many of us know, beset with difficulty upon every side. First of all, there is the preliminary difficulty of constituting a tribunal of adequate authority, which will command universal respect. There is next the serious difficulty of defining by what principle of law and procedure its decisions shall be governed. Again, a more serious difficulty still, is the problem of bringing within the effective scope of its jurisdiction quarrels which seem to touch the honour and to let loose the passions of a proud and independent people. And, finally, perhaps most difficult of all, you have got to find some mode of execution by which real effect can be given to its judgments. (Hear, hear.) I have put these difficulties before you, ladies and gentlemen, but I put them before you without in any way minimising their importance or disparaging their value, with the expression of my own opinion, that they are all of them difficulties which, with goodwill and honest purpose, can be overcome. (Cheers.)

### **Friendly Understandings Between Nations.**

Lastly, there is, in this most delicate sphere of international re-

lations, the possible effect of moral as distinguished from merely mechanical changes, and under that head I would venture to say this—I have said it before, but I would say it again—the main thing is that nations should get to know and to understand one another. (Hear, hear.) When I say that half their quarrels arise through want of such understanding I am grossly understating the case. The notion that there are hereditary antagonisms which it is almost a point of honour to cherish; the notion that there are natural antipathies which must from time to time find an outlet in carnage and in destruction—these pernicious superstitions—(applause)—for such they are, need to be eradicated from the minds, not only of children, but of grown men and of whole communities. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to say, as we all recognise, there are many forces which are moving with us in that direction—travel, increased intercommunication between the different peoples of the world, international trade, the spread of education, which in these days one may say almost without exaggeration has made the literature and the ideas of each nation the common property of all—all these things help. Then there are the Churches, to whom I ventured the other day, as a very humble layman, to address an admonition. Is there anywhere in the whole sphere of their activity where they have a better or more fruitful opportunity than here, if only they could be induced to think less of the differences which divide them, and more of the simple text of the Gospel message of which they are the appointed vehicles? (Cheers.) But, above all, and beyond all, it is in the devoted, patient, unremitting efforts of men and women like many of those whom I see around me here to-night—idealists and yet workers, like our lamented friend Randal Cremer—(cheers)—whom we all miss here to-night—I say it is in the devoted and patient efforts of the apostles and missionaries of peace, all co-operating in their different countries to the same beneficent end, that we find the best and the strongest hope for what in my heart I believe to be the greatest of all reforms—the establishment of peace on earth. I ask you to drink to “The International Peace Movement.” (Loud cheers.)

The toast having been drunk,

LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH responded. He said: A great responsibility rests upon me, and I am happy to think it is shared by three other members of this Congress; and, relieved by their assistance, I will strive to put what I have to say in as few words as possible. In the first place, let me express our deep gratitude to the Prime Minister—(cheers)—for coming here to-night, and giving us,

in the name of his colleagues, as well as on his own behalf, a cordial welcome to this City. We are indebted to the Government for the hospitality they have showered upon us. (Hear, hear.) I will not abuse that goodness by suggesting that, as a Government, they might do a little more, because I think the topic may be taken up by one who succeeds me. But there is a Central Bureau at Berne, which assists and directs the work of this Congress. Its expenditure is extremely moderate, and it receives assistance from the Scandinavian countries. If the United Kingdom and Ireland were to follow the steps of its sisters, no great harm would be done. (Hear, hear.)

### **To Alleviate the Burdens of the Poor.**

We come thanking His Majesty's Government for what they have done already, and with a desire not to impose expenditure upon them, but to relieve them from expenditure. I want to save their money, and when I speak of saving money, I am not thinking of the well-to-do gentlemen right and left of me, who have no doubt felt the burden of making the two ends of the account meet. I am thinking of the toiling millions of this country of ours, and of the still harder and still worse sustained millions of other countries, who have, out of their sweat and labour, to provide the 400 or 500 millions of money of which the Prime Minister has spoken. That annual expenditure means the toil of the poor masses and the privation of multitudes, and I am speaking to this toast in the desire that this pressure may be in some measure alleviated, and the British Government—the Government of which I am a citizen—may be the foremost in attempting its alleviation. (Cheers.) How is that to be done? I am glad to think the Prime Minister has expressed the view that anything is possible. He referred to two great prejudices which have to be overcome if we are to bring the nations together.

### **The Superstition of Commercial Antagonism.**

There is one influence the Prime Minister strangely overlooked, more fatal perhaps than any other to the maintenance of peace. It is an influence we should lose no time in counteracting. It is the superstition that there are commercial interests which compel peoples to be in antagonism with each other—(cheers)—that the rivalry of industrial and commercial enterprises, pushing themselves afar into all lands, must bring about a collision, and in that collision the great nations of the world are to be inevitably involved. Let us fight against the superstition; for there is no such rivalry. (Loud

cheers.) In Free Trade, in the open door, in the disdain of preferences, however friendly may be the instinct which offers them, we look to the propagation of the good faith that the industrial development of one nation is a help to the industrial development of the other, and the prosperity of one people gives the best promise for the prosperity of the other. (Cheers.)

### **England and Germany.**

I want you to consider something more definite in the way of a preparation of peace. When we grieve over the growth of armaments, when we are most anxious as to the dangers of the future, there is one nation whose relations with ourselves are uppermost in our minds. We think of Germany, and Germany think of us; and our rivalry and mutual suspicion explain our swollen expenditure. Is there any reasonable ground for the increases in our navies? We protest we increase ours because Germany increases hers; and why does Germany justify her increases? Let us look facts in the face. Germany has a large and growing commercial fleet, and in this we may rejoice, as the growth of other nations' trade means the growth of ours. We have, indeed, a commercial marine immeasurably superior to that of any rival. But Germany has, I believe, a couple of separate fleets—ocean liners—each greater in tonnage than any single combination we can boast. Germans are proud, and justly proud, of these ships; and they plead that, as their commercial marine grows, their armed navy must grow also; for otherwise their commerce would be swept from the seas in the event of war with any nation possessing a navy greater than their own. International law sanctions the capture of private property at sea during war, and the great justification of an increased German navy is the necessity of meeting this danger.

### **International Law and Commerce at Sea.**

Is there any escape from the dilemma thus presented to us? International law? What is international law? I am following a man who is a great minister, but I remember that he has been and is also a great lawyer, and I think he will agree with what I am about to say. The most austere of our poets, not excepting Milton, writing of certain free-handed men of the past, ventured to say—

“ . . . . The good old rule  
Sufficeth them, the simple plan  
That they should take who have the power,  
And they should keep who can.”

This simple plan explains much of what we have known as international law. The power of taking and possessing was turned into a right; and law was developed to justify the result. It is not a mere coincidence that we have been the greatest naval power in modern history, and our judges have been the main expositors of the rights of naval war allowed by law. Gradually, however, international law has been changed so as to become more respectful towards neutrals, and more discriminating between belligerents. Half-a-century ago we consented at Paris that enemies' goods not contraband should be safe from capture in neutral bottoms. Last year, at the Hague, we consented to the principle that postal liners should be free from capture, even though carrying contraband in the ordinary way of business, so that the world need not fear a repetition of the troubles of the Trent.

### **Why Not Exempt Private Property from Capture?**

But we have refused to assent to the full principle that private property should be free from capture at sea, and we are told that this can never be conceded. "Never" is a word which statesmen should rarely use. In this connection let us recall a not wholly irrelevant memory. It was my fortune, as some of you know, to preside in other years over many debates, and I remember one evening in Committee of Supply, when the question was raised of a little rocky islet in a Northern sea; and it was suggested that an opportunity might occur of parting with it to advantage. I remember the large gesture and emphatic voice of the Under Secretary who protested that such a thing could never happen. A few months passed, and the master of that Under Secretary had surrendered the rocky islet in question in exchange for an advantageous re-arrangement of claims in another Continent. The Chief had quietly done what was impossible.

### **Wanted, a Masterful Man.**

He was, indeed, a masterful man, and the question for us to-day perhaps is whether we have not, or cannot find, another masterful man to accomplish what is to-day declared impossible. There is a masterful man over the seas. Cannot we discover another among ourselves who could have a talk with him? Such things are, indeed, not done by stately embassies or formal meetings in the face of the world. Two men come together somehow, almost by accident; but they are the fit men; and the thing is done before they separate. Mr. Cobden, at Compiègne, is perhaps the best illus-

tration of such diplomacy. It is enough for me to suggest here that we cannot be put off with talk of "never" and of "impossibilities." If we have the mind to bring about the result, the result can be accomplished. Here I might stop, having been already, some may say, indiscreet enough. But I have yet one word more I should like to utter. I am a prudent man, very careful about the future, strong in enforcing the importance of thrift, believing that the health and strength of our nation can only be maintained if we maintain the prudence and thriftiness of individual citizens. But still I remember that life and the continuance of life requires a courage that sometimes rises above prudence—that we must be greatly daring if we would fulfil our fate; the alternative being that we perish like the citizens of Leputa, weighed down by the preparations we have made for the prevention of dangers that may never arise.

### **Faith in the Principles of Peace.**

We are told we must never run any risk. Our forces must be such as to be superior to any combination that can be conceived against us. If we abate in any degree this state of preparation the hostile nations, constantly on the watch for a point of weakness, will combine to attack, to defeat, and to despoil us. I protest against this doctrine. Can no trust be put in the honesty of any power or of any nation? Do we go about our streets armed for fear of the highwayman or the assassin that may lurk at any corner? As citizens of a nation we accept the risks of the streets, even at nightfall; as a nation among nations can we accept no risk of merely predatory attacks from our neighbours? If we really want peace, we must not shrink from running something of the risk of peace, and if we want other nations to go along with us in promoting peace, we must not be afraid to show the way. I speak for myself, but I believe what I am saying is the true policy of safety. The nations are at the parting of the ways. If each acts on the principle that plunder is the secret passion of every Power, and can be prevented only by the array of greater armed might, history must continue to show a succession of empires, one subjugated by another, as, with the inevitable changes in the growth of nations, power passes from one to the other. The vision before us is one of the continued vicissitudes of dominion. If we can replace distrust with confidence, and begin by showing some feeble faith in the principles of peace, we may wait with equanimity the changes that are inevitable in the relative strength of nations—we may see without anxiety populations grow, wealth increase, and resources

multiply ; for the future will be a development, not of warring and lawless, but of law-abiding and peaceful communities. (Loud cheers.)

The next speaker to respond was Professor THEODORE RUYSSSEN, president of the " Association de la Paix par le Droit," the leading peace organisation in France.

Dr. Ruyssen began by expressing his indebtedness to the organisers of the Congress for the honour bestowed upon him of being the first foreign delegate to respond to the toast thus officially proposed. He expressed the gratitude of the delegates of the Congress to the English pacifists who had originated that brilliant gathering, to the London friends who had so liberally opened their homes to their foreign guests, and chiefly to the Government of His Majesty King Edward VII. The reception by the British Government gave to that gathering of the Peace Party an unprecedented importance.

The speech in which His Majesty responded to the address of the delegation from the Congress, the powerful address of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the toast proposed by the Prime Minister were not spoken out of mere courtesy. They formed a public demonstration the importance of which could scarcely be over-rated. Such open co-operation as that, by the Government of the first military power in the world, with the Peace Party was all the more important for that party because it had recorded, so far, few of those decisive victories which constitute actual evidence before the bar of public opinion.

Neither the imperfect reforms realised by the Hague Conference, nor the recent progress of arbitration, had sufficed to strike the imagination of the public, which did not realise the number of wars averted by pacific and juridical means so clearly as it realised the number of wars which such means had failed to avert. Moreover, the official acknowledgment of the efforts of the Peace Party by the Government of His Majesty would prove to the most incredulous that Pacifism had won its political standing in the world, and what was more, was an instrument of pacification.

Speaking particularly in the name of his own (the French) people, he expressed the pleasure felt by French delegates to the Congress at the evidences of the sincerity and steadfastness of the *entente cordiale*. (Hear, hear.) At the same time he declared his conviction that this agreement, far from being a threat against any other Power, might become an efficient instrument of general unity

between the nations, and enlarge into a wider *entente cordiale* of the whole of the civilised nations of the world. (Loud cheers.)

Professor QUIDDE (President of the Munich Peace Congress, 1907) also responded. After some remarks in German, he proceeded as follows in English: I desire to be understood by our English friends, and by the Press. I desire to express the thanks of my German friends for the reception we have had in London, especially for the words that they have spoken in this Congress and to-night. I believe that this occasion will make an impression greater perhaps than anything else has made in Germany in favour of good relations between the two countries. I am also here to say that the ideas supposed to run in Germany towards England are wrong. It is a great mistake, a great error, for people to say that in Germany there are bad feelings towards England. I say "Don't believe it. It is not so." There are certain prejudices which exist in England, and which also exist in Germany, and it is one of our tasks to strive against these prejudices. It is not true that people think in Germany as your "Yellow Press" makes out. (Cheers.) Certainly that we are in competition with you we don't deny; but, ladies and gentlemen, I never heard that in private life competition is sufficient reason for bad feelings, and unfriendliness between the nations. (Cheers.)

Mr. EDWIN D. MEAD (of U.S.A.), who followed, said: I am asked to speak on behalf of the delegates of the United States of America. The American feeling may be well expressed when I quote what one of the Bishops of England has said of us. The Bishop of Hereford, whom we highly honour in America, and who came over to the International Peace Congress in Boston in 1904, has been saying very pleasant things about us since, for which we are grateful. He has said among other things, that the United States is itself the greatest peace society in the world, because it illustrates over a greater area and with greater power than is done anywhere else in the world the three great principles of free trade, an interstate court, and federation, which are precisely the principles which we need to extend to international affairs to get just the kind of world we want. It is worth noting here, when our Peace Congress is to be immediately followed in London by a Free Trade Congress, that the great peace men have all been free traders; the two things hang together. And the Bishop is right in pointing to the United States, unhappily the worst of protective nations in its dealings with the outside world, as primarily a supreme illustration of the benefits of Free Trade; for over its whole 3,000 miles,

from the Atlantic to the Pacific, including in the federation many States larger than various European countries, it has complete Free Trade—and that, and not its Protection, is the real principle of its prosperity. The Bishop's other two points are so obvious that I do not need to speak about them.

These three great principles of our federal constitution have been so beneficent in their national operation that we are certainly happy in commending them, and in having them commended, as the cardinal principles of international union. And not only do we like to view our own national federation as a prophecy and preparation for the federation of the world; but the first principles of the founders of the American Republic were the principles of peace and justice. It is right to say, I think, that there was no other group of men in the world at that time that stood so emphatically for the things for which we stand in this London Congress to-day as the illustrious group led by Washington and Jefferson and Franklin. Franklin went so far as to say that there never was a good war nor a bad peace; and from his writings and those of his associates we may gather anticipations of almost every argument which we use to-day.

It was not an American, nor an Englishman, but the great German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, who said truly, in his great tractate on "Eternal Peace," that universal peace would come into the world only along with the universal republic, using that term in the broad sense which identifies it with self-government. It was natural that in a great Republic founded as the American Republic was founded, the first peace societies in the world should be founded; and the first such societies were those founded in New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts, in 1815. I think that no peace society in the world has been more influential than the American Peace Society, and that no people has contributed to this commanding cause a greater number of strong leaders than America has contributed.

We have in our Congress here this week placed the emphasis upon two paramount needs and demands for the immediate future. We have said that it is imperative that the nations shall agree to the inviolability of all ocean commerce in time of war; and we have insisted upon definite united action to bring about the limitation of armaments. I shall be pardoned for saying that, as touching the first of these matters, Great Britain is, in my judgment, the chief sinner; and I think that she must not expect that Germany will cease building up a great navy until this thing is reformed. I am

proud to remember, and to remind you here, that the last official act in Europe of Benjamin Franklin, the greatest of American diplomats, was the conclusion of a treaty between our new nation and the King of Prussia, then Frederick the Great, providing that in case of war between the two nations the commerce of both should be inviolable. I believe that was the first treaty of the kind ever signed; and I am glad to remember that it was praised no less warmly in England by Lord Shelburne than it was praised in America by George Washington. American statesmanship and American international jurists have stood consistently for that principle from Franklin's time to ours.

I ask remembrance here for another historical fact, in which England and America appear together as pioneers and prophets of the rational and righteous relation of nations, prophets of the disarmament of nations for which we are working. At the close of the last war between the United States and England in 1815, there were very enlightened sets of men in the two governments; and it was proposed between them—and I think the proposition first came from the English side—that the armaments which had always been kept up on the frontier between the United States and Canada should be done away with, and that there should be no more forts and garrisons along that line than there were on the line between New York and Pennsylvania. There were at the time not less than eight or ten forts in the immediate vicinity of Niagara alone. Well, for a century we have had an unguarded frontier, no forts, no gunboats; and I venture to say that that unguarded frontier is the safest frontier in the world. What would have happened if, during these hundred years, we had kept great naval squadrons parading the Great Lakes, and a line of forts and garrisons stretching from Vancouver to Duluth? I think we should have had friction a score of times; and I fear that in 1862, and again after President Cleveland's foolish Venezuela message in 1895, we might have had war. There were no guns and gunboats, and so there was peace; just as there is peace between gentlemen on Piccadilly and the Strand, and eternal fighting between rascals and ruffians whose pockets are full of pistols. The problem of the world is how to make nations act like gentlemen, and so be safe; and England and America have set one great example on the Canadian frontier.

I do not want to boast here that our American Republic has always behaved, or is behaving to-day, as it ought to behave. We have been responsible for at least two very wicked wars; and we are unhappily as responsible as any other nation to-day for keeping

up the mad naval rivalry. We have less excuse for it than anybody else. This craze must perhaps run its vicious course; but I am sure you rejoiced with me in the fact that President Roosevelt's extravagant and reckless demand last winter for four battleships was overwhelmingly defeated. I hope that was the beginning of returning sanity. Let me remind you here in Europe, however, that we all largely stand or fall together; and if you continue your follies here at the present rate, don't wonder if we are fools too.

American statesmen have certainly done their part well at the Hague Conferences; and I hope that the conviction is growing in America, as well as in the rest of the world, that statesmanship is a vastly more effective thing than the battleship to bring about peace and justice in the world. That is precisely the antithesis proposed to the modern world—the antithesis between battleship and statesmanship; and I think that we have no doubt here that statesmanship will float and the battleship will sink.

We Americans pay grateful tribute here to the eminent services of British statesmen in this great cause, in the last two generations. We honour Richard Cobden, greatest apostle in his time alike of commercial fraternity and international justice. We honour John Bright. We honour Gladstone. I rejoice that John Morley reminded us anew that the particular occasion of Gladstone's final retirement was his unwillingness to stand sponsor for the policy of greater armaments into which he saw England was drifting. We honour Campbell-Bannerman. The noblest speech, to my thinking, made by any English statesman since Gladstone was his speech welcoming the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Westminster in 1906.

I cannot help adding, speaking I know for all my American associates, that we recognise with profound gratitude and appreciation the genuine statesmanship displayed so conspicuously by the English Government this week. Our honoured Secretary of State, John Hay, came to welcome and to open the great Peace Congress at Boston in 1904; but no preceding Congress has had the degree of official recognition that this has had in England. We thank you, sirs, for your presence here, and for your strong words spoken here. This occasion, the first entertainment in human history of a Peace Congress by a great Government, is a memorable occasion, big with promise of better political methods and better times. Edward Everett Hale, the Nestor of the peace cause in America, has said that the day is at hand when a government which has a Secretary of War and has no Secretary of Peace will not be considered fit for civilised society. In your generous in-

auguration of a "peace budget," for such is your new provision for international hospitality, you have taken a great step in answering our Boston's "grand old man's" demand and prophecy. It marks the beginning of the spending of the public money for peace, which will rapidly mean the spending of less of it for war. I assure you, the United States will not long lag behind you in this policy.

The constitution of our federal republic was framed in the city which bears the beautiful name of Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love. That city was founded by William Penn, most philosophic and most prophetic of all the founders of our early American commonwealths, who came home to Old England to write his memorable essay upon the permanent peace of Europe, the first disinterested and comprehensive scheme in history for an international court and the federation of the world. Upon the top of the tall tower of Philadelphia's city hall, so colossal that at the height of half a thousand feet its outline is clear against the sky, his statue stands. Its face is not turned westward, as it fittingly might be, to watch the growth of the great Republic which he helped to found. It is turned hitherward, toward England and Europe. I like to think of it as the expression and symbol of America's co-operation and reinforcement for what is just and hopeful and fraternal here. The spirit of William Penn and of Washington and Franklin and all their peers in American history and American life to-day assure you that they are with you in the best and largest things which you can do in this largest and holiest of "holy experiments" for men. (Loud cheers.)

The proceedings then terminated.

## SEVENTH SESSION OF CONGRESS. HELD AT CAXTON HALL,

*Saturday morning, August 1st, 1908.*

*Chairman :* MR JOSEPH. G. ALEXANDER.

The CHAIRMAN : We begin this morning with the work of Commission E on Education.

### **Education and Peace.**

M. ARNAUD, speaking in French, alluded to the endeavours made by teachers to spread the doctrine of peace, and described how the International Teachers' Federation had been organised, and congratulated them on that organisation. He hoped that other bodies and organisations of teachers would follow the same example. He proposed a resolution, the text of which had been circulated, including a programme of what could be done, questions that might be asked, and a desire for an Inter-Governmental Congress on Education. He pointed out also the importance of university extension, and explained that in France they had what were called the "popular universities"—a sort of evening classes, to which 10,000 members had adhered, to follow a course of university lectures, etc., in the evenings. The whole of the popular university extensions of France had accepted the peace programme, and held numerous meetings in the course of the year to promote the cause of peace. He added that a competition had been opened for a book which should be a sort of vade-mecum or guide to teachers, to show the teachers how they can teach the doctrines of peace while at the same time inculcating love of one's own country and the fulfilment of one's duty as citizen. He hoped that many would compete. The prize offered was £60 for the best book of this sort.

The text of the resolution submitted by M. Arnaud was as follows :—

#### **PROGRAMME.**

RESOLUTION XI.—1. The organisation of regular and periodic International Congresses on Education.

2. Publication of an international collection of scholastic regulations.
3. That the Minister of Education should organise a special section of his department to study foreign methods and courses of instruction.
4. A comparison of the various schemes of education.
5. International educational statistics.
6. Tabulation of the results of examinations.
7. Facilities for the recognition of foreign diplomas. Creation of diplomas having an international value, which will also be recognised by the military authorities.
8. Appointment of special delegates and international correspondents on education.
9. Establishment of homes for teachers and pupils.
10. Subventions for travelling students, both teachers and pupils.
11. Introduction and regulation of the exchange of teachers and pupils.
12. Interchange of pedagogical works and magazines.
13. Relative place of classical and modern languages in future education.
14. Issue of parallel grammars.
15. Regulation of proportion of time to be allotted to physical, intellectual, and moral education.
16. Foundation of an International Institute of Pedagogy.
17. Publication of an international and official Educational Review.

#### QUESTIONS.

1. To what extent can we bring greater uniformity into the programmes of schools (primary, secondary, and superior)?
2. Would it not be possible to arrange for a more equal division of time for certain branches of education?
3. What facilities could be given to those who desire to change their school?
4. At what age is it desirable for pupils to commence an international education?
5. Ought special schools to be instituted for foreign pupils, or should they be admitted to the ordinary schools?

"The Congress is of opinion that the scholastic authorities in each country should make a pronouncement in favour of an Inter-Governmental Congress on Education.

As moral education and moral instruction must necessarily be in the direction of Peace, the Seventeenth Universal Peace Congress respectfully greets the First International Congress of Moral Instruction, and trusts that it will direct its labours towards a course of instruction inspired with fraternal sentiments which shall tend to draw peoples closer to one another, and to unite them under the one moral law.

The Congress congratulates the International Federation of Teachers for having undertaken the realisation, as far as primary instruction is concerned, of the programme regarding international education, which has been drawn up by the Peace Congresses. This Congress hopes that in the other grades of education the same example may be followed."

Mr. C. E. MAURICE said: I feel this is one of the most important

questions that we can have before us ; but at the same time I feel that it is one in which we are more liable to make blunders than almost any other, because I am dreadfully afraid of this desire for uniformity. It seems to me that what we have got to do in trying to impress upon people the need of this education is, first of all, to take care to find the right teachers, the teachers who will teach in the right spirit, not simply enforce certain maxims which may convey an entirely different impression from the character of the teachers. I believe it is possible to teach even the Sermon on the Mount in a way which would disgust children with the doctrines of it. I believe it is possible to teach some quite true history in such a way as to bring out the higher ideals from it. It is not an easy thing to find the right persons, and it is not an easy thing to find the right boards to choose such persons. What we have to do is to insist that any Boards that do have the appointment of teachers should consider the real spirit which they have shown in the questions that they ask them. In testing for suitability for a school, they should consider not merely their knowledge of certain subjects, not merely their willingness to teach certain maxims, but their capacity for understanding the spirit of the children, for sympathising with them, and for knowing how to put before them these thoughts in the best way.

M. KEMÉNY (Hungary), speaking in French, explained that there were two sections in regard to education, international education and general education. International education, it had been explained to them, consisted in assisting the students in the continuation of their studies in different countries ; so that they should not accomplish the whole of their education in one country, but travel from country to country, and thus acquire knowledge of other countries while they were going through their period of education. This latter conception was discussed at some considerable length at the Lucerne Conference, and they had before them a paper, entitled "International Conference," which he hoped they had all read, and they would see that one of the great ideas was to bring about an international conference of the Government education authorities of the different countries. Unless the Government helped, it was very difficult to do much in regard to the education of an entire nation. He was glad to state that the Ministers of Public Education of France, Hungary, Italy, and one or two other countries had already expressed their sympathy with the idea ; and he had hopes that in time it would be realised. Finally, there was a third clause on the paper that was before them, which dealt

with the holding in London, on the 3rd September next, of the first International Congress of Moral Instruction; and as the programme of this was very similar to that of this Peace Congress, namely, the teaching of peace as opposed to war, they would see that the text proposed that this Congress should send a resolution of congratulation and of encouragement to the Congress that was to be opened there next September.

PROFESSOR STEIN said he was glad to communicate to them that the ideas inculcated by that Congress had fallen on fertile ground. The Berne Bureau had decided to enter into communication with Count Apponyi, the Hungarian Minister; and Count Apponyi, being very favourable to the ideas of the peace movement, had accepted the ideas advanced by the Congress. He had taken the initiative. After accepting that resolution, they ought to show themselves thankful for the action taken by Count Apponyi by sending a telegram announcing to him that the Congress thanked him for this acceptance of the ideals of the Congress, and hoped that the Count would continue to perfect the idea which he had initiated.

M. ARNAUD said that what had really happened was that it was the Minister of France who had consented to take the initiative to bring about an international conference to discuss how pupils might travel from one country to the other while continuing their education in these different countries. This was accepted by the Minister of Hungary, and then by the Minister of Italy, and the Congress thanked these ministers last year at Munich for what they had done, so it was not necessary to thank them again at the present moment.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

### **Pacific Education.**

M. HORACE THIVET moved the following resolutions on "Pacific education":

#### **A.—METHOD OF EDUCATION.**

RESOLUTION XIII.—"The Seventeenth Universal Congress is convinced that:—

1. Pacifism should contribute to establish in the world more justice and morality, while penetrating each country by the morality taught in that country.

2. Those connected with Universities (of all grades and degrees) can only make of pacifism a new article in their programmes on the condition of causing the pacifist spirit to emanate from all the subjects of their teaching, and especially from the teaching of morals, with which pacifism is so intimately allied.

3. Historical events of every kind, of all times and places, must be taught in their whole truth. They may be, without any fear, presented to the pupil if care is exercised in placing them in their true relations as to historical evolution, if they are given their correct local colouring. Thus effects are explained by their causes.

4. It is necessary to show to adolescents that the constant and final objective or aim of existence is not found exclusively in a glorious death, but exists also in a life at once glorious and useful.

The important place assigned to physical exercises demands that their object shall be the physical culture of the young generations in the triple point of view—health, force, and beauty—that is to say, in preparation for life, and not as a preparation for military service.

#### B.—APPLICATIONS.

Referring to the Resolutions of the Congress of Milan, the Seventeenth Universal Congress recalls that, in all the degrees in which it may be possible, it is indispensable to encourage the creation of "foyers pacifiques," where, before the school period, very young children may, by means of amusements, superintended and directed, contract health and peaceable habits.

The Seventeenth Universal Congress records the wish that:

1. The Mistresses of the Maternal Schools should have recourse to the processes of pedagogical science based upon the psychology of the child, and should habituate it instinctively to avoid evil.

2. The Mistresses and Masters of primary instruction should habituate the boys and girls to have recourse to arbitration at all ages, on all occasions, and under all associations, and for conflicts of every character.

3. Professors, whether men or women, of secondary and superior education, should comment upon the idea of arbitration, and habituate their pupils to solve for themselves by this means all conflicts which may arise among them."

M. THIVET said the resolution was divided into two halves, first the method, secondly the application. The question of application was lengthily discussed at Monaco and Munich, and they had now reached the point of bringing theory to enter into the pure technique of teaching. It was a question of avoiding the teaching of anti-militarism on the one hand, and Chauvinism on the other hand—of avoiding extremes. One of the points he brought forward was that, of course, they must teach history. They could not avoid teaching the battles of the middle ages, but they need not teach that death on the battlefield was the best of all means of dying. They could apply a different moral to the same facts that they had had to teach in the past. They could read the text of the resolution for themselves, and he would simply mention one more idea, namely, that of teaching children, when disputes occurred, to constitute courts of arbitration for their own little quarrels; so that the idea might germinate in their minds, and when they became adults they

would apply the same principle to politics as to their own children's school quarrels.

Senator HOUZEAU DE LAHAIE drew the attention of the Congress to Mr. Mirquet (whose name he wrote on the board). He was a Belgian teacher, and had the courage to write a history of Belgium for children, in which he pointed out that the salvation of the country was due to the workers of that country, and that work alone had redeemed the country from the great distress which war alone brought about.

Mr. SCHOFIELD (U.S.A.) said: You will all bear me witness that this topic deserves more time than it can possibly receive in the haste of this last day. From the beginning it has been said in this Congress that we must begin earlier, we must begin with the children. There is an infinite sacredness attaching to everything that is concerned with education. It is the infinite multitude of the future into which we die, and dying into which we live again; and we are most profoundly concerned with regard to what they will be, and what they will do. We have heard much from the side of our French fellow workers, much yesterday afternoon in the Teachers' Conference from the side of our English fellow workers; and I have therefore felt compelled to break the line of my reserve and say a word from the American side.

I think we have there already begun, and have in the future the possibilities of wider and of more speedy development in this direction, than is presented in any land under the sun. We have great freedom. Each superintendent can move in the direction of true moral education if he will. Each superintendent of every State can order what he will, at least can commend it. Again, in connection with our Federal Officer, the Commissioner of Education, while he has no power to dictate, he has great power of suggestion; so that steadily, from time to time, we are coming to a most consistent and admirable system in this regard; and in connection with the morality that is being taught, we are able to say, I think, that a more general and diffused and thoroughly realised Christian morality, a morality founded upon and buttressed by the sanctions of the Christian religion, is pervasive in our schools than is to be found elsewhere. A very large majority of our teachers are earnest Christians, and there is nothing to restrain them in developing the minds as well as the bodies, and then the moral life of their pupils, and with the force which comes from definite convictions and definite teaching.

We have also access to our educational journals, which are of

very wide reputation, and admirably edited. I have in my hands the one of Ohio, in which I had the pleasure to write in the last number (the June number) an article on the very subject of the ways in which teachers may take up and pass on from generation to generation the grand morality which underlies the peace movement. While I have no great title to be known or heard at all, yet it was gladly accepted, and a report upon the subject is spoken of by the editors with approval. No one can fail to find a way to the teachers. We have them in their summer classes, in institutes. In the university with which I am connected there are now over 1,000 young teachers gathering to make themselves better prepared for the future, and under influences that are exclusively moral and deeply religious. I want also to note, in connection with what was said by Dr. Trueblood yesterday, that in connection with the Educational Board—that admirable association for International Conciliation, one of the Peace Associations with which the name of our noble friend Baron D'Estournelles de Constant is so closely connected—they have published a series of publications such as I hold in my hand, and are ready to submit them in numbers to every high school in the university. One is on the second Hague Conference, which Dr. Trueblood told us yesterday was not understood. In the university with which I am connected it went by tens of hundreds of copies into the hands of various classes, and has been circulated by many hundreds. It was but one of a series, and I was commissioned by Dr. Keppel, secretary to the affair, as he could not be here, to call attention to this foyer, so that it can be seen by anyone who wishes, how admirably they carry forward this work. I must not take more of your time, but I trust sincerely you will hear more and more, as international organisation of this kind goes forward, of what America is doing, for I cannot but hope that she will be equal to her grand and glorious opportunity in this direction.

PROFESSOR KRAUTERKRAFT, speaking in German, said that education in the pacific idea ought not to begin at school, but ought to begin at home, like all education. Now at home very often children were taught to play at soldiers. They were given presents and so on, and from the beginning they were taught to treat each other in a brutal way. In Italy a Society of Mothers has been formed, with the idea of forbidding children to play at soldiers; and it calls on mothers not to present children with swords, guns, and so on, in order not to train them to this military life. He appealed to them to work in this idea, and teach children at home the idea of peace.

Miss GOWA (Union of Ethical Societies) said: I only just wish

to say a few words, and tell you that we have here in London a Moral Education League, and that in some of the primary schools—those up in the North especially—children are taught morality of all kinds, kindness to other human beings, kindness to animals, and so forth; and if this is taught to them from time to time through all the schools, they will, I think, get a distaste for all kinds of cruelty, and of course for war, and all of them will become peacemakers. I hope all the English people here will impress upon the English Government the necessity of adopting the form drawn up by the Moral Education Congress held here in London, and if any of the members of this Society are in London it might interest them to join this Congress and see what is being done by this Moral Education League to foster among children a love of peace, and of right living, and absence of cruelty.

M. TARRIDA DEL MARMOL said: I know that I shall be the interpreter of the feelings of this Congress in protesting against the wording of No. 4. I wish to say first, that I approve in every word the first, second, and third parts of the Resolution. I also approve of the applications of it; but I am sure that the Congress will object, with me, to the wording of No. 4, because it is not in accordance with the principles we are defending here. It says: "It is necessary to show to adolescents that the constant and final objective or aim of existence is not found exclusively in a glorious death, but exists also in a life at once glorious and useful." It is not a glorious death, the death which is referred to here; it is generally a shameful death! A glorious death is the death of a worker, the miner who has fought sometimes for Providence and mankind. The glorious death which is referred to here is death on the battlefield. When it is the death of a poor soldier who is sent there to fight when he does not know what he is fighting for, he is shamefully shot, and it is not a glorious death; and when it is the death of the leader, of the conqueror, it is also a shameful death. It is not a glorious death. It is very easy to agree together if the Commission is kind enough to modify the wording of this article, or to put in an explanation that when the Resolution speaks about a "glorious death," that this glorious death does not refer to death on the battlefield, because this would not be a glorious death. It may be a glorious death when it is a death in the barricades, in the streets; when the people defend their own liberty and the lives of their wives and children; but the death referred to here cannot be a glorious death.

I know very well what can be said. I refer now to the very painful cases that happened a few days ago in France, that hap-

pened a few days ago in Italy, which happened a few months ago in Spain, and Portugal, and the Argentine Republic, and other countries. This also happened in Turkey and Russia, and the countries where there is no peace because there is not the peace founded on the liberty of the people, but imposed by the tyranny of the rulers. I compare the case of the man in the street with the case of the bull fighter, even of the bull if you like, in our shameful national sport of the bull-fight in Spain. The bull, after all, likes the fight; and would be very sorry if he was not allowed to have a fight. I know that, after all, he is a poor animal who is sent to be killed when he has done nothing wrong; but in the bull-ring you can feel sympathy for the animal who is attacking and enjoys it. But you feel a sympathy for the poor horse, who, after spending a life in the service of man, is sent shamefully to be tortured by the horns of a bull, and be killed only, as a reward for a life in the service of man.

The CHAIRMAN: The Commission accept the amendment.

M. TARRIDA DEL MARMOL: Then I have nothing else to say.

M. THIVET said: The modification would be that

The constant and final objective in life is not a death, however noble, but a life that is glorious and useful.

Even if the death be considered a glorious death, still death is not our object. Our object is to live a useful life.

M. KOZLOWSKI (Poland) complained of a great omission made in the text of the resolution. No allusion had been made to the form or language in which the education should take place. He pointed out that compulsory education was a method of exploiting children in a tyrannical manner, and against the rights of humanity. That was especially the case in regard to the Polish and Danish children, who were driven to school in order that they might be Germanised. They were aware of the riots and disturbances that had arisen, and how the schoolmaster was a tyrant who compelled the children to speak and learn their lessons in a foreign language; and he proposed therefore that there should be an amendment in the text, that the enforcing of an official language in a mixed population should not be sanctioned, as it tended to increase race animosities and race hatreds.

The CHAIRMAN: I am obliged to rule this amendment out of order. For one thing, we did pass a resolution, only at last year's Congress, very much on those lines; and the question is not one, I hold, which is relevant to this particular Resolution. It should have been presented to the Commission as a resolution.

M. ALLÉGRET said: He could not agree with the four clauses

that were before them. In the first, they said that the teaching of peace should penetrate by the morality taught in the country, and they seemed to render themselves responsible for all the methods of teaching practised in all the different countries. This they could not do. They could only be responsible for certain methods of teaching, and not every method of teaching which the country might choose to adopt. In the second part, it said that "those connected with universities can only make of pacifism a new article in their programme on the condition," and he protested at great length against this. If they left it optional, nothing much would be done, and he referred to the question of alcoholism in France. It had been decided that teachers should give lessons against alcoholism, and so long as it was a voluntary matter nothing was done; but when it was made obligatory, books were published for teachers, and the children were so taught that they began to go home and teach temperance in their own homes. Then in the third paragraph, it said that history was to be taught in the "whole truth." What did that mean? They were to teach that battles were fought, for that was true; but what was "all the truth?" Why, they could not tell the truth even in regard to quite recent events, events that had occurred two or three days ago. People interpreted them in different manners, and they did not know the truth. How did they know the truth of the events of the last three, four, five, or six centuries? All they could try to do was to try and associate their teaching with the teaching of the great fundamental principles of peace, and while describing the glories of war, not forget there were much greater glories to be acquired in the cause of peace. It would be well if the whole of this matter could have been referred back to the Commission, so that the working of the resolution might be done in a more satisfactory manner.

The CHAIRMAN: With regard to this Resolution before us, the Committee accepts the reconsideration of the resolution, and will prepare some amendment to meet the observations made by M. Allégret. Therefore it would be necessary—that brings up the question of the necessity for lunch. I propose we adjourn for lunch at one o'clock, and resume at two o'clock, which leaves us two hours before the start of the great labour demonstration we all wish to see. Then I ask the Congress to pass now from this education question. There are two or three more resolutions upon education, but we pass from them, in order to take up the question of the Capture of Private Property at Sea. We feel, after the speech made by Lord Courtney last night, as well as other speeches made

in the course of the Congress, it is obvious that that question and the question of the limitation of armaments are so closely bound together, that after our valuable work on the limitation of armaments, if it is to be of any use, we must also deal with the question of the capture of private property on sea. M. Dumas, the rapporteur, is obliged to leave. I ask the Congress to allow us to take the question next, in the hope that in the hour between now and one o'clock we may be able to arrive at a resolution.

Mr. SNAPE: May I ask why the report of Commission D upon the matter specially referred to is not down on the order of the day, and at what period it will come up for consideration? It has been mentioned in the Congress again and again, and yet no opportunity of speaking on it at the Congress has been given. There is correspondence going on in the papers. There is a letter in the papers to-day from the Bishop of Perth, and it is of the greatest importance.

The CHAIRMAN: That and several other questions will probably be crowded out. The resolution of Commission D on the subject is only a reference to another year; but, nevertheless, if proposed as a resolution it would lead to a discussion for which there is no time. The time of this Congress has been carefully allotted beforehand. The Berne Bureau and the Organising Committee of the Congress have endeavoured to put down the subjects they consider the most important and urgent. We have endeavoured to keep to that list of subjects as far as possible, and it is obvious we cannot take up all the subjects which arise. We have therefore had to make a choice, and I had the opportunity of meeting last evening the Chairmen of the different Commissions, and we have consulted as to what shall be the order of the day for to-day. I am sorry, but some people must admit that their particular subjects, the subjects in which they are most interested—they may be extremely important—shall not come up. They were not among the subjects selected by the Organising Committee for the subjects to be treated in the proceedings of the Congress.

Mr. SNAPE: I am sorry, but this subject was referred to the Commission by the Congress at Munich last year, and it is now apparently regarded as unimportant, and no report is being brought up upon it, unless Commission D is allowed to submit the report which it has prepared. I again ask at what period of the sitting of the Congress we are to have the opportunity of the presentation of the report?

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think I can say it will come on,

because it really will not. The decision of the Chairmen yesterday was that the resolution proposed by Commission D is really only a resolution of reference, and therefore requires only to be mentioned, and no discussion should be allowed.\*

### Private Property at Sea.

M. DUMAS moved the following resolution on International Law:

RESOLUTION XII.—The Congress congratulates the Second Hague Conference on having, in some measure, restricted the right of capture on sea, by exempting from seizure boats which are exclusively used for coast-fishery and local navigation. The Congress expresses the hope that in the near future private property will be declared as absolutely free from capture on sea as it is on land, and that, as a counterpart of this reform, a general agreement for the reduction of armaments will be adopted.

He said: The question, as Lord Courtney said yesterday evening, and M. Arnaud has just pointed out to-day, the question of freedom of private property at sea, in the present disposition of the English people and Government, is one of the questions that can no longer be postponed. There are questions of principle, but there are also questions of tactics, which commend it.

### The Question of Tactics.

First, there is the question of tactics, arising from this fact that since the Hague Conference last year we have learned that there is a close connection between the question of freedom of private property at sea and the question of limitation or armaments; and since some of our friends in this room, Mr. Snape and other gentlemen on the other side of the room, are claiming that this question of limitation of armaments should receive the solution that we desire for it, I wish to explain to these gentlemen, that it is impossible—the Hague Conference last year proved it—to get a limitation of armaments if you have not before got the question of freedom of private property at sea settled. It was said last year in the Hague Conference, and Sir Edward Fry was the first to notice it—that the scheme suggested by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and brought before the Hague Conference on behalf of the English Government by Sir Edward Fry, could not be accepted by the Continental Powers for different reasons, but especially for this one, that the Continental Powers declared they were not ready to accept such a proposal,

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\* For continuation of discussion on Pacific Education see page 245.



M. Jacques Dumas.



M. Emile Arnaud.

(Two leading French Delegates.)



Sir William Mather.



Sir W. B. Bowring, Bart.

(Two members of the Deputation to the King. See page 2.)



however useful it might be, so long as England herself had not accepted this question of exemption of private property at sea. There is another question of tactics, too. The Inter-parliamentary Conference has so well understood this matter that it has set as the first Order of the Day next month at Berlin this question of the freedom of private property at sea; and what the Inter-Parliamentary Conference has considered to be the main question of our party cannot be totally ignored by the Peace Party represented in this Congress. You are all, I am certain, absolutely opposed to privateering—England more than any other country. She showed it by her opposition, in the Hague Conference last year, to the use of floating mines. It is proved by the practical experience of all the States in the world, and especially American States in South America, that the existence of privateering and floating mines are totally dependent on the question of freedom of private property at sea; because such nations, small nations who have not enough war vessels to protect their merchant vessels, such small nations as Columbia, Venezuela, and many others, and to a certain extent the United States itself, would be obliged, if private property did not get freedom at sea, to get protection out of privateering and out of floating mines, and return to barbarism.

### **The Question of Principle.**

Well, such being the question of tactics, such being the position in diplomatic circles, I dare to add that we are not only pushed towards this question by the question of tactics, but also by reasons of principle. Well, you know, and I am sure there are not two opinions on this subject in this Congress—you know that it has been decided in the Brussels Conference of 1874, and in the Hague Conference of 1899, and still more by the Conference of 1907 in the Hague, to prohibit completely looting by land. Would anybody here propose to re-establish looting on land? I do not expect so. If you are all of one accord against looting on land, how can anyone be favourable to looting on sea? I am convinced, for my part, that there is no difference in principle between looting on land and capturing on sea. For many years, since the time of Benjamin Franklin, our sympathetic friends of the United States have been setting before the whole world the example of a constant effort in favour of this great question. As far back as 1785 an international agreement was passed between the United States and Prussia to prohibit all capture of private property in the interests of those two great countries; and when President Munro was in office in 1823 he

sent to the principal of the European Governments a proposal that they should come to an agreement to prohibit completely the capture of private property at sea.

Since then it has not only been a fact of international law, but national law itself. The national law of some great maritime powers has made the same progress. In the code of maritime commerce of Italy, there are sections 220, and other provisions, which decide that the Italian war vessels are not allowed, by national law, to capture private property on sea; and later on still, in 1871, there was a treaty passed between the United States and Italy to prohibit between these two great countries, as was already prohibited fifty years before between the United States and Prussia, all capturing of private property at sea. To all these historical and technical reasons I understand that a great party in England oppose objections. What are these objections, and how shall we now contend with them? It is my desire not to put aside any of the English objections without a serious examination. It would be unfair on the part of us foreign delegates to ask this Congress to vote by a majority of foreign delegates any resolution which might not be favourable to English ideas. I speak in English, because I make no appeal to foreign delegates. They are all of one accord on this subject; but I ask the English delegates to consider very carefully, and in full sincerity, what is the worth of the English principles on this question; and to see if they can dispose of the English objections. What are these objections?

### **English Objections to Exemption.**

The English Government and the principal English writers on the subject, such as Sir Thomas Barclay, Mr. Phillimore, Mr. Westlake, and others, think it was necessary for English law to maintain the right of capture on sea. Why? Well, because Britannia wants to rule the sea. Nobody prevents her; I will never prevent Britannia from ruling the sea. It is her element. But I ask my English friends, this rule—which may have been considered as an absolute rule so long as England was the only maritime power in the world—can it be considered as still being an absolute rule to-day, when not only other maritime powers exist in the world, but when the merchant vessels of England herself have got so numerous that it would not be possible for any English Government, even if all the schemes of people we know very well were carried out, to have one cruiser on the sea behind every merchant vessel over the whole sea? And since it is no longer possible for

England, however strong she may be on sea, to have a sufficient number of cruisers to protect her vessels throughout the whole surface of the sea, I believe it is England's interest that her own vessels should be able to escape capture from other countries.

Well, there is another objection made. We are told—I think it was the idea yesterday of Baroness von Suttner when she spoke against the law of war—we are told that asking the freedom of private property at sea is speaking of a law of war, and it is better if a war is to be carried out that it should be carried out in the most rapid way so that it should get to an end. Well, this is a mistake, so far as the facts are concerned. The experience of past years has proved that not one single war has been stopped by the capture of private property at sea. If there is one single instance known by anybody of a war having been shorter because merchant vessels have been stopped at sea, let the incident be carried to the platform and we will find a reply. There are instances of an opposite kind. Remember our unfortunate war in 1870. What occurred? Prussia had offered to my Government that during this war merchant vessels should remain free on sea; and my Government did not think that such an agreement could be made, and in the North Sea German vessels were captured by the French war vessels. What happened? Was this war shorter? Not at all; but the great part of the abuses committed on the French line were said to have been committed for this reason, that German merchant vessels had been captured at sea. Another reason must be added. We have heard some of our friends say, and it was said at the Milan Congress two years ago, that if private property were to be free of all capture, then the merchants themselves, to whom we look for an alliance, would no longer be enemies of war, as we hope they now are. This is again a complete mistake. Why? If during the war between Russia and Japan the merchant vessels of Japan and Russia can be captured by the war vessels of the other Power, all the neutral Powers get a monopoly of trade, and have a material interest in the prolongation of hostilities. We must not give to neutrals a bribe for the prolongation of war at sea.

My time is nearly exhausted. I have just two minutes more, and I would like to point out that since the declaration of Paris in 1856, all international lawyers consider that an immense progress has been made by the suppression, the abolition of the capture of neutral property on sea, and by the abolition of privateering. Further progress was made last year by a certain limitation of floating mines. Well, must this progress be a definite progress, or must

we see all this progress checked by the re-establishing of floating mines and the establishing of privateering, and the impossibility of carrying out a scheme of the limitation of armaments only because one great maritime Power, the English Power, maintains the right of capture on sea when the whole world asks her to renounce it? We heard yesterday evening, in the Hotel Cecil, the cry of the people expressed by Lord Courtney of Penwith, the cry of the people who look to us of the Peace Party, and who ask us, "When will you give us the gift of peace?" And our reply to this has always been the same: "We will give you the present of peace when our ship comes in." If you want your ship to come in, prohibit its capture, and do not allow it to be seized any more. (Cheers.)

Mr. NEWMAN: May I rise to a point of order? I suggest that the time has come when the translators should merely give the conclusion to which the speaker has arrived and not the argument. I do not believe we can get through the business in any other way.

This was agreed to.

Mr. FELIX MOSCHELES: I am very much surprised to find that this Resolution comes to-day instead of yesterday. It seems to me that it belongs, quite automatically, to the discussion on armaments. However, it is here, and I protest against the adoption of it. It is a surprise to me to think we should once more have got into the way of regulating warfare, however ably it is done. We have done nothing else but say, what a pity it is that the Hague Conference was not a peace but a war conference. Here we are repeating it. We are legislating for war. We do not want to regulate it in any way.

Mr. HAWKIN: I do not propose to say anything with regard to what Mr. Moscheles has just said, because on the Commission on which I have the honour of attending the same question was raised, and we who were representing England felt ourselves in some difficulty. It was a matter of procedure, of course, and we felt this was a question that, according to our mode of procedure, would have been regulated from the chair. It would have been decided by the Chairman as to whether a question like this would be rightly considered by your Congress, and whether we should be called upon to express any opinion on the subject. We discussed the question, therefore, entirely on the supposition that you were likely to deal with the subject; and we did not, therefore, commit ourselves in any way to whether or not this came within the scope of your procedure. Now, ladies and gentlemen, on the supposition that you will discuss the question of the limitation of armaments and the

regulation of warfare, will you allow me to say just three words on the question before us.

First of all I think those who were English ought to be under a great debt of gratitude for the very kind and courteous manner in which we were met by the foreign delegates in dealing with this question. I may say, especially to M. Dumas, who met us most frankly, and altered the wording of the resolution in the manner we suggested, because of his desire that it should meet all parties and views on this most important question.

In the next place I should like to remind the English that, although those representing you on the Commission were, I think, unanimously in favour of this reform with regard to the capture of private property on sea, yet we were bound to recognise, we could not fail to recognise, that public opinion in this country for the last fifty years has been very greatly divided on the subject. Now you know that the controversy has extended even up to the last few years.

It was re-opened again by the remarkable letter written by the present Lord Chancellor in the *Times* of October, 1904, I think—perhaps it was rather later. It was perhaps an epoch making event in this controversy. It was, of course, before he had taken the position of Lord Chancellor, but none the less it throws the high authority of the Lord Chancellor of this country in favour of this great reform; and I believe myself that the Lord Chancellor in that respect completely represents the views of the great body of legal opinion in England, that this reform would be a reform by which England would by no means suffer. None the less we found at the Hague Conference this view was not taken by the Government; and seeing that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was our Prime Minister at the time, you must all be convinced that there were very cogent arguments urged by the naval and foreign experts on the subject which overcame them, though as a matter of fact they never convinced me. But in view of this fact, we felt that the probability was that this question would be regarded in this country somewhat in the light of a concession on the part of the greatest naval power in the world; and therefore we asked, and the foreign delegates at once admitted, the plea that this thing should be regarded only in connection with the general scheme of the reduction of armaments; and consequently the resolution was altered in that sense, and in that sense I feel sure it will appeal to all the English delegates, whatever their view may be on this question of the capture of private property on sea.

M. DUMAS : It is in connection with the resolution as proposed.

The CHAIRMAN : The appeal made to me by Mr. Hawkin makes me think it may be useful to explain to the Congress how the matter stands as a question of order. There is no rule limiting a Peace Congress, and prohibiting it from discussing the questions of regulation of war ; but Peace Congresses have frequently said they would not spend their time, and it was not their business, to regulate war. That is clearly understood, and if an attempt were made to take up time on these lines I would venture to remind the Congress of it. But there has been a great difference of opinion as to whether questions of this kind, which eliminate from the sphere of war a whole class, a whole district, whether these questions are properly within that general principle of the limitation of war. I have myself contended, and in the first instance unsuccessfully, that they did not fall under the general principle ; but at the last Conference those who held the view that this principle did not govern the cases of elimination from the sphere of war of certain categories were successful. There are precedents both ways, and the Congress can decide as it likes.

Mrs. DRYHURST : I ask to speak on this question because I feel it is a woman's question, very strictly a woman's question. I am sure I will have the sympathy of every woman delegate in the room on behalf of the housekeeper and the mother. When men make war we have no vote, and have no word to say in it. The captains of the English ships are stopped on the way to bring us food. That is a most important question. M. Dumas has put forward one of the most humanitarian proposals in the world ; and it was with the greatest surprise that we in England, and in every country of the world, heard that England stood in the way of putting private property on sea under protection as on land. As an island she has more cause to fear interference in the food trade. In a week we in London should be starving ; and I appeal for the sympathy and vote of every woman delegate in the room to support M. Dumas's pious aspiration.

M. M. BOKANOWSKI (France) : It is not as an Englishman nor as a mother nor a *ménagère* that I will try in very poor English to give you as good reasons as I can to defeat this motion. We are here neither statesmen nor lawyers, but peace-makers : and the only question you must have present in your minds is this. I think the motion would be a chance for war. We are not with those who think that the best way to suppress war is to make it more and

more cruel against the people; but every time we can show that all are concerned in war we make a new step for peace.

And look what could happen in such countries as yours if this motion became an article of international law. You have not conscription, as we have in France and in other parts. Though I do not agree with him, what the Bishop from Australia said is very true, that since we have had conscription we have not so many jingoes as before; because every man by himself, or his family, is very interested in war. He has to serve in war; but in England or the United States of America, where they have not conscription, and where the merchants rule politics, they have only to want war, and that would be for their merchant's purse the best politics, and why? Because if you allow trade to be continued, nothing will be changed for them. They can gain as much money as before, and even more than before; because, as you know, war costs a great amount of money, and the merchants must provide it. We see that in France.

You have been told of the Morocco question. It was not a question of French honour. It was only a question of about ten or twelve merchants, very rich and having great power, I am obliged to say, over some people in Parliament, and, above all, with the papers. They thought they would gain a lot of money, and they were all engaged in that war, and that was for them a great chance of getting money. So that by these examples I think you will understand very well that we had great reason two years ago in Milan not to accept the motion that they proposed to you. Some people who want to make an appeal to your peaceful minds and hearts say: "Since England is against that question, you peace-makers must show that you are above that national mind, and for the cause of peace you have not any hesitation to go against the general mind of your country." Do not be moved by that argument; for I think that if you accept the motion you add to the chance of war, and if you defeat it you lessen the chance of war.

M. HEILBERG said they could not discuss merely peace questions. The discussion of the limitation of armaments was a discussion of a war question—how much was to be spent on war—in the present bad state of affairs, the only means of limiting armaments was to do away with the necessity of protecting merchant ships at sea. That is the first and indispensable step.

Mr. MEAD: M. Bokanowski has referred to certain facts, assuming them to be facts, touching the United States of America and its position on this question, which are so far from the truth, that it is most important that the truth should be stated. He

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assumes that the interest in this matter comes from a certain small commercial class which thereby wishes to profit. I wish to remind you that the merchant marine of the United States at this time is very small. The navy of the United States at the present time is perhaps the second navy in the world in power. Therefore the United States could only selfishly profit by this, because it would have little to lose and much to gain in war. The facts are precisely the contrary of those which have been indicated. I know there is a difference of opinion in England upon this, but I am surprised and grieved that there should be any difference of opinion among the peace party of England. It seems to me that the peace men of England should stand, to a man, behind the splendid position stated by your Lord Chancellor.

I view this entirely as a part of the question of the limitation of armaments. There is only one decent excuse for great navies, and that is that they are a sort of insurance policy upon the great merchant marine. If, however, instead of that policy, you can get the insurance of an international decree that the merchant marine on all the seas would be safe; at one stroke you get rid of half your necessity for a great navy. How England has criticised Germany for her position in the Hague Conference on the question of the limitation of armaments! And I criticise Germany; but I say that Germany and other countries have equal right or greater right to criticise England for blocking this great reform. I maintain that the right to prey upon private commerce in time of war is the most barbarous which still survives in this whole matter; and I say that by the maintaining of that usage which maintains this enormous English navy, England takes up a position which is also keeping all the navies of the world great. So that in standing against the reform, which it seems to me makes so much for her own advantage, she is doing more than she could do in any other way to maintain this enormous naval rivalry. I wish that England might fall into line with what was the overwhelming vote of the Hague Conference, and help us to end this barbarous usage.

Mr. H. S. PERRIS: I do not need time for a long speech on this subject, for Mr. Mead has said just the things I felt I wanted to say when I sent in my name as a speaker. I think none of us can have followed the subject of the limitation of armaments and the methods of approaching that subject, without feeling that when we got to this point of the exemption of private property on sea we had got to the root of the matter. Two years ago in our country we had a special committee of experts sitting at the office of the *Tribune*

newspaper, which most carefully studied this question; and they came to the conclusion that if they could get this one practical thing through, the exemption of private property at sea, they would have undermined the position of the militarists, of the people who say "We must have a big navy to safeguard our commerce." The great argument of the naval party in this country, and I suppose in other countries, is that we must have a big navy because it is the best and cheapest form of national insurance. If we pass this resolution, and if this resolution is pressed upon public opinion in England, I think the result will be that there will be no need for that costly, and as I think vain, form of "national insurance," and the militarists will have to find a new and better argument. I do hope that a practically unanimous vote will be given by the Congress in favour of this resolution. We feel in England that it is a great pity that our country stood in the way at the Hague Conference of the reform going through, but we can do something to strengthen and push forward public opinion in our country by passing this resolution, and thus strengthen the hands of our M.P.'s who are fighting hard to press this reform.

Dr. G. B. CLARK: I will not take any time. I hope it will be a unanimous vote. I agreed with Lord Courtney, who stated the case to the Prime Minister last night. I hope Lord Courtney made Mr. Asquith a convert. I do not look upon this question as affecting the conduct of war. What I feel at the present moment is this. This is the crux of the question. The only dark cloud in Europe just now can be dispelled if you pass this resolution, and the Government adopt it, and if the irritation between us and the Germans would pass away altogether, and Lord Courtney and others would have their occupation gone.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

## EIGHTH SESSION OF CONGRESS, HELD AT CAXTON HALL,

*Saturday afternoon, at 2 o'clock, August 1st.*

*Chairman:* MR. J. G. ALEXANDER.

### **Messages of Greeting.**

The CHAIRMAN: I have two matters to bring before the Congress, which perhaps I may take at once. I have a letter from M. Passy in acknowledgment of the telegram the Congress sent him the other day. I am sorry it is too long for me to be able to read it. I should like to do so, but it is a very cordial reply expressing specially his regret at not being in London this time.

Then I think I may be allowed to read a letter from Mrs. Hawkin (General Botha's sister), which I think will interest the Congress if I read it to them: "Dear Mr. Perris,—I am so sorry that my doctor has deprived me of the pleasure of attending the peace meetings, to which I so greatly looked forward. Ever since I was a very little girl I have had experiences of war and its sorrows. I can remember the ominous eclipse of the sun which occurred on Majuba Day. I remember the poor Empress Eugénie of France passing through Greytown to see the grave of her boy in Zululand. I remember the sickening news of the annihilation of Wilson and his brave comrades in Rhodesia; and I am now struggling to forget even more terrible scenes, and more personal losses. That is why I love the thought of universal peace. How can we expect savage races to keep the peace, when educated and Christian people will not set them an example? I am sure the women in South Africa join me in wishing you success.—Yours very truly, Marie Hawkin."

I think I had better read this telegram now from Carlstad, Sweden: "The International Congress, London. The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Union, assembled in the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Congress, sends greetings of sympathy with you, remem-

bering that our country next year will have the great honour of receiving the people of the white banners.—Hellberg.”

I am asked, on behalf of Miss Eckstein, to say you are kindly asked to help in obtaining signatures in your countries for the arbitration petition to be presented to the Governments. Some of us objected at first to certain words in the petition as originally drafted, but they have been modified, I believe. Petition blanks will be sent to you if you will kindly write your name and address in Room 13, and state the language and numbers of petition blanks you want.

We have here to-day Dr. Kuroita, of Japan. We have not heard the voice of a single one of the Japanese delegates, and I have promised to give him two minutes to give you his greeting from his countrymen.

Dr. KUROITA having given his greeting,

The CHAIRMAN said: We are all very glad to have three representatives, and have one of them speak, for the Japanese Peace Society established some years ago.

Commission E will present a resolution in a modified form.\*

### Pacific Education, continued.

M. THIVET said that paragraph 1 of the resolution on “Pacific Education, A—Method of Education,” remained unaltered. Paragraph 2 was altered as follows: “Those connected with universities (of all grades and degrees) who cannot make pacifism a new article in their programmes, should try to do so, should try to introduce the pacifist spirit into all the subjects of their teaching, and especially the teaching of morals, with which pacifism is so intimately allied.” Paragraph 3 now reads: Historical events of every kind must be taught in their whole truth, that is to say, without any dissimulation of facts and their causes. All incidents may without fear be presented to the pupils. Thus wars will lose, in the instruction of history, the importance which until now has been attached to them.

(4.) It is necessary to show to adolescents that the constant and final objective or aim of existence is not found in death, however glorious it may be, but in usefulness through life.” The rest remained unaltered.

The resolution was carried, with one dissentient.

Madame MARYA CHELIGA insisted upon the educational action of women in the movement, but said that many women were very

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\* For final text of Resolutions, see end of Report.

much attached to their nation—in fact, were better patriots than the men—therefore she brought before the meeting a resolution having for its object to try and show how one could be a strong advocate of peace and yet be a good patriot :

RESOLUTION XIV.—Seeing that women are the first educators of the young, the Congress expresses the desire that mothers and female teachers will inculcate the truth that not only is pacifism not incompatible with patriotism and morality, but that only institutions which recognise it will give the country complete security, at the same time moral and effective.

The resolution was carried.

The CHAIRMAN : There is a further resolution Mr. Newman was to have moved on behalf of Commission C bearing on the same matter.

Mr. NEWMAN : There was held in this building yesterday, in the Council Chamber, a Conference of Teachers, over which Professor Sir John Macdonell presided ; and Mr. J. A. Hobson, who is an economist who is well known, also spoke, and moved a resolution. The resolution is this, and I will read it in English, and the Chairman can read it in French. What we want is that you should take into the proceedings of the Congress the resolution passed yesterday. The reason for doing this is that to us in England, and I daresay elsewhere, it will be exceedingly helpful to have the weight of the Congress behind such a resolution :

RESOLUTION XV.—The Congress notes with satisfaction that a Conference of Teachers was held yesterday, 31st July, in connection with the Congress, and under the presidency of Professor Sir John Macdonell. The Congress reaffirms the resolution moved at that meeting by Mr. J. A. Hobson, and adopted, as follows : "This Conference, believing that students in schools and colleges should have their sympathies enlisted in the great principles of the Peace Movement, urges that endeavours be made to secure the inclusion of Peace teaching, and a humane interpretation of history in the syllabuses of all schools, colleges, and Universities, and solicits the earnest co-operation of all teachers in such instruction. It also condemns all attempts to bring militarist propaganda and training into connection with education, as calculated to lower the ideals of youth and to impair the efficiency of educational work."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Senator HOUZEAU DE LEHAIE moved :

RESOLUTION XVI.—In consideration of the successes obtained by the Intercollegiate Peace Association, containing the students and professors of 50 Universities, the Association "Corda Fratres," with its different sections in 63 Universities of Europe, which should be extended to all Universities ; in consideration of the efficiency of the American School Peace

League, which deals with the propagation of the ideas of peace among the schoolmasters of primary and higher schools, in the conviction that these ideas are of a great importance and interest for the academic youth, and should have their strong support in order to give an equilibrium to children influenced by the war-glorifying spirit of their history instruction; in consideration of the necessity of informing teachers of the purposes and means of the Peace Movement, the Congress endorses the proposal made at the preceding Congress to carry on an agitation among academic students, as well as among pupils of the primary and higher schools. To render efficient this proposition the Peace Societies should associate with the schoolmasters in the schools.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

### Growth of Internationalism.

M. LA FONTAINE proposed :

RESOLUTION XVII.—The Congress acknowledges with satisfaction the movement which is drawing men together internationally in every domain of activity and thought. The Congress calls the special attention of the Governments to this fact, and invites them to give their moral and material support to all efforts of an international character; it more particularly invites them to send official delegates to the various International Congresses, and to constitute the largest possible number of unions of States. The Congress urges on all its members, and the members of Peace Societies, the duty of promoting the evolution towards Internationalism, and especially towards the international federation of all the intellectual and economic interests of humanity. The Congress invites all existing international associations and institutions to group themselves in a federation in connection with the central office of international institutions at Brussels.

His object was to make it well understood that the international movement has grown immensely, and he showed the Congress a diagram in which the number of international congresses, non-political congresses but international congresses were indicated by periods of years. The first took place sixty years ago, but during that period there had been 1,525 international congresses, and more than a thousand out of those fifteen hundred had occurred within the last ten years showing how rapidly the holding of international congresses had grown. He said that the majority of them had their central offices at Brussels, where a library of reports of proceedings of congresses was being collected, and in all trades and professions the tendency was to ally one's self internationally and hold international gatherings. He thought the Peace Party should encourage this, and urge the Government to be officially represented at as many congresses as possible, so as to learn internationally what were

the aspirations of the various trades, industries, professions, sciences, etc., represented at such congresses, and he presented the resolution in support of this suggestion.

The resolution was adopted.

M. LA FONTAINE moved :

RESOLUTION XVIII.—Whereas international peace and prosperity depend largely upon economic justice, this Congress expresses its satisfaction at the co-operation of all nations of the world in establishing the International Institute of Agriculture, which will perform an inestimable service as a clearing house of economic information that will tend to lessen unnecessary fluctuations in the price of agricultural produce, thereby promoting stability in the capital and labour of the factory as well as the farm, and Resolved that Peace Societies should call the attention of the world to this important factor in the promotion of international peace.

The resolution was carried.

The CHAIRMAN: We had better pass to the next order of the day, Commissions A and B, Minor Peoples, also M. La Fontaine.

### Rights of National Minorities.

M. LA FONTAINE moved the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION XIX.—The Congress considers it necessary to point out that the respect due to each nationality is one of the fundamental principles of the Peace Movement, and of any national understanding; that the same principle must be followed in the interior legislation of the States; and that more particularly the right to the use of the native language is one of the inalienable possessions of every nation.

The Congress urges that in countries of mixed nationalities the language of the national minorities, or of conquered nations, shall be granted the greatest possible equality of right as regards administration, jurisdiction, public instruction, public and private life, and that the privileges enjoyed by the State language shall only extend so far as this may be necessary for the fulfilment of the mission of the State, and not in accordance with the arbitrary dictates, or the supposed interests of the ruling nation.

The Congress deems that it is the duty of the national Peace Associations to bring these principles into prominence in their respective countries.

The Congress, referring to previous resolutions relating to the position of subject nationalities and peoples without a regular political organisation, again impresses on the various Governments that they should apply to these peoples the principles of liberty and justice named in the said resolutions. (Commission B.)

Dr. QUIDDE said: I will try and speak English, because if I speak German it will have to be translated. We have treated the

question of the rights of national minorities. We say, it is not in the competence of an international congress to interfere in the special questions of the internal politics of any country, but we in the International Congress think we can proclaim certain principles which should reign in every country, and then it is in the competence of societies in that country to do all they can to realise these principles in their respective countries. So we say nothing about it if in any country, in Prussia, or in India, or in Hungary, or in any country, there is anything done against these principles. We only proclaim this principle and the resolution you have in your hands in three languages.

The CHAIRMAN: It is proposed to take these two resolutions together. The resolutions are from Commissions A and B, and are proposed to be put together.

Mrs. DRYHURST: I stand here as the delegate of the Subject Races International Committee, which has on its Committee representatives of the Aborigines Protection Society, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Egyptian Committee, the Friends of Russian Freedom, the Georgian Relief Committee, the International Arbitration and Peace Association, the National Council of Ireland, and the Positivist Society. I ask you to listen to me for a few moments while I explain why I add this rider. I contend it is a matter for urgent action by the members of the Peace Societies, both collectively, and in their respective bodies, and in their respective countries.

This Congress calls upon the nationalities herein represented to form an International Court of Arbitration, either independent of, or as another extension of the Hague Court, to which subject nations and races could appeal; and that pending the formation of such a Court, the Governments should be appealed to by this Congress to preserve strictly all the treaties, conventions, and agreements that have been made between nation and nation, and especially those which have been made between great States and small nations.

I stand here, as the heroine of one of Shakespeare's plays once stood, for justice, but I stand here for bankrupt countries, from whom the pound of flesh has been cut. I am sure I shall have your sympathies. I speak specially for those who have no representatives here. Georgia, as perhaps you know, or perhaps you do not know, is cut off from Europe. They have no one to speak for them. The only time their representatives visited this country, I met them at a very pleasant evening at Mr. Moscheles's house, those men went back to imprisonment, as we know. When I was in Georgia I saw the villages. I have never seen a battlefield, or a country

after battle, but the country must have been very like what it was after a great plundering, pillaging wasting army had passed through, an army of an uncivilised race, because not only had houses been burned, not only had they been plundered and the women handed over to the soldiers for outrage and dishonour, but the children had been slain, and I looked in the eyes of the women. They could not speak in my language, nor I in theirs, but they said through an interpreter, "What will England do for us?"

I do not know that England can do anything. We are told that we cannot interfere in the interior affairs of other countries, but England has interfered over and over again. We do not want the bombardment of any town like Alexandria, but we want the representatives of any country to appeal privately or publicly to the representatives of the nations, if they are being oppressed. That can be done, and it ought to be done, but it is not done. Instead of that the Government who ordered these outrages has now become the allied friend of this country, and I need scarcely tell you that alliance has not reflected honour upon England. Why I ask for this Court of Arbitration is this, because if you refuse to help them and do not open even this peace congress to the lesser nationalities and let them speak from your platforms as representatives of nationalities, you will drive these people back to the most horrible weapon of modern times, the bomb, which slays not the people who are intended, but the innocent persons. We cannot, as peace lovers, thrust these people back into rebellion, or the resources of the Nihilist, who would destroy everything because he is himself an unhappy outcast.

I appeal to you, therefore, to allow me to append this rider to Mr. Quidde's excellent resolution, which is too vague. When I came into the Congress the other day, I was offered a post-card with peace and righteousness kissing, or having kissed one another. It was an allegory, and I tried to puzzle out what allegories mean. At first I thought peace and righteousness had kissed each other, but now I think peace and righteousness were ashamed to look each other in the face, because righteousness has had hands behind her back and peace is accompanied with the gag, gallows, and the jailer. The post-card of Miss Bruce represents, I think, only too well the condition of things. Righteousness is powerless, and peace is false and hypocritical. The peace of a country like Georgia is not the kind of peace we want. Though we detest every weapon of oppression, the bomb, or the latest weapon of the Englishman, the umbrella used on the women in Queen's Hall the other day at a

peace meeting, we ask you to pass this rider, and let it go out to the world that these people should be heard.

The CHAIRMAN: I find myself rather in a difficulty, as strictly I am bound to say this is rather a separate proposition from anything that can properly be moved as an amendment by way of rider, and it ought to have gone before a Commission; but at the same time, if it is the general feeling of the Congress, I am sure the Congress will be in hearty sympathy with the objects of the speaker. If it is the feeling of the Congress that they should allow it to go on, I am in the hands of the Congress.

Mr. C. E. MAURICE: I have very great pleasure in supporting this resolution. It seems to me that at present we have been most desirous of founding the Hague Tribunal which should secure justice to all nations, and the only bodies that could represent these subject races before the Hague Tribunal would be the very people who have inflicted on them the evils against which they complain. Whether we found a separate tribunal or whether we secure for these people an appeal to the Hague, it seems to me we are bound, if we are going to do justice not only to the strong but also to the weak, we are bound to secure that these people should be represented by someone who will really defend their interests, and not, under pretence of defending them, crush them out.

I believe it has been said that one of the defects of this motion is that these people have not a separate legal position which can be understood at such a tribunal, but they were looked upon as special legal entities when their constitutions were first granted. They were treated as a special legal entity when the constitutions were destroyed, and they are treated as special legal entities when laws are made against them. Should not they be recognised as a special legal entity when we demand that laws be made in their favour. As Mrs. Dryhurst has very truly said, it is really in the interest of the ruling powers that these people should have the right to be heard, because there are but two alternatives before them, either grant them a patient and legal hearing for these rights, or allow them to rise in insurrection. Surely that is a question which concerns a Peace Congress. This question must be settled by bloodshed or peaceful methods, and this is the only way of giving them a hearing and thereby securing a peaceful settlement.

M. LA FONTAINE and M. TARRIDA DEL MARMOL spoke in French.

Professor QUIDDE said: I think that it is a question

so very difficult and so important for our movement that we cannot now vote on a resolution which will have grave consequences for many years. I will not say at this moment that there is not a possibility of having such a court of justice for all populations which are not States. Perhaps there is a possibility, but I do not see in which way it can be made effective, and on the other side it is certain that all the sympathy we have from the Governments will be lost if we now accept this resolution, and if this resolution is earnestly followed. Therefore the question is so serious that I ask you not to vote now at this moment. Perhaps the next Congress can deliberate on it in tranquillity, but we must finish in an hour I fear, and therefore I ask my friends who are in favour of this resolution not to insist that it should be voted on now. I should think that the proposition, if we voted now, must be rejected, because we cannot risk the consequences of a vote, but it seems to me much better to withdraw it for the moment, and next year we will see what we can do. (Applause.)

Mr. J. F. GREEN: I want to urge very strongly that the amendment that Mrs. Dryhurst has moved should be adopted by this Congress. It is not Mr. Dryhurst's fault—it is not the fault of some of the rest of us—that this is brought up at the last moment. We wished it brought up much earlier. This Congress opened with a weighty declaration by our President, who has made so many weighty declarations this week, Lord Courtney of Penwith. He opened by stating that practically it was useless to talk about peace unless it is based upon justice. Now peace is not based upon justice as long as the subject races are being oppressed by great Powers who have no right to oppress them, not even on the narrower grounds of international law. I claim that the Georgians, and the Cingalese of Ceylon, and many other subject races, have had treaties with other Powers and been recognised as Sovereign Powers, and they have been deliberately violated by the stronger Power, and these people have been brought to heel as the Georgians have been.

When I think what the British Government has done in Egypt, India, and Ireland, I hang my head with shame, and I cannot sit here without a protest. Am I to be told that our resolutions are not practical for the moment? How many of our resolutions passed in the last twenty years were practical for the moment? We profess, as pacifists, to be idealists. Many resolutions about international law are here. Does any man or woman here suppose they are going to be carried into operation to-morrow? We none of us suppose

these present bourgeois governments are going to carry them out this or next year. There is no earthly reason why this resolution should be put on one side any more than any other. Mr. Quidde talked about losing the sympathy of Governments. I do not care about the sympathy of Governments. I want the sympathy of the peoples. (Applause.) And it is the sympathy of the peoples that we shall get if we adopt this resolution; it is the sympathy of the people of this country, the labouring masses of this country who are going to demonstrate an hour hence in Trafalgar Square. What do you suppose these labouring masses will care about you if you are going to talk like a set of lawyers about technical resolutions, about international law, and so forth? If your international law is going to be based on international justice, then I say you have to adopt the resolution which my friend Mrs. Dryhurst has proposed.

BARON VON SIEBOLD: I am going to speak in English because it will facilitate the understanding and save a great deal of time. I was not intending to speak, but when I heard the last speaker say that he did not care for the Governments and he did not care what the opinions of other Governments were, I must protest against this. We are not a revolutionary tribunal here, but we are preparing the way for a great future, and we have to aid all those men who have joined us and assisted us in obtaining this great object. I am of opinion that we should not threaten anybody, and least of all, that we should use means of intimidating the Government, and those words that were uttered now were nothing else but a threat to Governments that we were not going to work with them, but even without their assistance. We are bound to obtain the sympathies of all the peoples. Of course, that is the basis upon which we stand. The people are preparing the way by being converted, but we must not go and try to upset existing systems of political organisation, and we cannot do this. The expressions which I heard that we did not care for what Governments think are utterly incorrect. We must work with all those Powers who are in existence, and not least those of the Governments which have done a great deal in following our advice and the recommendations that we adopt. If the Congresses at the Hague have achieved anything it is because the Governments joined us. We could not have held the Congress of the Hague if the Governments had not joined us, and we should not increase the difficulties under which Governments are labouring, and these Governments have various difficulties to overcome. There is scarcely one Government which has not trouble in its own country in trying to meet the nationalities. I

therefore join completely in what Professor Quidde said, and I hope his proposals and suggestions will be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: I see that we have been discussing a resolution which was moved as an amendment, but which I must say I hold to be a distinct resolution rather than an amendment, and nothing has been said in objection to the resolutions which are before us, and therefore I propose first of all to put those resolutions. The resolution of Commission A which you have before you.

A DELEGATE: With regard to one word of the English of that resolution, "The Congress demands."

The CHAIRMAN: I had noticed that word. We shall remember the incident when war was nearly brought about by the French word *demandeur* being translated "demand." I propose to put in the English translation that "The Congress urges" instead of the word "demands."

The resolutions of Commissions A and B were carried.

The CHAIRMAN: The speakers have had the opportunity of expressing their views, in fact we are all substantially agreed in our deep sympathy for those oppressed small peoples who we know exist in different parts of the world, but the question of detail as to how they are to be dealt with, as to how best to provide for having some kind of hearing before some kind of Court is a difficult and complicated one, which necessarily requires the careful study of the Committee before being brought before the Congress. If it had come earlier I should have said it was certainly necessary to refer it to another Congress.

The Congress by a large majority upheld the ruling.

### Central American Treaties.

The CHAIRMAN: There are now three resolutions of Commission A which I hope we shall have read to us. I am very sorry, Mrs. Lockwood, I am afraid there is not time for a speech. If you would kindly read the resolutions——

Mrs. LOCKWOOD: I have brought you a message from across the Atlantic, which I hoped to have the privilege of presenting, but so many important questions have come up that I cannot have the time, but the resolutions have been approved by the Commission.

RESOLUTION XX.—The Congress congratulates the States of Central America upon the progressive steps taken by them in the seven treaties they signed with each other in the Conference held by them at Washington from November 11 to December 20, 1907, as follows:—

1. Convention for the establishment of a Central American Court of Justice.

2. Convention for the establishment of an international Central American Bureau.
3. General treaty of peace and amity.
4. Convention on communications pertaining to railroads and waterways.
5. Convention of extradition.
6. Convention for the establishment of a Central American pedagogical institute.
7. Convention concerning future Central-American Conferences.

The Congress also records with great satisfaction that the Court of Justice above referred to is already established and in operation, having held its first session on May 25th, 1908, at which time Mr. Carnegie gave \$100,000 for the purpose of erecting at Carthago a Peace Temple for its exclusive use, as an expression of his sympathy for the peace and progress of Central America, and his confidence in the success of the great humanitarian work that has its foundation at this court.

Here, ladies and gentlemen, is an example of the establishment of an arbitration court outside the Court of the Hague. Mr. Andrew Carnegie gave \$100,000 for a temple for the peace capital at Carthago. May I just tell them about the court? I wanted also to tell you what our own Congress did at its last session. The delegates not only voted for the arbitration court, but they arranged the details of it. The five Central American Republics established it, and it is in running order. It is located at Carthago.

The resolution was carried.

### Peace Temple at Washington.

Mrs. LOCKWOOD also proposed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION XXI.—Peace Temple at Washington: The Congress notes with high appreciation the laying of the corner-stone of the Peace Temple at Washington—to which Mr. Carnegie has generously contributed \$750,000—to be used by the Bureau of American Republics to promote the common interests of the Latin-American States with each other, and with the United States of America.

This was adopted.

### Miss Eckstein's Petition.

The CHAIRMAN: Then we have a resolution on treaties of arbitration. This resolution read:

RESOLUTION XXII.—This Congress approves the petition prepared by Miss Anna B. Eckstein, of the American Peace Society, requesting the Governments represented at the Third Hague Peace Conference to agree upon a treaty, by virtue of which it shall be a matter of honour

with each nation to adjust by arbitration treaties all its international interests at the earliest dates possible, and also to refer to a tribunal of arbitration every international difficulty that may arise before the above regulation of all international interests is completed.

This was adopted without discussion.

### International Visits.

The CHAIRMAN: Then we have one more, "International visits." Here it is:

RESOLUTION XXIII.—International Visits: Considering that the International visits arranged by different groups and organisations for the purpose of studying the institutions of other countries and of spreading the ideas of the solidarity of mankind, are an undoubted assistance to the cause of peace,

This Congress invites all these organisations to redouble their efforts for establishing a good understanding between nations;

And as a special fund is needed for this purpose, the Congress heartily congratulates the Government of Great Britain on the creation of an annual provision of funds for International Hospitality, and requests other Governments to follow their generous example, and to increase continually their Budgets of Peace.

It is congratulating the British Government on what it has done in the direction of international visits.

The resolution was carried.

The CHAIRMAN: Now we have a proposition from Commission C, which I am sorry to say is only in French, and it is really an appeal for money on behalf of the Berne Bureau. I am not quite sure whether this is the sort of thing that ought to be rushed through at this moment. Perhaps M. Arnaud will, in a few words, give us the substance of it in French.

M. ARNAUD spoke in French.

The CHAIRMAN: The Congress is I think prepared to accept this resolution. (See Resolution XXIV., hereafter).

Dr. CLARK: Surely, ladies and gentlemen, we ought not to pass resolutions unless we know what we are doing. The old rule was that you had them printed in three languages. We have had some words in French and German, and you are asking us to adopt something which we English members do not know anything about.

The CHAIRMAN: I am afraid there is no time to put this into English now. Some other use must be made of it, and it is too late to make it a resolution of the Congress. It may be used in some other way by the Berne Bureau. I think that would be the best way of dealing with it. It is very late, and we want to go to see the

workmen's demonstration. We have only two things to do in conclusion. We have to ratify last year's decision as to the next Congress being at Stockholm. There can be no possible difference about that. A Swedish gentleman wishes to speak.

A SWEDISH DELEGATE said that he hoped they would all do their best in all their countries to make next year's Congress in Stockholm a great success.

The CHAIRMAN: I should mention that the Bureau the other day decided unanimously that the best date would be the first week in September. The Swedish delegates asked us to choose between the last week in July and the first in September, and the Bureau was unanimous for the first week in September, and I think the Congress will agree to that. I put the resolution that we ratify the decision to meet in Stockholm, and that we accept the first week in September as the date of meeting.

A GERMAN DELEGATE: The Germans cannot come then. We have our holidays in the first ten days in October.

The resolution was carried. (See Resolution XXV., hereafter).

The CHAIRMAN: Then finally Dr. Quidde will propose the appeal to the nations, which always closes the proceedings of the Congress.

Dr. QUIDDE: In the name of Commission A, I have to propose the Appeal to the Nations\* which has been distributed in German, French, and English. M. Arnaud has made some little corrections, but only of a formal character, and I beg you to agree that before publishing we should make these little corrections, which do not substantially alter the appeal. I ask for the power before publishing.

The appeal was adopted.

Mr. HODGKIN: May I ask that leave be given to make a small alteration or two. I do not like the cry for more and more money when we are aiming for higher things than that. It will do our cause harm.

The CHAIRMAN: In this case also it is subject to some modification in the Press by the Organising Committee. Then I think that finishes our business.

Mr. MAURICE: May I move a vote of thanks to the Chairman for the care and energy with which he has conducted the proceedings. I am more anxious to do it because I was unfortunately opposed to him in one matter to-day.

The resolution was carried.

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\* For text of Appeal see at end of Resolutions, hereafter.

M. LA FONTAINE: Ladies and gentlemen, before we leave London, I am asked by our foreign friends to express our deepest thanks for the reception we have had here, and to add that we also thank not only our President, but also the Organising Committee, for all the trouble they have taken to receive us so well as we have been received here. (Applause.)

Dr. QUIDDE: I wish to second most heartily the thanks given to the Organising Committee and our Chairman, especially the Chairman for his hard work and impartiality.

The CHAIRMAN: My share, ladies and gentlemen, has been very small, and I am glad you have included a vote of thanks to the Organising Committee. You have not seen much of Mr. H. S. Perris, but his work has been much harder behind the scenes, and he and others, especially the Chairman of Committee, Mr. Newman, have given a great deal of time in the hope that it would be of service to the great cause of peace.

A DELEGATE: You have omitted a vote of thanks to the Government in view of their great hospitality.

The CHAIRMAN: That has been done.

This closed the proceedings of the Congress.





United Labour Peace Demonstration, Trafalgar Square, August 1, 1908.  
The Northern Platform. School children singing hymn of Peace.

# UNITED LABOUR PEACE DEMONSTRATION, IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE,

*Saturday afternoon, August 1st, 1908.*

In order to show the solidarity of Labour in support of the principles of the peace movement, and its opposition to militarism in all its forms, including the present wasteful expenditure on armaments in all countries, a United Peace Labour Demonstration was held in Trafalgar Square on Saturday, under almost ideal weather conditions.

The Organising Committee consisted of representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions, the London Trades Council, the Labour Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Metropolitan Radical Federation, the Independent Labour Party, and the Executive Committee of the Peace Congress.

A crowd of about 2,000 people assembled round the two platforms on the plinth of Nelson's Column. The demonstrators represented twenty-one trade and labour organisations and a number of delegates to the International Peace Congress. The various contingents assembled on the Embankment at four o'clock, and marched to the Square, headed by bands and carrying banners. The banners made an effective display ranged behind the crowd in a semi-circle, and bearing such inscriptions as "Workers of the world, unite," "If you wish for peace, prepare for peace," and "No conscription." Prominent at the base of Nelson's Column was a white banner from the Battersea Trade and Labour Council, bearing the commandment: "Thou shalt not kill." The London Socialist Sunday School Union Choir of Girls, who were dressed in white, sang the song, "Angel of Peace."

In addition to a number of Labour Members of Parliament, a

large number of foreign ladies and gentlemen were on the plinth, including Baroness von Suttner, the authoress of "Lay Down Your Arms." The demonstration was peaceful in every respect, the speakers receiving a sympathetic hearing.

Mr. J. O. GRADY, M.P., presiding at the main platform, said the duty of diplomatists was to prevent war between nations, but they as organised workmen said that there was a greater force than diplomacy for preventing war, and that was the fact that working men all over the world were beginning to realise that war spelt for them disaster, which was absolute and irretrievable.

The labouring people all over the world had made up their mind that they would do all that was in their power to prevent the disaster of war. The weapon of strikes was now largely effete, but if ever a strike would be justified it would be with the object of stopping war. It was their treasure and their lives that were spent in carrying on war. No quarrel was ever satisfactorily settled by means of war. On the contrary, whatever quarrels were attempted to be settled by means of that sort involved the dissemination of hatred among the people of the world. Apparently there were interests at work, wicked-minded politicians, trying to pick a quarrel between ourselves and Germany. The public Press to-day was teeming with proofs that both nations were spending all their substance upon creating navies in the German Ocean. Our money would be far better spent if devoted to the progress of social reform.

He knew that would be called a "Little-England" idea; but if the true logical situation was sized up, those holding that view were the true nationalists and patriots. Their only object was to see the people of this country better fed, better employed, and better clothed than the people of the German nation. His reply to those predicting war between England and Germany, and he believed it would be the reply of Germany, was that, as far as it lay in their power, they would do their level best to prevent the possibility of its occurring. (Applause.) War was imminent at our door unless we played our part as men and women, and said to our politicians and statesmen and diplomatists that, for the first time in the history of this country, the Democracy of England was going to have a say as to whether or not this nation was to go to war. (Applause.)

Mr. JOHN WARD, M.P., moved the following resolution:

This meeting of organised workers, and others, expresses its sympathy with the objects of the International Peace Congress, held in London during the past week. It declares that there is, and can be, no cause of quarrel between the workers of the various countries, who are more and

more becoming united by ties of brotherhood and goodwill; it therefore emphatically condemns the system of standing armies and compulsory military service, by which the civil liberties of the workers are endangered, and their intellectual and economic progress impeded.

It urges the people everywhere to demand the establishment of such a system of International Arbitration as shall lead to an ultimate disarmament, thereby setting free the enormous resources at present devoted to war, and preparations for war, for the development of true progress and civilisation based upon liberty and justice.

He expressed the fear that working people of this country were as much inclined to belligerency as the people on the Continent. He wanted to prove to the working people that war was the enemy of labour, progress, and social and industrial reform. He believed that the greatest peace movement was the gradual development of the industrial consciousness of the people of this country and the world generally. He agreed with the resolution regarding the abolition of a standing army. He was convinced that a standing army was a danger to the State and the best interests of the country, and was used more for the purpose of finding a soft job for the less intellectual youth of the upper and middle classes than for defending the integrity of the country. (Laughter and cheers.) Having decided long ago that the duel should no longer be a means of settling private disputes, we ought to carry that principle further and say that the quarrels between nations could no longer be settled justly, properly, fairly, and equitably by means of force upon the battlefield. (Applause.)

Mr. J. J. STEPHENSON, of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, seconded the resolution.

Mr. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., in supporting the resolution, said that peace congresses meant little unless there were peace in the people's hearts. What had we to gain by war? What cause had the people to quarrel with other people all over the world? Their kings and cabinets had quarrels and reasons for their quarrels. They had a trick of arranging their diplomacy behind the people's backs. They discovered an insult to the nations while the people were asleep, and while the people were asleep in bed, one fine day they came out and told the people that the nation had been "insulted," and that the people had got to fight. He recalled the occasion when on that same platform he was received with tomatoes and open knives; and he asked his opponents what they had to pat themselves on the back now for. If they lived to the age of Methuselah and undertook a score of wars they would end with the same miserable chapter of disgrace, disappointment, and sorrow to

the masses of the people of this country. It was not diplomatists and statesmen alone against whom they must be on their guard. It was "Society," the fathers and mothers of those "coddled" officers of ours, who, in spite of their privileges, could not produce one per cent. of decent fighting men. If they could fight he would admire them, because he liked every man to do his job well, even if it was a bad job. (Applause.) There was no hope of peace so long as the hounds of war were being urged on by the interested classes of the country. Pressure must be brought to bear upon the House of Commons so that no foreign minister would be able to allow this country to drift into war. He believed that the people here were for peace, and Labour representatives were going to Germany next year to tell the people there that that was so. (Cheers.) The Labour Party in the House of Commons, as the representative executive of the workers' organisations, passed a resolution the other day declaring that they were in favour of peace. That had gone like a dove bearing an olive branch in its bill across the North Sea. It was now in the hands of their fellow workers in Germany and giving them cause for joy. The dove would return in a day or two with an olive branch from them. (Cheers.) Next year on German soil they would declare in the name of the workers here that the people of England were for peace, that they held out their hand in friendship to the German nation, and that the people in this country would see to it that no statesman, no diplomatist, no section of society should launch us into a war again as they did a short time ago. (Cheers)

The BARONESS VON SUTTNER, Mr. W. JOHNSON, and others supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. WILL THORNE, M.P., who presided at No. 2 platform, hoped his German friends, when they returned home, would, as the result of the deliberations at the Congress, recognise the desire of the English workers to co-operate and shake hands with them, and that if ever war was declared, it would not be by the desire of the organised workers of Great Britain. They had no quarrel with the workers of Germany, France, or any other country. (Cheers.)

Mrs. DESPARD asserted that if it were not for the Boer War they would be already enjoying old age pensions and many other privileges. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BEN TILLET maintained that the churches and the parsons acted from a hypocritical spirit in regard to peace and war, preaching "Peace on earth and goodwill to men," and at the same time disregarding the injunction. The churches were strong enough to



United Labour Peace Demonstration, Trafalgar Square.  
August 1st 1908



prevent war if they chose, but they were supported by capitalists, war-mongers, scare-mongers, and people of that kind, and so long as that state of hypocrisy continued peace would never be attained. (Cheers and laughter.) War was only promoted by bullies and thieves. The German, French, British, Austrian, and Russian workmen had agreed that they would resist war to the utmost of their power, and in that resolve they would be joined by the trade unions and Socialist organisations, whose aim was to promote the brotherhood of man. (Cheers.)

Various foreign delegates spoke, and the resolution was carried, amidst general acclamation.

A further resolution was passed expressing sympathy with the strikers in France, and protesting against the army being used to kill strikers and protect landlordism.

## RECEPTION AT THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB,

*Saturday, August 1, 1908.*

On Saturday evening a large number of the delegates to the Universal Peace Congress attended a reception held at the National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place. The visitors were received by Captain the Hon. Fitz-Roy Hemphill (Chairman of the Political Committee) and Mr. J. Rowlands, M.P. (Vice-chairman). An excellent programme of music was played by Ashton's Austro-Hungarian Band.

During the evening, in the smoking room, Captain HEMPHILL welcomed the delegates. He said there was no place which was more suitable for the welcome of the delegates than that Club. The Liberal Party had always been consistently the advocates of peace. He referred to the recent death of Sir W. Randal Cremer (a member of the Club), and said that the Club was a home of the democracy of England, and it was to the people of all countries that peace was most acceptable. No Prime Minister had advocated the cause of peace as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman had done. (Applause.) No leader of the Liberal Party had advocated so strenuously the policy of disarmament. The prospects of peace were better than they had ever been before. (Applause.) He hoped they would convey from the National Liberal Club to the various countries represented, their earnest desire that peace might prevail, and that the people of the various countries would exert their influence in favour of disarmament. (Applause.)

Mr. J. G. ALEXANDER (Chairman of the Congress) replied, saying they had never had a reception by the Monarch, or by the Chief of the Government of a great country, before the present meeting. The Congress had arrived at generally unanimous resolutions on many important questions—notably those of the limitation of armaments (in regard to which they had arrived at what ought to be a solution) and of the capture of private property at sea.

Other speakers were Professor STEIN (International Peace Bureau), Professor HONDA (Japan), Mr. H. S. PERRIS, and Mr. ROWLANDS.

The gathering formed a very pleasant and delightful finale to the proceedings of a strenuous week.





Group of Foreign Delegates outside Caxton Hall.



Labour Demonstration. Peace delegates on the plinth of Nelson's column.  
Trafalgar Square.

XVII<sup>e</sup> CONGRES UNIVERSEL DE LA PAIX.



# XVII<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS UNIVERSEL DE LA PAIX, LONDRES, 1908.

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## NOTE DE LA RÉDACTION.

[Le compte-rendu français qu'on va lire est une compilation des compte-rendus déjà parus dans les quatre publications pacifistes de langue française suivantes :

Le Correspondance bi-mensuelle du Bureau de la Paix à Berne.

La Paix par le Droit.

Le Bulletin de la Société Gratry.

Les Etats Unis de l'Europe.

En outre, un certain nombre d'orateurs qui ont parlé au Congrès, en français ont fourni des notes, dont nous avons profité.]

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Le XVII<sup>e</sup> Congrès universel de la Paix s'est ouvert à Caxton Hall, Westminster, le Mardi 28 juillet 1908 à 10½ heures du matin, sous la présidence de Lord Courtney of Penwith.

Dès le Dimanche, les groupes pacifistes qui présentent un caractère religieux s'étaient réunis pour entendre, soit à l'abbaye de Westminster le sermon de l'évêque de Carlisle, soit des conférences spéciales dans diverses églises ou à Hyde Park.

Un sermon officiel en l'honneur du Congrès a été prêché le dimanche après midi, à l'abbaye de Westminster, par le docteur Diggle, évêque de Carlisle, en remplacement du Dr. Perceval, évêque de Hereford.

A St-Marylebone, le Dr. Stubbs, évêque de Truro, et à la Cathédrale de St. Paul, l'archidiacre Sinclair ont également prêché sur la Paix internationale.

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## RÉCEPTION PAR LE ROI ET LA REINE.

Le lundi 27 juillet à midi, le Roi, Edouard VII., ayant à ses côtés la Reine qui avait expressément demandé à assister à la réception, et la Princesse Victoria, recevait au Palais de Buckingham une députation du Congrès de la Paix. Cette députation comprenait Madame la baronne de Suttner, représentant l'Autriche : M. Moneta, l'un des derniers lauréats du Prix Nobel, représentant l'Italie, M. le sénateur La Fontaine (Belgique),

M. Richter (Allemagne), M. Polak (Pologne), M. Trueblood (Amérique), M. Kemény (Hongrie), M. De Neufville (Allemagne), l'un des organisateurs de la récente visite en Angleterre, des prêtres et pasteurs allemands. Les memores anglais étaient : Lord Courtney of Penwith (Président du Congrès), Lady Courtney, Miss Ellen Robinson, Mr. Joseph G. Alexander, Mr. T. P. Newman, Dr. W. Evans Darby, Mr. H. S. Perris, Sir John Brunner, M.P., Sir William Mather, Sir W. B. Bowring, Mr. Barrow Cadbury, J.P., Mr. Alfred J. King, M.P., et Mr. Felix Moscheles. Les membres de la députation furent présentés individuellement à Leurs Majestés. Le Roi leur serra la main et échangea quelques paroles avec certains d'entre eux, parmi lesquels Madame de Suttner et M. Moneta.

Lord Courtney, Président du Congrès, présenta une **adresse au Roi**.

Il remercia d'abord Leurs Majestés d'avoir bien voulu recevoir une députation du Congrès et exprima sa profonde gratitude au Roi qui, dit-il, a si bien mérité le titre de "Edouard le Pacifiste." Le Congrès comprend les représentants de 280 Sociétés de la Paix appartenant à 23 pays différents. C'est le 17<sup>e</sup> d'une série qui commença en 1889; elle fait suite à quelques congrès isolés tenus auparavant, et dont le premier eut lieu à Londres en 1843. Un but commun nous unit tous, ajoute Lord Courtney, c'est d'arracher le monde à la haine et à la guerre, de créer entre les nations des relations basées sur la légalité et le droit, d'appeler tous les peuples du monde à des idées de solidarité et de fraternité.

Nous sommes heureux de constater par divers indices que, de nos jours, ces principes sont de plus en plus admis et que les efforts des hommes d'Etat éclairés du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle tendent à atteindre cet idéal qui est le commun attribut de toutes les religions. Nous remercions spécialement Votre Majesté, Sire, des paroles récemment prononcées par Elle, à savoir que "c'est en temps de paix que le bonheur, la prospérité et le progrès de votre peuple peuvent le mieux s'accroître sous l'étendard de la religion, et que la moralité peut le plus facilement se développer," et nous désirons exprimer à Votre Majesté toute notre gratitude pour les efforts constants qu'Elle fait pour atteindre cet idéal et conserver la Paix au monde.

### **Le Roi répondit :**

"J'éprouve un grand plaisir à souhaiter la Bienvenue aux représentants du Congrès international de la Paix et à recevoir leurs hommages. Il n'y a rien qui me cause une plus grande joie que de savoir



Group of Italian Delegates.

Signor E. T. Moneta (Nobel prize-winner), second from the left.



Mr. J. G. Alexander, Dr. Adolf Richter, Baron E. de Neufville, and Mr. T. P. Newman.



que mes efforts pour la cause de la Paix et de la fraternité internationales n'ont pas été infructueux, et qu'ils ont reçu de mon peuple comme des peuples des autres pays une généreuse appréciation. Les législateurs et les hommes d'Etat ne peuvent pas avoir d'aspiration plus haute que celle de la réalisation d'une bonne entente et d'une cordiale amitié entre toutes les nations du monde. C'est le moyen le plus sûr et le plus rapide pour que l'humanité réalise ses vœux les plus nobles : aussi cela a-t-il toujours été l'objet de mes efforts constants. Je me réjouis de voir que votre organisation internationale, où les principaux pays du monde sont représentés, travaille dans la même voie ; et je prie pour que la bénédiction de Dieu assiste vos travaux."

Le Roi et la Reine ont bien voulu accepter l'insigne du Congrès. Ils étaient entourés des grands officiers de la Maison royale : Hon. Charlotte Knollys (Dame d'Honneur), le Vicomte Althorp (Lord Chambellan), le Comte Howe (Lord Chambellan de la Reine), Lord Suffield, le Général Rt. Hon. Sir Dighton Probyn, Lord Knollys, les Colonels Streatfeild, Sir Arthur Davidson et G. Holford, et les Grands Maîtres des cérémonies.

# CONFÉRENCE CHRÉTIENNE, À LONDRES (CAXTON HALL),

*Lundi 27 Juillet, 1908.*

*Président : L'EVEQUE DE CARLISLE.*

La Conférence chrétienne convoquée par la Société des Amis de la Grande Bretagne a eu lieu le lundi, 27 Juillet, à Caxton Hall, sous la présidence de l'évêque de Carlisle, qui a été remplacé au cours de la Conférence par Mr. F. W. Fox.

L'assemblée a pris connaissance d'une lettre de félicitations de la part de M. Paul Sabatier et d'une adresse du Synode national des Eglises évangéliques réformées de France, représenté par MM. Pannier et Baumgartner.\*

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\* Adresse présentée au nom du synode national des Eglises réformées évangéliques de France à la Réunion préliminaire du Congrès de la Paix par M. le Pasteur Pannier et M. Baumgartner, Londres, 27 Juillet, 1908.

Le Synode national des Eglises réformées évangéliques de France a été très heureux d'accepter l'invitation qui lui était adressée de se faire représenter à cette réunion. Il a saisi avec joie cette occasion de s'unir à tant d'autres chrétiens pour acclamer Celui que le prophète Esaïe appelait déjà "l'Admirable, le Conseiller, le Dieu puissant, le Père éternel, le Prince de la Paix."

Le Prince de la paix, c'est l'un des plus beaux noms donnés au Libérateur de l'humanité pécheresse, ravagée par des désordres contraires à la volonté primitive du Créateur, désordres parmi lesquels la guerre est un des plus abominables.

Tel maître tels disciples; et le Maître dit: "Heureux ceux qui procurent la paix, car ils seront appelés enfants de Dieu." Bénis soient les hommes de bonne volonté, artisans de la cité des siècles futurs, qui vont s'assembler jusqu'à la fin de cette semaine pour travailler à établir entre les nations la paix basée sur les principes du droit et de la liberté. Mais bénis soient aussi les nobles croyants qui, dans les siècles passés, au milieu des ténèbres de la barbarie, ont préparé cette œuvre de salut humain au nom du Sauveur divin! et bénis soient enfin les organisateurs de notre réunion, pour avoir rappelé au monde cette grande vérité, que l'œuvre de la paix est et sera toujours avant tout l'œuvre du Prince de la Paix.

Deux villes d'Ecosse ont des devises qui se complètent l'une l'autre: la devise française d'Aberdeen, la "cité de granit," est "bon accord," et celle d'Edinburgh est "Nisi Dominus frustra." Les pacifistes d'aujourd'hui veulent réaliser entre les peuples le "bon accord"; mais pour réussir ils doivent ne pas oublier que les chrétiens d'hier et d'avant hier ont posé le seul fondement solide sur le granit de la foi évangélique: "Nisi Dominus frustra."

C'était là, Messieurs, la conviction des Réformateurs au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle; celle

L'Evêque de CARLISLE exprime tout le plaisir qu'il éprouve à prendre part à cette réunion, bien que, il doit l'avouer, il ne partage pas toutes les idées de ceux qui l'ont organisée et ne puisse aller aussi loin qu'eux : mais, dit-il, ne vaut-il pas mieux faire de bon cœur une partie de la route ensemble que de faire toute la route, mais à contre-cœur ?

La question qui doit être étudiée dans ces séances, c'est : "Le Christianisme dans ses relations avec la Paix internationale." Ce que je veux dire tout d'abord, c'est que le Christianisme est avant tout une religion de révélation et d'idéal, et la révélation ne nous fait pas seulement connaître les relations de l'homme avec Dieu, mais elle nous apprend aussi d'importantes vérités, concernant l'homme lui-même. Peut-être, dans le passé, a-t-on trop insisté sur les côtés misérables de la nature humaine et pas assez sur sa grandeur et sa dignité. Sans doute, l'homme est né dans le péché et il est un être d'iniquité, mais en même temps, il est le fils de l'Eternel. Son devoir est de supprimer par tous les moyens en son pouvoir ce qu'il

en particulier, de Calvin. A la fin de son Institution Chrétienne (IV., 20 11.) traitant du "droit de batailler," il dit que "la puissance est baillée aux rois et aux peuples pour conserver la tranquillité de leur pays et territoire, pour réprimer les séditions des hommes ennemis de la paix," et il ajoute : "Il faut certes essayer tous les moyens devant que venir aux armes."

Il y a trois cents ans, lorsque le roi Henri IV., né Huguenot, conçut le "grand dessein" de réunir les Etats d'Europe en une confédération qu'il appelait "République Chrétienne," c'est son ministre protestant Sully qu'il envoya ici même pour proposer au roi Jacques les préliminaires lointains de l'entente cordiale (1603).

C'est encore un Réformé, l'ambassadeur des Provinces Unies à Paris, Grotius, qui posa les principes du droit international dans son traité de *jure belli et pacis*. Ce sont des protestants français réfugiés dans beaucoup de pays qui souvent aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles y ont propagé les idées de paix et de liberté. Et nous, Réformés du XXe siècle, dans notre patrie française à laquelle nous sommes passionnément attachés, nous avons été les pionniers et nous voulons toujours être davantage les défenseurs de cette grande idée chrétienne de la paix.

Nous adressons donc un fraternel salut à tous les membres de cette assemblée, venus d'autres Eglises et d'autres patries ; et nous leur disons : "Dans ces réunions des jours qui viennent, et plus tard après le retour dans vos pays respectifs, soyez toujours les témoins du Prince de la paix." Nous terminerons notre message par ces paroles d'un illustre homme d'état français, membre fidèle de nos églises réformées, ami de l'Angleterre, et qui a beaucoup fait pour la paix du monde : M. Guizot. En 1840, à Londres, assistant à un banquet présidé par Sir George Grey, il terminait ainsi dans la langue de ce pays hospitalier : *The sun rises in the east, but it spreads its light over the whole world. And nobody asks whence the light comes. It fills every one with happiness and gratitude. Do good, gentlemen, spread the light ; and the same happiness, the same gratitude of the whole world shall be your reward.* [Le Soleil se lève à l'Orient ; mais il répand sa lumière sur le monde entier. Et personne ne se demande d'où vient cette lumière. Elle remplit chacun de nous de bonheur et de gratitude. Faites le bien, Messieurs, répandez votre lumière, et le même bonheur, la même gratitude du monde entier sera votre récompense.] C'est là, Messieurs, le vœu que présentent à Dieu les Eglises réformées évangéliques de France pour tous les messagers de la paix.

y a de mauvais et de brutal en lui, et de développer ce qu'il y a de noble et de divin. Et l'idéal que nous présente la religion n'est pas seulement un idéal concernant l'individu—qui n'est après tout qu'une unité dans une race—mais c'est un idéal qui concerne également les sociétés et les unions de nations. La nation est une société divine, et les bénédictions de Dieu sont aussi nécessaires aux nations pour leur développement national qu'aux individus pour leur développement individuel. Nous ne devons pas, comme Chrétiens, nous contenter de vivre, individuellement, conformément à la doctrine du Christ, mais nous devons songer que la nation aussi, dont nous formons une partie, en quelque point du globe que nous soyons nés, doit également vivre et se développer conformément à la doctrine chrétienne. Le Christ est venu pour que les nations comme les individus aient la vie et pour qu'elles l'aient abondamment. Ce que le Christ est venu apporter aux nations, c'est la vie nationale, non la mort—la paix internationale, non la guerre. C'est, dit l'orateur, ma profonde conviction d'Evêque, que si nous sommes encore si éloignés de la paix universelle, c'est parce que nous avons négligé les prières nationales. S'il est important de prier pour les individus et les Eglises, il n'est pas moins important de prier pour les Parlements et les Nations. Il prémunit donc les ministres de sa propre Eglise contre la tendance qu'ils ont à négliger les prières pour les Parlements, alors qu'ils réclament soigneusement des prières pour les Evêques, les prêtres et les diacres. S'il fallait faire un choix, et s'il n'était pas possible de prier pour les deux à la fois, il conseillerait de prier pour les Parlements plutôt que pour les Evêques.

Dans le manuel de prières de l'Eglise anglicane, cette demande "Donne-nous la paix, O Seigneur" est accompagnée de cette phrase: "Car c'est Toi seul qui combats pour nous." Si, déclare-t-il, on n'avait jamais fait que des guerres auxquelles Dieu aurait pris part, nous serions bien près de la paix universelle. Divers caractères distinguent le Christianisme des autres religions, mais celui qui le distingue le plus, c'est son idéal de paix. Quand le Christ a dit: "Je ne suis pas venu apporter la paix, mais le glaive," il a voulu indiquer que la guerre contre le mal était préférable au repos et à la honteuse lâcheté qui s'en accommode. Quand on fait l'éloge de la paix, cela ne veut pas dire que l'on soit disposé à pactiser avec la cruauté et le mal.

Que les apôtres de la Paix soient comme le Christ, splendides dans leur but, saints et sages dans leurs méthodes. C'est ainsi qu'ils pourront rallier à leur cause tout le genre humain. On peut les accuser d'être des rêveurs; en tous cas, ce ne sont pas des fatalistes,

mais des hommes de foi et qui ont un but pratique. Ce Congrès est comme le Christianisme lui-même ; il est au-dessus des divisions, des factions et de toutes les dénominations ; il est international parce qu'il est simplement chrétien. Que les Nations comme les Eglises prennent l'habitude de voir l'une chez l'autre ce qu'il y a de meilleur et de ne pas se soupçonner mutuellement. Le soupçon comme la peur est un mauvais conseiller : celui qui excite une nation contre une autre n'est pas un ami de son propre pays, et il est à coup sûr un ennemi de l'humanité.

L'Evêque DE HEREFORD, qui devait présider cette séance, n'avait pu venir et ce fut le secrétaire de la séance, M. Isaac Sharp, qui donna lecture de son discours.

Se reportant au congrès de Boston et aux heureux résultats qu'il a produits, il dit qu'aussi longtemps que les grandes nations maintiendront leurs armements, qui sont une mutuelle et continuelle provocation, aussi longtemps la paix du monde sera exposée à de soudaines alarmes et à des risques indéfinis. Il pense que la situation de l'Europe est et continuera à être pleine de dangers, tant que les questions de paix et de guerre seront décidées en secret et sans être portées à la connaissance des parlements et des peuples que ces parlements représentent. Puisqu'il en est ainsi, c'est le devoir de tous les peuples de faire tous les efforts pour que les guerres ne puissent plus être déclarées sans qu'ils le sachent. Si tous les vrais patriotes faisaient dans chaque pays leur possible pour influencer en faveur de la paix tant les gouvernants que les gouvernés, les désastres, les misères, les horreurs, les tueries—en un mot, la barbarie—d'une guerre Européenne pourraient nous être épargnées.

M. le Pasteur ROHLER (Wurtemberg) prend la parole et expose ses thèses dont la traduction anglaise est distribuée à l'auditoire. Il souhaite que les Eglises contribuent à augmenter l'esprit de solidarité parmi les peuples et propose, à cet effet, une assemblée internationale qui se réunirait régulièrement tous les trois mois et où les nations principales seraient représentées.

Le Rev. FRANCIS H. ROWLEY, D.D., de Boston, parle sur la collaboration de l'Eglise au Mouvement pour la Paix et l'Arbitrage. Il dit que l'Eglise chrétienne ne peut rendre un plus grand service à l'humanité que celui d'affermir et de renforcer la Paix universelle.

Elle peut le faire de trois manières : En répandant largement la connaissance de l'utilité et de l'importance de l'Arbitrage et des Conférences de La Haye ; en dirigeant, du haut de la chaire, l'attention des masses sur l'immoralité de la guerre, et en prêchant, comme

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son Maître, les principes de la fraternité humaine. Elle le peut mieux que toutes les autres institutions.

L'orateur, dans des paroles qui vont droit au cœur de son auditoire, montre combien l'égoïsme et l'orgueil national sont condamnables. La tâche sublime de l'Eglise est de réveiller dans l'homme l'esprit de sacrifice, de justice et de droiture. Les représentants du commerce peuvent faire beaucoup en faisant appel à l'égoïsme. L'Eglise, elle, a le devoir de faire appel aux sentiments altruistes de l'homme et d'éveiller en lui cet amour qui est la sagesse et la force infinies.

Alderman THOMAS SNAPE, de Liverpool, est heureux que cette Conférence, destinée à étudier le Pacifisme au point de vue chrétien, ait été convoquée à l'occasion du Congrès. Il espère que d'autres Congrès imiteront cet exemple.

Il cite de belles paroles de John Bright ayant trait à l'action des Eglises dans l'œuvre de la Paix et montre les progrès que l'idée pacifique a fait dans les milieux chrétiens et la nécessité de mettre au service de cette idée la force vitale du Christianisme, qui doit pénétrer dans les cœurs des peuples de tous les pays.

M. le Pasteur UMFRIID regrette le pessimisme des chrétiens qui ne croient pas au règne de Dieu sur la terre ; l'antagonisme entre la religion et la guerre n'est pas suffisamment compris par les disciples du Christ.

Il est appuyé par M. le Baron DE NEUFVILLE.

M. le Dr. TRUEBLOOD félicite M. de Neufville du succès qu'a eu la visite des pasteurs et prêtres, allemands à Londres, qui est due principalement à son initiative et à celle de Mr. Allen Baker.

# CONFÉRENCE CHRÉTIENNE,

*Séance de l'après midi, 3 heures.*

*Président : LE REV. DR. R. F. HORTON.*

## Travail Pratique des Eglises au point de vue de la Paix.

Le PRESIDENT dit que c'était là une question très délicate et très complexe et qu'il était heureux de la discuter dans une séance d'étude plutôt que dans une grande réunion publique.

Il faut, continua-t-il, dire nettement la vérité, exposer sans réticences ses convictions, et établir ce que l'Eglise chrétienne a fait et ce qu'elle devrait faire en matière de paix. Nul ne discute que l'Eglise doit favoriser la paix et encourager l'arbitrage; en cela l'Eglise ne fait qu'être d'accord avec le sens commun de l'humanité. Tout individu raisonnable en Europe demande la paix et il n'y a pas un être intelligent qui n'encourage l'arbitrage entre les Nations, Malheureusement, depuis plusieurs siècles, l'Eglise s'est contentée d'être d'accord avec le sentiment général du monde, et elle n'a pas eu l'audace d'être, au sujet de la paix, en avance sur la morale générale du public. L'Eglise a souvent usé elle-même des guerres pour son compte personnel, pour propager ses doctrines ou prévenir les hérésies. Certainement aujourd'hui, l'Eglise ne permettrait plus des Croisades, soit contre les Turcs, soit contre les Albigeois : mais l'Eglise a adopté, en ce qui concerne la guerre, une attitude qui ne la désapprouve pas et ne décourage pas ceux de ses membres qui servent dans l'armée ou dans la marine. L'Eglise est obligée de reconnaître que depuis plusieurs siècles, elle n'a pas pris la direction de l'opinion publique, mais qu'elle s'est contentée de la suivre. Le christianisme interdit-il absolument la guerre? La doctrine de la non résistance au mal, contenue dans le sermon sur la montagne s'applique-t-elle aux relations internationales? Un chrétien doit-il refuser de servir dans l'armée et dans la marine? Il est hors de

doute, déclare le Docteur Horton, qu'au second siècle de l'ère chrétienne, les chrétiens préféraient mourir plutôt que de prendre part à une guerre, et qu'ils se laissaient tuer par leurs compatriotes plutôt que d'obéir à leurs chefs en tuant des ennemis. L'Eglise n'a-t-elle pas consciemment fait un déplorable compromis et permis à l'esprit du monde de l'envahir dans cette importante question? N'était-ce pas dès le début sa fonction d'assurer le règne de la Paix, de réprouver complètement la guerre et d'accepter le risque de la mort plutôt que de l'infliger aux autres? Je suis obligé de faire certaines constatations. Quand je considère la foi chrétienne dans toute sa pureté, je suis convaincu qu'elle avait comme objet de séparer l'Eglise du monde, et que l'Eglise devrait occuper une position que le monde n'a pas adoptée et qu'il ne paraît pas d'ailleurs désireux d'adopter. L'Eglise devrait parler nettement: elle est fondée sur la doctrine du sermon sur la montagne: elle a la garde d'un idéal qui ne pouvait être immédiatement réalisé, mais vers la réalisation duquel elle doit tendre sans relâche. C'est son devoir de ne jamais faire de compromis avec l'esprit du monde, si excusable que cet esprit puisse être. C'est son devoir en tant qu'institution de déclarer hautement et franchement que la guerre est anti-chrétienne, qu'elle est une survivance de l'homme naturel et des temps primitifs; et elle devrait par conséquent refuser d'approuver, non seulement ceux qui prennent part à la guerre, mais ceux qui font des préparatifs de guerre: elle devrait déclarer que, en tant qu'Eglise, elle blâme les armements comme elle blâme la guerre, et qu'elle considère que c'est le devoir d'un Etat chrétien de se conformer aux grands principes de paix et d'amour qui pourraient pacifier le monde, non en se préparant à la guerre, mais au contraire en refusant de s'y préparer et en déclarant hautement aux autres pays qu'il est décidé à tout souffrir plutôt que de se battre ou même d'envisager la possibilité de se battre. Elle devrait avoir le courage de défendre au nom du Seigneur ce qui se fait en Europe actuellement, la préparation à la guerre, l'augmentation des armements, et l'éducation militaire de tous les hommes. On ne peut pas espérer que les gouvernements, mais on peut espérer que l'Eglise prenne cette attitude. L'Eglise et les chrétiens devraient insister sur le principe de la Paix, comme ils insistent sur le principe de la non-résistance à l'injustice ou sur le principe de la pureté du cœur: qu'ils ne s'effrayent pas si, en cette occasion, ils ne représentent qu'une minorité. On m'accusera sans doute de lâcheté et de manque de patriotisme, et on me dénoncera peut-être personnellement à cause des paroles que j'ai prononcées cette après-midi. Que

le monde entier me dénonce ! mais que la vérité soit dite, et la vérité c'est que Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ était opposé à la guerre et qu'il ne peut en approuver les préparatifs ; car il sait qu'en la préparant, on l'amène, et c'est pourquoi il fallait que ces choses fussent dites au nom de celui qui a été appelé le Prince de la Paix.

Telle est, dit en terminant de Docteur Horton, la conviction profonde à laquelle je suis arrivé, en cherchant longuement la réponse qu'il fallait faire à ceux qui demandaient quel devait être le travail pratique des Eglises capable d'apporter la paix au monde.

Le Dr. CARPENTER, directeur du Manchester Collège d'Oxford, insiste sur la nécessité de montrer au peuple, à la jeunesse en premier lieu, que la Guerre cessera lorsqu'on le voudra et que les grandes réformes sociales ne pourront se faire que lorsque la Paix sera assurée.

M. le pasteur ALLEGRET, de Brive, parle des difficultés que le Pacifisme chrétien a rencontrées en France.

Le Rev. W. J. SPRIGGS-SMITH (Wisbech) met ses compatriotes en garde contre la conscription pour laquelle on fait une active propagande. Mr. R. MILNER, de Bristol, et le Rev. FRED. LYNCH, de New York, pensent que tout recours à la force est condamnable au point de vue chrétien et qu'il n'y a pas de double morale, l'une pour les individus, l'autre pour les nations. Mr. FRANK OGILVY rapporte sur l'extension toujours croissante des corps de sauvetage. En Angleterre, les Eglises libres seules comptent environ 500,000 "cadets pacifiques."

## Le Pacifisme et les Missions.

La discussion sur l'idée pacifiste dans l'œuvre des missions est ouverte par Mr. A. Warburton-Davidson, membre de la Mission de la Société des Amis en Chine. La description que le rapporteur fait de l'éveil de l'esprit militaire en Chine est saisissante. "L'Asie à l'Asie" est de dogme nouveau qui pénètre partout et que la jeune génération accueille avec enthousiasme. Elle n'aspire qu'à chasser l'étranger de son pays et à imiter les armements de l'Ancien-Monde.

Le Rev. MICHAEL JAMES ELLIOTT, ancien missionnaire méthodiste dans l'Afrique Occidentale, expose l'effet que le despotisme militaire exerce sur l'œuvre des missions et les difficultés que les missionnaires rencontrent dans leur propagande. Les africains s'aperçoivent facilement de la contradiction qui existe entre le dogme chrétien et les actes des gouvernements chrétiens

qui se font la guerre et font la guerre aux races faibles. Comment les missionnaires doivent-ils expliquer cette contradiction ?

La Convention de La Haye, appliquée aux tribus non civilisées dans leurs relations avec les nations européennes, pourrait porter remède à cet état de choses et rendre la confiance aux indigènes. Un missionnaire loyal envers son Gouvernement et aimé des indigènes pourrait alors offrir ses bons offices en vue de la cessation de certains conflits ou pour le règlement équitable des différends. Le roi ou le chef de l'une de ces tribus pourrait faire appel non pas au tribunal du pays qui l'a détrôné ou envoyé en exil mais à un tribunal entièrement impartial et neutre.

MM. Alexander, Hodgkin, Ashby Wood, Baxter et Walter Barrett appuient les discours des orateurs précédents.

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Dans le courant de l'après-midi, les congressistes ont été reçus au Welcome Club de l'Exposition hongroise par Sir Thomas Barclay et Lady Barclay.

## RÉCEPTION DU SOIR.

Les délégués au Congrès de la Paix ont été reçus par le Président du Congrès et par Lady Courtney à l'Hôtel Métropole. Le Président a prononcé un discours de bienvenue. Il a été donné lecture de messages de sympathie et de félicitations de la part de l'évêque de Londres, du Lord Mayor, du Right Hon. Thomas Burt, M.P., de MM. les professeurs A. Sidgwick et Westlake, de Sir Edward Grey et de M. Paul Cambon, ambassadeur de France à Londres. L'archevêque de Westminster, Mgr. Bourne, s'est fait représenter par M. Grosch. Celui-ci a fait part aux délégués du fait qu'une lettre avait été adressée par l'archevêque au clergé et aux fidèles de son diocèse le 15 juillet, qui fut lue dans toutes les églises.\*

Les représentants des différents pays : Lord Courtney et Mr. H. S. Perris pour l'Angleterre ; MM. Emile Arnaud et Jacques Dumas pour la France ; Quidde pour l'Allemagne ; Moneta pour l'Italie ; Zipernowsky pour la Hongrie ; Stein pour le Bureau International de la Paix ; Mme. la Baronne de Suttner pour l'Autriche, etc., ont répondu au discours de bienvenue. M. Arnaud rappela le souvenir très cher d'Hodgson Pratt qui fut le président des séances du Congrès universel de la Paix de Londres en 1890. Il montra le chemin parcouru depuis lors, jadis inespéré, et de nature à donner grand courage pour le travail de demain. Le traité d'arbitrage permanent conclu le 14 octobre, 1903, entre la Grande-Bretagne et la France permit l'établissement de l'entente cordiale. Le traité mondial et sans réserves d'arbitrage permanent créera l'entente universelle et les Etats-Unis de l'Humanité.

De grands artistes de Londres se firent applaudir.

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\* Voici le texte de cette lettre circulaire :

Révérands pères et chers enfants en Jésus-Christ,—Vous avez peut-être déjà appris que le XVII<sup>e</sup> Congrès universel de la Paix doit avoir lieu à Londres, la dernière semaine de ce mois.

Le Saint Père nous a donné son avis sur l'objet de ces Congrès, par une lettre adressée par S. Em. Le Card. Secrétaire d'Etat au Congrès qui se tenait à Milan en 1906 et aussi par la lettre d'encouragement que Sa Sainteté a envoyée l'année dernière au Congrès de Munich. Dans notre ardent désir de voir le Congrès qui va s'ouvrir étendre et assurer le grand bienfait de la Paix internationale et afin que cette importante réunion obtienne le plus grand succès possible, nous nous faisons l'écho des paroles du Souverain Pontife. Et dans l'espoir que la Divine Providence réalisera nos espérances, Nous ordonnons que le dimanche 26 courant, dans toutes les églises de notre diocèse, la prière "Pour la Paix" qui se trouve dans le manuel des prières, soit récitée à la Bénédiction du Très-Saint-Sacrement et que tous les fidèles soient exhortés à prier à cette intention.

Que Dieu répande sur vous tous sa bénédiction, au nom du Père et du Fils et du St. Esprit.

FRANÇOIS, Archevêque de Westminster

# SÉANCE D'OUVERTURE DU CONGRÈS.

*Mardi 28 Juillet.*

*Président : LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH.*

M. T. P. NEWMAN, Président du Comité d'organisation, ouvre le Congrès. Nous sommes réunis ici, dit-il, pour développer l'amitié internationale. L'amitié est plus forte que les armements, plus solide que les traités, plus puissante que les canons. Les grands armements amènent la guerre plus souvent qu'ils ne l'évitent . . . . Nous avons protesté contre la lamentable guerre sud-africaine au prix de l'impopularité et des injures de nos concitoyens. Parmi ceux qui ont le plus souffert des injustices de l'opinion publique se trouve un homme courageux que nous demandons de nommer président de ce Congrès : j'ai nommé Lord Courtney of Penwith. (Applaudissements et approbation.)

The Right Hon. LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH : Le temps destiné aux délibérations du Congrès est limité, j'entre donc en plein dans le sujet que je me propose de traiter par rapport à ce Congrès ; il peut être résumé en deux mots : Justice et Paix.—Sans justice, point de garantie de paix permanente ; avec la justice, la paix du monde sera hors d'atteinte.

Deux vers d'un vieux poème, très familier à beaucoup d'Anglais et à un certain nombre d'étrangers, me reviennent à l'esprit :

“La Clémence et la Vérité se sont rencontrées,  
La Justice et la Paix se sont embrassées.” (Psaume 85, v. 10.)

C'est ce que nous voulons. Quand l'injustice triomphe, quand l'esprit des Nations s'y est accoutumé, alors il y a un penchant général à rétablir la justice à sa place et on voit l'état de choses actuel contre lequel vous protestez. Je sais qu'il y en a un certain nombre parmi vous, qui sont d'avis qu'en présence de l'injustice il faut opposer seulement la résistance passive : il y a dans cette croyance une certaine noblesse dont on ne saurait contester la grandeur ; mais je

dois avouer que je ne vois pas dans cette opinion un moyen de faire disparaître les maux que vous combattez. Certes, si nous considérons le passé, nous voyons beaucoup de guerres qui auraient pu être évitées ; mais un grand nombre de nos amis croient que certaines autres étaient inévitables : ce sont celles qui ont eu pour but de combattre l'injustice, la cruauté, celles qui ont donné la liberté aux races et aux sociétés.

Mais si l'injustice n'eût établi cette domination tyrannique, la guerre la plus nettement défensive aurait été inutile. Ce qui ne nous empêche pas de songer avec admiration et respect à ceux qui ont souffert la perte de leur vie, la perte de tout bonheur, dans le but d'obtenir pour leur pays la justice, l'indépendance et la liberté qu'ils avaient en vain revendiquées.

Si nous parvenons à établir le règne du droit, cette admiration encore si attrayante pour beaucoup de jeunes gens ne produira plus les mêmes effets. Pouvons-nous avoir raison de l'injustice ? Comment ?—Comment pouvons-nous persuader les nations et les législateurs qu'ils doivent cesser d'aspirer à subjuguier d'autres nations ? Comment pouvons-nous conquérir l'esprit des hommes de manière à ce qu'ils ne tolèrent pas la pensée d'une action injuste envers les pays d'autrui ? Comment pouvons-nous obtenir entre les nations ce que l'humanité a réalisé dans les nations : la référence à la loi et non à la force ; l'appel au pouvoir social pour assurer le respect de la justice, au lieu d'un appel à la violence pour contraindre et étouffer la justice.

Ma première recommandation est d'employer tout notre pouvoir à développer, à renforcer, à purifier le Droit International. (Applaudissements.) Le Droit International est une chose relativement récente. L'idée n'en existait pas au temps où les hordes d'Attila, incarnation de la force brutale, dévastaient impunément l'Europe. Rien ne les arrêtait. Aujourd'hui, toutes les nations respectent, plus ou moins, ces conventions comprises sous le nom de Droit International. Les principes en ont été élaborés dans les cabinets d'étude d'abord, dans la pensée des philosophes, des philanthropes—puis ont influencé la diplomatie. De grandes Conférences récentes manifestent enfin le désir et la volonté des hommes d'Etat d'accroître le force et d'étendre l'empire du Droit International.

Quelques uns d'entre nous avaient espéré que la Conférence de La Haye accomplirait de plus grandes réformes. Ne craignez pas d'être indulgents à son égard. Il vaut mieux aller doucement et réaliser quelque chose. Il faut demander beaucoup pour obtenir un

peu. Mais il serait injuste de dire que l'année dernière, à La Haye, on n'ait pas accompli une œuvre considérable. On y a observé comme un principe essentiel cette grande doctrine de l'égalité des nations si lentement admise par elles. Grande ou petite, puissante ou faible, chaque nation a des droits égaux, chaque peuple civilisé a droit au respect de ses voisins. Et ce fut un grand et noble spectacle que celui de ces délégués des nations discutant sur un rang de parfaite égalité de leurs droits, de leurs biens et de leurs revendications.

Ces délégués ont accepté le principe d'une Cour suprême, supérieure à la volonté des Etats, d'une Cour d'appel à laquelle chaque nation pourrait avoir recours. Nous ne pouvons encore espérer la création immédiate d'un tribunal devant lequel chaque partie pourrait obliger l'autre à comparaître. Mais nous pouvons dès maintenant entraîner les puissances à signer des traités d'arbitrage par lesquels elles s'engagent à soumettre à des juges impartiaux, choisis ou pré-établis, les différends qui pourraient naître entre elles et telle ou telle autre puissance. Ces traités d'arbitrage sont un hommage rendu au droit au détriment de l'arbitraire et de la force. Nous avons pu en faire signer un grand nombre au cours de ces dernières années, plus ou moins complets dans leurs termes, et je vous demande de ne pas négliger d'user de votre influence pour la conclusion de pareilles conventions. Laissez-moi vous rappeler ici le nom de mon ami Sir Thomas Barclay, dont le zèle et l'activité se sont si merveilleusement employés—et avec tant de succès—, dans cette voie.

Mais à la base de tout droit international, à la base des principes contenus dans les traités d'arbitrage, il y a la reconnaissance par les membres des diverses communautés de leur solidarité étroite avec les autres êtres humains, il y a le développement de la notion d'une seule humanité. Efforçons-nous d'amener les hommes à se comprendre. On nous accuse trop souvent de vivre dans un rêve. Il y a, nous dit-on, dans l'homme une puissance de passion qui, lorsqu'elle éclate, renverse tous nos édifices de rêve, comme la bulle de savon éclate dans l'air—puissance de passion agitée et menée dans l'opinion publique par l'ignorance publique. C'est contre cela que nous devons lutter, voilà contre quoi je vous conjure d'employer tous vos efforts. Faites que les hommes se comprennent, qu'ils sachent comment ils peuvent devenir amis, comment ils risquent de s'offenser. C'est peut être une des difficultés les plus grandes à réaliser dans la vie privée ou dans la vie publique. Nous heurtons nos amis sans le vouloir par quelque chose dans nos manières, dans

nos pensées ou dans nos expressions. Nous n'en avons pas conscience. Nous avons le désir de l'amitié, mais nous ne savons pas l'entretenir. Essayez de connaître vos voisins et tâchez de corriger en vous les attitudes, les gestes et les jugements qui peuvent les choquer. S'il me fallait par un conseil pratique illustrer ce haut principe, je dirais : "Quand un étranger parle dans une langue qui ne vous est pas connue, efforcez-vous d'être silencieux et sympathique."

L'orateur fait l'éloge de Sir William Randal Cremer, puis il termine par ces mots : "Il nous faut la patience et la foi. La patience sans la foi serait l'acceptation du mal pour toujours. La foi sans la patience produirait la révolte, les déceptions et la réaction. Les choses arriveront à leur temps. Regardez un instant la grande fédération américaine qui donne une si belle idée de l'obéissance au grand principe de l'arbitrage. Si l'Etat de New York a une difficulté avec l'Etat de Massachusetts, ils ne vont sûrement pas se combattre. Le motif du différend sera tout simplement soumis à la Cour suprême, qui statuera. Voilà un modèle que l'Europe, un jour, sera capable d'adopter pour son propre usage. Les pays d'Europe feront appel à une Cour internationale suprême ; elles lui soumettront les causes de leurs malentendus et trouveront là un recours contre ces troubles que les esprits étroits déclarent inévitables, mais que nous, nous considérons devoir disparaître dans l'avenir parce qu'ils seront écartés grâce à l'idée de paix, de droit et de justice." (Applaudissements.)

M. le Sénateur LA FONTAINE (Belgique) : En ma qualité de président du Bureau international de Berne, j'ai le périlleux honneur de parler après Lord Courtney et de remplacer ici notre vénérable doyen Frédéric Passy, que nous aimions entendre parler chaque année au nom des pacifistes étrangers.

On l'a dit avec raison, notre mouvement est entré dans une ère nouvelle. Nous étions de bons rêveurs, nous voici devenus des hommes pratiques. A Londres, en 1843, se tint le premier Congrès international, modeste, peu nombreux, suivi d'autres essais, à Bruxelles en 1848, Paris 1849, Francfort 1850, Londres 1851. Puis une longue éclipse jusqu'en 1889, où sous la présidence de M. Passy, nous nous réunissions à Paris, sans bruit, dans une petite salle de mairie. Quand on se souvient de ces lointains débuts, on a le droit de se réjouir des progrès réalisés. Tout d'abord un bourgmestre s'est enhardi à nous souhaiter la bienvenue, puis il vint un secrétaire des affaires étrangères, ensuite un ministre daigna nous haranguer. Puis, nous avons vu des ministres, des chefs de cabinet, venir vers

nous. Enfin, cette année, le chef d'une grande nation, le roi lui-même, nous a reçus. Cette progression est symbolique de la puissance de notre mouvement. Elle justifie nos efforts redoublés et en marque les résultats sur l'opinion mondiale.

Les événements qui sont survenus depuis notre dernière session à Munich démontrent que notre voie est la bonne. Tous s'engagent sur cette grande route qui va vers la pacification du monde : les ententes et les visites internationales se multiplient.

Mais l'évènement le plus important, auquel Lord Courtney a avec raison consacré la plus large part de son discours de bienvenue, a été évidemment la Conférence de la Paix. Certes cette auguste assemblée marche avec une lenteur toute diplomatique, qui explique les critiques dont son œuvre a été l'objet.

Mais son importance ne résulte pas de l'œuvre accomplie ; elle git dans ce fait que, pour la première fois au cours des temps, tous les gouvernements du monde ont délibéré, sur un pied d'égalité, sur des questions qui n'étaient pas d'un intérêt immédiat ; elle s'est placée au-dessus des passions humaines, et le calme avec lequel les délibérations se sont poursuivies, pendant quatre mois, sans une parole discourtoise, n'est-il pas symbolique de l'unité humaine ? Quand le spectacle a-t-il été donné de voir des hommes de mentalité aussi diverse, des Japonais, des Américains, des Turcs, des Espagnols, souscrire aux règles d'un même droit international ?

Pourtant si la Conférence de la Paix n'a pas réalisé tous les désirs des pacifistes, elle a cependant abordé deux problèmes dont la solution nous préoccupe particulièrement et, il faut le proclamer hautement, l'énorme majorité des délégués a adopté les formules les plus radicales : le projet d'un traité d'arbitrage obligatoire a réuni 32 adhésions, le projet d'une cour suprême de justice en a réuni 38. Dès maintenant ces deux projets seraient des réalités si le principe de l'unanimité n'avait pas permis à la minorité de paralyser la volonté de la majorité des Etats. Pourtant, sur un point la Conférence de la Paix a agi avec une juvénile audace, c'est lorsqu'elle a institué une Cour internationale de prises. Espérons que cette cour ne devra jamais fonctionner, mais les principes que son organisation consacre sont d'une importance considérable. En effet, cette cour est autonome, chaque Etat et même des individus isolés peuvent la mettre en mouvement, enfin elle peut statuer par défaut contre l'Etat qui se refuse à comparaître.

Le principe de la permanence de la Conférence, voté en 1907, avec l'établissement d'une commission spéciale pour préparer ses travaux dans l'intervalle, est aussi d'une haute portée. Et plus

peut-être encore que les actes accomplis, les discours prononcés, révélateurs de la pensée inspiratrice des hommes d'Etat réunis, sont pour nous réjouir. Ces discours ont laissé entendre que la mission d'avenir de la Conférence était de devenir le Parlement international.

Notre tâche immédiate est de préparer les voies à ce Parlement des nations, d'étudier comment il peut être constitué, et avec quels pouvoirs. Ne nous laissons pas prendre au dépourvu ni dépasser par les diplomates, nous qui avons été toujours les indicateurs de l'organisation juridique internationale! Ne sommes-nous pas tous quelque peu étonnés—agréablement—d'avoir assisté à la naissance de la Cour internationale des prises en 1907 et d'avoir vu accepter le principe d'une Cour suprême courbant sous sa juridiction toutes les puissances? C'est sur une question de choix des juges que l'achèvement de ce grand œuvre a été ajourné. La question est délicate, à cause des susceptibilités des petits Etats, mais les débats poursuivis révèlent qu'elle n'est pas insoluble. Elle sera certainement résolue par les chancelleries avant la réunion de la troisième Conférence.

Pour nous, continuons de nous vouer à l'étude des problèmes internationaux. Appuyons de toute notre force les gouvernements de bonne volonté, stimulons les autres ou stigmatisons-les devant l'opinion publique. Mais n'oublions pas que notre action peut être aussi utile sur les hommes que sur les gouvernements. Amenons-les à coopérer à l'amélioration des relations internationales. Chacun de nous a une profession, exerce autour de lui, dans le cercle de ses amitiés et de ses occupations, une action quel-conque. Que la pensée de la vie internationale le préoccupe à tout instant, qu'il la propage dans son milieu. Inspirons-nous de Randal Cremer, ancien ouvrier, qui eut l'idée de réunir les représentants des organisations ouvrières de diverses nationalités. Il a cherché à supprimer dans l'esprit des masses prolétariennes l'ignorance des uns vis-à-vis des autres. Suivons son exemple à tout moment. Si nous faisons le vœu de nous y employer tous de toutes les forces de notre âme, l'heure de la pacification internationale sera sensiblement avancée! (Applaudissements.)

M. MOSCHELES lit deux télégrammes en esperanto reçus des sociétés de Paris et de Dresde.

M. NEWMAN donne lecture de diverses adresses de lady Aberdeen, de M. Walter Crane, de l'Association pacifique de Santiago de Chili, du bourgmestre de Munich.

M. BALFOUR a écrit ceci: " En réponse à votre invitation, j'ai le

vif plaisir de vous exprimer mes vœux pour le Congrès universel de la Paix. Tout ce qui touche à l'intérêt du monde civilisé, que ce soit l'éducation de l'opinion publique—dont votre Congrès fait, je pense, son principal objet—que ce soit la conclusion de traités d'arbitrage ou le maintien nécessaire d'une force défensive (hilarité prolongée) oui, tout cela doit avoir la sympathie et l'appui des hommes que préoccupe le bonheur de l'humanité."

M. ALEXANDER, avant que la séance d'ouverture soit levée, explique à l'assemblée la procédure des Congrès et donne la division des commissions avec le nom des présidents désignés par le Bureau de Berne.

Commission A (Actualités): M. le Professeur QUIDDE (Allemagne).

Commission B (Droit international): M. le Sénateur LAFONTAINE (Belgique).

Commission C (Propagande): M. le Professeur STEIN (Suisse).

Commission D (Limitation des armements): M. MEAD (Etats Unis).

Commission E (Education internationale): M. ARNAUD (France).

Commission F (Rapports avec le mouvement ouvrier): M. GREEN (Grande Bretagne).

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Mardi, après-midi, fut consacré aux séances des Commissions.

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Dans le courant de l'après-midi une réception avec concert fut donnée au Lyceum Club, à Piccadilly.

## RÉUNION À QUEEN'S HALL.

### Discours du Chancelier de l'Echiquier.

Le même jour, à Queen's Hall, dans un meeting qui réunissait, avec les Congressistes, de 5 à 6,000 habitants de Londres emplissant complètement l'immense salle, M. D. Lloyd George, Chancelier de l'Echiquier (Ministre des Finances) prononça un grand discours.

LORD COURTNEY fit, au préalable, l'historique de l'entente cordiale franco-anglaise.

M. LLOYD-GEORGE : Il paraît extraordinaire, lorsqu'on y pense, de voir qu'au 20<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'ère chrétienne il soit nécessaire de réunir un meeting pour protester contre la dépense de dix milliards que font chaque année les peuples chrétiens pour s'exterminer. (Chuchotements.) Il est encore plus étonnant de voir les *leaders* de l'opinion s'enthousiasmer davantage en faveur du perfectionnement meurtrier des machines de guerre que pour l'institution d'un tribunal s'élevant au-dessus des nations et réglant pacifiquement les querelles qui peuvent surgir entre elles. En lisant les journaux on constate que les colonnes consacrées à la guerre et aux préparatifs de la guerre sont bien plus nombreuses que celles consacrées à la Paix.

La question de la Paix est une question de sens commun. Si un homme d'Etat a une différend avec un autre homme d'Etat il le règlera par l'arbitrage. Mais s'il rencontre une difficulté avec un peuple, alors il a recours non plus à l'arbitrage, mais à l'assassinat organisé, à la guerre.

Pourquoi ? Est-ce parce que les nations se haïssent ?

Par exemple, en Allemagne, beaucoup de personnes produisent des betteraves et nous en vendent énormément. Quel avantage auront-elles à tuer leurs meilleurs clients ? Ce serait un geste vraiment peu commerçant ! Nous achetons aux Allemands des marchandises, pour plusieurs dizaines de millions de livres : Pourquoi nous tueraient-ils ? Ils achètent pour environ trente millions de livres chez nous : Pourquoi les tuerions-nous ? Quand un

homme vient dans votre boutique pour vous acheter, avez-vous coutume de l'envoyer promener au bout d'un boulet de canon? Il est temps de montrer un peu plus de bon sens. (Interruption d'une suffragette.)

Pendant que nous vendons aux Allemands et que nous leur achetons, nous construisons, eux et nous, des vaisseaux et nous nous armons pour nous combattre! Les neuf dixièmes des disputes entre nations proviennent simplement d'une mauvaise compréhension des désirs de chacun.

Il est, dans notre pays, des hommes de haute situation et de grande expérience qui vivent avec cette conviction que l'Allemagne a l'intention de nous attaquer. Il est, en Allemagne, des personnes également convaincues que nous nous préparons à les attaquer. Par peur l'une de l'autre, nous nous armons et . . . nous préparons ce que nous craignons. Le même état de choses exactement régnait avec la France. Je lisais récemment un discours que Richard Cobden—(applaudissements)—prononça en 1853 à Manchester dans un meeting pour la Paix. Je constatai, par les objections auxquelles il répondait, qu'il n'y a pas un seul argument donné aujourd'hui à propos de l'Allemagne que l'on ne formulât alors à propos de la France. (Nouvelle interruption de suffragettes. Il s'en produit quelques autres par la suite, toutes réclamant le droit de vote pour les femmes).

La conséquence la plus terrible de cet état est la dépense.

Nous disons que pour nous préserver de l'invasion il faut que nous ayons une marine toute puissante.

Or, regardez la position de l'Allemagne. Son armée est, pour elle, ce que notre marine est pour nous: ce qui la préserve de l'invasion. Elle peut avoir une armée plus puissante que n'importe lequel de ses voisins; mais une jonction de plusieurs d'entre eux pourrait lui opposer de plus grandes forces. Dans le même cas ne prendrions-nous pas peur et ne nous armerions-nous pas? (Bien sûr!). . .

Ce que nous désirons c'est le redressement des fausses conceptions. Il est déplorable que deux grands Etats prospères comme l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne ne puissent pas se comprendre. Nous nous sommes bien compris et entendus avec la France, la Russie et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, pourquoi n'en ferions-nous pas autant avec l'Allemagne?

Nous dépensons, en Angleterre, 60 millions de livres sterling chaque année pour préparer la guerre. Quel terrible gaspillage! Vous concevez facilement ce que l'on aurait pu faire avec cet argent, en faveur du commerce, de l'amélioration des conditions sociales, de

l'instruction du peuple et de la charité. N'y a-t-il pas aussi d'autres ennemis que l'Allemagne à combattre, — et de pires? L'intempérance? L'ignorance? Est-ce que la puissance de la mort n'est pas assez grande, sans que nous dépensions encore dix milliards par an pour nous livrer à elle?

Il y eut, au Moyen-Age, des Croisades pour lesquelles les princes et les peuples abandonnèrent leurs pays et leurs terres afin d'aller au loin combattre pour une grande cause. Aujourd'hui il est de plus belles causes encore pour lesquelles doivent combattre les princes et les peuples. Abandonnez les luttes fratricides et les tourbillons qu'elles occasionnent, donnez à l'Humanité la Paix! Relevez-la de la guerre, du marécage dans lequel des millions d'hommes et des milliards ont été engloutis pour produire la misère et le désespoir! (Vifs applaudissements.)

Mme. la Baronne DE SUTTNER a montré que la Paix est non seulement possible, mais inévitable. La lutte est conforme aux lois de la nature, la guerre ne l'est pas.

Nous vivons dans une époque de transition : l'erreur et le crime nous poussent vers de grandes calamités, mais la conscience universelle s'éveille pour éviter ces dangers et nous apporter le salut. Le Pacifisme doit montrer au monde que toutes les bonnes causes doivent être gagnées par de bons moyens. Une nouvelle et meilleure organisation du monde résultera non de la destruction de l'ancien état de choses, mais de son remplacement. L'éducation de tous par tous donnera l'entente cordiale universelle, car "les plus grandes choses ont été faites par les concours des plus petits."

Mr. E. D. MEAD, qui vint à Londres dans les temps difficiles de la dernière guerre constate les merveilleux progrès du Pacifisme depuis lors. Le temps viendra où la nation qui n'aura pas son secrétaire d'Etat pour la Paix ne sera pas comptée parmi les nations civilisées.

Le Rev. Dr. CLIFFORD félicite les Pacifistes de ce que la Paix est devenue si populaire dans son pays. Les jeunes ont le devoir de continuer l'œuvre des pionniers. L'orateur espère que les Eglises et la Démocratie seront à l'avant garde de ce combat.

— Un chœur d'élite, dirigé par Mme. Mary Layton, a chanté des hymnes à la Paix.

## DEUXIÈME SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE.

*Mercredi 29 juillet.*

A 10 h. 1/2, M. J.-G. ALEXANDER prend la présidence, assisté de Mme. la Baronne de SUTTNER, Vice-présidente pour l'Autriche, et de M. RICHTER, Vice-président pour l'Allemagne.

### **Messages de Sympathie.**

Madame MacKenty présente les salutations de l'Association "La Paix et le Désarmement par les Femmes" et de sa fondatrice et présidente, Mme. Camille Flammarion, dans l'allocution suivante : A l'aurore de toute civilisation, à l'origine de toute rénovation sociale, la femme, consciente de ses vrais devoirs, a toujours été la première à s'éveiller à la connaissance et à la compréhension biologiques des choses et des êtres. A notre époque, où tout semble devenir nouveau, l'influence féminine, voilée pendant des siècles, s'affirme dans tous les milieux comme une lumière immense qui se répand sur toute la terre. Et Mme. Camille Flammarion a pensé que l'action de la femme hâterait le progrès. Non pas qu'elle eût eu l'idée de vouloir entraîner la femme à se substituer lentement à l'homme. Non certes, elle, la tendre collaboratrice du maître étoilé, sait trop bien que l'homme et la femme sont deux polarités, deux forces appelés de tous temps à se compléter. Mais jamais les réformes ne furent parfaites si elles n'eurent comme base même l'éducation. Kant et Fichte affirment que le perfectionnement de l'humanité ne sortira que de l'éducation. C'est ici qu'apparaît la sainte mission de la femme. C'est la mère qui détruira l'œuvre des âges, c'est elle qui fera de l'âme humaine un terrain où viendra croître un idéal de justice plus conforme avec le progrès, avec les lois divines, Il y a chez l'enfant l'être humain dans sa personnalité impérissable, et c'est cet être tout de destination morale qui devra monter vers a grande liberté où tous les hommes seront frères dans un monde pacifié.

M. EMILE ARNAUD, Président de la *Ligue internationale de la*



A Group of Delegates in front of Caxton Hall.



*Paix et de la Liberté*, donne lecture de la lettre suivante qu'il a reçue à l'intention du Congrès :

Mon cher PRÉSIDENT, — Ce n'est pas une simple adhésion que nous vous envoyons en vous priant de vouloir bien la transmettre au Congrès International de la Paix, à Londres.

Au moment où la Russie seule n'est pas représentée aux assises de la Paix Universelle, nous croyons de notre devoir d'y faire entendre nos modestes voix, bien qu'individuelles et isolées, mais exprimant bien ce que tout russe qui pense approuvera et appuiera, si la possibilité lui en est donnée.

Oui, le peuple russe ne veut et ne demande que la paix, mais son plus grand besoin du moment, son plus grand désir, exprimé si éloquemment par L. Tolstoy, dans la récente lettre contre les exécutions capitales en Russie, c'est de voir l'élément primordial et fondamental, la condition essentielle de la Paix, reparaitre en Russie. C'est de voir la disparition des exécutions capitales, qui depuis trois ans désolent chaque jour notre grand pays et qui menacent de déshonorer à jamais notre temps et notre civilisation.

C'est sur cette désolation et cette honte que nous attirons l'attention éclairée du Congrès International de la Paix en lui envoyant nos sympathies et nos adhésions individuelles.

Nous n'avons pas à suggérer de sanction au Congrès, à propos de la calamité que nous lui signalons; nous comptons sur les sentiments de solidarité humaine et sur la sagacité des hommes de cœur de tous les pays qui y siègent.

Veuillez croire, mon cher Président, à nos meilleurs sentiments de solidarité confraternelle de pacifistes et de reconnaissance au Congrès et à vous-même.

N. MINSKY (1).  
D. SÉMÉNOFF (2).  
L. WILKINA (2).  
Z. WENGEROWA (2).  
P. ZAVESDITCH (3).  
A. SÉMÉNOFF (3).  
V. STARODWORSKAIA (2).  
J. LORIS-MÉLIKOFF (4).

Pour et au nom du groupe :

E. LÉMÉNOFF (3),  
St. Pétersbourg, Bolchoï-Prospect, 2,  
Peterb. Stor.

(1) Poète. (2) Femme de Lettres. (3) Publiciste.  
(4) Docteur-Médecin.

U 2

M. J. A. RIVIÈRE, président de l'Association Médicale Internationale pour aider à la Suppression de la Guerre prononce l'allocution suivante :—

L'Association Médicale Internationale pour aider à la Suppression de la Guerre, dont j'ai l'honneur d'être le Président, a tenu, dans cette imposante manifestation de la Paix, rehaussée encore par le haut appui de Sa Majesté, le grand Roi Pacificateur, et la présence d'éminents Ministres d'un pays hautement humanitaire, à apporter sa pierre à cet édifice sacré, que la bonne volonté de nations contribue chaque jour à consolider. Le médecin, comme le ministre du culte si dignement représenté dans ce Congrès, est appelé à voir de près les misères physiques et morales, et à y compâtrer. Son caractère, comme ses fonctions, le mettent à même de raffermir les esprits défaillants, de prévenir ou de redresser de nombreuses erreurs, de répandre, autour de lui, les paroles de Raison et de Concorde. Depuis la fondation de notre œuvre, nous avons dans les moments les plus troublés—alors que l'horizon politique semblait chargé de nuages menaçants, au milieu d'une opinion pessimiste et égarée, nous avons fait parvenir nos arguments à tous ceux qui, soit dans la presse, soit dans les corps diplomatiques et législatifs, ou dans le monde des Arts et de la Littérature, exercent une influence quelconque dans les affaires mondiales. Auprès de tous, nous nous sommes efforcés de faire ressortir qu'une guerre, à l'époque actuelle, est aussi funeste au vainqueur qu'au vaincu, et équivaut à un recul de l'esprit humain. Nous avons assisté, en ces derniers temps, à une évolution rapide autant qu'inspérée dans la mentalité des peuples, évolution qui a permis à d'éminents Chefs d'Etat, pacifistes par sentiments, autant que par principes, de nouer ces alliances et ces ententes cordiales, aurore d'un monde nouveau. Nos espoirs dans une humanité meilleure, nous les fondons, non seulement sur une rééducation rationnelle des masses, mais sur notre conception d'une Justice reposant sur la constitution de deux Tribunaux : l'un, le "Tribunal International" composé des délégués des corporations de chaque pays ; l'autre : le "Tribunal Humanitaire," formé de représentants élus par les citoyens de chaque nation, et nous, estimons que les sanctions de Tribunaux semblables, que pourrait appuyer, au besoin, une police internationale, seraient, à elles seules, suffisantes. Comme c'est aussi notre conviction que la santé internationale, de même que la santé nationale et individuelle, relèvent du libre-échange. Le monde n'est pas encore assez

peuplé pour que les activités personnelles ne puissent s'y donner libre carrière. La science et l'observation des faits se chargent, chaque jour, de démontrer la solidarité de l' Humanité.

### Musée de Lucerne.

M. le Professor STEIN, au nom de la Commission C., explique la situation actuelle du Musée de la Paix et de la Guerre de Lucerne. Il annonce que des actions de priorité ont été émises par le Conseil d'administration, en vue de trouver les 100,000 francs qui manquent encore pour assurer son existence. L'orateur invite les assistants à venir en aide à l'œuvre du grand philanthrope qu'était Jean de Bloch.

La résolution suivante est votée à l'unanimité :

"Considérant que le Musée international de la Paix de Lucerne, fréquenté tous les ans par 60 à 70 mille visiteurs étrangers, est devenu, suivant les intentions de ses fondateurs et de feu M. Jean de Bloch en particulier, un puissant instrument de propagande, et qu'il est par conséquent de notre devoir de le conserver ;

"Considérant que ce Musée, élevé provisoirement sur un emplacement appartenant à la cité de Lucerne, doit trouver aujourd'hui une installation définitive et immédiate ;

"Considérant que, sur la somme totale de 600,000 francs nécessaire pour reconstruire l'édifice, il reste encore à trouver 100,000 francs, soit environ £4,000 ;

"Considérant que l'Association du Musée a décidé d'émettre des parts de priorité de 500 francs (ou £20) chacune, et que le produit actuel des entrées au Musée permet presque d'assurer, dès à présent, à ces porteurs de parts un dividende minimum de 3% par an ;

"Le Congrès demande instamment à ses membres, en même temps qu'aux Sociétés pacifistes et à tous les amis de la Paix en général, d'assurer la conservation du Musée en souscrivant le capital sus-indiqué, dans le plus bref délai possible.

"Des listes de souscription sont mises à la disposition des participants par le Bureau international de la Paix à Berne."

Le PRÉSIDENT rappelle que Mr. Hunt Cook, récemment décédé, qui était chapelain de l'Institut "Polytechnic" à Lucerne, avait si bien guidé ses compatriotes à travers le Musée que, grâce à ses explications, ils en avaient complètement saisi le côté pacifique. Il exprime l'espoir que cet excellent interprète trouvera un successeur.

### Rapport du Mouvement Ouvrier Avec le Pacifisme.

M. GIGNOUX (Nîmes) exprime, au nom des délégués ouvriers français, le plaisir qu'ils éprouvent d'assister aux travaux de ce Congrès. Il envoie son salut cordial et fraternel aux ouvriers d'un pays

qui s'est distingué par tant de réformes pratiques. Depuis plusieurs années, dit-il, le pacifisme désirait avoir la collaboration des organisations ouvrières. En séance de Commission, M. Prudhommeaux nous disait, hier, la déception des pacifistes de ne pas se sentir suivis par la masse prolétarienne. Cela s'explique par le raisonnement assez élémentaire des ouvriers. Ils sont, en France, soit syndicalistes, soit socialistes,—et ils prétendent tous être plus pacifistes que vous, parce qu'ils veulent, disent-ils, la suppression du capital qui, seul, engendre la guerre. Ce raisonnement, sans qu'il soit besoin de le combattre ici, est vraiment un peu trop simpliste. Une proposition avait été faite à la Commission, tendant à proposer aux ouvriers organisés de refuser de prendre les armes, dans le cas où le recours à l'arbitrage aurait échoué par la faute de leur pays. Si nous acceptions cette motion, nous remettrions sur le tapis la question de l'Hervéisme, résolue déjà l'an dernier à Munich. Cette motion serait évidemment parfaite, si les ouvriers de tous les pays suivaient le mot d'ordre ; mais il est fort à supposer que, dans une pareille hypothèse, ce serait la nation la plus idéaliste, la plus sentimentale et la plus éprise de vérité, qui seule s'abstiendrait de prendre les armes,—et qui se livrerait ainsi à une puissance plus brutale, moins avancée en civilisation.

Nous avons tâché d'avoir avec nous les masses ouvrières ; dans ce Congrès se trouvent, entre autres délégués, les représentants des ouvriers des chemins de fer anglais et des mineurs de France. Vous connaissez l'importance de ces groupements. — Le Congrès international des mineurs, dernièrement, a voté un vœu en faveur de l'arbitrage. Il suffirait que des vœux semblables soient votés par les représentants de toutes les organisations ouvrières pour que le pacifisme se sente appuyé par la masse laborieuse. Pour cela, il faudrait que de plus nombreux délégués ouvriers assistent à vos Congrès. C'est dans ce sens que la Commission F a rédigé le vœu que j'ai mission de vous soumettre.

Le parti socialiste commence à comprendre, en France, que la justice internationale peut être envisagée séparément de la justice sociale. Pour celle-ci, on a lutté en 1789, en 1830, en 1848, et la lutte est devenue plus vive encore dans ces dernières années. Pendant ce temps, les pacifistes ont suivi de leur côté leur chemin, et ils ont réalisé des progrès indéniables ; peut-être même leur tâche a-t-elle mieux réussi que la nôtre. Nous croyons fermement qu'au cas d'un conflit menaçant entre deux peuples, il serait plus pratique de faire appel à l'arbitrage que d'attendre la solution du triomphe lointain de la justice sociale.

M. Gignoux donne alors lecture de la motion suivante :

“Le XVIIe Congrès Universel de la Paix, constatant avec satisfaction que le Congrès de Londres compte un plus grand nombre de représentants de la classe ouvrière que les Congrès antérieurs, qu'il est du plus grand intérêt pour la paix du monde de voir les masses ouvrières appuyer le programme pacifiste, donne mandat aux organisateurs des prochains Congrès internationaux de la Paix d'inviter à leurs assises, au moins trois mois à l'avance, les grandes organisations ouvrières, Fédérations de métiers et Unions de Syndicats de métiers.

“Il considère que c'est un devoir urgent, pour les Sociétés de la Paix de chaque pays, de constituer des comités de propagande spécialement chargés de faire connaître le programme pacifiste aux masses ouvrières de leur pays.

“Ces Comités devront soumettre à chaque Congrès international un rapport sur leur activité pendant l'année écoulée.”

Mr. WESTROPE (York) parle en faveur de l'éducation pacifique des enfants. Il propose de leur faire promettre, dès leur bas âge, de ne prendre les armes que pour défendre leur foyer le leur patrie. Il n'y a plus qu'un seul ennemi—le militarisme.

M. ADOLPHE SMITH, parlant en qualité d'interprète officiel du Congrès international des mineurs de Salzburg et de Paris, dit qu'à ces Congrès la question a été discutée par les mineurs de savoir s'ils pourraient empêcher une guerre d'éclater. Des instructions ont été données aux secrétaires des sections, afin de convoquer, en cas de menace de guerre, une Commission spéciale des mineurs qui examinerait les moyens pratiques d'arrêter le ravitaillement en charbon.

M. A. PRUST (Launceston, Angleterre) dit qu'en effet les Pacifistes doivent mettre leur espoir dans l'intervention de la classe ouvrière : c'est elle qui tient la clef de la position : il serait absurde de la part des ouvriers allemands et des ouvriers anglais de se considérer comme des ennemis : ils feraient mieux de se considérer comme des clients. Malheureusement il y a dans les deux pays un danger, c'est l'odieuse presse militariste. Il préconise une alliance entre la Grande-Bretagne, la France et l'Allemagne comme moyen d'assurer la paix internationale.

M. WILL THORNE, membre du Parlement anglais, représente avec M. Cooper, présent au Congrès, la presque totalité des travailleurs organisés de l'Angleterre. Il appuie cordialement la motion. La totalité des travailleurs d'un pays, dit-il, pourrait refuser de se battre, s'ils étaient convenablement organisés ; mais les soldats obéissent à la loi militaire, et si quelques-uns d'entre eux refusaient d'obéir à leurs officiers, ils seraient immédiatement fusillés. Le remède pourrait être ainsi pire que le mal. A tous les Congrès

socialistes auxquels il a assisté dans différentes parties du monde, des résolutions ont été prises en faveur de l'abolition des armées permanentes et de l'établissement des milices. Il espère voir le jour où toutes les armées permanentes seront supprimées. Ce jour viendra quand les travailleurs organisés auront fermement décidé que les armées permanentes ne doivent plus exister.

Il est heureux de voir au Congrès un très grand nombre de représentants allemands. Les travailleurs de l'Angleterre n'ont pas de motifs de guerre contre les ouvriers allemands; leurs efforts sont tournés uniquement contre les propriétaires et les capitalistes de tous les pays du monde. Aussi longtemps qu'il y aura des capitalistes, la guerre pourra éclater.

Parlant de la question de réduction des armements, il fait remarquer qu'une économie de 20 ou de 30 millions de livres sterling se manifesterait probablement par une plus grande misère des ouvriers actuellement occupés aux travaux militaires; mais si ces 30 millions de livres étaient employés à des usages productifs, à réorganiser l'industrie, à ramener les populations aux travaux de terre, l'argent serait alors mieux dépensé. Lorsqu'il considère les sommes affectées chaque année à l'armée et à la marine, et lorsqu'il voit l'attitude adoptée par le parti conservateur dans cette question, il est tout à fait surpris d'avoir eu connaissance de la lettre écrite hier par M. Balfour, dans laquelle celui-ci parle de son désir d'augmenter le bien-être des nations. A la prochaine session, le parti de M. Balfour demandera 100 millions de plus pour les dépenses navales; l'Allemagne devra en faire autant, et ainsi iront les choses jusqu'au jour où les travailleurs organisés mettront pour toujours une fin à cette politique absurde de suicide. (Applaudissements prolongés.)

M. KRAUTERKRAFT (Turin) a parlé aux ouvriers des usines militaires de Naples. Ils ont assuré que leur ignorance seule les empêchait d'abandonner leur travail destructeur et de consacrer leurs forces à un travail productif.

On met ensuite aux voix la motion présentée par M. Gignoux. Elle est adoptée sans aucune opposition.

L'après-midi, un train spécial a conduit les Congressistes au Château de Windsor, qu'ils ont pu visiter par une permission spéciale du Roi. D'autres délégués ont visité l'abbaye de Westminster sous la conduite du chanoine Duckworth. A leur retour ils ont parcouru l'Exposition franco-britannique, dans laquelle une Conférence pacifiste était organisée.

MM. J. G. Alexander, qui la présidait, Th. Ruyssen (France), Heilberg (Allemagne), Moneta (Italie), Allégret (France), Umfrid (Allemagne), et La Fontaine (Belgique), y ont successivement pris la parole. En même temps, une réception a eu lieu chez M. et Mme. Percy Bigland, à Chelsea.

## TROISIÈME SÉANCE PLÉNIÈRE.

*Jeudi matin, 30 Juillet.*

### **Déclaration du Congrès des Evêques.**

A l'ouverture de la séance, Lord Courtney of Penwith, qui préside, reçoit une députation de la Conférence des Evêques anglicans qui se tient à Lambeth. La députation est composée de l'Evêque de Ripon (Angleterre), de l'Evêque de Massachusetts (Etats Unis), et de l'Evêque de Perth (Australie).

L'Evêque de RIPON dit qu'il est fort honoré, non seulement d'être le porte-parole des Evêques assemblés à la conférence de Lambeth, mais aussi de participer en quelque manière aux travaux d'un Congrès qui a un but aussi digne d'efforts et d'éloges que le Congrès de la Paix. Nous avons eu, dit-il, une assemblée d'evêques chrétiens à Lambeth et nous avons discuté de nombreuses questions, concernant l'Eglise et les communautés chrétiennes existant dans toutes les parties du monde, mais nous n'avons pas négligé les grandes et importantes questions qui se débattent à votre Congrès.

Nous avons pris, à la conférence de Lambeth, une résolution au sujet de la question de la paix et de l'arbitrage, sans prévoir à ce moment que nous aurions l'occasion de la faire connaître au Congrès de la Paix ; elle est ainsi conçue :

La Conférence, bien que reconnaissant hautement les avantages moraux qu'ont pu procurer certaines guerres, se réjouit de voir chaque jour grandir la tendance à résoudre par des moyens pacifiques les difficultés internationales : il est heureux de reconnaître à cette occasion les services rendus par la Conférence de La Haye et lui adresse ses remerciements pour le travail utile qu'elle a accompli et pour les résultats qu'elle a obtenus, en faisant reconnaître par tous les délégués le principe de la responsabilité internationale ; enfin, considérant les dangers qui peuvent résulter des risques commerciaux et nationaux, elle estime que c'est un devoir urgent pour tous les peuples chrétiens d'abandonner les préjugés de race, de résoudre par des moyens pacifiques les difficultés qui naissent de l'opposition des intérêts, et de développer partout l'esprit de fraternelle coopération, pour le plus grand bien de l'humanité.

S'il m'est permis d'ajouter un mot au sujet de cette résolution,

ajoute l'Evêque de Ripon, je dirai qu'il y a un danger social et un esprit déplorable pouvant parfois être une cause de guerre, dans les préjugés de race. Je suis certain que vous tous, qui travaillez pour la Paix, vous comprenez la nécessité de réduire au minimum, de faire disparaître le déplorable esprit de chauvinisme. A mesure qu'une Nation se civilise, cet esprit tend à disparaître chez elle : certainement nous avons passé l'époque où l'ignorance pouvait entretenir les plus déplorables préjugés : il est certain que plus les nations se connaissent, plus elles se comprennent et plus elles ont le respect l'une de l'autre. Il faut vraiment être aveugle pour ne point voir que chaque nation est appelée à contribuer pour sa part à l'avancement et au progrès de l'humanité. Je me souviens d'avoir rencontré un homme qui désirait conserver certains préjugés à l'égard d'un autre personnage, et il me disait : Je vous prie de ne pas me le présenter : je veux pouvoir le haïr. Vous, Messieurs, vous avez fait un pas dans la voie de la diminution des haines, parce que vous avez dans vos Congrès appris à vous connaître les uns les autres. Pour détruire les préjugés, il n'y a rien de tel que de se connaître et je pense qu'il est inexact que, comme le dit certain proverbe, la fréquentation amène le mépris, mais qu'il est bien plus vrai qu'elle amène l'amitié. Nous allons vers un accroissement de la sympathie entre les nations : mais il ne faut pas oublier que, encore à présent, l'un des plus grands dangers, c'est que nous ne savons pas, lorsque nous avons quelque difficulté avec un autre peuple, nous mettre par la pensée à sa place.

Nous, les Evêques, nous avons la plus grande sympathie pour vos efforts, non seulement parce que vous cherchez à développer l'esprit de fraternité entre les peuples, mais parce que vous vous efforcez d'entraîner dans ce sens l'opinion publique, qui est le plus grand pouvoir des temps modernes. Si l'opinion publique est opposée à l'esprit de guerre, cet esprit a bien peu de chance de triompher : l'opinion publique est aujourd'hui la Reine du monde.

L'Evêque de MASSACHUSETTS dit que, comme représentant des Etats-Unis, il tient à insister sur ce point que la paix internationale dépend surtout de l'esprit et du caractère des peuples.

La guerre n'est pas sympathique au peuple des travailleurs, et comme celui-ci devient de plus en plus conscient et a de plus en plus d'influence sur les gouvernements, on peut concevoir des espérances en faveur de la paix internationale et de l'entente des nations. Demandez à un peuple intelligent de se faire une opinion, et d'ordinaire son opinion sera juste et honnête. Un des buts de la Conférence de La Haye a été de donner du temps pour réfléchir et de permettre

d'ajourner une guerre, pour pouvoir, en un moment critique, étudier les possibilités d'arrangement. Le gouvernement des Etats-Unis est un gouvernement du peuple par le peuple et pour le peuple. Et les Etats-Unis, à cause de leur gouvernement et à cause de leur position, peuvent être un facteur important de la Paix universelle.

L'Evêque de PERTH dit qu'il représente une contrée qui a d'immenses territoires avec une faible population. L'Australie souhaite la paix autant et peut-être plus que n'importe qui, car elle en a besoin pour se développer.

Il désire donner quelques explications au sujet de la pensée des Australiens, vis-à-vis du service obligatoire, pensée qui a été extrêmement mal comprise. Quand on les a vus demandant le service obligatoire, on a dit qu'ils aimaient la guerre. C'est le contraire qui est vrai. La guerre est bien souvent causée par la peur, et ce sont bien souvent les plus faibles qui se laissent le plus aisément gagner par la panique. Il y a de grands dangers dans les agissements d'un peuple qui n'encourt pas de responsabilités : on peut penser que si tous les gens qui discutent les questions d'honneur national et comptent sur les flottes anglaises pour venir défendre leurs affaires personnelles, se sentaient exposés à prendre eux-mêmes leur propre défense, ils n'auraient pas le même empressement à admettre des possibilités de guerre.

[Ce discours provoqua de nombreuses protestations ; plusieurs membres demandèrent la parole, mais on leur fit observer qu'il semblait préférable de ne pas entamer de discussion à ce sujet. Plusieurs personnes cependant exprimèrent leurs regrets de voir un évêque profiter du Congrès de la Paix pour venir faire l'éloge du service militaire obligatoire.]

LORD COURTNEY remercia la délégation. C'est, dit-il, une grande satisfaction pour nous de voir la démarche des Evêques anglicans venant apporter à la cause de la Paix leur appui, comme l'a déjà fait l'Eglise catholique au début du Congrès, comme l'ont fait les Eglises indépendantes. Il est heureux de la spontanéité de cette démarche, heureux de constater que les Evêques sont animés du même esprit que le Congrès. Il pense que le développement des échanges entre les nations, que le libre échange en particulier, est un grand facteur de pacification. En travaillant à réunir les races, on leur fait comprendre que le bien de l'une est aussi le bien de l'autre. Il remercie donc les Evêques au nom du Congrès et les prie de transmettre ces remerciements à leurs collègues de la Conférence de Lambeth.

Les Evêques s'étant retirés, Lord Courtney prie M. J. G. Alex-

ander de le remplacer à la présidence. MM. Houzeau de Lehaie, Vice-président pour la Belgique, et Moneta, Vice-président pour l'Italie, prennent place à ses côtés.

### Adresse au Roi.

M. QUIDDE, président de la Commission A, propose au nom de cette commission de voter des remerciements au roi pour sa réception d'une députation du Congrès. La résolution est ainsi conçue :

Le Congrès considère comme son premier devoir d'exprimer sa reconnaissance pour la faveur dont il a été l'objet de la part de S. M. le Roi.

Il désire constater que pour la première fois dans l'histoire du mouvement de la Paix, le chef d'une grande Puissance a daigné recevoir personnellement une députation du Congrès. Ce fait est la preuve de l'importance croissante du mouvement et une sanction de notre activité.

Le Congrès remercie S.M. de la manière la plus cordiale et la plus respectueuse pour avoir créé un important précédent dans l'histoire du mouvement de la Paix en accordant une audience à ses délégués.

Il désire aussi étendre à S.M. la Reine l'expression de sa gratitude pour la part gracieuse qu'elle a prise au témoignage rendu à ses efforts.

Convaincu que par cet accueil et les paroles qu'elle a prononcées à cette occasion, S.M. le Roi a contribué à assurer la paix et l'harmonie du monde, le Congrès a confiance qu'il continuera à lui accorder ses encouragements et sa sympathie, qui contribuent grandement au succès d'une œuvre si élevée.

Par acclamations, ce texte est approuvé.

### La Limitation des Armements.

M. G. H. PERRIS (Londres), rapporteur, constate que deux problèmes, étroitement connexes, se posent devant le monde civilisé : celui de la misère et celui des armements. Il est ridicule que chaque année des centaines de millions continuent à être gaspillés. Prenez patience, nous dit-on, les choses sont en bonne voie : les visites de souverains se multiplient, les traités d'arbitrage tissent leur réseau. Oui ! mais malgré ces faits, nous constatons la recrudescence des armements. Pour garantir la paix ! prétend-on. Emplit-on une maison de dynamite pour l'empêcher de sauter ? — C'est cependant l'avis de gens autorisés, nous est-il objecté. — Je comprends que ce soit l'avis de Lord Roberts ou de Lord Cromer, si fortement rentés par le gouvernement, qu'on ne puisse distraire pour les retraites ouvrières les millions du budget de la guerre.

L'histoire, même contemporaine, nous enseigne cependant que la limitation des armements est possible. La Grande-Bretagne et

les Etats-Unis ont cessé toute défense militaire sur leur vaste frontière du Canada. Le Chili et l'Argentine ont limité leurs forces de guerre. La séparation admirable de la Norvège et de la Suède s'est opérée avec l'engagement formel qu'un pays ne s'armerait pas contre l'autre.

Nous avons formé en Angleterre, pour étudier le problème, un Comité composé de publicistes, d'économistes et même d'un général. La Comité a formulé une série de propositions: une des plus importantes tend à abolir le droit de capture de la propriété privée sur mer. La Grande Bretagne est le plus grand des pirates: elle ne veut pas abdiquer le droit d'armer librement ses corsaires. Aux Etats-Unis M. Mead a également organisé un Comité représentatif pour étudier la question d'une limitation des armements.

A Munich, nous avons nommé une Commission permanente spéciale, laquelle s'est réunie hier. Il faudrait que quelque chose de positif fût tenté et que l'on n'attendît point la troisième Conférence de La Haye pour se mettre d'accord. L'Angleterre a proposé à la deuxième Conférence—en vue d'arriver à restreindre au moins les dépenses de la flotte—que les puissances navales se communiquent les programmes relatifs à la marine. Ceci ne fut pas accepté. Il nous appartient d'encourager le gouvernement dans cette attitude en éclairant et en poussant l'opinion.

Les masses commencent à être lasses d'entendre tant de paroles de paix sans jamais voir des actes en accord avec ces paroles. Elles savent, quand il le faut, agir et se faire comprendre. L'exemple de la Turquie nous l'enseigne. Qu'un effort soit tenté, pendant qu'il en est temps encore, seul moyen d'empêcher le mécontentement, qui gronde partout, d'éclater en révolution.

Le vœu proposé par la Commission est le suivant:

1. Considérant que, comme l'a fait remarquer le premier délégué anglais à La Haye le 17 août 1907, les dépenses annuelles d'armement des puissances d'Europe, des Etats-Unis et du Japon ont passé, entre la première et la seconde Conférence de La Haye, de fr. 6.275 millions à fr. 8 milliards, soit une augmentation de fr. 1.725 millions en huit ans, et que s'il n'y est pas porté remède, il y aura un nouvel accroissement de cet horrible gaspillage avant la troisième Conférence de La Haye en 1914;

Considérant les dangers d'une faillite politique internationale de cette importance, et que, selon l'avis de M. Bourgeois, il faut avant la prochaine Conférence entreprendre résolument l'étude de la question;

Considérant l'offre du gouvernement anglais de négocier avec les puissances dans le but d'arrêter les armements navals;

Le Congrès exprime ardemment le vœu que de telles négociations soient entreprises et qu'on convoque sans délai une Conférence spéciale des grandes puissances navales pour arrêter un plan pratique d'arrêt des

armements qui pourra, s'il a été appliqué avec succès, servir de base à une convention plus générale lors de la troisième Conférence de La Haye.

(2.) Le Congrès exprime l'avis que, pour le moment, un moyen pratique de mettre un terme à la progression des armements consisterait à conclure pour une courte durée un accord par lequel chaque Etat contractant s'engagerait à ne pas dépasser, pour les budgets de la guerre et de la marine, la moyenne des dépenses qu'il a effectuées pendant la période précédente d'égale durée pour ces mêmes budgets.

M. DUMAS (Rethel, France): Si j'ai bien compris, Sir Edward Fry et les autres délégués à la Conférence ont estimé que cette Conférence ne pourrait pas mettre à exécution les résolutions proposées, parce que les études techniques préliminaires ne sont pas encore achevées. Je propose donc que la résolution demande que les études préliminaires soient commencées sans retard, afin que la résolution de la Conférence\* puisse être exécutée sans délai.

M. DUMAS annonce que le procès concernant le legs Thibault touche à sa fin, qu'en sa qualité de légataire il est disposé à contribuer pour une forte somme aux dépenses du Comité qui étudierait les questions techniques qui doivent être décidées pour que la résolution des Etats concernant la limitation des armements puisse être mise à exécution.

M. YARNALL (Philadelphie) insiste pour que le gouvernement britannique prenne l'initiative de cette Conférence, le plus tôt possible. La tâche lui sera facilitée par l'appui du Parlement britannique, puisque, hier encore, 144 députés lui ont présenté une adresse en faveur d'une réduction des dépenses de guerre. Il y a en outre dans ce pays, plus que partout ailleurs, un parti puissant dans l'opinion publique qui rendra cette initiative plus aisée au gouvernement. Il propose, d'accord avec plusieurs membres du Comité, d'ajouter à cette résolution l'alinéa suivant :

Le Congrès décide, en outre, que le Gouvernement de la Grande-Bretagne soit instamment prié de convoquer la Conférence dont il s'agit aussitôt que les circonstances le permettront.

Le PRESIDENT annonce que la Commission consent.

Dr. G. B. CLARK (Anglais): Le délégué anglais à La Haye, parlant de l'augmentation des armements n'a pas dit dans quelles proportions l'Angleterre s'était laissée entraîner dans cette course à la ruine. Nous avons 3 soldats pour 2 d'il y a 10 ans, nous coûtant

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\* La 2<sup>me</sup> Conférence de la Paix confirme la résolution adoptée par la Conférence de 1899 à l'égard de la limitation des charges militaires; et, vu que les charges militaires se sont considérablement accrues dans presque tous les pays depuis la dite année, la Conférence déclare qu'il est hautement désirable de voir les Gouvernements reprendre l'étude sérieuse de cette question.

chacun 2 sh. 6 au lieu de 1 sh. Nous avons donc, en 10 ans, plus que doublé nos frais de guerre et augmenté de  $\frac{1}{3}$  nos effectifs.

En Allemagne et en France, on ne dépense pas proportionnellement autant. Nous sommes donc très coupables. Quelle est la politique qui précèdera le désarmement? Etablir une limitation des dépenses navales n'est pas chose aisée. L'Allemagne ne voudra pas en entendre parler tant que la propriété privée sur mer ne sera pas inviolable. On s'étonne qu'elle augmenté sa flotte de guerre—mais cette augmentation n'est que proportionnelle au progrès de sa flotte mercantile que, dans l'état du droit actuel, elle se doit de protéger. Si l'Angleterre voulait renoncer à son droit de piraterie et admettre l'inviolabilité de la propriété sur mer, un accord serait possible. Peut être l'Allemagne consentirait-elle aussi à l'interdiction des mines sous marines, utiles contre les pirates.

M. MONETA rappelle qu'il y a plusieurs années l'Italie a commencé un désarmement partiel. Elle n'a pas été suivie. Mais la question n'était pas aussi avancée qu'elle l'est aujourd'hui. Il pense que si une grande nation prenait l'initiative de désarmer sans attendre la signature d'une convention expresse, elle atteindrait à une prospérité économique telle que les autres nations ne tarderaient pas à l'imiter.

M. QUIDDE (Munich) croit qu'on a exagéré la responsabilité et les torts de l'Angleterre. Ceux de l'Allemagne ne sont pas moins considérables—notamment lorsqu'elle a repoussé les avances de la Grande Bretagne. Si bien que maintenant pour un cuirassé allemand construit, l'Angleterre en met deux en chantier—sans qu'il y ait aucune raison pour que cela finisse. Le plus stupide des arguments a été donné par un de nos délégués à La Haye. l'Allemagne peut supporter facilement ses charges, cela signifie-t-il qu'elle doive se les imposer!

## QUATRIÈME SÉANCE DU CONGRÈS.

*Jeudi, Après-midi.*

*Président : Mr. J. G. ALEXANDER.*

*Assisté par MM. HOUZEAU DE LEHAIE et MONETA.*

### Question Turque.—Limitation des Armements.

Le PRÉSIDENT propose d'envoyer un télégramme de sympathie à M. Fréd. Passy et de charger officiellement M. Bajer fils, des salutations du Congrès pour M. et Mme. Bajer.

Il invite M. Ahmed Riza Bey, représentant du parti Jeune Turc, qui doit repartir aujourd'hui pour Paris, à présenter son rapport sur la question de Turquie.

M. AHMED RIZA n'a pas l'intention de décrire la situation actuelle de son pays, il lui suffit d'en indiquer brièvement les causes : le régime arbitraire et le despotisme, les troubles amenés par la propagande des agitateurs de profession et d'agents provocateurs qui excitent les populations au chauvinisme et au fanatisme, les rivalités des Puissances, l'anarchie diplomatique, une politique qui consiste à favoriser l'élément chrétien en Turquie, action néfaste de la Russie en Macédoine et en Bulgarie, l'esprit belliqueux qui règne dans les Balkans et les troubles économiques. La tâche la plus importante des amis de la Paix consiste à désarmer les haines, les passions, la duplicité et à réconcilier les divers partis. L'influence morale, unie à l'application de la Constitution de 1876 promulguée par le Sultan, suffira pour régénérer l'Empire Ottoman et assurer la paix en Orient.

Il propose la résolution suivante :

Le Congrès a appris avec satisfaction qu'à la suite des récents événements survenus en Turquie, la Constitution de 1876, qui garantit la liberté civile et religieuse, a été accordée aux sujets de l'Empire ottoman ; il espère que les différentes nationalités relevant de l'autorité turque seront désormais soumises aux mêmes droits et aux mêmes devoirs, sans distinction de race ni de religion.

Le Congrès demande aux Puissances d'appuyer énergiquement les réformes légales et constitutionnelles récemment annoncées.

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Le Congrès espère que, sur la base de cette Constitution, il sera possible d'aboutir à une solution pacifique et complète des conflits de nationalités, en renonçant à la dangereuse méthode des réformes spécialement réservées à tel ou tel groupe de nationalités, ce qui entraîne une agitation inutile et propre à compromettre la paix en Orient.

M. le Docteur KOLBEN (Vienne) demande que le Congrès prie les Puissances de s'opposer par tous les moyens pacifiques, au retour du déplorable état de choses qui avait prévalu dans le passé. Cette addition, étant acceptée par la Commission, est incorporée à la résolution.

Madame THOUMAIAN rappelle que 17 ans auparavant elle avait parlé au Congrès de Londres. Dans ce temps-là on se moquait d'eux tous comme Pacifistes. Maintenant le Roi et le Premier Ministre croient à leur Mission et les reçoivent. Et cependant combien encore il y a à faire! Au nom des deux Sociétés arméniennes qu'elle représente elle est venue demander pour les habitants de l'Empire Ottoman, comprenant l'Arménie, deux choses: (1.) L'égalité des droits, sans aucune différence de race et de religion. (2.) Le soutien des Grandes Puissances pour cela. (1.) Quant à l'égalité pour tous—dieu a fait d'un seul sang tout le genre humain. Pourquoi des différences? Dans les hôpitaux on reçoit tout le monde: chrétiens et mahométans. Ne doit-on pas en faire de même dans les grand hôpital qu'on appelle le monde? Cela seul est le vrai Christianisme. Il ne faudrait pas trop se reposer sur la Constitution qui vient d'être accordée à la Turquie. C'est la même Constitution qu'on a accordée en 1876—et rien, absolument rien, n'en advint. (2.) Le soutien des Puissances est nécessaire pour la mise en pratique de la Constitution. Unissons-nous dans le grand but devant nous, envoyant, un rayon d'espoir à ces malheureuses nations de l'Orient, si bouleversées! Quoi de mieux que d'accomplir cela par la Paix, et en frères et sœurs! Nous ne voulons plus de promesses seules, nous en sommes fatigués. Non plus de Constitution en papier seulement, ni de Constitution qui sonne bien en gros mais est tuée en détail. Efforçons-nous enfin de donner la Paix à ces contrées malheureuses.

Et, pendant que ces nations souffrent, et sont en conséquence comme en fermentation, que faisons—nous dans ces pays de l'occident? Nous surtout, nous femmes? Nous perdons beaucoup trop de temps à des choses mesquines et non nécessaires. Apprenons à simplifier notre vie, afin de pouvoir nous consacrer plus complètement à la grande Cause de la Paix, à l'Interieur des Nations tout aussi bien qu'à l'extérieur. Sachons non-seulement sacrifier plus

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Congress excursion to Windsor Castle. July 29th, 1908.  
A group taken near the Station.



pour cela, mais aussi nous sacrifier nous mêmes. Les six Grandes Puissances ont échoué à procurer à l'Arménie et aux autres Nations de la Turquie les réformes qui leur sont indispensables, mais Dieu a donné à chacun de nous six puissances plus grandes encore, à consacrer au salut de notre prochain, qui comprend le sujet Ottoman comme les autres. Ces puissances sont : La Prière, l'Amour, le Temps, l'Argent, la Réflexion, la Force.

M. MOSCHELES appuie la résolution, qui est adoptée dans les termes suivants :

Le Congrès, apprenant avec la plus grande satisfaction qu'à la suite des événements récents en Turquie, la constitution de 1876, qui garantit la liberté civile et religieuse, a été accordée aux sujets de l'Empire Ottoman,

Espère que les diverses nations soumises à la domination turque seront investies dorénavant des mêmes droits et des mêmes devoirs, sans distinction de race ni de religion ;

Le Congrès demande que les Puissances appuient fermement à l'avenir les réformes légales et constitutionnelles récemment promises et qu'elles s'opposent par tous les moyens pacifiques au retour du regrettable ancien état de choses ;

Le Congrès espère que sur la base de cette Constitution, il sera possible d'apporter une solution pacifique intégrale aux conflits des nationalités, en abandonnant la voie périlleuse des réformes spéciales à certains groupements nationaux, qui risque d'introduire en Orient une agitation stérile et dangereuse pour la paix.

## Limitation des Armements.

*(Suite de la Discussion).*

Le Congrès présidé par M. Houzeau de Lehaie, reprend la discussion sur la limitation des armements.

Dr. KOLBEN (Vienne) critique cette proposition, souvent répétée, que l'amélioration des relations des Etats Européens doit précéder le désarmement. Il faut se hâter si l'on ne veut que le peuple résolve le problème par des moyens violents. Il propose que les nations nomment des Comités pour agiter la question, obtenir des chiffres et les renseignements nécessaires de l'administration militaire. Il préconise enfin l'action vigoureuse des femmes.

Sir FRANCIS VANE, ancien officier, proteste contre l'absurdité de nos armements fantastiques. Ils ne tuent peut-être pas plus de gens qu'il n'en était tué autrefois sur le champ de bataille ; — mais loin du champ de bataille, ils sont la cause du meurtre des enfants, des femmes et des malades qui, dans leur pays, meurent de privations. On a parlé de limiter le poids des obus. Ce serait une sen-

sible économie de vies humaines—non sur le terrain de la guerre—mais par l'affectation des sommes ainsi épargnées, aux besoins des malheureux *at home*.

Dr. HEILBERG (Breslau) propose de supprimer la deuxième partie de la proposition relative au maintien, pendant un certain nombre d'années, d'une moyenne de dépenses. C'est une suggestion dénuée de tout caractère pratique, qui nous fera considérer comme des gens peu sérieux, des idéologues et des utopistes. Il rappelle certaines idées émises à la première Conférence de La Haye par le Colonel Schwarzkoppen, délégué allemand. Les dépenses militaires ne sont pas uniquement celles qui sont inscrites au budget des divers Etats. Il y a encore les dépenses indirectes, par exemple les chemins de fer stratégiques, qui ne sont pas inscrits au budget.

M. MEAD (Boston) rappelle les paroles que prononçait il y a juste trente ans, un homme d'Etat anglais, M. John Bright: "La concurrence économique de l'Amérique, n'ayant pas de budget de guerre, changera la politique du monde."

La prophétie ne s'est pas réalisée. L'Amérique a suivi l'erreur commune. Deux tiers de son budget sont affectés aujourd'hui aux dépenses de guerre. Comment, dans ces conditions, le peuple croirait-il à la paix? Il y a cependant un mouvement de réaction au Congrès, qui vient de refuser le vote de 300 millions de francs demandés par le Gouvernement pour construire des bâtiments de guerre. La frontière du Canada, qui n'est pas fortifiée, est la frontière la mieux défendue du monde. Les Etats-Unis sont prêts à déclarer inviolable la propriété maritime et à prohiber l'armement des corsaires. Nous voterons donc entièrement la motion proposée par M. Perris.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée sans opposition pour la première partie.

L'amendement de M. Yarnall est également admis:

Le Congrès prie respectueusement le Gouvernement britannique de prendre le plus promptement possible l'initiative de cette Conférence.

La deuxième partie, dont M. Heilberg a demandé la suppression, est également adoptée, après de courtes observations de MM. Perris et Mead. Le premier s'étonne qu'on apporte au Congrès des paroles du Colonel de Schwarzkoppen, dignes des temps antédiluviens. Nous sommes ici pour faire des suggestions pratiques. La nôtre appuiera l'initiative prise par les 144 députés signataires de l'adresse au Gouvernement britannique.

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# RÉUNION POUR LA JEUNESSE

## À QUEEN'S HALL,

*Jeudi, 30 Juillet, à 7½ heures du soir.*

*Président : Mr. J. G. ALEXANDER.*

Au commencement de la réunion a eu lieu une représentation de gala des "Boy's Life Brigades" corps de sauvetage dont le Capitaine Norton (56, Old Bailey, London, E.C.), qui a dirigé la représentation de Queen's Hall, est l'un des principaux initiateurs.

Ces brigades ont été formées en vue de combattre la mauvaise influence des "corps de cadets" et d'enseigner à la jeunesse comment on conserve la vie et quelle en est la valeur. Elles se recrutent de jeunes gens de 12 à 20 ans et ont des grades et des uniformes comme les corps militaires. Les exercices de tir sont remplacés par des exercices de sauvetage en cas d'accident et d'incendie. Les élèves apprennent aussi à porter secours aux gens qui se noient et aux blessés. La représentation de Queen's Hall a montré que les jeunes Pacifistes savent secourir les incendiés et que les appareils de sauvetage n'ont pas de secrets pour eux.

Les représentations étaient encadrées de productions musicales. Plusieurs discours ont été prononcés, entre autres par Sir Wm. Collins, membre du Parlement, qui représentait l'Université de Londres, Mr. G. H. Perris, le Rev. C. Sylvester Horne, Miss Pearson (Boston, Etats-Unis), et Miss Ellen Robinson, qui a dit à son jeune auditoire que c'est sur eux que leurs aînés comptent pour combler les vides et pour assurer à l'œuvre commencée la victoire définitive.

## 5me SÉANCE,

*Vendredi, 31 Juillet, à 10½ heures du matin.*

*Président : Mr. J. G. ALEXANDER.*

M. ALEXANDER, en ouvrant la séance, donne lecture d'un télégramme de M. Frédéric Passy remerciant le Congrès de ses compliments et formant des vœux pour la réussite de ses travaux.

### **Neutralité des rives des mers du Nord et de la Baltique.**

Dr. KOHT (Christiania) explique qu'il ne s'agit point ici de neutralisation, mais de garantie de la neutralité. Il parle des traités de 1907 et de 1908. Il dit que ces traités font suite à celui de 1855 entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne, d'une part, et la Norvège et la Suède, d'autre part. L'ancien traité était dirigé contre la Russie, ce qui n'est pas le cas pour les nouveaux traités, le Congrès les accueillera donc avec joie. Il lit la motion proposée par la Commission A :

Le Congrès prend acte avec reconnaissance des efforts faits en vue d'assurer la paix et de protéger les droits des petits Etats qui ont trouvé leur expression dans les traités des années 1907 et 1908, garantissant l'intégrité de la Norvège et des territoires riverains de la Mer du Nord et de la Baltique ;

Toutefois, il maintient en même temps le principe qu'une sécurité durable et certaine doit être cherchée non seulement dans les relations établies entre les grandes puissances en vue d'assurer la protection des petites, mais dans le développement de rapports juridiques identiques entre toutes les nations indépendantes.

M. UMFRID (Allemagne) voit dans ces traités un précédent heureux d'une protection garantie par les puissances, qui pourra insensiblement s'étendre à chacune d'elles.

Dr. SILVA (Ceylan) pense qu'il serait temps de songer à étendre hors d'Europe, aux pays de l'Extrême-Orient, les principes exprimés par la deuxième partie de la motion. Les puissances fortes peuvent seules obtenir justice—par leurs armes. Les peuples d'Orient qui,

en conformité de leur philosophie et de leur religion, sont restés désarmés, sont devenus la proie des Occidentaux. Il se crée une agitation parmi eux, nettement perceptible au Siam, en Chine, qui veulent imiter le Japon pour secouer la tutelle étrangère. Que deviendra l'Europe si les multitudes orientales s'arment avec les procédés perfectionnés des Occidentaux? C'est là une grave préoccupation qui ne devrait point être négligée des hommes prévoyants. Il espère que des efforts seront faits en vue d'attirer les nations de l'Orient vers le Pacifisme et d'enrayer le danger.

Il est appuyé par M. ALEXANDER.

M. DARBY approuve aussi la deuxième partie de la résolution dans le sens indiqué par les précédents orateurs. Mais pour lui il n'y a ni grande ni petite puissance. Toutes ont des droits égaux—et elles sont grandes lorsqu'elles ont donné au monde l'exemple de dignité, de noblesse, et de "self-control," que la Norvège a fourni au monde lors de sa séparation d'avec le Suède. Témoin oculaire de la conduite du peuple norvégien à ces heures, il a tenu à lui rendre ici ce sincère hommage.

La proposition de la Commission A est adoptée.

### Question du Maroc.

M. RUYSEN, rapporteur, pense qu'il n'y a, sur ce point, qu'à renouveler le vœu émis l'an dernier à Munich. La situation de fait ne peut être étudiée par nous, les principes seuls nous intéressent. Nous devons les rappeler à chaque occasion.

Si la situation au Maroc n'a pas créé, quant à présent, les difficultés qu'on avait pu craindre au point de vue politique, il y a eu cependant un travail constant dans la presse tendant à brouiller les cartes. Nous devons protester contre l'exploitation malsaine des moindres incidents par une certaine presse et par une partie de l'opinion. C'est ce qu'a voulu faire le vœu de la Commission A.

M. TARRIDA DEL MARMOL (Espagnol, délégué d'une Société Portugaise) proteste contre la première partie de la résolution :

Le Congrès, considérant que la tâche entreprise par un ou plusieurs Etats civilisés d'établir la police dans un pays de moindre culture, risque toujours de dégénérer en guerre de conquêtes contre ce pays, ou même en conflits armés entre les Etats civilisés intéressés au maintien de l'ordre dans ce pays,

Emet le vœu que les opérations entreprises au Maroc par la France et l'Espagne se bornent strictement à rétablir l'ordre et à assurer la sécurité des étrangers.

Cette proposition, reconnaissant que l'intervention franco-espagnole a pour objet de rétablir l'ordre et de protéger la sécurité des étrangers, semble justifier une action qui est en réalité un acte de piraterie internationale basé sur de faux prétextes. En effet, cette intervention, au lieu de créer l'ordre, a introduit des désordres dans le pays ; sous prétexte de protéger des vies humaines que personne ne menaçait, on a massacré des femmes, des enfants, et des hommes presque sans défense, et on a créé une exaspération dans le pays qui est précisément l'élément qui met en danger cette vie des étrangers qu'on prétend protéger.

Je tiens de nombreux amis qui connaissent le Maroc, et notamment du distingué explorateur Cunninghame Graham, que les Marocains, loin d'être les sauvages qu'on nous dépeint, ont une conception de la civilisation et du respect humain bien supérieur à la conception chrétienne.

Je crois donc qu'au lieu de demander aux Franco-Espagnols d'assurer un ordre qu'eux seuls menacent, nous devons leur demander d'évacuer purement et simplement le Maroc.

Mme. DRYHURST (Londres) appuie la proposition d'omettre la première partie du vœu.

M. HUCHET (Le Havre) : Je suis heureux d'avoir entendu un Espagnol protester au nom de la moralité et de la civilisation contre la guerre du Maroc. Lorsque j'ai lu cette résolution, j'en ai souffert dans ma dignité de Français, la honte m'est montée au visage. Cette résolution est un laissez passer et un laissez faire, en la votant nous nous rendrions complices de l'état actuel des choses. On dit que les étrangers ne sont pas en sécurité au Maroc ; s'ils n'y sont pas, qu'ils reviennent chez eux. Est-ce qu'à Londres, Paris, Madrid, il n'y a pas des malfaiteurs ? Et pour quelques apaches marocains ayant assassiné une douzaine d'Européens, nous envoyons nos apaches français ou espagnols qui tuent des centaines de Marocains, parmi lesquels, des enfants, des femmes, et des vieillards. C'est un fait qui n'est ignoré de personne. Les meilleurs de nos parlementaires ont dénoncé ces iniquités à la Chambre, et ont demandé le retrait des troupes. Voyons, mesdames et messieurs, depuis quand aura-t-on le droit d'aller faire la police chez les autres ? En Russie, en Turquie on tue, et cependant on ne dit rien, bien mieux, on semble par notre silence donner notre approbation ! Cette résolution n'a pas lieu d'être amendée ; elle doit être repoussée purement et simplement.

M. BOUILLON : J'ai entendu une parole qui m'a été fort pénible. Elle est inexacte. J'ai le devoir de la relever et de la réfuter. On

a dit que c'est au nom de la civilisation chrétienne que des troupes ont été envoyées au Maroc pour verser le sang. C'est une erreur. Ce n'est pas au nom de la civilisation chrétienne. C'est au nom d'une civilisation séparée du christianisme, qui prétend pouvoir se passer du christianisme, et qui est souvent en lutte contre le christianisme. A cette conception erronée j'ai donc le devoir d'opposer les formules authentiques du christianisme. En voici quelques-unes.

"Ce n'est point dans la force ni dans la puissance que vous trouverez le succès, mais dans mon Esprit, dit le Seigneur, l'Eternel."

Cette parole est du prophète Zacharie. Voici une parole de Jésus à Pierre : "Remets ton épée dans le fourreau. Celui qui tire l'épée périra par l'épée."

"Heureux ceux qui procurent la paix, car ils seront appelés enfants de Dieu."

"Recherchez, poursuivez la paix."

"Ayez vos pieds dirigés par les dispositions que donne l'Evangile de paix."

Voilà la vérité.

M. RUYSSSEN dit sa désapprobation des paroles prononcées contre les soldats et les officiers envoyés au Maroc. On ne peut porter un jugement de moralité avant d'être impartialement informé, et les paroles violentes apportées à la tribune par M. Huchet prouvent que la presse chauviniste n'est pas seule susceptible d'un parti pris très étroit. Il maintient l'avis de la Commission de n'exprimer sur la question du Maroc que les principes directeurs de notre parti.

M. DUPLESSIX (Rennes) unit ses protestations à celles de M. Ruyssen contre les paroles prononcées au sujet des soldats français.

M. ARNAUD, appuyé par M. QUIDDE, propose de supprimer du vœu la partie préliminaire et d'en voter la deuxième partie relative à nos principes.

Le vœu modifié devient :

A l'occasion de l'action entreprise au Maroc, le Congrès rappelle les résolutions votées à maintes reprises par les congrès antérieurs sur les droits imprescriptibles des populations mineures.

Il exprime en particulier le regret qu'une question qui n'engage ni les intérêts vitaux, ni l'honneur des nations européennes soit traitée dans certains milieux avec un parti-pris de violence et d'animosité susceptible d'entraîner des conflits plus graves et plus généraux,

Et demande qu'au cas où surgiraient de pareils conflits, les litiges soient renvoyés sans exception ni retard devant la Cour de La Haye et qu'un traité spécial d'arbitrage permanent soumette à cette Cour toutes les difficultés sans exceptions.

Le vœu est adopté à l'unanimité.

### Ballons Dirigeables.

M. QUIDDE : En 1899, à La Haye, les Etats se sont engagés à ne pas lancer des projectiles du haut des ballons pendant cinq ans. En 1907, l'Allemagne, l'Italie, la Russie et quelques autres Etats se sont refusés à renouveler cette prohibition. Nous proposons un vœu tendant à les amener à renoncer à cette faculté.

M. VANDERPOL (Lyon) est d'avis qu'on doit considérer quels seraient les moyens d'obtenir des résultats capitaux avec le minimum de vies humaines sacrifiées et, par suite, il lui paraît inutile de protester contre leur emploi. Même si l'on admet, ce qui n'est pas dans ma pensée, que les Congrès Internationaux de la Paix aient à se préoccuper du plus ou moins de cruauté qu'emporte avec soi la guerre, même si l'on peut regretter que toutes les conquêtes de la science soient immédiatement mises à profit par l'art militaire, le Congrès ferait fausse route en demandant l'interdiction du jet de projectiles du haut des ballons, cette manière de combattre devant être l'une de celles qui feraient (tout en permettant d'obtenir des résultats importants) le moins grand nombre de victimes, comparée à celles aujourd'hui en usage dans la guerre.

Mme. DE SUTTNER (Autriche) regrette de voir le Congrès s'engager dans la voie d'élaboration du droit de la guerre. En cette matière, il doit nous suffire de protester contre de nouvelles cruautés. Mais ne légiférons pas!

Cette opinion n'est pas partagée par MM. QUIDDE et DUMAS. Ce dernier est d'avis qu'il est impossible de les séparer tout à fait, et que le code de la guerre est le seul chemin pratique pour obtenir un code de la Paix.

M. FRIED : On ne peut pas empêcher les inventions, mais on peut essayer d'en régler l'emploi.

On sait que la convention qui a été signée en 1899 à l'effet d'interdire le jet d'explosifs du haut de ballons a été renouvelée par un certain nombre d'Etats, mais il en est beaucoup encore qui n'ont pas signé ou refusé de signer. Ils sont au nombre de vingt-deux.

Il a été d'avis, au sein de la Commission B, qu'une invitation soit adressée à ces Etats à l'effet qu'ils donnent leur signature. J'étiens à signaler que le refus de signature a été basé sur ce fait qu'une convention a été conclue qui interdit d'une manière générale le bombardement des places non défendues. Mais cette convention permet le bombardement des places fortes. J'ai donc l'honneur de déposer l'amendement suivant :

Le Congrès invite les vingt-deux Etats qui n'ont pas signé le renou-

vement de la convention qui interdit le jet d'explosifs du haut de ballons à adhérer à ce renouvellement.

L'amendement est accepté.

M. QUIDDE donne lecture de sa proposition qui, mise aux voix, est adoptée à une forte majorité :

I. Le Congrès proteste de la façon la plus énergique contre la tendance qui consiste à envisager la grande invention des ballons dirigeables exclusivement comme un instrument de guerre.

Il aperçoit dans la conquête de l'air un événement qui contribuera au développement de la civilisation et considère comme une fâcheuse aberration l'appréciation qui est faite de ce grand progrès technique à un point de vue purement militaire.

II. Le Congrès invite spécialement les 22 Etats qui ont refusé de signer le renouvellement de la Convention de 1890, qui interdit de lancer des projectiles et des explosifs du haut des ballons, à adhérer à cette convention.

## 6me. SÉANCE.

*Vendredi, 31 Juillet, à 2½ heures de l'après-midi.*

*Président : MR. J. G. ALEXANDER.*

Mrs. COLBY (Portland, Oregon) transmet un message de sympathie de la "Women's Freedom League" communiquant au Congrès la résolution du Conseil international des Femmes, qui a adopté le mouvement pour la Paix et l'Arbitrage comme "plateforme" principale de son programme.

M. le Prof. QUIDDE transmet les salutations des "Hirsch-Dunker Gewerkschaften."

### Organisation Juridique Internationale.

M. ARNAUD, rapporteur de la Commission B, s'étonne et regrette que la délégation du Parlement français venue à Londres ces jours derniers ne se soit pas efforcée de faire coïncider son voyage avec l'époque de notre Congrès.

Il fait un historique savant des progrès réalisés depuis 20 ans dans l'organisation des moyens pacifiques de résoudre les conflits internationaux. Un à un les principes élaborés dans nos congrès pénètrent la conscience des hommes d'Etat et prennent droit de cité dans le code international qui s'élabore lentement.

Les formules proposées aujourd'hui par la Commission B semblent être des vœux rédigés dans nos commissions : ils satisfont pleinement à nos desiderata. Et cependant ils reproduisent, presque mot pour mot, les dispositions contenues dans les conventions signées à La Haye.

Le Congrès ne pourra que les adopter sans hésitation :

1. Considérant que les principes de progrès formulés par les 26 puissances représentées à la Conférence de la Paix de 1899 et confirmés par les 44 puissances signataires des Conventions et Déclarations de 1907 sont définitivement acquis,

Le Congrès prend acte, en particulier, des décisions unanimes suivantes,

dont l'ensemble constitue une solide "plateforme" sur laquelle doivent être édifiés les progrès à réaliser ultérieurement :

"Toutes les Puissances ont le devoir de concourir avec la plus ferme volonté au maintien de la paix générale et de favoriser de tous leurs efforts le règlement pacifique des conflits internationaux ;

"Les Nations civilisées constituent une Société. Les membres de cette Société sont solidaires, soumis à l'empire du droit et à une justice internationale ;

"L'arbitrage doit devenir obligatoire ;

"Les lois de l'humanité et les exigences de la conscience publique ont, pour la sauvegarde des peuples que ne protégerait pas suffisamment le Droit des gens, un caractère impératif ;

"L'appel aux armes n'est plus qu'une hypothèse extrême, conséquence d'événements que la sollicitude de toutes les Nations n'aurait pu détourner. Ses effets désastreux doivent être limités. Sa survivance ne doit point empêcher la limitation des charges militaires excessives qui pèsent sur le monde."

Comme le Congrès ne saurait admettre la nécessité inéluctable de la guerre, il appelle l'attention des Peuples sur l'importance de ces principes et de ces formules. Il les engage, dans l'intérêt de la civilisation et de l'avenir de l'humanité à en faire respecter partout l'application.

2. Le Congrès émet le vœu que les Puissances qui se sont déclarées favorables à l'application, dans des cas déterminés, du principe de l'arbitrage obligatoire unanimement adopté, concluent le plus tôt possible entre elles une Convention générale d'arbitrage obligatoire permanent.

3. Le Congrès exprime une fois de plus le vœu que les Gouvernements instituent au plus tôt des Commissions nationales et une Commission internationale ayant pour mission de préparer un projet complet de Code de Droit international public.

M. UMFRID n'aime pas que des pacifistes puissent admettre la guerre même comme "une hypothèse extrême." Elle n'est une solution à aucun point de vue. L'idée d'une codification du droit international public lui paraît appeler aussi quelques réserves. Il demande que les passages ayant trait à ces deux ordres d'idées soient supprimés ou modifiés.

M. LA FONTAINE : M. Umfrid n'a pas compris que le texte de la première partie des résolutions soumises est extrait des conventions de La Haye et engage les Etats, sans nous lier. Quant à la codification, bien des essais en ont été déjà faits (Bluntschli, Pascale Fiori, Duplessix) qui en prouvent la possibilité. Les diplomates ont objecté à La Haye, lorsqu'on leur soumit la proposition d'un tribunal international, que le Code manquait pour l'application duquel ce tribunal pourrait être créé. Fournissons-leur ce Code et l'objection tombera.

M. le Dr. TRUEBLOOD insiste dans un discours très écouté sur le devoir des Pacifistes de tous les pays de faire connaître l'œuvre si

dépréciée de la Conférence, si peu connue et si mal jugée par le grand public. Il estime que la Conférence a fait bien plus qu'on ne le pense généralement. Il souhaite que l'un des Comités rédige une résolution qui condense en cinq ou six paragraphes, ce qui a été fait à La Haye. La propagande pacifiste, jusqu'à la 3<sup>m</sup>e Conférence, doit se baser sur l'œuvre de La Haye. Il espère que le rapport du Congrès contiendra un résumé de ce qu'a fait la Conférence au point de vue pacifiste.

Le projet original ayant été légèrement modifié en suite d'observations de MM. Clark, Alexander, et Dumas, a été adopté dans les termes ci-dessus.

### Organisation Politique Internationale.

M. E. DUPLESSIX (Rennes) propose la résolution suivante :

Considérant que le désarmement général constitue une mesure simple et qui sera d'une application facile, mais seulement à l'époque où une organisation internationale perfectionnée assurera à chaque Etat des garanties de sécurité et de justice supérieures à celles que lui procurent actuellement ses armées de terre et de mer :

Le Congrès adopte les résolutions suivantes :

(a) Le parti pacifiste doit consacrer tous ses soins à conserver et à perfectionner l'arbitrage international, mais il doit entrer dans la voie tracée par la Conférence de La Haye de 1907 en demandant qu'à côté de l'arbitrage soit instituée une justice obligatoire ordinaire analogue à celles qui fonctionnent dans les pays policés.

(b) Une organisation internationale très complète sera indispensable pour assurer le fonctionnement normal de cette justice.

(c) Le seul moyen de conformer l'organisation projetée aux besoins des peuples et à l'état actuel de leur évolution est de lui donner la forme d'une société qui, tout en laissant aux divers Etats leur individualité et leur autonomie absolues, leur permettrait de mettre en commun leurs intérêts communs, c'est à dire la sécurité, la justice et certains intérêts intellectuels et économiques.

(d) L'institution d'une autorité internationale sera nécessaire pour assurer le fonctionnement de cette Société :

Cette autorité serait composée de délégués élus par les Etats associés et comprendrait un conseil législatif chargé de préparer la loi internationale, une autorité judiciaire chargée de l'appliquer et une autorité exécutive munie des sanctions nécessaires et chargée d'administrer les intérêts communs aux différents peuples, de veiller à l'observation de la loi, ainsi qu'à l'exécution des arrêts de justice.

(e) Quand cette organisation fonctionnera, les Etats devront, en échange des garanties de sécurité et de justice qu'elle leur aura procurées, licencier leurs armées de terre et de mer et détruire leur matériel de combat.

Ils pourront seulement entretenir les forces de police nécessaires au maintien de l'ordre intérieur dans la métropole et dans les colonies.

M. DUPLESSIX dit : Le rapport que j'ai préparé sur cette vaste question traite du programme pacifiste dans le présent et dans l'avenir.

Il est trop long pour être lu en séance.\*

La Commission B qui l'a examiné s'est d'ailleurs trouvée en désaccord avec moi sur quelques points de détail assez importants.

Les critiques qui se sont produites à ce sujet ne touchent pas aux grandes lignes de mon travail qui par suite doit être maintenue. Toutefois il a été convenu, en raison de ces quelques divergences, que mon rapport serait considéré comme mon œuvre personnelle et figurerait dans le compte-rendu du Congrès à titre de simple document d'étude. Cela dit, la commission et moi sommes facilement tombés d'accord pour extraire de mon rapport les résolutions dont le texte a été distribué et que je vais développer brièvement devant vous.

De toutes les mesures auxquelles on a songé pour atténuer le fardeau des charges militaires qui pèsent sur les peuples, le désarmement général est celle qui paraît au premier abord la plus irréalisable et au fond c'est elle qui est la plus pratique.

Le désarmement n'a pas, comme la limitation ou la réduction des armements, l'inconvénient de constituer des demi-mesures insuffisantes, il n'a pas non plus cet inconvénient capital qu'on reproché à la réduction et à la limitation, de nécessiter par leur mise en pratique une ingérence indéfinie et intolérable dans la vie intérieure des Etats.

C'est pourquoi, sans renoncer pour cela à tous les gains qu'il nous serait possible d'obtenir dès maintenant dans la voie des réductions partielles, nous croyons devoir orienter nos vues vers le désarmement général.

Ce désarmement est-il possible dès aujourd'hui ?

Non certes.

La folie des armements n'est qu'un effet et cet effet a pour cause l'insécurité dans laquelle vivent les peuples ! Il faut donc tout d'abord supprimer la cause si on veut supprimer l'effet, car il est de toute évidence qu'il sera fort inutile de demander aux gouvernements de licencier leurs soldats et de détruire leur matériel de guerre tant qu'on ne leur aura pas assuré des garanties de sécurité au moins égales à celles qu'ils attendent actuellement de leurs flottes et de leurs armées.

C'est à une bonne justice internationale qu'il faut demander les garanties de sécurité nécessaires.

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\* Ce rapport se trouve dans l'Appendice.

Cette justice existe déjà sous forme d'arbitrage international.

Graduellement elle s'améliore, mais elle est encore loin, hélas ! d'avoir acquis la perfection nécessaire pour assurer la paix et le désarmement.

Il faudra, pour y parvenir, écrire et promulguer tout d'abord la loi internationale qui doit préciser les droits et les devoirs des Etats en matière de relations extérieures, car il n'existe encore que des fragments épars de cette loi et la plupart d'entre eux sont exclusivement relatifs au droit de la guerre.

Il faudra aussi que cette justice revête un caractère permanent et obligatoire. C'est une voie nouvelle dans laquelle s'est engagée la conférence de la paix de 1907, quand elle a établi le projet d'une cour permanente d'arbitrage international destinée à constituer une cour de justice ordinaire ayant mission de fonctionner parallèlement à la justice arbitrale.

L'impulsion ainsi donnée est trop conforme à nos desseins pour que nous puissions hésiter un instant à la suivre.

Mais pour écrire la loi qui fait défaut, pour former et mettre en mouvement cette justice permanente et obligatoire que tout le monde réclame, il devient indispensable de procéder à l'organisation internationale du globe.

Une première question se pose.

Quelle sera la nature du lien de droit destiné à unir les Etats ?

Ce sera une fédération, avons nous dit jusqu'ici.

L'idée est juste, l'expression est inexacte, s'il faut attribuer au mot fédération le sens technique qu'il possède en droit international.

Une fédération d'Etats suppose en effet la réunion de ces Etats sous la même direction politique, avec un budget et des lois d'empire comme en Allemagne, avec un budget et des lois fédérales comme aux Etats Unis et en Suisse.

Or une telle fédération serait inadmissible en Europe, d'ici à de longs siècles tout au moins, car on ne saurait unir sous un même régime politique, sous un même drapeau, sous les mêmes lois, des peuples qui n'ont ni le même langage, ni les mêmes coutumes, ni les mêmes mœurs, qui hier encore se battaient et n'ont pas eu le temps d'oublier leurs morts.

Une telle fédération ne pourrait a fortiori comprendre tous les Etats du globe et cependant il faut, pour qu'il résiste à l'épreuve, que le lien de droit à créer soit universel, car si au lieu de nations isolées ce sont des continents entiers qui doivent se liguier, s'armer les uns contre les autres, le mal ne fera qu'empirer.

Et d'ailleurs les conférences de La Haye ont fixé l'avenir sur ce

dernier point, car tous les Etats du monde ont été appelés à La Haye pour s'entendre afin d'améliorer les rapports internationaux et d'organiser la paix générale ; tous ont répondu à cet appel, tous doivent être admis à signer le pacte à intervenir.

La fédération politique des peuples étant rejetée comme impossible dans l'état actuel de l'évolution des races humaines, nous pensons qu'il convient de rechercher dans les principes d'une simple association d'intérêts les bases du lien de droit à créer.

Dans les sociétés privées de ce genre, chaque particulier intéressé conserve son patrimoine personnel, et ne met en commun que ceux de ses propres intérêts qu'il estime avoir avantage à mettre en commun ; et s'il a des rapports d'affaires avec ses co-associés, il n'en conserve par moins son "home" où aucun d'eux n'a rien à voir, rien à dire et rien à savoir.

Il faut qu'il en soit ainsi pour les nations. Il convient que chacune d'elles puisse mettre en commun ceux de ses intérêts qu'elle estime avoir avantage à mettre en commun, mais il faut aussi qu'elle puisse conserver son "home" où aucune autre nation n'aura rien à voir, rien à dire, rien à savoir.

En d'autres termes, il faut que les ententes à intervenir règlent seulement les rapports extérieurs des Etats et que chacun d'eux puisse se placer sous le régime politique, législatif et administratif de son choix et suivre librement le cours de ses destinées—sans qu'aucun autre Etat puisse s'immiscer dans sa vie intérieure.

Elle doit être la base de l'organisation internationale de l'avenir.

Une telle idée n'est pas neuve. Il suffit d'ouvrir les procès-verbaux de la conférence de La Haye pour y lire en termes formels que les délégués des Etats ont motivé l'institution de l'arbitrage international sur "les liens de solidarité qui unissent les membres de la société des nations civilisées."

Il en résulte que, sur ce point encore, nous n'innovons rien et que nous nous contentons de dégager les idées et les faits officiels acquis au cours d l'évolution qui nous entraîne vers un stade tout proche de civilisation supérieure.

La conférence de La Haye en est restée à ce point et n'a pas encore fixé l'objet de la société internationale dont elle a proclamé l'existence. Il nous appartient de nous faire les continuateurs de sa pensée.

La société des nations doit avoir un triple objet :

1. La sécurité des Etats.
2. La justice internationale.
3. Certains intérêts intellectuels et économiques.

Assurer leur sécurité sera pour les Etats chose bien facile.

Il suffira qu'ils se garantissent réciproquement leur indépendance ; et qu'à la triplice, à la duplice, à toutes ces ligues partielles si fragiles et si précaires et qui ont cependant depuis près de quarante ans assuré la paix de l'Europe, succède une ligue universelle dans laquelle l'indépendance des peuples sera garantie par tous les peuples. Et alors ce sera fini de la guerre ; il n'y aura plus d'ennemis, plus d'adversaires, les flottes et les armées de combat deviendront inutiles, les peuples pourront enfin secouer l'écrasant fardeau de la paix armée et un large avenir de prospérité et de bonheur s'ouvrira devant eux.

Mais la sécurité ne suffit pas, il faut que les justes droits de chacun soient respectés, et pour cela il faut qu'une justice inéluctable aussi parfaite que peut l'être une justice humaine soit établie.

J'ai esquissé tout à l'heure en quelques traits rapides ce que devait être cette justice, je passe. . . .

Pour que l'organisation projetée puisse fonctionner, il faudra de toute nécessité créer une autorité internationale.

Cette autorité existe déjà. Elle a pris naissance à La Haye en 1899.

Son existence, d'abord éphémère, a eu un lendemain, aujourd'hui elle est sur le point de devenir périodique, encore une ou deux étapes, et, sous la pression de l'opinion publique, cette existence deviendra permanente et définitive.

L'autorité internationale n'aura plus alors qu'à élaborer sa constitution définitive en organisant dans son sein les trois pouvoirs distincts, nécessaires dans tout bon gouvernement ; un conseil législatif, un pouvoir judiciaire et un pouvoir exécutif.

Et l'autorité mondiale nécessaire à l'accomplissement de nos desseins sera ainsi constituée.

La société des Etats aura en dernier lieu le devoir de mettre en commun certains intérêts intellectuels et économiques d'une grande importance et qui sont les mêmes pour tous les peuples de la terre.

M. La Fontaine va vous en entretenir avec la compétence toute spéciale qu'il possède en cette matière.

J'ai terminé.

J'aurais voulu pouvoir disposer de plus de temps pour vous montrer par quelques aperçus sociologiques combien les solutions dont nous vous proposons l'adoption sont en corrélation étroite avec l'état actuel de l'évolution, avec les besoins et les tendances manifestes des peuples ; j'aurais ainsi administré la preuve que toutes les mesures proposées par nous ont déjà reçu un commencement

d'exécution officielle, qu'elles sont toutes éminemment réalisables et dès maintenant écrites dans les fastes prochains de l'histoire du monde.

Je tiens seulement à faire ressortir devant vous combien l'organisation internationale projetée se relie intimément à notre cause et constitue la meilleure voie qui puisse vous conduire vers la paix.

Il est un principe de sociologie élémentaire, indiscuté, lequel établit que l'union des individus ou des groupes d'individus sous une même loi et sous une même autorité est le seul générateur certain de la paix.

Un rapide coup d'œil jeté sur l'histoire des sociétés humaines en fournit la preuve.

Les familles se sont combattues mutuellement jusqu'au moment où elles ont senti la nécessité d'établir un lien de droit entre elles, de se placer sous une autorité commune et de former le clan, la tribu, puis plus tard le comté, etc.

Les clans, les tribus, les comtés se sont fait une guerre perpétuelle jusqu'au jour où ils ont éprouvé le besoin de s'unir sous une règle et sous une autorité commune pour former la province ou la principauté.

A leur tour les provinces et les principautés ont mis fin à leurs luttes en se fondant sous l'autorité de l'Etat.

Mais l'Etat n'est pas terme final des groupements humains et tout le monde comprend aujourd'hui que les Etats ne sont que des individualités dont l'ensemble forme l'humanité et que l'heure est venue d'organiser l'humanité en plaçant tous les Etats sous une même règle tutélaire afin de protéger et de servir leurs intérêts vitaux, afin de faire régner entre eux la paix et la concorde comme elle règne entre les provinces, les comtés et les communes depuis qu'elles se sont fondues dans l'Etat.

Mais, dira-t-on, l'heure est-elle venue d'organiser l'humanité ?

Nous n'hésitons pas à dire, mesdames et messieurs, que les temps sont arrivés.

L'instruction et la civilisation se sont répandus sur toute la terre. Tout notre globe est occupé par des Etats policés, et la guerre n'est plus qu'un ridicule anachronisme. Enfin des rapports d'intérêt si multiples, si intenses, sont nés entre tous les Etats que la guerre entre eux est maintenant devenue impossible en fait, que les hommes n'en veulent plus et qu'en ce moment ils emploient toutes les ressources de leur intelligence à trouver le moyen de la proscrire à tout jamais.

Nous venons de vous indiquer ce moyen, et ce moyen bien que relativement très simple n'a rien d'utopique ; c'est un procédé consacré par la science, vérifié par la méthode expérimentale, contrôlé par la raison.

Voilà pourquoi nous voulons organiser le monde, pourquoi nous avons cherché et pensons avoir trouvé les procédés pratiques d'application qui s'adaptent le mieux à l'état actuel de l'évolution des peuples.

Nous espérons, mesdames et messieurs, que vous serez unanimes à nous suivre dans cette voie.

En avant donc, car nous ne sommes pas des historiens chargés d'enregistrer et de commenter les faits du passé, nous sommes ici les pionniers du genre humain, nous devons tenir bien haut le flambeau de l'idée et marcher hardiment à la tête de l'humanité vers cet avenir tant rêvé qui s'ouvre enfin devant nous.

M. HEILBERG (Allemagne) accepte ces résolutions sous la réserve que nous les considérons comme une espérance d'avenir et non comme l'objet de nos préoccupations immédiates. Ce sont là des principes très beaux, bien coordonnés, harmonieux, mais qui sont loin d'être réalisables avant longtemps.

M. DUMAS (Réthel) est disposé à voter, sous les réserves exprimées par le préopinant. La mariée présentée par M. Duplessix est souvent trop belle. Il est évident notamment que nous ne pouvons admettre pour le moment un pouvoir exécutif international. Tout ce que nous pouvons dire, c'est qu'il réside, à l'état d'embryon, dans les puissances réunies à La Haye.

M. LA FONTAINE (Bruxelles) : La réalisation de ce triple pouvoir n'est envisagée que pour un avenir lointain. Nous avons demandé le pouvoir législatif et judiciaire—on a ri, et nous sommes en passe de les avoir définitivement. Nous obtiendrons de même un jour le pouvoir exécutif indispensable.

Miss COOKE (Londres) craint que l'idée de centralisation et de fédération ne soit pas heureuse à un moment où tous les efforts tendent à la décentralisation.

M. LA FONTAINE : Il n'est pas possible d'imaginer une organisation fédérative sans une autorité exécutive. Mlle. Cooke-a, je pense, cru qu'il s'agissait d'une autorité coercitive. Mais il n'est pas question de cela : dès maintenant pour certaines matières une telle autorité exécutive existe déjà ; je ne veux signaler que celle qui a été établie par l'Union pour le transport de marchandises par chemin de fer, autorité qui a pour mission d'arrêter les comptes entre les administrations des voies ferrées des divers pays. L'autorité

exécutive dont il est question actuellement sera la réunion en divers ministères internationaux des divers bureaux administratifs déjà créés ou à créer.

Finalement, sur une intervention de M. ARNAUD, les résolutions présentées par M. Duplessix sont intégralement acceptées.

## CONFÉRENCE DES INSTITUTEURS.

*Vendredi, 31 Juillet, à 3½ heures de l'après midi.*

*Président : M. LE PROFESSEUR SIR JOHN MACDONELL, C.B.*

Le PRÉSIDENT montre l'importance de l'éducation pacifiste par l'école. L'instituteur a une grande influence sur ses élèves ; convaincu lui-même, il saura les convaincre. Mais, pareil à l'artisan qui ne peut travailler sans de bons outils, l'instituteur a besoin de manuels écrits dans un esprit pacifique, qui puissent lui aider dans sa propagande.

L'instituteur ne peut amener ses élèves à ses idées que s'il tient compte de l'admiration de la jeunesse pour les actes de courage et d'héroïsme. La description des champs de bataille ne l'impressionnera que rarement. Il faut montrer au jeune homme que la vie civile a ses actes de courage, ses héros, qui valent bien ceux des champs de bataille.

Il faut aussi lui faire comprendre que l'horizon intellectuel s'élargit de plus en plus et que, pour tout ce qui concerne les aspirations idéales de l'humanité, il n'y a pas de frontières. Il faut qu'il sache que le Droit international deviendra un jour, pour les relations entre peuples, ce qu'est aujourd'hui le Droit civil pour les relations entre individus.

Mr. J. A. HOBSON propose ensuite la résolution suivante, votée plus tard par le Congrès et que l'assemblée adopte à l'unanimité :

La Conférence, persuadée que la sympathie des élèves des écoles et des collèges devrait être attirée vers les nobles principes qui inspirent la propagande en faveur de la Paix, demande instamment que l'on s'efforce d'introduire une interprétation pacifique de l'histoire dans les manuels autorisés pour les écoles, les collèges et les universités, et sollicite dans ce but l'active collaboration de tous les membres de l'enseignement.

La Conférence condamne en outre toute tentative pour faire pénétrer dans l'éducation de la jeunesse la propagande et l'influence militaristes, une telle immixtion ne pouvant qu'abaisser l'idéal des jeunes générations et compromettre les bons résultats de l'œuvre pédagogique.

Mr. H. S. PERRIS exprime ses craintes au sujet de la propagande

faite actuellement dans toutes les écoles du Royaume-Uni en vue de gagner la jeunesse au militarisme.

La Comtesse D'ABERDEEN salue l'assemblée au nom du Conseil international des Femmes dont elle est la présidente. Cette Association, avec l'aide des Conseils nationaux, fait une propagande active en faveur de la Paix. Une enquête sur les manuels d'histoire lui a montré la nécessité d'apporter des réformes dans ce domaine et les difficultés que l'instituteur rencontre sur sa route.

Mrs. L. A. MEAD raconte ce qui se fait en Amérique sous le rapport de l'éducation de la jeunesse. Elle espère que l'"American School League" deviendra bientôt une Société internationale dont les ramifications s'étendront sur tous les pays. Elle donne de nombreux exemples pour montrer comment, dans les leçons d'histoire, d'arithmétique et de géographie, on peut inculquer aux enfants des notions pacifiques.

Mr. AVELING appuie la résolution proposée par Mr. Hobson.

Mr. F. MOSCHELES relate avec son *humour* habituel les visites aux écoles, les questions adressées aux enfants et les réponses qu'il a reçues. Puis il parle de l'"Esperanto" dont il est un fervent adepte, tandis que M. LEON BOLLACK préconise la "Langue bleue."

M. le Dr. RIVIÈRE, de Paris, prononce le discours suivant :

L'esprit qui préside à la réunion d'aujourd'hui montre bien l'importance du chemin parcouru en ces dernières années.

Cette assemblée d'éducateurs, une des élites intellectuelles de ce grand pays de liberté, marque un progrès incontestable vers l'émancipation de la Pensée et un acheminement certain vers la Raison qu'aveuglait l'Ignorance.

Refaire l'opinion, c'est remonter un courant ; il est malaisé de se faire entendre de l'âge mûr et il semble plus difficile encore de créer de toutes pièces une mentalité nouvelle chez des hommes faits, privés dans leur enfance des bienfaits de l'Instruction et que, partant, l'esprit de routine et les habitudes ancestrales semblent avoir rendus plus rebelles à la juste compréhension d'une justice sans violences, parce qu'appuyée sur la seule raison qui régira les nations dans un avenir prochain.

C'est au jeune cerveau, à cette cire malléable de la Pensée ; c'est au cœur, aux sentiments de l'Enfance, point encore battus par les tourmentes de la vie, qu'il faut s'adresser, qu'il faut frapper sans relâche, qu'il faut parler le langage de l'Équité, de la vraie Justice, de l'Humanité !

Ce n'est donc point seulement une rééducation qu'il faut tenter auprès de l'âge mûr ; c'est une éducation nouvelle, c'est une morale

nouvelle qu'il faut enseigner dès le berceau et dès l'Ecole. Alors l'Humanité récoltera une riche moisson.

Adulte, l'homme pratiquera les saines théories apprises dès l'enfance ; sa conscience, faite de logique, se révoltera contre toute atteinte à la Raison et lorsque, parfois, en feuilletant l'histoire du passé, ses yeux tomberont sur les pages sanglantes qu'y ont écrites les nations,—au nom du Droit et de la Justice—un immense étonnement, une vaste pitié s'empareront de tout son être et il restera rêveur en songeant que le siècle qui apporta au monde la vapeur, l'électricité, la locomotion aérienne, que le siècle qui produisit des génies dans l'art de penser, de construire et de guérir, assistait, impuissant, à la ruée sanglante de races et de nations s'entr'égorgeant pour sauvegarder ou imposer une religion, un intérêt particulier, ou seulement un principe d'orgueil ou de gloriole !

Cette éducation, cette morale nouvelles, qui feront l'homme de demain, c'est vous, Messieurs, qui l'enseignerez. C'est pourquoi votre rôle est si noble et qu'il est ici prépondérant ; c'est pourquoi tous les hommes de cœur, tous les hommes de bien ont les yeux fixés sur ce faisceau d'âmes généreuses que vous formez ici et qui sauront, par une étroite union, par leur esprit hautement éclairé et frappé au coin d'une expérience assagie, faire, d'enthousiasme, jaillir des cœurs des jeunes générations, les mots sacrés de Justice et d'Humanité !

BANQUET OFFICIEL OFFERT PAR LE  
GOUVERNEMENT.

A L'HÔTEL CECIL.

*Vendredi, 31 Juillet.*

Un brillant banquet, auquel ont assisté environ 450 personnes, a eu lieu en l'honneur du Congrès à l'Hôtel Cécil.

The Rt. Hon. LEWIS HARCOURT, M.P., auquel a été confiée l'administration du "Hospitality Fund," présidait.

Il a porté le toast au Roi.

Le Premier-Ministre a proposé un toast au Mouvement pacifiste international.

Mr. ASQUITH, qui a été accueilli avec enthousiasme, a prononcé le discours suivant : \*

Vous êtes assemblés ici, ce soir, venus de tous les coins du globe, représentant tous les peuples civilisés de la terre ; vous représentez une infinie variété de groupements et d'intérêts ; vous avez, je suppose, des idées sociales et politiques très différentes, mais vous êtes unis par un commun idéal, celui d'amener dans le monde la Paix universelle. On m'a dit que, dans votre Congrès, 280 sociétés et 23 nations étaient représentées. Au nom du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté et en mon nom propre, je vous souhaite la bienvenue dans mon pays, et je vous donne l'assurance du profond et sincère intérêt que nous portons à ce qui est le but de vos efforts.

Vanter les avantages de la Paix et se faire l'avocat de son maintien, vous paraîtrait, à vous comme à moi, une chose fastidieuse et inutile. De toutes les divinités qui figurent au Panthéon, il n'y en a pas une à laquelle, aujourd'hui comme toujours, l'humanité soit plus disposée à rendre hommage, pas une dont elle ne reconnaisse mieux les services que la Déesse de la Paix. Nous avons souvent entendu dire, par les apologistes de l'état de choses actuel, que les

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\*Version française du "Bulletin de la Société Gratry de la Paix."

armements colossaux, qui sont pour l'humanité de nos jours une charge si lourde, sont en eux-mêmes une sauvegarde et, par suite, constituent la meilleure des assurances contre la guerre ; que les unités, quand il s'agit de tuer, ne se comptent plus par milliers, mais par millions ; que tous les quatre ou cinq ans, les navires de guerre augmentent l'importance de leur tonnage ou perfectionnent leurs armements ; que la complexité même du mécanisme de destruction empêche les hommes d'Etat et les diplomates d'envisager d'un cœur léger l'éventualité d'une guerre. Eh bien ! je dois l'avouer : je ne suis guère impressionné par les quelques bribes de vérité contenues dans ces idées. Certes, ce n'est pas une consolation pour moi, quand j'envisage la situation générale du monde, de voir que les dépenses annuelles des différentes nations en armements et en préparatifs de guerre se chiffrent par milliards. Et ces choses sont là pour en faire usage ; elles ne constituent pas une richesse et comme elles n'existent pas en qualité d'ornements ou de distractions, il est toujours à craindre qu'à un moment quelconque, un orage soudain soulève les passions et fasse qu'une explosion formidable se produise. La question que vous vous posez souvent, j'imagine, et que nous nous posons comme vous, nous qui sommes, à un degré plus ou moins grand, responsables des affaires du monde, est celle-ci ; pouvons-nous accepter l'état de choses actuel par un sot et impuissant fatalisme qui est aujourd'hui, comme il l'a toujours été, le plus mortel ennemi du progrès et des réformes ? Pour ma part, je ne vous cacherai pas que je ne suis pas assez confiant pour espérer que même les plus jeunes d'entre vous vivront assez pour voir l'avènement du désarmement universel.

La sécurité nationale a toujours tenu la première place dans les pensées et les préoccupations de ceux qui ont la responsabilité du gouvernement d'un pays. Ils manqueraient au plus sacré de tous leurs devoirs s'ils oubliaient un seul instant quelles en sont les exigences. Aussi longtemps que la nature humaine continuera à être ce qu'elle a toujours été, aussi longtemps que les agrégations d'hommes seront susceptibles de se laisser emporter, comme les individus,—plus peut-être que les individus—par leurs passions ou leurs tempéraments, aussi longtemps qu'il s'élèvera entre les différentes collectivités des conflits d'intérêt ou d'honneur, il sera nécessaire que la prudence des hommes d'Etat envisage l'éventualité de la guerre. Mais, en admettant tout cela, et nous en tenons le plus grand compte, il n'en reste pas moins le fait qu'il n'y a pas au monde d'entreprise plus digne des efforts et du dévouement de tous les gens de bien que d'étudier les moyens pratiques, non seulement de réduire

au minimum les risques de guerre, mais de substituer, dans la solution des conflits, la raison à la force.

Tel est, en effet, le but pour lequel vous avez travaillé jusqu'à ce jour, pour lequel vous travaillez encore actuellement.

Il me semble qu'il y a deux ou trois voies dans lesquelles de réels progrès ont été faits et peuvent être faits dans l'avenir. La première, c'est dans le développement des ententes internationales : je dis "ententes" et non "alliances," car les alliances offensives et défensives sont souvent plutôt des obstacles que des aides pour la Paix. Les ententes auxquelles je fais allusion sont celles qui favorisent, d'une manière sûre et pratique, les progrès du "Donner et Recevoir," en tenant compte des différences qui existent actuellement : qui se basent sur la démarcation ou la délimitation de diverses espèces d'influences ou d'intérêts ; qui provoquent et développent les échanges internationaux, et qui prévoient et d'avance donnent la possibilité d'éviter les conflits futurs. Et je suis heureux de dire que, durant ces dernières années, il y a eu diverses ententes de ce genre dans la diplomatie de notre pays.

Je passe à une autre chose qui n'est pas moins importante, c'est la substitution, quand des difficultés se présentent et ne peuvent être supprimées, de ce que j'appellerais le "Contentieux international"\* aux méthodes barbares de la lutte et des massacres. Sans doute, il est très facile d'applaudir à cette idée ; mais, quand il s'agit de la mettre en pratique, on rencontre, vous le savez, des difficultés de tous les côtés. La première de toutes, c'est la constitution d'un tribunal qui ait une autorité suffisante pour inspirer un respect universel. Il y en a une autre, sérieuse, c'est de définir les principes de loi et de procédure d'après lesquels on résoudra les litiges. Ensuite, une très sérieuse difficulté consiste, jusqu'à présent, dans la question de savoir s'il est possible de soumettre à une telle juridiction les litiges qui paraissent toucher à l'honneur et dans lesquels se trouvent surexcitées les passions des peuples fiers et indépendants. Enfin,—et c'est peut-être la difficulté la plus grande—il faut trouver le mode d'exécution par lequel les décisions obtiendront une sanction réelle. J'ai exposé ces difficultés devant vous, je les ai exposées sans chercher en aucune manière à diminuer leur importance ou à dissimuler leur valeur ; mais je puis ajouter que mon opinion personnelle est que, toutes, elles peuvent être résolues, si on y apporte de la bonne volonté et des intentions honnêtes.

Enfin, il y a, dans cette délicate question des relations internationales, à tenir compte de l'influence possible de la morale, ce qui

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\* International litigation.

est encore autre chose que l'avantage de mutuels échanges. Et à ce propos, j'aimerais à vous dire—je l'ai dit déjà, je le dis de nouveau—que ce qu'il y a de plus important, c'est que des nations apprennent à se connaître et à se comprendre les unes les autres. Quand je dis que la moitié des difficultés proviennent de ce qu'elles ne se comprennent pas, je suis au-dessous de la vérité. Prétendre qu'il y a des antagonismes héréditaires, et qu'il faut se faire un point d'honneur de les maintenir, dire qu'il y a des antipathies naturelles qui ont besoin de temps à autre de s'épancher en destruction et en carnage, ce sont des superstitions pernicieuses qu'il faut arracher des esprits, non seulement des enfants, mais des hommes faits et de toutes les sociétés.

Je suis heureux de reconnaître, comme vous le faites vous-mêmes, qu'il y a de nombreuses forces qui travaillent avec vous et dans la même direction. Le travail, qui crée de nombreux rapports entre les peuples, les échanges internationaux, l'accroissement de l'instruction, qui, de nos jours, on peut le dire, fait de la littérature et des idées de chaque nation la propriété de toutes, tous ces éléments favorisent votre action. Enfin, il y a les Eglises, auxquelles j'ai osé, il y a quelque temps, moi qui ne suis qu'un très humble laïque, donner mon avis personnel : c'est qu'il n'y a pas, dans toute la sphère de leur activité, un sujet sur lequel elles pourraient plus fructueusement et plus opportunément exercer leur influence : qu'elles se préoccupent moins des différences qui les séparent, et plus du simple texte de l'Évangile dont elles sont les officielles messagères.

Mais surtout, avant tout, c'est dans les efforts dévoués, patients, inlassables, d'hommes et de femmes comme ceux que je vois à mes côtés ce soir,—philosophes aussi bien que travailleurs,—d'hommes tels que notre regretté ami Randal Cremer qui manque tant à cette réunion—c'est, dis-je, aux efforts dévoués et patients des apôtres et des missionnaires de la Paix, travaillant tous dans leurs différents pays au même excellent but, que nous comptons le plus pour voir réaliser cette espérance que, dans mon esprit, je considère comme la plus grande de toutes les réformes, l'établissement de la Paix dans le monde.

Je lève mon verre au mouvement international de la Paix.

Lord COURTNEY OF PENWITH a remercié le Premier-Ministre de sa présence et le Gouvernement de sa magnifique hospitalité, puis il a dit : Je n'abuserai pas de cette bonté en suggérant qu'en sa qualité de Gouvernement, il pourrait faire davantage, parce que je pense que ce sujet sera traité par d'autres. Mais il y a un Bureau Central à Berne, qui assiste et dirige l'œuvre de ce Congrès. Son

budget est minime, il reçoit une modeste contribution des pays scandinaves. Si le Royaume-Uni de la Grande Bretagne et l'Irlande suivaient l'exemple de ses sœurs, personne ne les en critiquerait. Nous remercions le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté de ce qu'il a déjà fait et nous exprimons ce vœu, non pour lui imposer de nouvelles dépenses, mais pour lui en épargner. Je désire lui aider à faire des économies. Si je parle d'économies, je pense avant tout à ces millions de travailleurs qui peinent sans relâche, ici et dans d'autres pays, pour amasser les milliards dont le Premier-Ministre vient de parler.

Lord Courtney espère que son pays sera à l'avant-garde lorsque des efforts seront faits en vue d'alléger le fardeau des dépenses militaires.

Il termine son discours en montrant que le Libre Echange, le système de la porte ouverte seront le meilleur remède aux antagonismes résultant des rivalités commerciales et industrielles.

M. Th. RUYSEN, vice-président français du Congrès, a prononcé le discours suivant :

Monsieur le Premier-Ministre, mesdames, messieurs :

Je ressens très vivement l'honneur que m'ont fait les organisateurs de ce Congrès, en m'invitant à prendre ce soir la parole au nom de mes compatriotes de France, au nom du Congrès tout entier, en réponse aux paroles qui viennent d'être prononcées par le Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni et par le Président d'honneur du Congrès : et je me sentirais fort inquiet de la tâche qui m'est assignée, si j'avais à faire plus ici qu'à remplir un devoir agréable et aisé, un devoir de profonde gratitude.

Devoir large d'ailleurs, et qui s'étend non seulement à ceux de nos amis d'Angleterre qui ont préparé cette admirable manifestation, mais au Gouvernement de ce pays et à la société anglaise tout entière.

Que nos amis pacifistes anglais aient organisé ce Congrès avec une méthode, une prévoyance du détail admirables, c'est ce que nous attendions d'eux : nous sommes ravis, mais non surpris.

Mais vous nous avez offert plus encore : vous nous avez ouvert vos maisons. Vous nous avez fait apprécier le charme discret de votre hospitalité ; vous nous avez permis de nous asseoir en amis à des foyers amis et de connaître par nous-mêmes la douceur de ce que nous appelons déjà en France : *Home, sweet Home*, d'un mot qu'il a bien fallu vous emprunter, tant il résume clairement le caractère de vos maisons si claires, si confortables, si accueillantes qu'on s'y sent vite "chez soi," *at home*.

Mais il y a plus, et, tandis que les pacifistes anglais et leurs amis donnaient à leurs hôtes d'une semaine l'impression d'avoir retrouvé de ce côté de l'eau une seconde patrie, le Gouvernement britannique accordait au Congrès les témoignages les plus positifs de sa sympathie, j'allais dire de sa collaboration. Or, si nous éprouvons à cet égard une profonde reconnaissance, c'est que nous apercevons dans les témoignages qui nous ont été prodigués mieux que des marques de courtoisie et de bienveillance ; nous nous permettons de les considérer comme des *actes*. Acte, les paroles prononcées par le "Roi pacificateur" en réponse à l'adresse de la délégation admise pour la première fois à l'audience du chef d'un grand Etat ;—acte, et pour ceux qui ont vu de près la bataille, acte de courage civique,—la harangue du Chancelier de l'Echiquier, ce réquisitoire le plus hardi, le plus décisif, qu'aucun homme d'Etat responsable ait jamais prononcé contre les gaspillages du militarisme ;—acte, enfin, Monsieur le Premier Ministre, votre présence à ce banquet, et la ferme critique que vous venez de formuler contre ce que vous avez si justement appelé "the mechanism of destruction."

Des actes aussi calculés, des paroles aussi décisives sont pour nous des titres à espérer, des promesses d'avenir infiniment précieuses. Et c'est là une force dont tous ceux qui ont combattu avec nous le combat parfois si âpre de la paix, sentent aujourd'hui la bienfaisante efficacité. Or, si nous ne sommes pas, si nous n'avons jamais été un parti découragé, nous sommes du moins un parti que la fortune n'a pas gâté et qui rencontre d'étranges résistances. Il est étrange, en effet, que le plus désintéressé des partis, celui qui s'attache à libérer l'humanité du plus accablant des fardeaux, se heurte à pareille indifférence, quand il n'est pas dénoncé comme un agent de dissolution sociale. C'est que, capable parfois d'inquiétude et de révolte contre le mal, l'homme est le plus souvent une créature singulièrement patiente, et qu'il supporte sans murmure les servitudes coutumières. Qu'est-ce donc qui l'éveillera de ce sommeil, de cette inertie résignée ? Qu'est-ce qui a manqué au pacifisme pour conquérir la faveur populaire, pour susciter la foi des masses ? Est-ce la voix des prophètes ? Notre parti en compte parmi les plus nobles et les plus éloquents. Est-ce la vigueur ou la clarté doctrinales ? Non ; rien n'est mieux dessiné, plus solidement fondé que la philosophie de la paix. Ce qui nous a manqué, c'est la confirmation des faits, ce sont des victoires frappantes et décisives, analogues à celles qui signalent aujourd'hui la conquête de l'air. Qui donc, à part quelques illuminés, croyait qu'on réaliserait un jour le paradoxe du "plus lourd que l'air ?" Mais voici qu'un jour l'oiseau

étrange et frêle étale dans les airs son armature de toile, de bambou et d'acier : la chimère prend corps, la vision devient réalité tangible, et l'incrédule se rend, étonné seulement d'avoir pu douter.

Convenons donc, messieurs, que nos victoires sont rares, j'entends celles qui illuminent l'opinion d'une aveuglante clarté. La seconde Conférence de La Haye a été un demi échec. Les arbitrages conclus, les conventions pacifiques, les accords internationaux qu'organise peu à peu la vie commune des nations apportent, certes, à notre programme de précieuses confirmations. Mais il est naturel, humain, que ces victoires frappent médiocrement l'opinion et qu'une guerre évitée enseigne moins en notre faveur qu'une guerre réelle ne démontre contre nous.

Et voici justement ce qui met hors pair le magnifique Congrès dont la réunion de ce soir restera le plus marquant épisode. Le succès même de ce Congrès était une victoire gagnée sur l'indifférence. Mais la reconnaissance quasi-officielle qui vient d'être faite de nos efforts leur donne une consécration d'autant plus haute, qu'elle nous est accordée par le gouvernement de la plus grande puissance militaire du monde, par les ministres d'un souverain qui peut redire, après Charles-Quint, que le soleil ne se couche jamais sur ses Etats, par les représentants responsables d'une nation dont on répète communément qu'elle est de toutes la plus réaliste, la moins susceptible de se laisser duper par l'utopie sentimentale. Ce sera, dans l'histoire du pacifisme, l'honneur du dix-septième Congrès de la paix d'avoir inauguré la naissance du parti de la Paix à la vie politique.

Telle est, messieurs, l'impression réconfortante que nous rapporterons de cette assemblée internationale. Mais il en est une autre à laquelle nous n'attachons pas un moindre prix, et que je demande tout spécialement à mes compatriotes de France de répandre autour d'eux. Certes, il a été très agréable aux nombreux Français qui ont franchi la Manche pour prendre part à ce Congrès de retrouver au foyer de leurs amis d'Outre-Manche, et jusque dans les séances du Congrès, le bienfaisant écho de "l'entente cordiale" ; ils ont senti, dans l'accueil qui leur a été fait, une nuance spéciale d'intimité qui leur a été douce ; ils ont éprouvé ce qu'il y a de réel, de profond, de spontané dans un accord fondé, non pas sur de fragiles combinaisons diplomatiques, mais sur l'analogie des institutions, sur la réciprocité des intérêts, de l'estime et des sympathies. Mais, en même temps, nous avons cru sentir que cette entente n'est ni étroite, ni exclusive. A la différence des alliances, dont la pointe est toujours dirigée contre quelqu'un, l'entente franco-anglaise nous a paru n'avoir d'autre fin que de consacrer la solidarité naturelle des

deux grandes nations libérales d'Occident, et par elle de cimenter la paix générale. Bien loin d'être jalousement close, elle nous a semblé susceptible de s'élargir quelque jour, d'embrasser un nombre sans cesse croissant de nations également éprises de liberté, de justice et de paix, et nous avons entrevu le jour, proche peut-être, où l'entente cordiale des nations libérales d'Occident s'élargirait, s'épanouirait en Fédération des Etats civilisés du monde entier.

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Le même soir ont eu lieu, à l'Hôtel Cécil, une réunion du Comité franco-allemand et la constitution d'un Comité d'entente austro-italien.

## 7<sup>me</sup> SÉANCE,

*Samedi 1<sup>er</sup> août, à 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  heures de matin.*

*Président: M. ALEXANDER.*

### Éducation Pacifique.

M. E. ARNAUD, après avoir parlé des efforts faits en France en vue de répandre l'idée pacifique dans les écoles et les Universités populaires, qui ont accepté dans leur ensemble le programme pacifique, soumet au Congrès la résolution suivante :

#### I.—PROJET DE PROGRAMME

1. Organisation régulière et périodique de Congrès internationaux de l'enseignement.
2. Publication d'une collection internationale des lois scolaires.
3. Fondation dans le ministère de l'instruction publique de chaque pays de sections étudiant l'enseignement à l'étranger.
4. Organisation comparée de l'enseignement.
5. Statistique scolaire internationale.
6. Règlement des conséquences juridiques des examens.
7. Facilités pour la reconnaissance des diplômes étrangers; création de diplômes équivalents aux points de vue civil et militaire.
8. Nomination de délégués spéciaux et de correspondants internationaux pour l'enseignement.
9. Création d'établissements hospitaliers pour professeurs et écoliers.
10. Concours et subventions pour les voyages internationaux d'études pour élèves et professeurs.
11. Introduction et réglementation de l'échange international des professeurs et des élèves.
12. Facilités d'échange de livres et de revues pédagogiques.
13. Les Langues classiques et modernes dans l'enseignement futur.
14. Publication de grammaires comparées.
15. Réglementation de l'éducation aux points de vue physique, intellectuel et moral.
16. Fondation d'un Institut International Pédagogique.
17. Publication d'un Bulletin international et officiel de l'Enseignement.

#### II.—QUESTIONS.

1. Jusqu'à quel point pourrait-on apporter plus d'uniformité dans le programme des écoles (primaires, secondaires, supérieures)?

*Z*

2. Ne serait-il pas possible de décréter pour certaines branches de l'enseignement un développement à peu près égal?

3. Quelles facilités peut-on donner à ceux qui désirent changer d'école?

4. Quel est l'âge des élèves pour lesquels on recommande les écoles internationales?

5. Doit-on créer des écoles spéciales internationales pour les élèves venant de l'étranger, ou admettre ceux-ci dans les écoles ordinaires? Ne serait-il pas désirable de faire un essai, en établissant quelques écoles internationales avec choix facultatif des branches et de la langue sur lesquelles porterait l'enseignement?

### III.—VŒUX.

1. Le Congrès émet le vœu que les autorités scolaires de chaque pays se prononcent en faveur de l'organisation d'un Congrès intergouvernemental scolaire.

2. Etant donné qu'une éducation morale doit être nécessairement pacifique, le XVIIème Congrès international de la Paix salue respectueusement le Ier Congrès international de pédagogie morale et espère qu'il orientera ses travaux vers une pédagogie nouvelle inspirée des sentiments fraternels qui doivent rapprocher les peuples et les unir dans une moralité universelle.

3. Le Congrès félicite la Fédération internationale des Instituteurs d'avoir pris en mains la réalisation, pour l'enseignement primaire, du programme relatif à l'enseignement international préconisé par les Congrès universels de la Paix. Le Congrès espère que les corps enseignants des autres ordres voudront bien suivre cet exemple.

FR. KEMENY, Rapporteur.

E. ARNAUD, Président.

M. C. E. MAURICE est intimement convaincu que cette question est l'une des plus importantes que le Congrès ait à traiter. Il n'est pas partisan de l'uniformité. La première chose à faire, selon lui, c'est de trouver des instituteurs capables, dont l'enseignement soit pénétré de l'esprit de la Paix. Cela vaudrait mieux que d'insister sur certains principes qui, selon la mentalité de l'instituteur, peuvent être appliqués des façons les plus différentes.

Une autre difficulté, c'est de trouver les autorités qui nommeront de parcs instituteurs. Dans les examens il faudrait tenir compte, non seulement des connaissances que possède l'instituteur, et de la bonne volonté qu'il manifeste par rapport à l'enseignement de ces principes, mais aussi d'un talent pédagogique qui lui permette de comprendre la mentalité des enfants, de sympathiser avec eux et de les guider.

M. KEMENY: Le système scolaire se divise en deux parties: l'éducation internationale et l'éducation générale. Le Congrès de Lucerne a fait de l'éducation internationale l'un de ses principaux sujets de discussion. Le rapport sur une "Conférence internationale" que les Congressistes ont devant eux, traite l'un des côtés

principaux de cette éducation : l'idée d'un Congrès intergouvernemental scolaire. Sans l'appui des Gouvernements on ne peut rien faire. L'orateur est heureux de constater que les Ministères de l'Instruction publique de la France, de la Hongrie, de l'Italie et de quelques autres pays ont exprimé leur sympathie à l'endroit de ce vœu.

MM. STEIN et ARNAUD parlent dans le même sens.

La résolution est votée à l'unanimité.

### **Éducation Pacifique des Enfants.**

M. HORACE THIVET, au nom de la Commission permanente de l'Enseignement, présente au Congrès un projet de résolution concernant l'éducation pacifique des enfants.

Des amendments sont proposés par MM. TARRIDA DEL MARMOL et par M. le pasteur ALLEGRET et M. KOZLOWSKI.

M. HOUZEAU DE LEHAIE appelle l'attention du Congrès sur le manuel d'histoire écrit par M. Mirquet, instituteur belge, dans un esprit pacifique en même temps que courageux et indépendant.

M. SCHOFIELD rapporte sur la propagande pacifique dans les écoles américaines. Dans l'Université où il enseigne, environ mille jeunes gens se préparent à l'enseignement sous une influence profondément morale et religieuse.

M. KRAUTERKRAFT exhorte les parents à bannir les jouets militaires de leurs foyers.

Miss GOWA espère que plusieurs membres du Congrès assisteront au Congrès de la "Moral Education League" qui préconise l'éducation pacifique de l'enfance.

Le PRESIDENT propose que la question de l'éducation soit ajournée en vue de permettre à la Commission de préparer une nouvelle rédaction de la résolution.

Il propose de reprendre la question du droit de

### **Capture de la Propriété Privée sur Mer.**

M. J. DUMAS propose la résolution suivante :

Le Congrès félicite la seconde Conférence de La Haye d'avoir, dans une certaine mesure, limité le droit de saisie sur mer, en exemptant de la saisie les bâtiments affectés à la pêche côtière et à la navigation locale. Le Congrès exprime l'espoir que dans un prochain avenir la propriété privée sera déclarée absolument inviolable sur mer comme sur terre, comme contre-partie de la proposition faite en faveur de la limitation des armements.

M. J. DUMAS ouvre la discussion. La question de l'inviolabilité

de la propriété privée sur mer ne peut pas être ajournée, tant pour des raisons de principes que pour des raisons de tactique.

Nous savons depuis la Conférence de 1907 combien elle touche à celle de la limitation des armements. Il est impossible de les séparer. Les Puissances continentales ont déclaré à la Conférence qu'elles n'accepteraient la limitation des armement que sous condition que l'Angleterre reconnaisse l'inviolabilité de la propriété privée sur mer.

L'Union interparlementaire a mis cette question à l'ordre du jour de la Conférence de Berlin comme sujet principal de ses discussions.

L'expérience a démontré que, si l'inviolabilité de la propriété privée n'est pas assurée, certains Etats se verront obligés d'avoir recours à la course et aux mines sous-marines. La Conférence de Bruxelles de 1874, celles de La Haye en 1899 et en 1907 ont décidé d'interdire la capture sur terre. Quelle différence y a-t-il entre la capture sur terre et la capture sur mer? C'est donc aussi une question de principe.

L'orateur signale les efforts faits dans cette direction, en Amérique, depuis Franklin, puis plus tard en Italie.

M. MOSCHELES est opposé à la résolution, parce qu'elle a trait aux lois de la guerre.

Mrs. DRYHURST la soutient au nom des familles qui, en cas de guerre, seront privées du pain quotidien, dans les circonstances actuelles.

Mr. R. C. HAWKIN dit que l'opinion en Angleterre est divisée, mais qu'en général l'acceptation de la convention serait considérée comme étant une concession faite par la première Puissance maritime du monde. Le Comité a tenu compte de l'opinion générale, en demandant l'inviolabilité de la propriété privée sur mer comme contre-partie de la limitation des armements.

M. BOKANOWSKI n'est pas de ceux qui désirent rendre la guerre plus cruelle. Il croit cependant que, si le commerce est protégé en temps de guerre, les grands entrepreneurs en auront le profit et qu'il sera à leur avantage de la provoquer partout où ils pourront le faire.

Mr. MEAD ne pense pas que ce soit le cas pour l'Amérique.

MM. PERRIS et CLARK appuient la résolution, qui est votée à l'unanimité (M. Bokanowski ayant dû partir avant le vote).

La séance est levée.

## 8<sup>me</sup> SÉANCE,

*Samedi 1<sup>er</sup> août, à 2 heures de l'après-midi.*

*Président : M. ALEXANDER.*

Le PRÉSIDENT donne lecture des lettres et télégrammes de sympathie reçus de M. Fréd. Passy, de Mrs. Hawkins, sœur du Général Botha, et de la part du Congrès national des Sociétés suédoises de la Paix.

M. KUROIITA, délégué du Japon, salue l'assemblée au nom de son pays et de la Société de la Paix du Japon.

### Éducation Pacifique des Enfants.

La proposition de M. Thivet dont les 2<sup>me</sup> et 3<sup>me</sup> alinéas avaient été modifiés est votée sous la forme suivante :

#### A.—METHODE D'ENSEIGNEMENT.

Le 17<sup>ème</sup> Congrès Universel estime que :

1. Le Pacifisme doit contribuer à faire éclore dans le monde plus de justice et de moralité, en pénétrant dans chaque pays par un enseignement moral adéquat à ce pays.

2. Les Universitaires (de tous grades et tous degrés) peuvent ne pas faire du pacifisme un nouvel article de leur enseignement, à la condition de faire se dégager l'esprit pacifique de toutes les matières de cet enseignement.

3. Les événements historiques de tous ordres, de tous temps, de tous lieux, doivent être enseignés dans toute leur vérité, c'est-à-dire sans aucune dissimulation voulue des faits et de leurs causes. Tous les événements peuvent, sans aucune crainte, être présentés à l'élève, si on a soin de les situer à leur vraie place dans l'évolution historique, si on leur donne leur vraie couleur locale. Ainsi les guerres perdront, dans l'enseignement de l'histoire, la trop grande importance qui jusqu'ici leur a été attribuée.

4. Il est nécessaire de montrer aux adolescents que l'objectif constant et final de l'existence n'est pas dans la mort, si glorieuse soit elle, mais dans l'utilité de la vie.

L'importance donnée aux exercices physiques aura pour but la culture physique des jeunes générations au triple point de vue de la santé, de la

force et de la beauté, c'est-à-dire de la préparation à la vie et non de la préparation au service militaire.

#### B.—APPLICATIONS.

Se référant aux résolutions du congrès de Milan, le 17<sup>ème</sup> Congrès Universel rappelle que dans toutes les mesures où cela sera possible, il sera indispensable de favoriser la création de "foyers pacifiques," dans lesquels, avant l'école, de tout jeunes enfants pourront, dans des jeux surveillés et dirigés, contracter de saines et paisibles habitudes.

Le 17<sup>ème</sup> Congrès Universel émet le vœu que :

1. Les maîtresses de l'enseignement maternel recourent aux procédés de la science pédagogique, basée sur la psychologie de l'enfant, et habituent ce dernier à prévenir instinctivement le mal.

2. Les maîtresses et maîtres de l'enseignement primaire habituent filles et garçons à recourir à l'arbitrage, à tous âges, en tous temps, dans tous les milieux, et pour les litiges de toutes natures.

3. Les professeurs (femmes et hommes) des enseignements secondaire et supérieur commentent l'idée d'arbitrage et habituent leurs élèves à solutionner eux-mêmes, par ce moyen, les conflits qui pourraient naître entre eux.

Mme. MARYA CHELIGA présente une résolution sur le rôle de la Femme dans le Mouvement pacifique dont voici la teneur :

Considérant que la femme est la première éducatrice des jeunes générations,

Le Congrès exprime le désir que les mères et les institutrices inculquent aux enfants cette vérité, que non seulement le pacifisme n'est pas incompatible avec le patriotisme et la morale, mais que seules les institutions qu'il préconise donneront à la patrie une complète sécurité à la fois morale et effective.

Elle est votée à l'unanimité.

M. NEWMAN demande que la résolution votée à la Conférence des instituteurs le jour précédent et proposée par Mr. Hobson soit incorporée dans les délibérations du Congrès. Il donne lecture du texte :

Le Congrès constate avec satisfaction qu'une Conférence d'éducateurs de la jeunesse, se rattachant au Congrès de la Paix, a eu lieu hier, 31 juillet 1908, sous la présidence du professeur Sir John Macdonnell, K.C.B. Le Congrès adopte, pour son compte, la résolution proposée à cette assemblée par M. J.-A. Hobson et votée dans les termes suivants :

"La Conférence, persuadée que la sympathie des élèves des écoles et des collèges devrait être attirée vers les nobles principes qui inspirent la propagande en faveur de la Paix, demande instamment que l'on s'efforce d'introduire une interprétation pacifique de l'histoire dans les manuels autorisés pour les écoles, les collèges et les universités, et sollicite dans ce but l'active collaboration de tous membres de l'enseignement

"La Conférence condamne en outre toute tentative pour faire pénétrer dans l'éducation de la jeunesse la propagande et l'influence militaristes,

une telle immixtion ne pouvant qu'abaisser l'idéal des jeunes générations et compromettre les bons résultats de l'œuvre pédagogique."

La proposition de M. Newman est adoptée à l'unanimité.

Le Congrès vote ensuite sans discussion la résolution suivante :

### **Appel aux Étudiants.**

(Proposition de M. Houzeau de Lehaie, sénateur à Mons.)

Considérant les succès remportés en premier lieu par l'"Intercollegiate Peace Association," qui comprend des étudiants et des professeurs de 50 universités, et ensuite par l'Association "Corda Fratres" qui compte des succursales dans 63 universités d'Europe et dont l'extension est à désirer parmi toutes les autres universités ;

Considérant les résultats obtenus par l'"American School Peace League" qui a pour but de répandre les idées pacifiques parmi les maîtres des écoles primaires et secondaires, dans la conviction que ces idées sont de la plus haute importance pour la jeunesse académique et méritent son adhésion énergique ;

Considérant qu'il est nécessaire de combattre les tendances belliqueuses causées par l'esprit dont s'inspirent les leçons d'histoire qui glorifient trop souvent les actes guerriers ;

Considérant la nécessité de renseigner les maîtres sur les buts et les moyens du mouvement pacifiste ;

Le Congrès insiste encore sur le principe déjà posé au Congrès précédent relativement à l'agitation pacifiste à créer parmi les universitaires et les élèves des écoles primaires et secondaires. Pour rendre efficace cette propagande, les Sociétés pacifistes se mettront en relations avec les Associations d'instituteurs et de professeurs.

### **Organisation Internationale Économique.**

M. le Sénateur LA FONTAINE (Bruxelles) : Nous approchons de la clôture de ce congrès et je ne veux pas prolonger inutilement nos débats, bien que l'objet du rapport que j'ai à vous présenter soit des plus importants. Il s'agit en effet de montrer non-seulement comment il faut organiser le monde au point de vue politique et juridique, ainsi que M. Duplessix vient de le faire, mais encore d'indiquer ce qui a été réalisé déjà et ce qu'il importe de réaliser au point de vue de l'organisation économique et scientifique.

Je me contenterai de résumer en ce moment les éléments essentiels du rapport qui sera joint aux actes du congrès. Ce que je tiens principalement à vous signaler c'est que le monde vit déjà d'une intense vie internationale : les hommes, en bien des domaines, sont déjà les citoyens de la grande cité mondiale.

Je ne vous parlerai pas des trusts et des cartels dont plusieurs ont pour aire la surface de la terre, je veux seulement vous indiquer, au point de vue économique, l'importance qu'ont pris les moyens de transport, tels, la poste, les chemins de fer, les télégraphes, les câbles, sous-marins qui tous ont donné lieu à des conventions entre les Etats et à la création de bureaux officiels, véritables ministères internationaux. Non moins caractéristique est le groupement des forces ouvrières réunies en une trentaine de fédérations internationales, fédérées elles-mêmes en un organisme mondial dont le siège est à Berlin. A côté d'elles une vaste association poursuit la réalisation d'une législation uniforme du travail déjà admise pour le travail de nuit des femmes et l'emploi du phosphore blanc.

Mutualités et coopératives sont depuis longtemps fédérées au sein du Bureau permanent d'études et de statistique mutualistes et de l'Alliance coopérative internationale.

Au point de vue sanitaire la lutte contre la terrible triplique du choléra, de la gèvre jaune, et de la peste est engagée internationalement depuis 1851, et a abouti à l'adoption d'un Code international accepté d'hygiène dont le siège est à Paris.

Quant aux hommes de science, ils travaillent depuis longtemps en commun : la science est nécessairement internationale. Mais les savants ont également leurs assises : mathématiciens, astronomes, physiciens, chimistes, géologues, météorologistes, botanistes, zoologues, anthropologues, anatomistes, physiologues, ont leurs congrès réguliers et internationaux. Ceux qui appliquent les données de la science, les médecins, les chirurgiens, les vétérinaires, les agronomes, les métallurgistes, les électriciens, les spécialistes des voies ferrées et navigables, les techniciens de la brasserie, de la sucrerie, de la distillerie, de la boulangerie, du pétrole, de l'acétylène du ciment, du papier, de la filature se réunissent en sessions internationales.

Les gouvernements eux-mêmes ont, en ces domaines scientifiques, apporté leur concours en participant à la création d'organismes internationaux comme l'Association géodésique, l'Union pour l'exploration des mers, l'Association seismologique, le Bureau des poids et mesures, l'Institut d'agriculture. Et la fondation de l'Association internationale des Académies est comme un hommage officiel rendu par les corps savants les plus illustres et aussi les plus sages à l'évolution qui oriente le monde vers l'unité.

On peut affirmer qu'il n'est plus un domaine de l'activité et de la pensée humaines où l'internationalisme n'ait pas pénétré, mais les hommes ne sont pas conscients de l'ampleur du mouvement de co-

ordination et de co-opération qui les entraîne. C'est cette conscience qu'il importe d'éveiller.

Dans ce but il a été créé à Bruxelles un Office central des Institutions Internationales. Cet organisme cherche à réunir les éléments d'une vaste enquête sur l'internationalisme : cette enquête est résumée dans l'annuaire de la Vie Internationale\* dont l'office a assumé désormais la publication. En accumulant une collection centrale de tous les documents émanant des œuvres internationales, il concrétisera en quelque sorte l'internationalisation du monde.

Le devoir des pacifistes est tout indiqué : ils ne peuvent pas ignorer ce mouvement. Bien plus, c'est à eux à le faire connaître, à le promouvoir de toutes leurs forces, à l'amplifier dans la mesure du possible. Chacun de nous, dans le milieu où l'ont placé ses fonctions, sa profession ou son métier, peut participer au groupement de ses collègues, de ses collaborateurs, de ses compagnons de labeur selon un plan international. C'est à cela que nous vous convions et nous vous proposons à cet effet de voter le vœu suivant :

Le Congrès constate avec satisfaction le mouvement qui entraîne les hommes dans tous les domaines de l'activité et de la pensée à se grouper internationalement.

Le Congrès appelle sur ce fait l'attention spéciale des gouvernements et les invite à donner leur appui moral et matériel aux œuvres qui poursuivent un but international ; il les invite spécialement à envoyer des délégués officiels aux divers congrès internationaux et à constituer le plus grand nombre possible d'unions d'Etats.

Le Congrès impose comme un devoir à tous ses membres et aux membres des sociétés pacifistes de promouvoir l'évolution vers l'internationalisme et notamment vers la fédération internationale de tous les intérêts intellectuels et économiques de l'humanité. Le Congrès invite toutes les associations et institutions internationales existantes à se grouper elles-mêmes en fédération autour de l'office central des institutions internationales de Bruxelles.

L'orateur à l'appui de sa thèse place sous les yeux de l'assemblée un tableau synoptique des congrès internationaux qui ont eu lieu depuis 1846 jusqu'en 1908. Il en résulte que des 1460 congrès qu'il a relevés jusqu'à maintenant il s'en est tenu :

24	de 1840 à 1860
48	de 1861 à 1870
133	de 1871 à 1880
226	de 1881 à 1890
450	de 1891 à 1900
579	de 1901 à 1908

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\* Cette publication, due à l'initiative de M. Alfred H. Fried, était éditée en 1907 par l'Institut International de la Paix, à Monaco.

La progression de ces assises internationales est frappante et montre l'ampleur et l'étendue du mouvement internationaliste.

La résolution est adoptée à l'unanimité, ainsi que la résolution suivante.

### **Institut Internationale d'Agriculture.**

(Proposition de M. H. La Fontaine, sénateur à Bruxelles.)

Considérant que la paix et la prospérité internationales dépendent en grande partie de la justice économique,

Le Congrès se félicite de la coopération de toutes les nations à l'établissement de l'Institut international d'agriculture destiné à rendre d'innombrables services en fournissant des renseignements exacts qui empêcheront les fluctuations inutiles dans le prix des produits agricoles, et en assurant la stabilité du capital et du travail aussi bien à l'usine que dans la ferme.

Le Congrès invite les sociétés de la Paix à appeler l'attention toute spéciale du public sur cet important facteur de la paix internationale.

### **Droit des Peuples Constituant une Minorité dans un État.**

M. Henri La Fontaine donne lecture de la résolution suivante :

Le Congrès estime nécessaire de rappeler que le respect de chaque nationalité est un des principes fondamentaux du pacifisme et de toute entente internationale, que ce même principe doit être respecté dans la législation intérieure des États, et qu'en particulier le droit à l'usage de sa langue est un des droits imprescriptibles de chaque nationalité.

Le Congrès insiste pour qu'on accorde, dans les États de nationalités différentes, aux langages des minorités nationales ou des nations sujettes, l'égalité de droit, autant que possible, pour l'administration, pour la justice, pour l'instruction, pour la vie publique et privée, et que le privilège d'une langue officielle ne s'étende qu'à l'accomplissement des charges de l'État et non d'après la volonté ou l'intérêt supposé de la nationalité dominante.

Le Congrès exprime la conviction qu'il est du devoir des Sociétés nationales de la paix de faire respecter ces principes dans leurs pays respectifs.

Le Congrès, s'en référant à ses résolutions antérieures relatives à la situation des nationalités et des peuples asservis et inorganisés, insiste à nouveau auprès des divers gouvernements pour qu'ils appliquent à ces populations les principes de liberté et de justice visés dans les dites résolutions.

M. le Prof. QUIDDE recommande l'adoption de cette résolution. Il pense qu'un Congrès universel de la Paix, sans vouloir s'immiscer dans les questions d'ordre purement national, a toutefois les compétences voulues pour proclamer certains principes qui devraient faire loi dans chaque pays. Il appartient ensuite aux Sociétés de la Paix des divers pays de faire tout ce qui dépend d'eux pour assurer la mise en pratique de ces principes dans leurs pays.

Mrs. DRYHURST propose un amendement qui demande la fondation d'une Cour internationale d'Arbitrage indépendante ou en rapport à celle de La Haye, à laquelle les peuples asservis pourront faire appel. Mrs. Dryhurst souhaite qu'en attendant la formation de cette Cour, le Congrès prie les Gouvernements d'observer strictement les traités, conventions et contrats qui ont été conclus entre les différents peuples, en particulier entre les grandes nations et les petites.

Mrs. Dryhurst parle au nom du "Subject Races International Committee" qui compte parmi ses membres des représentants de l'Aborigines Protection Society, de la British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, de l'Egyptian Committee, the Friends of Russian Freedom, the Georgian Relief Committee, the International Arbitration and Peace Association, the National Council of Ireland, et the Positivist Society. Elle trace un tableau émouvant des souffrances endurées par le peuple de la Géorgie, souffrances dont elle a été témoin. Elle voudrait que les représentants de tous les pays adressent un appel, particulier ou public, aux représentants des nations qui sont opprimées.

Le PRÉSIDENT exprime la sympathie du Congrès à l'endroit des peuples opprimés. Il pense néanmoins que cette question ne peut être considérée comme amendement à la résolution soumise par M. La Fontaine au Congrès. Il estime que l'adjonction de Mrs. Dryhurst doit former une résolution à part et qu'elle aurait dû être soumise à l'étude d'une Commission spéciale avant d'être soumise au vote du Congrès. Il se ralliera cependant à l'opinion du Congrès.

M. le Prof. QUIDDE propose le renvoi à un Congrès futur, il n'est par d'accord avec une partie de la résolution.

Il est appuyé par M. le Baron Siebold.

Prennent part à la discussion : MM. La Fontaine, Tarrida del Marmel, qui se prononcent dans le sens des observations de M. Quidde et MM. Green, Maurice et Darby qui sont pour l'adoption de la résolution. M. Darby regrette cependant que la rédaction manque de clarté et peut donner lieu à des malentendus.

Le PRÉSIDENT rappelle que la résolution elle-même n'a pas encore été votée.

La résolution de la Commission A est adoptée à l'unanimité. L'amendement écarté est renvoyé à un futur Congrès.

Le PRÉSIDENT invite Mrs. Lockwood à donner connaissance au Congrès des résolutions de la Commission A qu'elle avait rédigées en vue du Congrès.

Ces résolutions sont les suivantes :

### **Conférence de l'Amérique Centrale.**

Le Congrès félicite les Etats de l'Amérique centrale du progrès qu'ils ont réalisé en signant entre eux, dans la Conférence qu'ils ont tenue à Washington du 11 novembre au 20 décembre 1907, les sept traités suivantes :

1. Convention pour l'établissement d'une Cour de justice pour l'Amérique centrale.
2. Convention pour l'établissement d'un Bureau international pour l'Amérique centrale.
3. Traité général de paix et d'amitié.
4. Convention sur les communications par chemin de fer et par eau.
5. Convention d'extradition.
6. Convention pour l'établissement d'un Institut pédagogique pour l'Amérique centrale.
7. Convention concernant la prochaine Conférence de l'Amérique centrale.

Le Congrès constate avec une vive satisfaction que la Cour de justice mentionnée ci-dessus est déjà organisée et agissante, puisqu'elle a tenu sa première session le 25 mai 1908, c'est-à-dire au moment même où, pour exprimer sa sympathie envers la paix et le progrès de l'Amérique centrale et sa confiance dans le succès de la grande œuvre humanitaire inaugurée par ce tribunal, M. A. Carnegie donnait une somme de 100,000 dollars en vue d'élever à Carthago un Temple de la Paix à l'usage exclusif de la Conférence.

### **Temple de la Paix à Washington.**

Le Congrès enregistre avec une vive satisfaction la pose de la première pierre du Temple de la Paix de Washington—pour lequel M. Carnegie a généreusement souscrit 100,000 dollars—temple destiné à recevoir le Bureau des Républiques américaines et à servir les intérêts communs aux différents Etats de l'Amérique latine, en même temps que ceux qui lient ces Etats aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord.

Elles sont votées sans discussion, ainsi que les résolutions suivantes :

### **Pétition de Miss A. Eckstein.**

Le Congrès, sur la recommandation de la Commission C, approuve la pétition par laquelle Miss Anna B. Eckstein, de l'"American Peace Society," prie les gouvernements représentés à la troisième Conférence de La Haye de s'entendre pour signer un traité en vertu duquel chaque Etat se fera une obligation d'honneur de régler par l'arbitrage aussitôt que possible ses différends d'ordre international, comme aussi de soumettre à un tribunal d'arbitrage toute difficulté internationale qui pourrait s'élever avant la conciliation complète de tous les intérêts internationaux.

### **Visites Internationales.**

Le Congrès, considérant que les visites internationales effectuées par diverses collectivités ou organisations en vue d'étudier les institutions

étrangères et de répandre les idées de solidarité humaine sont d'une utilité incontestable à la cause de la Paix,

Invite tous les groupements à redoubler d'efforts pour établir une bonne intelligence entre les nations ;

Reconnaissant qu'à cet effet des ressources spéciales sont nécessaires, il félicite hautement le gouvernement de la Grande-Bretagne d'avoir décidé la création d'un Fonds annuel d'Hospitalité internationale ;

Il demande à tous les autres gouvernements de suivre cet exemple généreux et de faire une part sans cesse plus grande à la Paix dans leurs budgets.

### **Congrès de 1909.**

La délégation de Suède, au nom des Sociétés suédoises de la Paix, invite le Congrès à Stockholm pour la dernière semaine d'août ou la première de septembre de l'année prochaine.

Le Congrès accueille cette proposition avec enthousiasme et vote la résolution suivante :

Le Congrès ratifie la décision du précédent Congrès tendant à accepter l'invitation reçue de tenir le Congrès de 1909 à Stockholm, et décide que le Congrès y sera tenu dans la première semaine de septembre.

Un appel en faveur du Bureau international de la Paix à Berne est adopté.

M. le Prof. QUIDDE : Je suis chargé par la Commission A de vous donner lecture de l'Appel aux nations qu'elle a préparé. M. Arnaud y a fait quelques modifications. Il a été traduit dans les trois langues.

Le Congrès adopte le texte de la Commission A, en donnant toutefois au Comité d'organisation les compétences nécessaires pour y apporter les modifications qu'il jugera opportunes.

### **Appel aux Nations.**

Pendant l'année qui vient de s'écouler, une inquiétude sérieuse et d'ailleurs absolument injustifiée, s'est emparée du monde politique.

Les antagonismes d'intérêts qui divisent certaines nations sur quelques points du globe, sont représentés dans tous les pays par une certaine presse comme des causes de conflits insurmontables. Il paraît des brochures, des livres même, qui présentent une peinture fantastique de la guerre à venir, tantôt entre l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne, tantôt entre les Etats-Unis et le Japon, tantôt entre des groupements de nations. De hautes personnalités, voire des hommes d'Etat, affirment que les questions de l'heure présente doivent être envisagées au point de vue d'une grande guerre absolument inévitable.

Jouer ainsi avec l'image menaçante de la guerre, c'est jouer inconsciemment avec le feu.

Où sont donc, en vérité, les antagonismes d'intérêts si irréductibles qu'une nation, même quand elle considère la guerre comme la ressource ultime de sa défense, veuille exposer la vie de ses enfants, le bien-être de toute une génération, et même sa propre existence, pour arriver au terme de ses désirs, ou disputer à une autre nation des droits qu'un équitable compromis d'intérêts pourrait lui assurer ?

Nulle part !

Toutes les questions dont on parle aujourd'hui sont susceptibles d'un compromis pacifique, sans qu'aucune nation soit contrainte de renoncer à aucun intérêt vital.

D'ailleurs, tous les peuples, tous les gouvernements, témoignent de leur bonne volonté et ne se lassent pas de le répéter ; aucun ne veut faire violence aux autres, mais se contente d'affirmer son bon droit à participer à une prospérité économique croissante.

Le danger réside moins dans les questions litigieuses mêmes, que dans la manière dont elles sont traitées aujourd'hui par une grande partie de la presse, et par des individus pour la plupart irresponsables.

Si l'on répète sans cesse au public que l'antagonisme des intérêts doit aboutir à des catastrophes, si l'on parle de la guerre à venir comme d'un événement inévitable, on crée par là même un grave danger de guerre. On habitue les nations à se livrer à l'idée fataliste qu'une guerre arrivera nécessairement, on affaiblit la résistance des forces de paix pour le moment critique.

Il est grand temps de faire halte.

Nous autres, amis de la Paix, nous en appelons donc aux hommes réfléchis de tous les pays pour qu'ils résistent à pareils entraînements, et rappellent avec nous les peuples à la raison. Si les hommes de bon sens s'allient au parti des amis de la Paix, celui-ci sera invincible.

Avant de se séparer, l'Assemblée vote des remerciements enthousiastes au Gouvernement pour sa magnifique hospitalité, à M. ALEXANDER pour les soins et l'énergie avec laquelle il a conduit les délibérations du Congrès et au Comité d'organisation qui a travaillé sans relâche pour assurer le succès du Congrès et l'accueil exquis que les Congressistes ont reçu dans la grande cité du Royaume-Uni.

## MANIFESTATION DES TRAVAILLEURS,

*Samedi 1er août 1908, à 5 heures du soir.*

[Nous empruntons au " Bulletin de la Société Gratre de la Paix " la description de cette manifestation, imposante et unique en son genre.]

Les travailleurs de Londres avaient décidé d'organiser à l'occasion du Congrès, une importante démonstration du parti ouvrier en faveur de la Paix et de la réduction des armements. Ils s'étaient donné rendez-vous, le samedi, à cinq heures du soir, au London Embankment, et de là dirigés en procession, avec leurs drapeaux et leurs bannières, vers Trafalgar Square où devait avoir lieu la manifestation. Sur les plates-formes du soubassement de la colonne Nelson, des deux côtés, s'entassaient, avec les membres du Congrès, diverses députations, des enfants de différentes écoles, etc. Les bas-reliefs, qui représentent des scènes de guerres passées, étaient recouverts par la bannière du Congrès, par des inscriptions telles que " Tu ne tueras pas," etc. Tout autour de la colonne avaient été placées les bannières des différents groupements ouvriers, et des milliers de personnes écoutaient les discours que faisaient, en même temps, du haut du soubassement, les divers orateurs, parmi lesquels un certain nombre de Congressistes et de membres du Parlement.

"N'est-il pas surprenant, dit M. JOHN WARD, M.P., que nous soyons obligés de prêcher une telle doctrine, et que ce soit nous, les travailleurs, qui devons apprendre à des hommes et à des femmes qui se disent chrétiens, les éléments du Christianisme? Depuis que je suis au Parlement, j'ai eu l'occasion d'étudier de près les armées et je suis plus que jamais convaincu qu'elles sont un danger pour l'Etat. Il y a déjà plusieurs années qu'on a renoncé au duel comme moyen de régler les différends privés. Il faut aller maintenant plus en avant, et dire que ce n'est pas par la force brutale que doivent s'établir les droits des Nations. Aussi bien, il y a des hommes d'Etat pour s'occuper de cela. On a dépensé des millions et sacrifié des milliers d'existences dans la guerre Sud-Africaine. Cela vaut bien la peine que les hommes d'Etat s'en préoccupent."

M. O'GRADY, M.P., dit que c'est l'argent et la vie des travailleurs qui se dépensent dans la guerre, et qu'il y a pour prévenir la guerre une force plus grande que la diplomatie ; c'est ce fait que les travailleurs de tous les pays commencent à comprendre que la guerre est un désastre irréparable. Toutes les organisations de travailleurs en Europe, en Amérique, comme en Angleterre, doivent travailler les esprits, de façon que l'on fasse tout ce qui sera possible pour prévenir les calamités d'une guerre. Il faut empêcher la possibilité de conflits entre les nations et c'est à cela que doit tendre l'esprit des travailleurs organisés de l'Europe. Il y a des organisations d'ouvriers qui s'opposent aux luttes internationales. Quand elles réclament quelque réforme sociale ou la diminution de l'armée ou de la flotte, on les dénonce comme "de mauvais patriotes." Ce sont, au contraire, les vrais nationalistes et les vrais patriotes, car leur but est de voir le peuple mieux nourri, mieux vêtu, et assuré de trouver du travail, tout aussi bien que le peuple allemand. Ce qui doit exister entre les peuples, ce n'est pas l'esprit de lutte et de destruction, mais l'esprit d'émulation.

M. O'GRADY dit que c'est le devoir des travailleurs de ce pays de refuser de voter les dépenses des guerres qui ne sont pas nécessaires, et que les guerres qui n'amènent que la pauvreté, la désolation et la destruction, ne doivent pas être tolérées par des groupements d'hommes civilisés.

M. WILL THORNE, M.P., condamne l'augmentation des dépenses d'armements qui se fait en Angleterre. Avec les différentes alliances qui existent, les Allemands croient qu'ils ont été isolés à dessein et que l'on a l'intention d'envahir l'Allemagne. Il tient à déclarer hautement que les ouvriers anglais n'ont aucune raison d'en vouloir, ni aux ouvriers allemands, ni aux ouvriers d'aucune partie du monde.

Mr. J. R. MACDONALD, M.P., dit que l'on peut présenter des adresses aux rois et aux gouvernements, mais que seules les masses populaires ont en mains les éléments de la paix permanente. Qu'ont-elles à gagner à partir en guerre contre leurs semblables ? Le résultat de ces guerres a été que des milliers de nos compagnons de travail sont morts et qu'aujourd'hui leurs veuves et leurs orphelins sont dans les rues ou dans les "Workhouses." Il y a des gens qui sont avides de titres, d'honneurs, de médailles, de gloire politique, et qui s'en vont, racontant que l'Allemagne se prépare à envahir Londres au moyen des ballons dirigeables. Il faut que les travailleurs exercent sur la Chambre des Communes une pression suffisante pour que nos Ministres des Affaires étrangères ne poussent

jamais à la guerre, qu'ils la désirent ou non. Les délégués ouvriers ont été l'année dernière en Allemagne, serrer la main des Allemands et les assurer qu'aucun homme d'Etat, aucun diplomate de ce pays-ci ne réussira à pousser les travailleurs à la guerre.

Aux applaudissements de la foule, la déclaration suivante a été votée par acclamation :

La réunion des Travailleurs organisés et autres, exprime toute sa sympathie pour les idées du Congrès international de la Paix qui s'est tenu à Londres cette semaine. Elle déclare qu'il n'y a pas et qu'il ne saurait y avoir de motifs de querelles entre les travailleurs des divers pays qui, de plus en plus, se sentent unis par des liens de fraternité et de bienveillance. Elle réprouve donc énergiquement le système des armées permanentes et du service militaire obligatoire, qui menace les libertés civiles des travailleurs et empêche le progrès, tant intellectuel qu'économique. Il insiste pour que partout le peuple demande l'établissement d'un système d'arbitrage international, qui aboutisse au désarmement général et qui, rendant disponibles les sommes énormes aujourd'hui consacrées à la guerre et à la préparation de la guerre, les fasse servir au développement du progrès et de la civilisation basés sur la liberté et la justice.

## RÉCEPTION AU NATIONAL LIBÉRAL CLUB,

*Samèdi, 1er août, 1908, au soir.*

La plupart des délégués ont pris part à la réception donnée en l'honneur du Congrès au National Liberal Club, à Londres.

L'Hon. Captain Fitz-Roy Hemphill, président du Comité Politique du Club, et le vice-président, Mr. J. Rowlands, M.P., présidaient à cette réunion.



# RESOLUTIONS OF THE 17<sup>TH</sup> UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

(ENGLISH TEXT)

## **The International Museum.**

### **RESOLUTION I.**

Whereas the International Museum of Peace at Lucerne, which is frequented by from 60,000 to 70,000 foreign visitors annually, has become, in accordance with the intentions of the founders, and in particular the late M. Jean de Bloch, a powerful means of propaganda which it therefore becomes our duty to maintain; whereas that Museum, provisionally erected on a site belonging to the City of Lucerne, has now to be installed definitively and without delay; whereas out of the total amount of 600,000 francs required for rebuilding the same, 100,000 francs, or £4,000 still remains to be found; whereas the Museum Association have decided to issue priority shares of 500 francs, or £20 each, for that amount; and whereas the present rate of the Museum takings already makes it possible to assure the holders of such priority shares a minimum dividend of 3 per cent. per annum; this Congress urgently appeals to its members as well as to peace societies and all friends of peace generally to secure the conservation of the Museum by subscribing the said capital as quickly as possible. Subscription forms, to be filled in by intending shareholders, will be placed at their disposal by the Berne International Bureau.

## **Workmen and the Peace Movement.**

### **RESOLUTION II.**

The Seventeenth Universal Congress of Peace, recognising with satisfaction that the London Congress has a much larger number of working-class representatives than former Congresses, and that it is of great importance for the peace of the world that the working masses should support the pacifist programme, requests the organisers of future International Peace Congresses to invite, at least three months in advance, the great working-class organisations, federations of Trade Unions, etc., to take part in the Congresses.

It considers that it is the duty of the Peace Societies in all countries to form Committees for the special purpose of making known the pacifist programme among the working-classes of their respective countries. These Committees should submit to each International Congress a report of their activity during the preceding year.

**Thanks to the King.****RESOLUTION III.**

The Congress considers it its first duty to express its gratitude for the favour conferred by His Majesty the King. It desires to record that for the first time in the history of the Peace movement the head of a great Power has deigned personally to receive a deputation of the Congress. This fact is a proof of the growing importance of the movement, and is a sanction given to its labours. The Congress also thanks His Majesty for having inaugurated, by the audience granted to its delegates, an important precedent in the history of the Peace movement. It also desires to include Her Majesty the Queen in its expression of gratitude for her gracious participation in the appreciation given to its endeavours. While conscious that by his words on this occasion His Majesty has exerted his influence in promoting the peace and harmony of the world, the Congress trusts that he will continue in the future to grant that encouragement and sympathy which so much contributes to the success of the high objects of this Congress.

**Arrest and Limitation of Armaments.****RESOLUTION IV.**

Considering that, as the first British Delegate stated at the Hague on August 17th, 1907, the yearly expenditure on armaments of the Powers of Europe, the United States, and Japan, increased between the first and second Peace Conferences from £251,000,000 to £320,000,000, or £69,000,000 in eight years; and that, if it be not stopped, there will be a further increase of this horrible waste before the third Conference meets in 1914;

Considering the perils of such a failure of international statesmanship, and the advice of M. Bourgeois, the first French Delegate, that 'between now and the next Conference the consideration of the question should be resolutely proceeded with;'

And considering the offer of the British Government to negotiate with other Governments for a common arrest of naval armaments;

The Congress urges that such negotiations should be immediately entered upon, and that a special Conference of the chief naval Powers should be called without delay, so that a practical plan for such a standstill may be elaborated, and may be put into operation before the meeting of the Third Hague Conference, when, if it has worked successfully, it may lead to a more general agreement.

The Congress further resolves that the British Government be earnestly requested to call such Conference at the earliest possible moment.

The Congress expresses the opinion that, for the moment, a practical method of such an arrest of armaments would be an agreement by the contracting States for a short term of years not to exceed the average total expenditure on army and navy, jointly or separately, during a similar preceding period.

**The Turkish Constitution.****RESOLUTION V.**

The Congress has learnt with the utmost satisfaction that, owing to the recent events in Turkey, the Constitution of 1876, which ensures religious and civil liberty, has been granted to the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and hopes that the various nationalities subject to the Turkish rule will henceforth be invested with the same rights and the same duties without distinction of race or religion. The Congress asks that the Powers should give their energetic support to the legal and Constitutional reforms which have been recently promised, and that they should permit no return to the regrettable state of things which prevailed in the past. The Congress hopes that on the basis of this Constitution it will be possible to bring about an integral pacific solution of the conflicts of nationalities, by giving up the perilous method of special reforms exclusively in certain groups of nationalities, which endangers peace in the Orient by a fruitless agitation.

The Congress asks the Powers to oppose by all pacific means any return to the regrettable state of things which prevailed in the past.

**Guarantee Treaties for the States of the North.****RESOLUTION VI.**

The Congress notes with satisfaction the efforts made for the maintenance of peace and the protection of the rights of the smaller States, which found expression in the Treaties of 1907 and 1908, guaranteeing the integrity of Norway and the territories bordering on the North Sea and the Baltic;

Nevertheless the Congress at the same time insists on the principle that a durable and certain security must be sought, not only in the relations already established by the greater Powers for the protection of the smaller, but in the development of identical juridical relations among all independent nations.

**The Morocco Question.****RESOLUTION VII.**

With regard to the operations undertaken in Morocco, the Congress repeats the resolutions adopted on different occasions by former Congresses in regard to the imprescriptible rights of minor populations.

It especially expresses regret that a question which touches neither the vital interests nor the honour of the European nations should be considered in certain circles with a violent and prejudiced animosity, which might lead to graver and more general conflicts.

The Congress asks that in case such conflicts should arise, they be sent, without exception or delay, to the Hague Tribunal, and that a special permanent arbitration treaty admitting of no exception should refer to that Tribunal all differences of the same kind.

**Air-Ships and War.****RESOLUTION VIII.**

The Congress protests most emphatically against the attempt to see in the great invention of the air-ship only a new means of carrying on war. It considers that the conquest of the air is an event which will benefit the development of civilisation, and deems it a grave aberration to look upon this great progress solely from a military standpoint.

The Congress urges the twenty-two States which refused in 1907 to sign the renewal of the Convention of 1899, prohibiting the throwing of projectiles from balloons, to adhere to this Convention

**Obligatory Arbitration.****RESOLUTION IX.****I.**

Considering that the principles of progress voted for by 26 Powers at the Hague Conference of 1899 and by 44 Powers in 1907 may be looked upon as a definite result:

This Congress takes note of the unanimous resolutions which form a solid platform from which further progress may be developed:

All the Powers have the duty to take part in the maintenance of general peace and to favour by all their endeavours the pacific arrangements of all international litigation.

The civilised nations form one single community whose members are bound by the links of solidarity, subject to the supremacy of law and of international justice.

Arbitration must be made obligatory. The laws of humanity and the demands of public conscience have an imperative character for all those whom international law does not sufficiently protect.

The appeal to arms is only an ultimate alternative for cases in which the intervention of third parties has been of no avail. Its disastrous effects must be limited, their survival must not prevent the limitation of the military charges that weigh upon the world.

While this Congress cannot admit that war is ever necessary, it calls the attention of all peoples to the importance of these principles, and urges upon them to secure their application for the greater profit of civilisation and mankind.

**II.**

This Congress expresses the desire that the Powers who have declared themselves favourable to the application, in definite cases, of obligatory arbitration, should conclude as soon as possible, between themselves, a general treaty of permanent and obligatory arbitration.

**III.**

This Congress expresses once more the desire that the Governments should establish national committees, and an international committee also, with the object of framing an international code of public law.

**International Political Organisation.****RESOLUTION X.**

Considering that general disarmament is a simple measure and of easy application; but only at an epoch when a more perfect international organisation will give to every State a guarantee of security and justice superior to that now given to them by army and navy:—

A.—The Congress is of opinion that the Peace Party should earnestly endeavour to preserve and to perfect international arbitration, but that it must be done in the way traced by the Hague Conference of 1907, by demanding that beside voluntary arbitration, there shall be instituted an obligatory ordinary tribunal analogous to those that exist in civilised countries.

B.—A very complete international organisation will be necessary to ensure the normal working of this tribunal.

C.—The only way to conform the projected organisation to the needs of the peoples and to the present condition of their evolution is to give it the form of an association which, while allowing the different States to keep their individuality and their self-government, would allow them also to have in common their common interests—that is to say, security, justice, and certain intellectual and economic interests.

D.—The working of this Society will require the institution of an international authority. This authority should be composed of delegates appointed by the associated States, and should include:—

1. A Legislative Council charged with preparing an international code.

2. A Judicial Authority applying it.

3. An Executive with the authority necessary to watch over those interests which are common to the different peoples, and to see to the observance of the law and the execution of judicial decisions.

E.—When this organisation is in working order, the States, in return for the guarantees of security and justice which it will have given them, will be bound to disband their armies and navies and to destroy their war stores. They will only be allowed to keep the police forces necessary to maintain order in the mother country and in the colonies.

**An Inter-Governmental Conference on Education.****RESOLUTION XI.****PROGRAMME.**

1. The organisation of regular and periodic international congresses on Education.

2. Publication of an international collection of scholastic regulations.

3. That the Minister of Education should organise a special section of his Department to study foreign methods and courses of Instruction.

4. A comparison of the various schemes of education.

5. International educational statistics.

6. Tabulation of the results of examinations.

7. Facilities for the recognition of foreign diplomas.      Creation of

diplomas having an International value, which will also be recognised by the military authorities.

8. Appointment of special delegates and international correspondents on education.

9. Establishment of homes for teachers and pupils.

10. Subventions for travelling students, both teachers and pupils.

11. Introduction and regulation of the exchange of teachers and pupils.

12. Interchange of pedagogical works and magazines.

13. Relative place of classical and modern languages in future education.

14. Issue of parallel grammars.

15. Regulation of proportion of time to be allotted to physical, intellectual and moral education.

16. Foundation of an international Institute of Pedagogy.

17. Publication of an international and official Educational Review.

#### QUESTIONS.

1. To what extent can we bring greater uniformity into the programmes of schools (primary, secondary, superior)?

2. Would it not be possible to arrange for a more equal division of time for certain branches of education?

3. What facilities could be given to those who desire to change their school?

4. At what age is it desirable for pupils to commence an international education?

5. Ought special schools to be instituted for foreign pupils, or should they be admitted to the ordinary schools?

The Congress is of opinion that the scholastic authorities in each country should make a pronouncement in favour of an Inter-Governmental Congress on Education.

As moral education and moral instruction must necessarily be in the direction of Peace, the Seventeenth Universal Peace Congress respectfully greets the First International Congress of Moral Instruction, and trusts that it will direct its labours towards a course of instruction inspired with fraternal sentiments which shall tend to draw peoples closer to one another, and to unite them under the one moral law.

The Congress congratulates the International Federation of Teachers for having undertaken the realisation, as far as primary instruction is concerned, of the programme regarding international education which has been drawn up by the Peace Congresses. This Congress hopes that in the other grades of education the same example may be followed.

#### Capture at Sea.

##### RESOLUTION XII.

The Congress congratulates the Second Hague Congress on having in some measure restricted the right of capture on sea by exempting from seizure boats which are exclusively used for coast fishery and local navigation. The Congress expresses the hope that in the near future private pro-

perty will be declared as absolutely free from capture on sea as it is on land, and that as a counterpart of this reform, a general agreement for the reduction of armaments will be adopted.

### Pacific Education.

#### RESOLUTION XIII.

##### A.—METHOD OF EDUCATION.

The Seventeenth Universal Congress is convinced that:—

1. Pacifism should contribute to establish in the world more justice and morality by infusing in each country moral teaching adequate to that country.

2. Those connected with Universities (of all grades and degrees) who cannot make pacifism a new article in their programmes, should try to introduce the pacifistic spirit into all the subjects of their teaching.

3. Historical events of every kind must be taught in their whole truth—that is to say, without any dissimulation of facts and their causes. All incidents may without any fear be presented to the pupils if care is exercised in placing them in their true relations to historical evolution, and if they are given their correct local colouring. Thus wars will lose, in the teaching of history, the undue importance which has hitherto been attached to them.

4. It is necessary to show to adolescents that the constant and final objective or aim of existence is not found in death, however glorious, but in usefulness through life.

The important place assigned to physical exercises demands that their object shall be the physical culture of the young generations in the triple point of view—health, force, and beauty—that is to say, in preparation for life, and not as a preparation for military service.

##### B.—APPLICATIONS.

Referring to the resolutions of the Congress of Milan, the Seventeenth Universal Congress recalls that in all the degrees in which it may be possible it is indispensable to encourage the creation of *foyers pacifiques*, where, before the school period, very young children may, by means of amusements superintended and directed, contract healthful and peaceable habits.

The Seventeenth Universal Congress expresses its desire that:

1. Mistresses of Maternal Schools should have recourse to the processes of pedagogical science based upon the psychology of the child, and should habituate it instinctively to avoid evil.

2. Mistresses and Masters of primary instruction *should habituate the boys and girls to have recourse to arbitration at all ages, on all occasions, amidst all associations, and for conflicts of every character.*

3. Professors, whether men or women, of secondary and higher education should comment upon the idea of arbitration and habituate their pupils to solve for themselves by this means all conflicts which may arise among them.

### Women and Peace.

#### RESOLUTION XIV.

Seeing that women are the first educators of the young, the Congress expresses the desire that mothers and female teachers will inculcate the truth that not only is pacifism not incompatible with patriotism and morality, but that only institutions which recognise it will give the country complete security on a moral and permanent basis."

### Peace Teaching in Schools.

#### RESOLUTION XV.

The Congress notes with satisfaction that a Conference of Teachers was held yesterday, the 31st July, in connection with the Congress, under the presidency of Sir John Macdonell, K.C.B.

The Congress reaffirms the resolution moved at that meeting by Mr. J. A. Hobson, and adopted as follows:—

"This Conference, believing that the students in schools and colleges should have their sympathies enlisted in the great principles of the Peace Movement, urges that endeavours be made to secure the just inclusion of peace interpretation of history in the syllabuses of all the schools, colleges, and universities, and solicits the earnest co-operation of all teachers in such instruction.

"It also condemns all attempts to bring militarist propaganda and training into connection with education as calculated to lower the ideals of youth and to impair the efficiency of educational work."

### Universities and Peace.

#### RESOLUTION XVI.

In consideration of the successes obtained by the Société Académique Nationale de la Paix containing the students and professors of 50 Universities, and subsequently by the Association Corda Fratres, with its different sections in 63 Universities of Europe, which it is desirable should be extended to all the other Universities;

In consideration of the efficiency of the American School Peace League, which has for its object the propagation of ideas of Peace among the schoolmasters of primary and higher schools, starting from the conviction that these ideas are of great importance and interest for University students, and should have their energetic support;

Considering that it is necessary to combat the bellicose tendencies too often produced by historical teaching which glorifies warlike deeds;

In consideration of the necessity of informing teachers of the purposes and means of the Peace Movement;

The Congress urges the proposal made at the preceding Congress to carry on an agitation among academic students as well as among pupils of the primary and higher schools. To render efficient this propaganda, the Peace Societies should put themselves in communication with the teachers' Associations.

**Growth of Internationalism.****RESOLUTION XVII.**

The Congress acknowledges with satisfaction the movement which is drawing men together internationally in every domain of activity and thought.

The Congress calls the special attention of the Governments to this fact, and invites them to give their moral and material support to all efforts of an international character; it more particularly invites them to send official delegates to the various International Congresses and to constitute the largest possible number of unions of States.

The Congress urges upon all its members and the members of Peace Societies the duty of promoting the evolution towards internationalism, and especially towards the international federation of all the intellectual and economic interests of humanity.

The Congress invites all existing international associations and institutions to group themselves in a federation in connection with the central office of international institutions at Brussels.

**International Institute of Agriculture.****RESOLUTION XVIII.**

Whereas international peace and prosperity depend largely upon economic justice, this Congress expresses its satisfaction at the co-operation of all nations of the world in establishing the International Institute of Agriculture, which will perform an inestimable service as a clearing house of economic information that will tend to lessen unnecessary fluctuations in the price of agricultural produce, thereby promoting stability in the capital and labour of the factory as well as the farm;

Resolved that Peace Societies should call the attention of the world to this important factor in the promotion of international peace.

**Rights of National Minorities.****RESOLUTION XIX. .**

A.—The Congress considers it necessary to point out that the respect due to each nationality is one of the fundamental principles of the Peace Movement and of any national understanding, that the same principle must be followed in the interior legislation of the States, and that more particularly the right to the use of the native language is one of the inalienable possessions of every nation.

The Congress urges that in countries of mixed nationality the languages of the national minorities or of conquered nations shall be granted the greatest possible equality of right as regards administration, jurisdiction, public instruction, public and private life, and that the privileges enjoyed by the State language shall only extend so far as this may be necessary for the fulfilment of obligations imposed by the State, and not in accordance with the arbitrary dictates or the supposed interests of the ruling nation.

The Congress deems that it is the duty of the National Peace Asso-

ciations to bring these principles into prominence in their respective countries.

B.—The Congress, referring to previous resolutions relating to the position of subject nationalities and peoples without a regular organisation, again impresses on the various Governments that they should apply to these peoples the principles of liberty and justice named in the said resolutions.

### **The Central American Conference.**

#### **RESOLUTION XX.**

The Congress congratulates the States of Central America upon the progressive steps taken by them in the seven treaties which they signed with each other in the Conference held by them at Washington from November 11 to December 20, 1907, as follows:

1. Convention for the establishment of a Central American Court of Justice.
2. Convention for the establishment of an international Central American Bureau.
3. General treaty of peace and amity.
4. Convention on communications pertaining to railroads and waterways.
5. Convention of extradition.
6. Convention for the establishment of a Central American pedagogical institute.
7. Convention concerning future Central American Conferences.

The Congress also records with great satisfaction that the Court of Justice above referred to is already established and in operation, having held its first session on May 25, 1908, at which time Mr. Andrew Carnegie gave \$100,000 for the purpose of erecting at Carthago a Peace Temple for its exclusive use, as an expression of his sympathy for the peace and progress of Central America, and his confidence in the success of the great humanitarian work that has its foundation at this court.

### **Peace Temple at Washington.**

#### **RESOLUTION XXI.**

This Congress notes with high appreciation the laying of the cornerstone of the Peace Temple at Washington—to which Mr. Carnegie has generously contributed \$750,000—to be used by the Bureau of American Republics to promote the common interests of the Latin American States with each other, and with the United States of America.

### **Miss Eckstein's Petition.**

#### **RESOLUTION XXII.**

The XVII. Universal Peace Congress, on the recommendation of its Commission C, approves the petition prepared by Miss Anna B. Eckstein, of the American Peace Society, requesting the Governments represented at the Third Hague Peace Conference to agree upon a treaty, by virtue of which it shall be a matter of honour with each nation to adjust by arbitration treaties all its international interests at the earliest

dates possible, and also to refer to a tribunal of arbitration every international difficulty that may arise before the above regulation of all international interests is completed.

### **International Visits.**

#### **RESOLUTION XXIII.**

Considering that the international visits arranged by different groups and organisations for the purpose of studying the institutions of other countries and of spreading the ideas of the solidarity of mankind, are an undoubted assistance to the cause of peace,

This Congress invites all these organisations to redouble their efforts for establishing a good understanding between nations.

And as a special fund is needed for this purpose, the Congress heartily congratulates the Government of Great Britain on the creation of an annual provision of funds for International Hospitality, and requests other Governments to follow this generous example and to increase continually their Budgets of Peace.

### **Appeal for Financial Support.**

#### **RESOLUTION XXIV.**

1. In view of the fact that for the success of all efforts made in the interests of Peace, large sums of money are indispensable, all the more so as the Bloch Fund will be exhausted in a very short time, and in view of the increase of the Peace Movement, which requires yet other capital in addition to the Bloch Fund, the Congress has drawn up the following proclamation:—

2. The Seventeenth Universal Peace Congress is ended.

Although we have in the past been called Utopians, the brilliant success of the Congress, the ever-increasing number of our adherents in the whole world, and the fact that several of our endeavours, kept up for years, such as the establishment of a permanent International Court of Arbitration, etc., have already borne fruit, are all proofs that we are following the right course.

But if there are still people who treat us as visionaries, no one can deny that the realisation of the aim we have in view, the abolition of war between civilised nations, and the restriction, as far as possible, of wars with uncivilised peoples, will be an enormous benefit to all humanity.

There is not the slightest doubt that we could have carried out work, and could show success of a much more extensive nature than we are able to show now, if we could have had at our disposal from the very first financial means corresponding to the greatness of our cause; for even for the purpose of establishing Peace, for winning over public opinion and the masses of the people where they are not yet won, for convening meetings everywhere, for the maintenance and the popularisation of the organs of the Press, which are mostly edited in a most efficient manner, etc., etc., we want money, and yet more and more money, even though the requisite sums are very far from equalling those necessitated by war and even by

the preparations for war, which alone represent, for Europe, an expense of about eight milliards of francs annually.

We appeal to the nations of the world, and to each of them particularly, to lend us their aid, from this material point of view.

So that the words 'Peace on earth, goodwill towards men' may be realised within as short a time as possible, we earnestly ask everyone, young or old, man or woman, to sacrifice, once for all or periodically, a sum of money in proportion to their means.

Receipts will be given for these amounts in due course. The sums of money will be received by the Berne Bureau, and by all Peace Societies, by the great banks, and by the more important daily papers of the whole world, those of England amongst others.

London, 1908, Seventeenth Universal Peace Congress.

3. This appeal will be published continuously, as far as possible, for one year in all the papers of the world which serve the interests of Peace, in a prominent place, and will be used in any way that may be thought opportune; these two things will be carried out by the International Bureau of Berne, with the help of Executive Committees to be formed, or else (with the consent and under the control of the Berne Office) by the organs of the Press, by Peace Societies, etc.

4. All Peace Societies are asked hereby to send the addresses of wealthy people in their districts to the Bureau de la Paix in Berne, which will make any use thereof that shall seem proper.

5. The sums received shall be paid to the Berne Bureau on the 15th of every month, regularly and unconditionally. The said office will account therefor to the next Congress, and such sums will then be used, in part, for the maintenance and the popularisation of the organs of the Peace Movement.

### **The Congress of 1909.**

#### **RESOLUTION XXV.**

The Congress ratifies the decision of the last Congress accepting the invitation received to hold the Congress of 1909 at Stockholm, and fixes the first week of September for the date of the Congress.

### **Appeal to the Nations.**

During the year which has expired, a spirit of unrest, serious but completely unjustified, has taken hold of the political world.

The conflicting interests which divide certain nations in various parts of the world are depicted by a certain section of the Press in all countries as representing insurmountable difficulties. Pamphlets and even books are published which draw a fantastic picture of the great war to come, now between England and Germany, now between the United States and Japan, now between whole groups of nations. Persons in high places lay stress on the idea that the present time must be regarded as one in which a war is inevitable.

Thus to allow the imagination to dwell on warlike pictures, is to play with fire in an unjustifiable manner.

What are these conflicting interests, which are deemed to be so great that even those nations who consider a war their very last means of self defence, should be willing to risk the lives of their sons, the prosperity of a whole generation, and even their very existence, in order to gain the objects of their desire or to wrest from another nation possessions which it may justly claim, if all the interests are satisfied in an equitable manner?

They are nowhere.

All questions discussed to-day can be settled by means of peaceful compromises, without compelling any one nation to renounce any of its vital interests.

Moreover, all nations and all Governments are willing to further peace, as they are never tired of repeating. They all endeavour to solve difficulties which may arise between them by means of arbitration and other peaceful ways which are constantly increased. No nation wishes to do violence to another, but is satisfied with stating its just claim to participate in a growing economic prosperity.

The danger lies not so much in the disputes themselves, as in the manner in which they are treated to-day by a large section of the Press, and by individual men who are for the most part irresponsible.

If the public are told again and again that conflicting interests are bound to lead to armed conflicts; if the war of the future is represented as an inevitable event, such a proceeding creates in itself a very serious danger of war. The nations become accustomed to the fatalistic idea that a war is bound to come, and thus the force of resistance of the peaceful elements is weakened at the critical moment.

The time has come for putting an end to this.

We, the Friends of Peace, therefore appeal to the thoughtful men of all nations to oppose such irresponsible agitation, and to help us to bring about a return to reason. If the party of the men of common sense joins the party of the men of peace, we shall be invincible.

# RÉSOLUTIONS DU XVII<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS UNIVERSEL DE LA PAIX.

## **Le Musée international.**

### **RÉSOLUTION I.**

Attendu que le Musée de la Paix à Lucerne, qui est fréquenté par 60 à 70 mille visiteurs étrangers par an, est devenu, conformément aux intentions des fondateurs et en particulier de feu M. Jean de Bloch, un puissant moyen de propagande qu'il est de notre devoir de maintenir; attendu que ce Musée provisoirement élevé sur un emplacement appartenant à la ville de Lucerne doit maintenant être installé définitivement et sans délai; attendu que sur le montant total de 600,000 francs nécessaire pour le rebâtir, 100,000 francs, ou £4,000, restent encore à trouver; attendu que l'Association du Musée a décidé d'émettre des parts de priorité à 500 francs, ou £20 chaque, pour réunir cette somme; et attendu que le cours actuel des actions du Musée permet déjà d'assurer aux teneurs de parts de priorité un dividende minimum de 3 % par an; le Congrès fait un pressant appel à ses membres aussi bien qu'aux sociétés de la paix et à tous les amis de la paix en général pour assurer l'entretien du Musée en souscrivant le dit capital aussi rapidement que possible. Des formules de souscription à remplir par ceux qui ont l'intention de prendre des parts, seront mises à leur disposition par le Bureau International de Berne.

## **Les ouvriers et la Paix.**

### **RÉSOLUTION II.**

"Le XVII Congrès Universel de la Paix, constatant avec satisfaction que le Congrès de Londres compte un plus grand nombre de représentants de la classe ouvrière que les Congrès antérieurs, qu'il est du plus grand intérêt pour la Paix du Monde de voir les masses ouvrières appuyer le Programme pacifiste, donne mandat aux organisateurs des prochains Congrès internationaux de la Paix d'inviter à leurs assises, au moins trois mois à l'avance, les grandes organisations ouvrières, fédérations de métiers et Unions de Syndicats de métiers.

Il considère que c'est un devoir urgent, pour les Sociétés de la Paix de chaque pays, de constituer des comités de propagande spécialement chargés de faire connaître le Programme pacifiste aux masses ouvrières de leur pays.

"Ces comités devront soumettre à chaque Congrès international un rapport sur leur activité pendant l'année écoulée."

**Remerciements au Roi.****RÉSOLUTION III.**

Le Congrès considère comme son premier devoir d'exprimer sa gratitude pour la faveur accordée par Sa Majesté le Roi. Il désire rappeler que pour la première fois dans l'histoire du mouvement pacifique le chef d'une grande Puissance a daigné recevoir personnellement une députation du Congrès. Ce fait est une preuve de l'importance croissante du mouvement, et c'est une sanction donnée à ses travaux. Le Congrès remercie aussi Sa Majesté d'avoir inauguré, par l'audience accordée à ses délégués, un précédent d'une grande importance dans l'histoire du mouvement de la Paix. Il désire aussi comprendre Sa Majesté la Reine dans l'expression de sa gratitude pour sa gracieuse participation dans l'appréciation donnée à ses efforts. Convaincu que par ses paroles en cette occasion Sa Majesté le Roi a exercé son influence dans le sens de la paix et de l'harmonie du monde, le Congrès a la confiance qu'elle continuera, à l'avenir, à accorder cet encouragement et cette sympathie qui contribuent si fortement au succès des hauts objets de ce Congrès.

**Arrêt et limitation des armements.****RÉSOLUTION IV.**

A.—Considérant que, comme a dit le premier Délégué Anglais à la Haye, le 17 août, 1907, les dépenses annuelles pour les armements des Puissances d'Europe, des Etats-Unis, et du Japon, se sont élevées, entre la première et la seconde Conférence, de fr. 6,275 millions à fr. 8,000 millions soit un excès de fr. 1,725 millions en huit ans; et que, si elles ne seront pas arrêtées il y aurait encore un accroissement de ce gaspillage horrible avant la troisième Conférence de la Haye en 1914;

Considérant les dangers d'une faillite politique internationale de cette importance, et que, selon l'avis de M. Bourgeois, le Premier Délégué Français, il faut avant la prochaine Conférence continuer résolument l'étude de la question.

Et Considérant l'offre du Gouvernement Anglais à négocier avec d'autres Gouvernements dans le but d'un arrêt d'armements;

Le Congrès recommande fortement que de telles négociations soient commencées immédiatement, et qu'on convoque sans délai une Conférence spéciale des plus grandes Puissances ainsi qu'un plan pratique d'arrêt des armements soit mis en exécution avant l'assemblée de la Troisième Conférence de la Haye, et, s'il opère avec succès, il mènerait à un plus grand accord.

B.—Le Congrès prie le Gouvernement Britannique de convoquer cette Conférence aussitôt que possible.

Le Congrès exprime l'avis que, pour le moment, un moyen pratique de mettre un terme à la progression des armements consisterait à passer, pour une courte durée, un accord par lequel chaque état contractant s'engagerait à ne pas dépasser pour les budgets de la guerre et de la marine (réunis, ou séparés, au choix de la Conférence) la moyenne des dépenses qu'il a effectuées pendant la période précédente d'égale durée pour ces mêmes budgets.

### La Constitution Turque.

#### RÉSOLUTION V.

Le Congrès a appris avec la plus grande satisfaction que, grâce aux récents événements en turquie, la Constitution de 1876, qui assure la liberté religieuse et civile, a été accordée aux sujets de l'Empire ottoman, et espère que les diverses nationalités soumises à l'autorité turque seront désormais investies des mêmes droits et des mêmes devoirs sans distinction de race ou de religion. Le Congrès demande que les Puissances donnent leur appui énergique aux réformes légales et constitutionnelles qui ont été récemment promises, et qu'elles ne permettent point un retour au regrettable état de choses qui a prévalu dans le passé. Le Congrès espère que sur la base de cette Constitution, il sera possible d'arriver à une intégrale solution pacifique des conflits de nationalités, en abandonnant le méthode périlleuse de réformes spéciales exclusivement appliquées à certains groupes de nationalités, qui met la paix en danger dans l'orient par des agitations infructueuses.

Le Congrès demande que les Puissances s'opposent par tous les moyens pacifiques au regrettable état de choses qui a prévalu dans le passé.

### Traités de Garantie pour les pays du Nord.

#### RÉSOLUTION VI.

Le Congrès prend acte avec reconnaissance des efforts faits en vue d'assurer la paix et de protéger les droits des petits Etats qui ont trouvé leur expression dans les traités des années 1907 et 1908 garantissant l'intégrité de la Norvège et des territoires riverains de la Mer du Nord et de la Baltique;

Toutefois, il maintient en même temps le principe qu'une sécurité durable et certaine doit être cherchée non seulement dans les relations établies entre les grandes puissances en vue d'assurer la protection des petites, mais dans le développement de rapports juridiques identiques entre toutes les nations indépendantes.

### La Question du Maroc.

#### RÉSOLUTION VII.

A l'occasion des opérations entreprises au Maroc, le XVIIe Congrès de la Paix rappelle les résolutions votées à maintes reprises par les congrès antérieurs sur les droits imprescriptibles des populations mineures.

Il exprime en particulier le regret qu'une question qui n'engage ni les intérêts vitaux, ni l'honneur des nations européennes soit traitée dans certains milieux avec un parti-pris de violence et d'animosité susceptible d'entraîner des conflits plus graves et plus généraux.

Le Congrès demande qu'au cas où surgiraient de pareils conflits, les litiges soient renvoyés sans exception ou retard devant la Cour de La Haye, et qu'un traité spécial d'arbitrage permanent ne comportant aucune exception soumette à cette Cour tous les différends du même ordre.

**Les Aéroplanes et la Guerre.****RÉSOLUTION VIII.**

Le Congrès proteste très expressément contre la tendance à ne voir dans la grande invention des aéroplanes qu'un nouveau moyen de faire la guerre. Il considère que la conquête de l'air est un événement qui profitera au développement de la civilisation et estime que c'est une grave aberration de considérer ce grand progrès uniquement d'un point de vue militaire.

Le Congrès invite spécialement les vingt-deux Etats, qui ont refusé en 1907 de signer le renouvellement de la Convention de 1899 interdisant de lancer des projectiles du haut des ballons, à adhérer à cette Convention.

**L'arbitrage obligatoire.****RÉSOLUTION IX.****I.**

Considérant que les principes de progrès formulés par les 26 Puissances représentées à la Conférence de la Paix de 1899 et confirmés par les 44 Puissances signataires des Conventions et Déclarations de 1907 sont définitivement acquis,

Le Congrès prend acte, en particulier, des décisions unanimes suivantes, dont l'ensemble constitue une solide 'plate-forme' sur laquelle doivent être édifiés les progrès à réaliser :

Toutes les Puissances ont le devoir de concourir avec la plus ferme volonté au maintien de la paix générale et de favoriser de tous leurs efforts le règlement pacifique des conflits internationaux ;

Les Nations civilisées constituent une Société. Les membres de cette Société sont solidaires, soumis à l'empire du droit et à une justice internationale ;

L'arbitrage doit devenir obligatoire ;

Les lois de l'humanité et les exigences de la conscience publique ont, pour la sauvegarde des peuples que ne protégerait pas suffisamment le Droit des gens, un caractère impératif ;

L'appel aux armes n'est plus qu'une hypothèse extrême, conséquence d'événements que la sollicitude de toutes les Nations n'aurait pu détourner. Ses effets désastreux en doivent être limités. Sa survivance ne doit point empêcher 'la limitation des charges militaires excessives qui pèsent sur le monde.'

Le 17<sup>e</sup> Congrès, quoi qu'il ne puisse pas admettre que la guerre est jamais nécessaire, appelle l'attention des Peuples sur l'importance de ces principes et de ces formules. Il les engage, dans l'intérêt de la civilisation et de l'avenir de l'humanité, à en faire respecter partout l'application.

**II.**

Le Congrès émet le vœu que les Puissances qui se sont déclarées favorables à l'application, dans des cas déterminés, du principe de l'arbitrage obligatoire unanimement adopté, concluent le plus tôt possible entre elles une Convention générale d'arbitrage obligatoire permanent.

**III.**

Le Congrès exprime une fois de plus le vœu que les Gouvernements instituent au plus tôt des Commissions nationales et une Commission inter-

nationale ayant pour mission de préparer un projet complet de Code de Droit international public.

### **L'organisation politique internationale.**

#### **RÉSOLUTION X.**

Considérant que le désarmement général constitue une mesure simple et qui sera d'une application facile, mais seulement à l'époque où une organisation internationale perfectionnée assurera à chaque Etat des garanties de sécurité et de justice supérieures à celles que lui procurent actuellement les armées de terre et de mer :

Le Congrès adopte les Résolutions suivantes :

A.—Le parti pacifiste doit consacrer tous ses soins à conserver et à perfectionner l'arbitrage international, mais il doit entrer dans la voie tracée par la Conférence de la Haye de 1907 en demandant qu'à côté de l'arbitrage soit institué une justice obligatoire ordinaire analogue à celles qui fonctionnent dans les pays policés.

B.—Une organisation internationale très complète sera indispensable pour assurer le fonctionnement normal de cette justice.

C.—Le seul moyen de conformer l'organisation projetée aux besoins des peuples et à l'état actuel de leur évolution est de lui donner la forme d'une société qui, tout en laissant aux divers Etats leur individualité et leur autonomie absolues, leur permettrait de mettre en commun leurs intérêts communs, c'est-à-dire la sécurité, la justice et certains intérêts intellectuels et économiques.

D.—L'institution d'une autorité internationale sera nécessaire pour assurer le fonctionnement de cette Société :

1. L'autorité serait composée de délégués élus par les Etats associés et comprendrait un conseil législatif chargé de préparer la loi internationale,

2. une autorité judiciaire chargée de l'appliquer, et

3. une autorité exécutive munie des sanctions nécessaires et chargé d'administrer les intérêts communs aux différents peuples, de veiller à l'observation de la loi, ainsi qu'à l'exécution des arrêts de justice.

E.—Quand cette organisation fonctionnera les Etats devront en échange des garanties de sécurité et de justice qu'elle leur aura procurées, licencier leurs armées de terre et de mer et détruire leur matériel de combat :

Ils pourront seulement entretenir les forces de police nécessaires au maintien de l'ordre intérieur dans la métropole et dans les colonies.

### **Conférence intergouvernementale sur l'enseignement.**

#### **RÉSOLUTION XI.**

##### **PROJET DE PROGRAMME.**

##### **I.—SUJETS.**

1. Organisation régulière et périodique de Congrès internationaux sur l'enseignement.

2. Edition d'une collection internationale des lois scolaires.

3. Fondation dans le ministère de l'instruction publique de chaque pays de sections étudiant les enseignements extérieurs à ce pays.
4. Organisation comparée de l'enseignement.
5. Statistique scolaire internationale.
6. Règlement des conséquences juridiques des examens.
7. Facilités pour la reconnaissance de diplômes étrangers: Création de diplômes à valeur internationale aux points de vue civil et militaire.
8. Nomination de délégués spéciaux et de correspondants internationaux pour l'enseignement.
9. Création d'établissement hospitaliers pour professeurs et écoliers.
10. Concours et subvention pour les voyages internationaux d'études pour écoliers et professeurs.
11. Introduction et réglementation de l'échange international de professeurs et écoliers.
12. Facilités d'échange de livres et de revues pédagogiques.
13. Place de l'étude des langues classiques et modernes dans l'enseignement futur.
14. Publication de grammaires parallèles.
15. Réglementation de l'éducation aux points de vue physique, intellectuel et moral.
16. Fondation d'un Institut International Pédagogique.
17. Publication d'un Bulletin International et Officiel de l'Enseignement.

## II.—QUESTIONS.

Jusqu'à quel degré peut-on apporter plus d'uniformité dans le programme des écoles (prim., sec., sup.)?

2. Ne serait-il point possible de décréter pour certaines branches de l'enseignement une étendue à peu près égale?

3. Quelles facilités peut-on donner à ceux qui désirent changer d'école?

4. Quel est l'âge des écoliers pour lesquels ou recommande les écoles internationales?

5. Doit-on créer des écoles spéciales (écoles internationales pour les élèves venant de l'étranger, ou admettra-t-on ceux-ci aux écoles ordinaires? Ne serait-il pas désirable de faire un essai en établissant quelques écoles internationales au système facultatif (choix des branches et de la langue de laquelle on se sert pour l'enseignement)?

### Vœux—

1. Le Congrès forme le vœu que les autorités scolaires de chaque pays se prononcent en faveur de l'organisation d'un Congrès intergouvernemental scolaire.

2. Le Congrès félicite la Fédération internationale des Instituteurs d'avoir pris en mains la réalisation, pour l'enseignement primaire, du programme relatif à l'enseignement international préconisé par les Congrès universels de la Paix. Le Congrès espère que les corps enseignants des autres degrés voudront bien suivre cet exemple.

3. Etant donné qu'une éducation morale doit être nécessairement pacifique le 17ième Congrès international de la Paix salue respectueusement le 1er Congrès international de pédagogie morale et espère qu'il orientera ses travaux vers une pédagogie nouvelle inspirée des sentiments

fraternels qui doivent rapprocher les peuples et les unir dans une moralité universelle.

E. ARNAUD, Président.

FR. KEMENY, Rapporteur.

### La propriété privée sur mer.

#### RÉSOLUTION XII.

Le Congrès félicite la seconde Conférence de La Haye d'avoir, dans une certaine mesure, limité le droit de saisie sur mer en exemptant de la saisie les bâtiments affectés à la pêche côtière et à la navigation locale. Le Congrès exprime l'espoir que dans un prochain avenir la propriété sera déclarée absolument inviolable sur mer comme sur terre, comme contre partie de la proposition faite en faveur de la limitation des armements."

### Education Pacifique.

#### RÉSOLUTION XIII.

##### A.—METHODE D'ENSEIGNEMENT.

Le 17ième Congrès Universel estime que:—

1. Le Pacifisme doit contribuer à faire éclore dans le monde plus de justice et de moralité, en pénétrant dans chaque pays par un enseignement moral adéquat à ce pays.

2. Les Universitaires (de tous grades et de tous degrés) peuvent ne pas faire du pacifisme un nouvel article de leur enseignement à la condition de faire se dégager l'esprit pacifique de toutes les matières de cet enseignement.

3. Les événements historiques de tous ordres, de tous temps, de tous lieux, doivent être enseignés dans toute leur vérité, c'est à dire sans aucune dissimulation voulue des faits et de leurs causes. Tous les événements peuvent, sans aucune crainte, être présentés à l'élève, si l'on a soin de les situer à leur vraie place dans l'évolution historique, si on leur donne leur vraie couleur locale. Ainsi les guerres perdront dans l'enseignement de l'histoire la trop grande importance, qui, jusqu'ici, leur a été attribuée.

4. Il est nécessaire de montrer aux adolescents que l'objectif constant et final de l'existence n'est pas dans la mort, si glorieuse soit elle, mais dans l'utilité de la vie.

L'importance donnée aux exercices physiques aura pour but la culture physique des jeunes générations au triple point de vue de la santé, de la force et de la beauté, c'est à dire de la préparation à la vie et non de la préparation au service militaire.

##### B.—APPLICATIONS.

Se référant aux résolutions du congrès de Milan, le 17ième Congrès Universel rappelle que dans toutes les mesures où cela sera possible, il sera indispensable de favoriser la création de "foyers pacifiques," dans lesquels avant l'école, de tous jeunes enfants pourront, dans des jeux surveillés et dirigés, contracter de saines et paisibles habitudes.

Le 17ième Congrès Universel émet le vœu que :—

1. Les maîtresses de l'enseignement maternel recourent aux procédés de la science pédagogique, basée sur la psychologie de l'enfant et habituent ce dernier à prévenir instinctivement le mal.

2. Les maîtresses et les maîtres de l'enseignement primaire habituent filles et garçons à recourir à l'arbitrage, à tous âges, en tous temps, dans tous les milieux, et pour litiges de toutes natures.

3. Les professeurs (femmes et hommes) des enseignements secondaire et supérieur commentent l'idée d'arbitrage et habituent leurs élèves à solutionner eux-mêmes, par ce moyen, les conflits qui pourraient naître entre eux.

HORACE THIVET, Rapporteur.

M. KEMENY, Rapporteur-Général.

EMILE ARNAUD, Président.

### Les femmes et la Paix.

#### RÉSOLUTION XIV.

Considérant que la femme est la première éducatrice des jeunes génération :

Le Congrès exprime le désir : que les mères et les institutrices inculquent aux enfants cette vérité, que non seulement le pacifisme n'est incompatible avec le patriotisme et la morale, mais que seules les institutions qu'il préconise donneront à la patrie une complète sécurité à la fois morale et effective.

### L'enseignement pacifique dans les écoles.

#### RÉSOLUTION XV.

Le Congrès apprend avec satisfaction qu'hier, 31 Juillet, une réunion d'instituteurs a eu lieu sous la présidence du Professeur Sir John Macdonell, K.C.B., en relation avec ce Congrès.

Ce Congrès confirme la Résolution proposée à cette réunion par M. J. A. Hobson, et approuvée dans les termes suivants :—

La Conférence estime qu'il y a lieu d'attirer les sympathies des élèves et étudiants des écoles et des collèges aux principes sur lesquels se base le mouvement pacifique. Elle demande que les efforts soient faits pour assurer une interprétation pacifiste de l'histoire dans les programmes de toutes les écoles, les collèges et les universités, et sollicite la coopération de tous les instituteurs dans cet enseignement.

Elle condamne aussi toute tentative de propagande et d'instruction militaire comme ayant pour résultat d'abaisser l'idéal de la jeunesse et de diminuer l'efficacité de l'éducation.

### Les universités et la Paix.

#### RÉSOLUTION XVI.

Considérant les succès obtenus en premier lieu par la Société Académique Nationale de la Paix comprenant les étudiants et professeurs de 50 universités, et ensuite par l'Association 'Corda fratres' avec ses succur-

sales dans 63 universités d'Europe et dont l'extension est à désirer parmi toutes les autres universités;

Considérant l'efficacité de la 'American School Peace League' qui a pour but de répandre les idées pacifiques parmi les maîtres des écoles primaires et secondaires, dans la conviction que ces idées sont de la plus haute portée pour la jeunesse Universitaire et méritent son adhésion énergique;

Considérant qu'il est nécessaire de combattre les tendances belliqueuses causées par l'esprit des leçons d'histoire qui glorifient trop souvent les actes guerriers;

Considérant la nécessité de renseigner les maîtres sur les buts et les moyens du mouvement pacifiste;

Le Congrès insiste encore sur le principe déjà posé au congrès précédent relativement à l'agitation pacifiste à créer parmi les Universitaires et les écoliers des écoles primaires et secondaires. Pour rendre efficace cette propagande les Sociétés pacifistes se mettront en relations avec les Associations des maîtres d'école.

### **L'organisation internationale.**

#### **RÉSOLUTION XVII.**

Le Congrès constate avec satisfaction le mouvement qui entraîne dans tous les domaines de l'activité et de la pensée à se grouper internationalement.

Le Congrès appelle sur ce fait l'attention spéciale des gouvernements et les invite à donner leur appui moral et matériel aux œuvres qui poursuivent un but international; il les invite spécialement à envoyer des délégués officiels aux divers congrès internationaux et à constituer le plus grand nombre possible d'unions d'Etats.

Le Congrès impose comme un devoir à tous ses membres et aux membres des sociétés pacifistes de promouvoir l'évolution vers l'internationalisme et notamment vers la fédération internationale de tous les intérêts intellectuels et économiques de l'humanité. Le Congrès invite toutes les associations et institutions internationales existantes à se grouper en fédération autour de l'office central des institutions internationales de Bruxelles.

### **L'Institut international d'agriculture.**

#### **RÉSOLUTION XVIII.**

Considérant que la paix et la prospérité internationales dépendent en grande partie de la justice économique,

Le Congrès se félicite de la coopération de toutes les nations à l'établissement de l'Institut international d'agriculture qui doit rendre d'innombrables services en fournissant des renseignements exacts qui empêcheront les fluctuations inutiles des prix des produits agricoles et en assurant la stabilité au capital et au travail tant dans l'industrie que dans la ferme.

Le Congrès invite les sociétés de la paix à appeler la attention spéciale du monde sur cet important facteur de la paix internationale.

**Droits des Peuples en Minorité dans un Etat.****RÉSOLUTION XIX.****A.—Le Congrès,**

Estime nécessaire de rappeler que le respect de chaque nationalité est un des principes fondamentaux du pacifisme et de toute entente internationale, que ce même principe doit être respecté pour la législation intérieure des états et que spécialement le droit à l'usage de sa langue est un des droits imprescriptibles de chaque nationalité. —

Le Congrès demande qu'on accorde, dans les Etats de nationalités différentes, aux langages des minorités nationales ou des nations sujettes, l'égalité de droit autant que possible pour l'administration, pour la juridiction, pour l'instruction, pour la vie publique et privée, et que le privilège d'une langue officielle ne s'étende qu'à l'accomplissement des charges de l'Etat et non d'après la volonté ou l'intérêt supposé de la nationalité dominante.

Le Congrès exprime la conviction qu'il est du devoir des Sociétés nationales de la paix de faire respecter ces principes dans leurs pays respectifs.

B.—Le Congrès, se référant aux résolutions précédentes relatives à la position de nationalités et de peuples sujets sans organisation régulière, presse de nouveau les divers gouvernements d'appliquer à ces peuples les principes de liberté et de justice indiqués dans les dites résolutions

**Conférence de l'Amérique Centrale:****RÉSOLUTION XX.**

Le Congrès félicite les Etats de l'Amérique centrale, des pas en avant qu'ils ont fait en signant entre eux, dans la Conférence qu'ils ont tenue à Washington du 11 novembre au 20 décembre, 1907, les sept traités suivants:—

1. Convention pour l'établissement d'une Cour de Justice pour l'Amérique centrale.
2. Convention pour l'établissement d'un Bureau international pour l'Amérique centrale.
3. Traité général de paix et d'amitié.
4. Convention sur les communications par chemins de fer et par eau.
5. Convention d'extradition.
6. Convention pour l'établissement d'un Institut pédagogique pour l'Amérique centrale.
7. Convention concernant la prochaine conférence de l'Amérique centrale.

Le Congrès constate avec une vive satisfaction que la Cour de Justice mentionnée ci-dessus est déjà organisée et agissante, puisqu'elle a tenu sa première session le 25 mai 1908, au moment où M. A. Carnegie fit don de \$100,000 pour élever à Carthago un temple de la Paix à l'usage exclusif de la Conférence, pour exprimer sa sympathie pour la Paix et le progrès de l'Amérique centrale et sa confiance dans le succès de la grande œuvre humanitaire inaugurée par ce tribunal.

**Temple de la Paix a Washington.****RÉSOLUTION XXI.**

Le Congrès enregistre avec une vive satisfaction la pose de la première pierre du Temple de la Paix de Washington—pour lequel M. Carnegie a généreusement souscrit \$750,000—temple destiné à servir du Bureau des Républiques américaines et à promouvoir les intérêts communs soit aux Etats de l'Amérique latine soit à ces Etats et aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord.

**Pétition pour l'arbitrage obligatoire.****RÉSOLUTION XXII.**

Le Congrès, suivant la recommandation de la Commission C, approuve la pétition présentée par Miss Anna B. Eckstein, de l'"American Peace Society," priant les gouvernements représentés à la Troisième Conférence de la Haye de se mettre d'accord sur un traité d'après lequel chaque état se fera une obligation d'honneur de régler par des traités d'arbitrage tous les différends internationaux aussitôt que possible, et aussi de soumettre à un tribunal d'arbitrage toute difficulté internationale qui s'élèvera avant la réglementation entière de tous les intérêts internationaux.

**Visites Internationales.****RÉSOLUTION XXIII.**

Le Congrès,

Considérant que les visites internationales effectuées par divers groupements et organisations en vue d'étudier les institutions étrangères et de répandre les idées de solidarité humaine sont d'une utilité incontestable à la cause de la Paix,

Invite tous les groupements à redoubler d'efforts pour établir une bonne intelligence entre les nations.

Et comme à cet effet un fonds special est nécessaire, félicite hautement le Gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne de la création d'un subside annuel d'Hospitalité Internationale.

Demande à tous les autres gouvernements de suivre cet exemple généreux et de faire une part sans cesse plus grande à leur Budget de la Paix.

**Appel de souscriptions générales.****RÉSOLUTION XXIV.**

1. Considérant que pour la réussite fructueuse de tous les efforts pacifistes de grandes sommes d'argent sont indispensables, d'autant plus que dans peu de temps le fonds de Bloch sera épuisé, et en vue de l'augmentation du mouvement pacifiste qui demande encore d'autres capitaux que le fonds de Bloch, le Congrès rédige l'appel suivant:—

Le dix septième Congrès Universel de la Paix est terminé.

Quoiqu'on nous ait autrefois désignés comme des utopistes, le brillant succès du Congrès, le cercle de nos adhérents dans le monde entier, qui augmente d'année en année, et le fait que plusieurs de nos efforts, poursuivis pendant des années, comme par exemple l'établissement d'une

Cour d'arbitrage internationale permanente, etc., ont déjà été réalisées, prouvent que nous sommes dans la bonne voie.

Mais s'il y a encore des gens qui nous traitent d'idéologues, personne ne pourra nier que la réalisation du but que nous poursuivons, l'abolition des guerres entre les nations civilisées et la restriction, autant que possible, des guerres avec les peuples non-civilisés, sera un immense bienfait pour l'humanité entière.

Il n'y a pas le moindre doute que nous aurions pu exécuter des travaux et montrer des succès bien plus importants que jusqu'ici, si nous avions pu disposer dès l'origine de moyens correspondants à la grandeur de notre cause, car même pour établir la paix, pour gagner l'opinion publique et les masses populaires là où elles n'ont pas encore été gagnées, pour convoquer partout des assemblées, pour le maintien et la popularisation des organes de la presse pacifiste, qui pour la plupart sont édités d'une manière excellente, etc., etc., il faut de l'argent, de l'argent et encore de l'argent, même si les sommes nécessaires sont très loin d'égaler celles que nécessitent les guerres ou même les préparatifs de guerre, qui seuls coûtent à l'Europe environ 8 milliards de francs par an.

Nous adressons aux peuples du monde, et à chacun de vous, en particulier, la prière instante de nous accorder votre aide, à ce point de vue matériel.

Pour que la parole 'Paix sur la terre aux hommes de bonne volonté' s'accomplisse dans le moindre délai possible, nous prions instamment que chacun, jeune ou vieux, homme ou femme, une fois ou d'une manière permanente, sacrifie une somme proportionnelle à ses moyens.

Des reçus seront donnés pour ces montants en temps utile. Les sommes seront acceptées par Le Bureau de Berne, et toutes associations de la Paix, par les grandes banques, ainsi que par les journaux quotidiens les plus importants du monde entier, entre autres en France.

Londres, 1908.

2. Cet appel sera publié régulièrement, autant que possible, pendant une année dans tous les journaux pacifistes du monde, à un endroit prééminent, et employé de toute manière opportune; ces deux choses se feront par le Bureau International de Berne, avec le concours des Comités Exécutifs à fonder, ou bien (du consentement et sous le contrôle du Bureau de Berne) par les organes de la presse et par les associations pacifistes, etc.

3. Toutes associations pacifistes sont priées par les présentes de faire parvenir les adresses de personnes riches dans leur district au Bureau de la Paix à Berne, qui s'en servira d'une manière qu'il jugera bonne.

4. Les sommes d'argent reçues doivent être versées au Bureau de Berne le 15<sup>ième</sup> de chaque mois, d'une manière régulière et en toutes circonstances. Ce Bureau en rendra compte au Congrès suivant, et les sommes serviront alors, pour partie, à la subvention et à la popularisation des organes de presse pacifistes.

### Le Congrès de 1909.

#### RÉSOLUTION XXV.

La Congrès ratifie la décision du précédent Congrès tendant à accepter l'invitation reçue de tenir le Congrès de 1909 à Stockholm, et décide que le Congrès y sera tenu dans la première semaine de Septembre.

### Appel aux Nations.

Pendant l'année qui vient de s'écouler, une inquiétude sérieuse et, d'ailleurs, absolument injustifiée, s'est emparée du monde politique.

Les antagonismes d'intérêts qui divisent certaines nations sur quelques points du globe, sont représentés dans tous les pays par une certaine presse comme des causes de conflits insurmontables. Il paraît des brochures, des livres même, qui présentent une peinture fantastique de la guerre à venir, tantôt entre l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne, tantôt entre les Etats-Unis et le Japon, tantôt entre des groupements de nations. De hautes personnalités voire des hommes d'Etat, affirment que les questions de l'heure présente doivent être envisagées au point de vue d'une grande guerre absolument inévitable.

Jouer ainsi avec l'image menaçante de la guerre, c'est jouer inconsciemment avec le feu.

Où sont donc, en vérité, les antagonismes d'intérêts si irréductibles qu'une nation, même quand elle considère la guerre comme la ressource ultime de sa défense, veuille exposer la vie de ses enfants, le bien-être de toute une génération, et même sa propre existence, pour arriver au terme de ses désirs, ou disputer à une autre nation des droits qu'un équitable compromis d'intérêts pourrait lui assurer.

Nulle part !

Toutes les questions dont on parle aujourd'hui sont susceptibles d'un compromis pacifique, sans qu'aucune nation soit contrainte de renoncer à aucun intérêt vital.

D'ailleurs, tous les peuples, tous les gouvernements, témoignent de leur bonne volonté et ne se lassent pas de le répéter ; aucun ne veut faire violence aux autres, mais se contente d'affirmer son bon droit à participer à une prospérité économique croissante.

Le danger réside moins dans les questions litigieuses mêmes, que dans la manière dont elles sont traitées aujourd'hui par une grande partie de la presse, et par des individus pour la plupart irresponsables.

Si l'on répète sans cesse au public que l'antagonisme des intérêts doit aboutir à des catastrophes, si l'on parle de la guerre à venir comme d'un événement inévitable, on crée par la-même un grave danger de guerre. On habitue les nations à se livrer à l'idée fataliste qu'une guerre arrivera nécessairement, on affaiblit la résistance des forces de paix pour le moment critique.

Il est grand temps de faire halte.

Nous autres, amis de la paix, nous en appelons donc aux hommes réfléchis de tous les pays pour qu'ils résistent à pareils entraînements, et rappellent avec nous les peuples à la raison. Si le parti des hommes de bon sens s'allie à celui des amis de la paix, nous serons invincibles.

# BESCHLÜSSE DES XVII. FRIEDENSKONGRESSES.

## **Das Internationale Friedensmuseum.**

### **BESCHLUSS I.**

In Anbetracht des Umstandes dass das Internationale Friedensmuseum in Luzern, welches jährlich 60-70,000 Besucher zählt, laut der Absicht der Begründer, und besonders des verstorbenen Herrn Jean de Bloch, nunmehr zum kraftvollen Mittel der Friedenspropaganda geworden ist, das wir pflichtgetreu erhalten sollen,

da ferner das Museum nur provisorisch auf einem, der Stadt Luzern gehörenden Grundstück aufgestellt ist und jetzt sofort als permanenter Bau vollendet werden soll,

da von den zum Umbau nötigen 600,000 Frs. (= M. 480,000) noch 100,000 Frs. (= M. 80,000) zu erheben sind, welche der Museumsverband in Form von Prioritäts-Aktien von je 500 Frs. (= M. 400) auszuschreiben gedenkt,

und da ferner die Eintrittsgelder zum Museum jährlich schon genug betragen um den Aktionären obigen Kapitals mindestens 3% Dividende zu zahlen,

macht der Kongress einen Aufruf an seine Mitglieder, sowie an Friedensgesellschaften und Friedensfreunde in allen Ländern, dieses Kapital ehestens zu stellen um das Museum zu bewahren.

Das Berner Internationale Bureau stellt für Teilnehmer die nötigen Informationen und Aktenstücke.

## **Die Friedensbewegung und die arbeitenden Klassen.**

### **BESCHLUSS II.**

Indem der Siebzehnte Internationale Friedenskongress mit Genugung feststellt, dass der Londoner Kongress eine weit grössere Zahl von Vertretern der Arbeiterschaft aufzuweisen hat als frühere Kongresse, und dass die Unterstützung der Friedensbewegung seitens der Arbeitermassen von grosser Bedeutung für den Weltfrieden ist, ersucht er die Organisatoren künftiger internationaler Friedenskongresse, wenigstens 3 Monate im voraus die grossen Organisationen der Arbeiterschaft, Gewerkschaftsverbände usw., zur Teilnahme an den Kongressen aufzufordern.

Der Kongress betrachtet es als die Pflicht der Friedensgesellschaften in allen Ländern, Ausschüsse zu bilden, die die besonders Aufgabe hätten, das pacifistische Programm unter den arbeitenden Klassen ihrer bezüglichen Länder bekannt zu machen. Diese Ausschüsse hätten jedem

internationalen Kongress einen Bericht über ihre Tätigkeit während des verflossenen Jahres zu erstatten.

### Dank an den König.

#### BESCHLUSS III.

Der Kongress erachtet es als seine erste Pflicht seiner Dankbarkeit für die ihm von S.M. dem König erzeigte Gunst Ausdruck zu geben. Er wünscht festzustellen, dass zum ersten Male in der Geschichte der Friedensbewegung der Herrscher eines Grossstaates geruht hat, eine Deputation des Kongresses in Privataudienz zu empfangen. Die Tatsache ist ein Beweis der wachsenden Bedeutung und einer ihrer Wirksamkeit gegebenen Sanktion.

Der Kongress spricht S. M. dem König ebenfalls seinen Dank dafür aus, dass er durch den persönlichen Empfang seiner Delegierten einen wichtigen Präzedenzfall in der Geschichte der Friedensbewegung geschaffen hat.

Er wünscht auch I. M. der Königin für ihre huldvolle Beteiligung an der Anerkennung seiner Tätigkeit seinen Dank auszusprechen.

Wohl wissend, dass durch die bei dieser Gelegenheit ausgesprochenen Worte S.M. der König seinen Einfluss zugunsten des allgemeinen Friedens und der Einigkeit geltend gemacht hat, spricht der Kongress die feste Hoffnung aus, er werde auch in Zukunft jene Aufmunterung und Sympathie gewähren, welche in so hohem Masse dazu beiträgt, den Erfolg der hohen Ziele des Kongresses zu sichern.

### Rüstungsstillstand.

#### BESCHLUSS IV.

A.—In Erwägung, dass laut Aussage des ersten Delegierten Grossbritanniens im Haag, am 17 August, 1907, die jährlichen Wehrlasten für Europa, die Vereinigten Staaten und Japan zwischen der ersten und zweiten Konferenz von 251,000,000 £ auf 320,000,000 £ gestiegen sind, also in acht Jahren um 69,000,000 £, und dass, wenn dieselben nicht eingeschränkt werden, diese grenzenlose Verschwendung bis zur 3. Konferenz in Jahre 1914 noch zunehmen wird.

In Erwägung der Gefahren, welche ein derartiger Fehlgriff internationaler staatsmännischer Politik in sich birgt, und gestützt auf den Ausspruch des ersten französischen Delegierten, Herr Bourgeois, demzufolge 'das Studium dieser Frage vor der nächsten Konferenz ernsthaft in Angriff genommen werden muss,'

In Erwägung des Anerbietens der englischen Regierung, mit anderen Staaten behufs gemeinschaftlicher Einschränkung der Rüstungen in Unterhandlung zu treten;

Empfiehlt der Kongress aufs eindringlichste, diese Unterhandlungen sofort einzuleiten und ohne Aufschub eine Spezialkonferenz der grossen Seemächte einzuberufen, damit der Plan zu einem praktischen derartigen Abkommen entworfen werden und zur Ausführung gelangen könne, bevor die 3. Konferenz zusammentritt, und damit, wenn er sich als praktisch erweisen würde, er zu einem allgemein Abkommen führen möge.

Der Kongress beschliesst fernerhin, dass die englische Regierung dringend ersucht werden möge, eine derartige Konferenz einzuberufen; sobald es die Umstände gestatten werden.

Der Kongress drückt die Meinung aus, dass augenblicklich eine praktische Ausführung eines derartigen Rüstungsstillstandes darin bestehen würde, dass die vertragschliessenden Mächte ein Abkommen treffen würden, laut welchen während einer begrenzten Reihe von Jahren das Rüstungsbudget für Armee und Marine; zusammen oder einzeln, den Durchschnitt der Ausgaben während einer gleichen Anzahl vorangegangener Jahre nicht überschreiten dürfte."

### **Die türkische Konstitution.**

#### **BESCHLUSS V.**

Der Kongress vernimmt mit lebhafter Genugtuung dass die neuesten Ereignisse in der Türkei die Einführung der Konstitution von 1876 herbeigeführt, welche den Untertanen des ottomanischen Kaiserreichs religiöse sowie bürgerliche Freiheit sichert, und gibt sich der Hoffnung hin dass die verschiedenen Völker unter türkischer Herrschaft fortan gleichberechtigt und gleichgestellt werden ohne Race- oder Religionsunterschied.

Der Kongress spricht den Wunsch aus dass die europäischen Grossmächte die versprochenen juristischen und konstitutionellen Reformen kräftig unterstütze und den Rückgang zu den bedauerenswerten früheren Zuständen nicht dulde und auf jede friedliche Weise entgegenetrete.

Der Kongress hofft dass in Folge dieser Konstitution es möglich sein wird eine friedliche Lösung des Wirrens der verschiedenen Völkstämme herbeizuführen, indem die bisherige, gefährliche Methode besonderer Reformen für besondere Völkerschaften, wie diese so oft durch erfolglose Aufstände den Frieden im Osten stört, abgeschafft wird.

### **Gewährleistende Verträge für die Nord-europäischen Staaten.**

#### **BESCHLUSS VI.**

Der Kongress erkennt mit Genugtuung an dass die Bemühungen für die Erhaltung des Friedens und für den Rechtsschutz der kleineren Staaten in den Verträgen der Jahre 1907 und 1908 Ausdruck gefunden, und Norwegen und den an die Nordsee und an das baltische Meer grenzenden Ländern ihre Unabhängigkeit sichern.

Nichtsdestoweniger besteht der Kongress darauf dass dauernde und gewisse Sicherheit nicht nur in den schon festgestellten Beziehungen der Grossmächte gegenüber den kleineren Mächten, sondern auch in der Ausbildung gleicher juristischer Beziehungen zwischen unabhängigen Nationen zu suchen ist.

### **Marokko.**

#### **BESCHLUSS VII.**

In bezug auf die Ereignisse in Marokko bekennt sich der Kongress zu den zu verschiedenen Malen durch frühere Kongresse gefassten Resolu-

tionen, welche das unveräusserliche Recht unterworfenen Völkerschaften festlegen.

Er bedauert insbesondere, dass eine Frage, welche weder die vitalen Interessen noch die Ehre der europäischen Nationen betrifft, in gewissen Kreisen mit Hass und Voreingenommenheit betrachtet wird, welche zu ernsterer und allgemeineren Konflikten Anlass geben könnte.

Der Kongress spricht den dringenden Wunsch aus, dass, wenn derartige Konflikte entstehen sollten, dieselben ohne Ausnahme dem Haager Tribunal überwiesen werden möchten und dass ein besonderer permanenter Schiedsgerichtsvertrag, der keine Ausnahme gestattet, alle ähnlichen Streitigkeiten diesem Gerichtshof überweise.

### **Luftschiffahrt.**

#### **BESCHLUSS VIII.**

Der Kongress protestiert energisch gegen den Versuch, in der grossartigen Erfindung des Luftschiffes nur eine neue Kriegserfindung zu sehen. Er ist der Ansicht, dass die Eroberung der Luft ein Ereignis von grossartiger zivilisatorischer Tragweite bedeutet und erachtet es als eine grosse Verirrung, diesen grossen Fortschritt einzig vom militärischen Standpunkte aus zu beurteilen.

Der Kongress ladet die 22 Staaten, welche sich 1907 weigerten, die Erneuerung der Konvention von 1899, betreffs die Untersagung des Werfens von Explosivstoffen aus Luftschiffen zu unterzeichnen, ein, dieser Konvention beizutreten.

### **Die Haager Konvention.**

#### **BESCHLUSS IX.**

##### **1.**

In Erwägung, dass die Grundlinien der Entwicklung, die von den 26 bei der Haager Konferenz von 1899 vertretenen Mächten aufgestellt und von den 44 Konventionsmächten der Konferenz von 1907 unterzeichnet wurden, definitiv angenommen worden sind,

nimmt der Kongress mit Befriedigung von folgenden einstimmigen Beschlüssen Kenntnis, die in ihrer Gesamtheit eine feste Grundlage bilden, auf der sich die weitere Entwicklung aufbauen kann:

Alle Mächte haben die Pflicht zur Aufrechterhaltung des allgemeinen Friedens mitzuwirken und mit allen ihren Kräften die friedliche Erledigung internationaler Streitigkeiten zu begünstigen.

Die zivilisierten Nationen bilden eine Gemeinschaft. Die Glieder dieser Gemeinschaft sind solidarisch verbunden und unterstehen der Herrschaft der Kultur und einer internationalen Gerechtigkeit.

Die Schiedsgerichtsbarkeit muss obligatorisch werden.

Die Gesetze der Humanität und die Forderungen des öffentlichen Gewissens haben als Schutz der Völker, die durch das Völkerrecht nicht genügend geschützt sind, einen imperativen Charakter.

Der Appell an die Waffen ist nur noch eine Hypothese für den äussersten Fall, die Folge von Ereignissen, die die Vermittelung aller

Nationen nicht hat abwenden können. Seine entsetzlichen Wirkungen müssen eine Beschränkung erfahren.

Diese jetzt noch bestehende Möglichkeit darf keineswegs ein Hindernis sein für eine Beschränkung der ausserordentlichen Militärlasten, 'die die Welt bedrücken.'

Der 17. Weltfriedenskongress kann nicht zugeben, dass ein Krieg je notwendig ist und lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit der Völker auf die Wichtigkeit dieser Grundlinien und dieser Beschlüsse. Er fordert sie auf im Interesse der Zivilisation und der Zukunft der Menschheit, auf deren Anwendung in jedem Falle zu achten.

## II.

Der Kongress drückt den Wunsch aus, dass die Mächte, die die Anwendung des im Prinzip einstimmig beschlossenen ständigen Schiedsverfahrens für bestimmte Fälle zugestimmt haben, so bald als möglich unter sich ein allgemeines Abkommen für ein ständiges Schiedsverfahren treffen.

## III.

Der Kongress drückt wiederholt den Wunsch aus, dass die Regierungen baldmöglichst nationale Kommission bestellen sowie eine internationale Kommission, die die Aufgabe haben, einen vollständigen Plan für ein internationales öffentliches Recht auszuarbeiten.

### **Angenommene Beschlüsse bezüglich des Berichts von M. Duplessix über internationale politische Organisation.**

#### **BESCHLUSS X.**

In Erwägung des Umstands dass allgemeine Abrüstung ein einfaches und leicht anwendbares Mittel ist, wenn wir einmal an dem Zeitpunkt angelangt sind, an welchem eine bessere internationale Organisation jedem Staate grössere Sicherheit und Recht garantirt, als es jetzt Heer und Flotte vermögen, konstatirt der Kongress:

A.—Dass Pazifisten ernstlich darnach trachten sollen die internationale Schiedsgerichtbarkeit zu erhalten und zu erweitern indem sie, wie es die Haager Konferenz von 1907 bezeichnete, nicht nur freiwillige Schiedsgerichtbarkeit, sondern auch ein obligatorisches Justiz-Gericht verlangen, wie dies schon bei allen Kulturvölkern bestent.

B.—dass eine durchgehende internationale Organisation nötig sein wird um das normale Funktioniren eines solchen Gerichts zu sichern;

C.—dass das einzige Mittel eine solche Organisation den Bedürfnissen der Völker und dem jetzigen Stufe ihrer Entwicklung anzupassen darin besteht ihr die Form einer Vereinigung zu geben, welche nicht nur den verschiedenen Staaten ihre Individualität sichert, sondern ihnen auch gestattet ihre gemeinsamen Interessen, das heisst: Sicherheit, Gerechtigkeit und gewisse intellektuelle und wirtschaftliche Interessen gemeinsam halten zu dürfen;

D.—dass die Instandsetzung obiger Vereinigung die Begründung einer internationalen Obrigkeit benötigt, welche aus Delegirten der sich verbindenden Staaten bestehen und folgende Behörden mit einschliessen soll:

1. einen Gesetze verfassenden Rat, dem die Aufgabe der Zusammenstellung eines internationalen Codex obliegt;

2. eine Justiz-Behörde zur Anstrengung des Codex;

3. eine Exekutiv-Behörde mit der nötigen Vollmacht die den verschiedenen Völkern gemeinsamen Interessen und die Beachtung des Gesetzes zu überwachen, sowie die Rechtssprüche zu vollziehen;

E.—dass, wenn obige Organisation im Gang ist, die verschiedenen Staaten als Gegendienst für die Garantie der Sicherheit und Gerechtigkeit die ihnen zu Teil wird, sich verpflichten ihre Heere und Flotten zu verabschieden und ihre Kriegsvorräte zu vernichten. Sie dürfen dann nur genügende Polizeikräfte führen um im Vaterlande und in den Kolonien Ordnung aufrecht zu erhalten.

### **Programm einer Konferenz der Regierungen über das Erziehungswesen.**

#### **BESCHLUSS XI.**

#### **Themen.**

1. Systematisierung von periodisch abzuhaltenden internationalen Unterrichtskongressen.

2. Herausgabe einer internationalen Sammlung von Schulgesetzen.

3. Errichtung besonderer ministerieller Fachsektionen für ausländisches Erziehungswesen mittels Spezialisten.

4. Vergleichende Schulorganisation.

5. Einheitliche internationalen Schulstatistik.

6. Regelung der internationalen Qualifikations-Aequivalente und der Erleichterungen in der Nostrifikation der Abgangszeugnisse und Diplome.

7. Entsendung von Kulturrattachés und Bestellung von internationalen Schulkorrespondenten nach Analogie der Militärattachés und der ausländischen Berichterstatter für Handel und Gewerbe.

8. Einführung und Regelung des internationalen Professoren-und Schüleraustausches.

9.

10. Errichtung von internationalen Professoren-und Schülerheimen.

11. Mitwirkung und Unterstützung bei internationalen Schülerreisen und Studienreisen der Lehrkräfte.

12. Förderung des Austausches von pädagogischen Werken und Zeitschriften, insbesondere der amtlichen Publikationen der Unterrichtsministerien.

13. Verhältnis der klassischen und modernen Sprachen in den internationalen Zukunftsschulen.

14. Ausgabe von Parallelgrammatiken.

15. Verhältnis und Aufteilung der geistigen und körperlichen Erziehung.

16. Gründung eines internationalen Pädagogischen Instituts.

17. Herausgabe eines internationalen und offiziellen Unterrichtsarchivs.

#### **Fragen.**

1. Inwieweit könnten die Lehrpläne der höheren Schulen einander nähergebracht werden?

2. Wäre es nicht möglich, für gewisse Fächer ein annähernd gleiches Ausmass des Unterrichtsstoffes festzusetzen?

3. Welche Erleichterungen könnten bei dem Uebertritte gewährt werden?

4. Für welche Altersstufe sind internationalen Schulen überhaupt empfehlenswert?

5. Sollen eigene Anstalten, die sogenannten internationalen Schulen, für ausländische Schüler gegründet werden, oder diese in ein bis zwei bereits bestehende (etatmässige) Anstalten untergebracht werden? Wäre es nicht empfehlenswert, zuerst einige internationalen Versuchsschulen mit fakultativen System (Wahl der Fächer, beziehungsweise ihrer Vortragssprache) zu organisieren?

Der Kongress spricht den Wunsch aus, dass die Unterrichtsbehörden der verschiedenen Länder ihre Geneigtheit bezüglich der Abhaltung einer intergouvernementalen Unterrichtskonferenz zum Ausdruck bringen.

Der Kongress beglückwünscht die Fédération internationale des Instituteurs, welche für den Volksschulunterricht dem Geiste und den Absichten der Friedenskongresse entsprechende Lehrpläne ausgearbeitet hat. Der Kongress hofft, dass die Vertreter der übrigen Unterrichtsgrade diesem Beispiel baldigst folgen werden.

In Anbetracht dessen, dass eine dem Geiste der echten Moral entsprechende Erziehung notwendigerweise der Friedensidee zugute kommt, begrüsst der 17. Friedens-Kongress achtungsvoll den im September d. I. in London abzuhaltenden 1. Internationalen moralpädagogischen Kongress und hofft, dass dessen Arbeiten von einem brüderlichen Geiste durchdrungen sein werden und dass diese neue Erziehung die Völker einander näher bringen und dieselben durch das Band einer universellen Moral vereinigen wird.

### Seehandel.

#### BESCHLUSS XII.

Der Kongress beglückwünscht die zweite Haager Konferenz dazu, dass sie die Verletzung des Privateigentums im Seekriege beschränkte, indem sie verbot, solche Schiffe wegzunehmen, welche ausschliesslich der Küsten fischerei oder der Küstenschiffahrt dienen. Der Kongress hofft aber, dass in einer nahen Zukunft das Privateigentum für ebenso *absolut frei* von der Wegnahme zur See erklärt werden wird, wie dies zu Lande schon der Fall ist und dass dann in Verfolg dieser Reform ein Vertrag aller Staaten die Beschränkung der Rüstungen herbeiführen werde.

### Pacifistische Erziehung.

#### BESCHLUSS XIII.

##### A.—UNTERRICHTS-METHODEN.

Der 17te Internationale Friedenskongress ist der Ansicht, dass:—

1. Der Pacifismus dazu beitragen soll, in jedem Lande die Gerechtigkeit und Moral zu erhöhen, dadurch dass er überall die in dem betreffenden Lande gelehrt Moral durchdringt.

2. Die Akademiker (aller Stufen und jeden Grades) die den Pacifismus nicht zu einem besonderen Lehrfache zu machen in der Lage

sind, sollten versuchen, den pacifistischen Geist in allen anderen Fächern zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

3. Die weltgeschichtlichen Ereignisse aller Art, sollen vollkommen der Wahrheit gemäss dargestellt werden, das heisst, ohne irgendwelche Verheimlichung der Tatsachen und ihrer Ursachen. Alle Fälle können ohne Bedenken dem Schüler vorgetragen werden, wenn sie nur in der historischen Entwicklung an den rechten Platz gestellt werden und in ihrer wahren Localfarbe erscheinen. Auf diese Weise werden die Kriege im Geschichtsunterricht jene ungebührliche Bedeutung verlieren, die ihnen bisher beigelegt wurde.

4. Es muss danach getrachtet werden, dem heranwachsenden Schüler zu vergegenwärtigen, dass das Endziel des menschlichen Lebens nicht nur ein glorreicher Tod, sondern vielmehr ein nützliches und ehrenvolles Leben ist.

Der Wert, der auf körperliche Uebungen gelegt wird, hat den Zweck, die körperliche Entwicklung der Jugend vom dreifachen Gesichtspunkte der Gesundheit, der Schönheit und der Kraft zu fördern, d.h. die Vorbereitung auf das Leben, nicht auf den Militärdienst.

#### B.—ANWENDUNGEN.

Im Rückblick auf die Beschlüsse des Kongresses zu Mailand erinnert der siebzehnte Kongress daran, dass es unumgänglich notwendig wäre, wo nur immer möglich die Bildung von 'Friedensheimen' zu begünstigen, wo Kinder des zartesten Alters, bevor sie schulpflichtig werden, durch sorgfältig überwachte und geleitete Spiele gesunde und friedfertige Gewohnheiten annehmen können.

Der siebzehnte Universalkongress spricht die Hoffnung aus:

1. Dass Kindergarten-Lehrerinnen, geleitet durch die Lehren der Psychologie des Kindes, das letztere daran gewöhnen werde, das Böse instinktiv zu meiden.

2. Dass Elementar-Lehrer und Lehrerinnen die *Mädchen und Knaben daran gewöhnen, die Entscheidung eines Schiedsgerichts anzuerkennen, in jedem Alter, zu jeder Zeit, in jeder Umgebung und Streitfällen jeglichen Art.*

3. Dass Lehrerinnen und Lehrer der höheren und Hochschulen die Idee der Entscheidung durch Schiedsgerichte klarlegen und ihre Schüler daran gewöhnen werden, selbst auf diesem Wege Entscheidung der Streitfälle zu suchen, die zwischen ihnen entstehen können.

#### Die erzieherischen Aufgaben der Frau und der Frieden.

##### BESCHLUSS XIV..

In Erwägung dessen, dass den Frauen die erste Erziehung der Jugend obliegt, spricht der Kongress den Wunsch aus dass alle Mütter und Erzieherinnen den Kindern die Erkenntniss beibringen dass der Frieden nicht nur Sache der Vaterlandsliebe und Moral ist, sondern dass nur solche Anordnungen, welche die Friedensidee anerkennen, dem Vaterlande bestimmte Sicherheit auf moralischer und fortdauernder Grundlage bieten.

### Die Lehrer und der Frieden.

#### BESCHLUSS XV.

Der Kongress konstatirt mit Genugtuung dass am 31. Juli eine Lehrerkonferenz des Kongresses zusammentrat unter dem Vorsitze des Herrn Prof. Sir John Macdonell, K.C.B., und bestätigt folgenden in dieser Konferenz angenommenen Beschluss des Herrn J. A. Hobson:

‘Diese Versammlung ist der Ansicht dass man Schüler und Studenten für die bedeutenden Prinzipien der Friedensbewegung zu gewinnen suchen muss und dass zu diesen zwecke in allen Schulen, Hochschulen und Universitäten der Lehrplan beim Geschichtsunterricht die Bedeutung des Friedens in den Vordergrund stelle und dass bei solchem Unterricht alle Lehrer und Professoren ernstlich mitarbeiten.

‘Ferner erklärt der Kongress jedwede Versuche militärische Erziehung und Prapaganda in den Lehrplan einzuführen als verwerflich, da solche die Ideale der Jugend herabsetzen und die Wirksamkeit der Erziehung beeinträchtigen.’

### Propaganda in Schuler und Universtaten.

#### BESCHLUSS XVI.

‘In Anbetracht der Erfolge, welche die aus Studierenden und Professoren von 50 Universitäten bestehende ‘Société Académique Nationale de la Paix’ und später die Verbindung ‘Corda Fratres’ mit ihren verschiedenen Abteilungen in 63 europäischen Universitäten erzielt haben, und da es wünschenswert ist, dass sich diese letztere Vereinigung auf alle anderen Universitäten erstreckt;

in Anbetracht ferner der Tüchtigkeit der ‘American School Peace League,’ die den Zweck verfolgt, die Friedensgedanken bei der Lehrerschaft der Elementar- und höheren Schulen zu verbreiten, indem sie von der Überzeugung ausgeht, dass diese Gedanken für die akademische Jugend von höchstem Belang und ihrer tatkräftigen Unterstützung würdig sind;

in Anbetracht schliesslich dass es notwendig ist, die kriegerischen Neigungen zu bekämpfen, die durch einen die Kriegstaten verherrlichenden Geschichtsunterricht hervorgerufen werden, und dass die Lehrer von den Zielen und Mitteln der Friedensbewegung unterrichtet werden:

betont der Kongress wiederum das auf dem vorhergehenden Kongress niedergelegte Prinzip bezüglich der unter den Studierenden der Universitäten sowie den Schülern der Elementar- und höheren Schulen zu entfaltenden Agitation. Um diese Verbreitung pazifistischer Ideen erfolgreich zu gestalten, müssen sich die Friedensgesellschaften mit den Lehrervereinigungen in Verbindung setzen.

### Internationale Organization.

#### BESCHLUSS XVII.

Der Kongress nimmt mit Befriedigung von der Bewegung Kenntnis,

jedes Gebiet menschlichen Könnens und Denkens umfassend, die Menschen dazu bestimmt, sich zu internationalen Gruppen zu vereinigen.

Der Kongress lenkt die spezielle Aufmerksamkeit der Regierungen auf diese Tatsache und ladet sie ein, den Werken, welche einen internationalen Zweck verfolgen, ihren moralischen und materiellen Beistand zu gewähren; er ladet sie insbesondere ein, sich bei den verschiedenen internationalen Kongressen durch offizielle Delegierte vertreten zu lassen und eine möglichst grosse Zahl von Staatsvereinigungen zu bilden.

Der Kongress macht es seinen Mitgliedern und den Mitgliedern der Friedensbewegung zur Pflicht, zur Förderung der Evolution zum Internationalismus und insbesondere zur internationalen Föderation aller intellektuellen und ökonomischen Interessen der Menschheit das ihrige beizutragen.

Der Kongress ladet alle gegenwärtig bestehenden internationalen Vereinigungen und Institutionen ein, sich aus eigener Initiative um die Zentrale für internationale Institutionen in Brüssel zu gruppieren.

### **Internationales Landwirtschafts-Institut.**

#### **BESCHLUSS XVIII.**

In Erwägung der Tatsache dass der internationale Frieden und Wohlstand grossen Theils von der wirtschaftlichen Gerechtigkeit abhängen, konstatirt dieser Kongress mit Genugthuung dass alle Völker der Welt mitwirken zur Begründung eines internationalen Landwirtschafts-Instituts, welches landwirtschaftliche Auskünfte vermittelt und dadurch die unnützen Preisschwankungen der landwirtschaftlichen Produkte verhindern, sowie Kapital und auch Löhne in der Fabrik und auf Landgütern dauerhaft erhalten wird.

Der Kongress fordert alle Friedensgesellschaften auf der Welt diese wichtige Ausbildung in der internationalen Friedenspropaganda vorzuhalten.

### **Recht der Nationalen Minderheiten.**

#### **BESCHLUSS XIX.**

A.—Der Kongress hält es für nötig, daran zu erinnern, dass die Achtung vor jeder Nationalität eine der grundlegenden Prinzipien der Friedensbewegung und jeder internationalen Verständigung ist, dass der gleiche Grundsatz in der innern Gesetzgebung der Staaten befolgt werden muss und dass insbesondere das Recht auf den Gebrauch der Muttersprache eines der unveräusserlichen Rechte jeder Nationalität ist.

Der Kongress fordert, dass man in den Staaten gemischter Nationalität den Sprachen der nationalen Minderheiten oder der unterworfenen Völker die grösstmögliche Rechtsgleichheit gewähre für die Verwaltung, für die Rechtsprechung, für den Unterricht, für das öffentliche und private Leben, und dass Privilegien einer Staatssprache sich nur so weit erstrecken, wie es zur Erfüllung der Staatsaufgaben notwendig ist, und nicht nach dem Belieben oder dem vermeintlichen Interesse der herrschenden Nationalität bemessen werden.

Der Kongress ist der Ansicht, dass es die Pflicht der nationalen

Friedensgesellschaften ist, diese Grundsätze in ihren betreffenden Ländern zur Geltung zu bringen.

B.—Der Kongress, indem er sich auf früher gefasste Beschlüsse betreffs Stellung nationaler Minderheiten (unterworfenen) oder unorganisierter Völkerschaften bezieht, empfiehlt den verschiedenen Regierungen nochmals aufs dringendste, diesen Völkerschaften gegenüber die Grundsätze von Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit anzuwenden, welche in den betreffenden Beschlüssen festgelegt sind.

### Konferenz von Central-Amerika.

#### BESCHLUSS XX.

Der Kongress beglückwünscht die Centralamerikanischen Staaten zu dem wesentlichen Fortschritt, der in der Unterzeichnung folgender sieben Verträge auf der Konferenz von Washington vom 11 November and 20 Dezember 1907 enthalten ist:

1. Konvention für Errichtung eines Gerichtshof für Central-Amerika.
2. Konvention für Errichtung eines internationalen Bureaus für Central-Amerika.
3. Allgemeiner Friedens- und Freundschaftsvertrag.
4. Konvention für den Verkehr mit Ersantahnen und Dampfschiffen.
5. Auslieferungsvertrag.
6. Konvention für Errichtung eines pädagogischen Instituts für Central-Amerika.
7. Konvention betreffend die nächste Konferenz für Central-Amerika.

#### Fortsetzung:

Der Kongress konstatiert mit lebhafter Genugtuung, dass der oben erwähnte Gerichtshof bereits eingesetzt ist und schon funktioniert, sofern er seine erste Sitzung am 25 Mai 1908 in dem Zeitpunkt gehalten hat, als M. A. Carnegie eine Schenkung von \$100,000 für die Errichtung eines Friedensgebäudes zur ausschliesslichen Verfügung der Konferenz stiftete, um damit seine Sympathie für den Frieden und den Centralamerikanischen Fortschritt wie auch sein Vertrauen zu dem Erfolg des grossen humanitären Werks auszudrücken, welches durch dieses Tribunal eingeleitet wurde.

### Friedenstempel in Washington.

#### BESCHLUSS XXI.

Der Kongress konstatiert mit lebhafter Genugtuung die Grundsteinlegung zum Friedenstempel in Washington—für welchen M. Carnegie in edler Weise \$750,000 stiftete—ein Haus, das bestimmt ist, als Bureau der amerikanischen Republiken zu dienen und die gemeinsamen Interessen sowohl der südamerikanischen Staaten als auch der Vereinigten Staaten Nord-Amerikas zu fördern.

**Schiedsgericht-Petition.****BESCHLUSS XXII.—**

Auf Empfehlung seiner Kommission C, billigt und unterstützt der XVII. Internationale Friedenskongress die von Fraülein Anna B. Eckstein, Delegierte der Amerikanischen Friedensgesellschaft, in Umlauf gesetzte Petition, in welcher die auf der III. Haager Friedenskonferenz vertretenen Regierungen ersucht werden, einen Vertrag zu schliessen, der es jeder Nation zur Ehrenpflicht macht, alle ihre internationalen Interessen baldmöglichst durch Verständigungs- und Ausgleichungsverträge zu regeln, und ferner auch alle Streitfälle, die etwa vor der Vervollständigung solcher Regelung entstehen, durch Ausgleich zu schlichten.

**Internationale Besuche.****BESCHLUSS XXIII.**

In Anbetracht der gegenseitigen Besuche von verschiedenen Gruppen und Vereinen, die als Studienreisen oder zum Verbreiten des Solidaritätsgefühls der Menschheit, für die Friedenssache so nutzbar sind, fordert der Kongress solche Vereine auf, immer von neuem dahin zu arbeiten zwischen den Völkern ein gutes Einvernehmen zu schaffen.

Und da zu diesem Zweck Geldmittel nötig, gratuliert der Kongress der englischen Regierung zur Stellung eines Fonds, mit jährlichem Reichsbeitrag, für internationale Gastfreundschaft, und fordert andere Regierungen auf diesem hochherzigen Beispiele Folge zu leisten und jährlich steigende Summen ihren Friedensetats zu erhalten.

**Aufruf zur Geldbeschaffung.****BESCHLUSS XXIV.**

1. In Erwägung dessen, dass zur Förderung aller pacifistischen Bestrebungen grosse Geldmittel erforderlich sind, um so mehr als der Fonds Bloch sehr bald aufgebraucht sein wird, und das ständige Wachstum der pacifistischen Bewegungen andere Summen wie den Fonds Bloch bedingt, so beschliesst der Kongress folgenden Aufruf:—

Der siebzehnte Weltfriedenskongress ist beendet.

Hat man uns früher als Utopisten dargestellt, so beweisen der glänzende Verlauf des Kongresses, der von Jahr zu Jahr gewachsene Kreis unserer Anhänger in der ganzen Welt, und der Umstand, dass manche unserer jahrelangen Bestrebungen wie z.B. die Errichtung eines ständigen internationalen Schiedsgerichtshofes, u.s.w., bereits verwirklicht wurden, dass wir doch auf dem richtigen Wege sind.

Mögen aber auch andere weiter für Ideologen halten, dass die Verwirklichung des Ziels, unserer Bestrebungen, die Beseitigung der Kriege zwischen zivilisierten Nationen und die möglichste Einengung der Kriege mit unzivilisierten Völkern, eine ungeheure, ja die grösste Wohltat für die gesamte Menschheit bedeuten würde, wird von niemanden bestritten werden können.

Auch besteht bei uns kein Zweifel, dass wir auf ganz andere Arbeiten

und Erfolge bereits würden verweisen können, wie ohnedies, wenn wir der Grösse unserer Sache wenigstens einigermaßen entsprechende Geldmittel von jeher gehabt hätten. Denn auch zur Friedensführung—zur Gewinnung der öffentlichen Meinung, und der Massen da, wo dieselben noch nicht gewonnen sind, der Abhaltung von Versammlungen überall, zur Erhaltung und Ausbreitung der zum Teil vorzüglich redigierten pacifistischen Pressorgane, usw., gehört Geld, und Geld, und Geld, wenn auch nicht im allerentferntesten so viel, wie zur Kriegsführung, oder auch nur zur Kriegsvorbereitung die Europa allein jährlich 8,000,000,000 Francs kostet.

Wir wenden uns deshalb an euch, ihr Völker, und an jeden einzelnen unter euch, mit der inständigen Bitte, uns zum mindesten in dieser materiellen Beziehung zu helfen.

Bringe, auf dass sich ehestens das Wort erfülle:

‘Friede auf Erden und den Menschen ein Wohlgefallen,’ ein jeder, alt und jung, Mann und Frau, einmalig oder dauernd, ein seinen Verhältnissen entsprechendes Geldopfer. Ueber die Beträge wird seinerzeit quittiert werden. Solche nehmen entgegen: Das Internationale Friedensbureau in Bern, alle pacifistischen Vereinigungen, Ortsgruppen usw., die ersten Banken und Bankiers, sowie die bedeutendsten Tageszeitungen der ganzen bewohnten Erde, In Deutschland U.A.

London, 1908.

XVII. WELTFRIEDENSKONGRESS.

2. Vorstehender Aufruf soll thunlichst fortlaufend ein Jahr lang an hervorragender Stelle in sämtlichen pacifistischen Zeitungen der Welt veröffentlicht und in sonst geeigneter Weise benutzt werden, und zwar dies beides seitens des Internationalen Friedensbureau in Bern mit Unterstützung eventuell zu schaffender Executiv-Komitees und—nach eingeholter Genehmigung des Berner Bureaus—seitens der einzelnen vorerwähnten Pressorgane und der bestehenden pacifistischen Vereinigungen, Ortsgruppen, usw.

3. Sammtliche pacifistischen Vereinigungen, Ortsgruppen, usw., sind hierdurch ersucht, die genauen Adressen vermögender Leute ihres Bezirkes dem Internationalen Friedensbureau in Bern zuzustellen, welches sich angelegen sein lassen wird, dieselben entsprechend zu verwerten.

4. Die einflussenden Gelder sind dem Internationalen Friedensbureau in Bern regelmässig und unbedingt am 15ten jedes Monates zu überweisen. Dasselbe hat dem nächsten Kongress Rechenschaft darüber abzuliegen, und sollen die betreffenden Gelder dann auch wesentlich mit zur Subventionierung und Propagandierung der pacifistischen Pressorgane Verwendung finden.

N.B.—Dieser Beschluss ist ohne vorherige Abstimmung dem Internationalen Friedensbureau zu beliebiger Verwendung überwiesen worden.

### **Ort des Kongresses im Jahre, 1909.**

#### **BESCHLUSS XXV.**

Der Kongress bestätigt den Entschluss des letzten Kongresses betreffend der Einladung zur Abhaltung des Kongresses 1909 in Stockholm und bestimmt als Datum der Zusammenkunft des Kongresses die erste Woche des September.

### Aufruf an die Völker.

Während des letzten Jahres hat sich eine ernsthafte, aber vollkommen unbegründete, Beunruhigung der politischen Welt bemächtigt.

Die Interessengegensätze, in denen sich verschiedene Nationen in verschiedenen Teilen des Erdballes befinden, werden von einer gewissen Presse aller Länder als unlösbare Konflikte geschildert. Broschüren, ja ganze Bücher, erscheinen, die in phantastischer Weise einen Krieg der Zukunft, bald zwischen England und Deutschland, bald zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und Japan, bald zwischen ganzen Staatengruppen zu schildern unternehmen. Hochgestellte Männer behaupten, dass die Fragen der Gegenwart unter dem Gesichtspunkte eines notwendig kommenden grossen Krieges betrachtet werden müssen.

Dieses Spielen mit Kriegsphantasien ist ein unverantwortliches Spielen mit dem Feuer.

Wo sind denn in Wahrheit Interessengegensätze von solcher Stärke, dass eine Nation, auch wenn sie den Krieg als letztes Mittel der Selbstverteidigung betrachtet, das Leben ihrer Söhne, den Wohlstand eines Menschenalters, ja ihre Existenz gefährden möchte, um ihre eigenen Wünsche bis aufs letzte durchzusetzen, oder um einer anderen Nation zu nehmen, worauf diese bei billigem Ausgleich der Interessen Anspruch machen kann?

Nirgends!

Alle die Fragen, von denen man heute spricht, sind eines friedlichen Ausgleiches fähig, ohne dass irgend eine Nation ein Lebensinteresse aufzugeben braucht.

Und alle Nationen, alle Regierungen, haben doch den guten Willen, wie sie nicht müde werden, zu versichern. Sie alle bemühen sich, Schwierigkeiten, die zwischen ihnen entstehen könnten, durch Schiedsgerichte und stets verbesserte friedliche Verfahren auszugleichen. Sie alle wollen nicht Vergewaltigung der anderen, sondern nur ihr gutes Recht und ihren Anteil an den Fortschritten wirtschaftlichen Gedeihens.

Die Gefahr liegt nicht sowohl in den streitigen Fragen selbst, als vielmehr in der Art, wie sie heute von einem gewissen Teil der Presse und von zumeist unverantwortlichen Personen behandelt werden.

Wenn man dem Publikum immer wieder versichert, dass der Gegensatz der Interessen zur Katastrophe führen müsse, wenn man von dem Kriege der Zukunft als unvermeidlich spricht, so schafft man eben dadurch eine gewaltige Kriegsgefahr; man gewöhnt die Nationen daran, sich fatalistisch in den Gedanken, dass ein Krieg kommen müsse, zu ergeben, und man schwächt die Widerstandsfähigkeit der friedlichen Kräfte für den Moment der Entscheidung!

Es ist hohe Zeit, Einhalt zu tun!

Wir Friedensfreunde appellieren deshalb an die besonnenen Leute aller Länder, sich diesem Treiben zu widersetzen, und mit uns die Völker zur Vernunft zu rufen. Wenn die Partei der Leutes des gesunden Menschenverstandes sich mit der Partei der Friedensfreunde verbündet, so werden wir unüberwindlich sein.

## APPENDICES.



## APPENDICE I.

### Organisation International Économique et Scientifique.

Rapport présenté au Congrès universel de la Paix, par Henri La Fontaine, Président du Bureau International de la Paix, Directeur de l'Office central des Institutions Internationales.

Le phénomène le plus impressionnant de la dernière moitié du dernier siècle a été le développement continu et croissant de la vie internationale. Deux faits permettent d'en saisir l'importance : le nombre chaque année plus grand des réunions internationales et l'ampleur de plus en plus vaste des expositions universelles.

Les Congrès internationaux, dont le premier eut lieu en 1846, se montent au total à l'heure présente à plus de 1600 et plus des deux tiers ont eu lieu au cours des 25 dernières années. Quant aux expositions universelles, il est inutile d'appeler spécialement l'attention sur elles. Le monde entier a péréliné vers ces vastes accumulations de marchandises et de produits et chacun de nous a pu juger par lui-même de leur extension toujours grandissante.

Ce qu'il importe actuellement de faire remarquer, c'est la généralisation du phénomène de l'internationalisme. Ce qu'il importe surtout, et ce sera désormais le plus impérieux devoir des pacifistes, c'est d'éveiller dans les foules la conscience de l'évolution nouvelle qui transforme le monde.

Si nous envisageons les faits d'une manière systématique on pourrait les grouper en deux ordres bien distincts. D'une part ceux qui ont donné lieu à l'intervention directe et concertée des gouvernements, comme la poste, la télégraphie, les chemins de fer, d'autre part ceux qui sont le domaine propre de l'initiative privée. Mais pour avoir une vue nette de l'ensemble des faits auxquels nous venons de faire allusion, il sera plus utile de les grouper d'après les matières auxquelles ils se rapportent ; ils auront ainsi un caractère plus organique et plus frappant.

On peut à ce point de vue grouper tout d'abord les faits qui ont eu plus spécialement pour but de satisfaire les besoins

économiques de l'humanité, sous les deux divisions traditionnelles de l'économie politique : la production et la circulation.

Au point de vue de la production, le fait de la concentration mondiale d'un grand nombre d'industries est de notoriété publique. Il est malheureusement difficile d'obtenir sur les trusts, les pools et les cartels des renseignements précis.

Les intérêts privés qui sont en jeu dans ces combinaisons mettent obstacle à la connaissance exacte des groupements qui se sont réalisés, mais certains économistes ont cru pourtant pouvoir affirmer que plus de 50 % des industries contemporaines sont organisées sur un plan international.

Pour ne citer que les plus importantes et les plus connues, il suffira de rappeler le trust du pétrole, ceux de la soude, du borax, des cartels entre les charbonnages, des fabricants de poutrelles et de rails, etc.

En face de cette concentration des usines et des industries, la classe ouvrière a senti instinctivement le besoin de se grouper à son tour. Le mouvement syndical, si puissamment et si admirablement organisé en Grande-Bretagne, a su imposer ses méthodes aux travailleurs des autres pays. À l'heure actuelle les syndicats de chaque métier sont fédérés en un groupe national et ces fédérations elles-mêmes ont trouvé leur expression dernière dans d'immenses fédérations internationales.

Il en existe à l'heure actuelle une trentaine qui groupent notamment les mouleurs, les mineurs, les paveurs, les dockers, les typographes, les travailleurs des transports, les brasseurs, les verriers, les céramistes, les métallurgistes, les diamantaires, les ouvriers du bois et du cuir, les pelletiers, les ouvriers des industries textiles, ceux du tabac, les selliers, les cordonniers, les gantiers, les relieurs, les tailleurs, les chapeliers, les coiffeurs, les maçons, les peintres, enfin les employés du commerce, des postes, des télégraphes et des chemins de fer. Toutes ces fédérations internationales à leur tour se sont groupées en un organisme mondial dont le siège est à Berlin et se réunissent depuis 1901 en de vastes congrès internationaux.

La lutte s'est engagée assez rapidement entre ces deux groupements qui participent avec une égale importance à la production industrielle, et des deux parts on s'est efforcé d'obtenir des gouvernements des législations favorables à l'un ou à l'autre des deux intérêts en présence.

Bientôt les hommes de science ont estimé qu'il était de leur devoir de s'intéresser à ce vaste conflit et ils ont compris que les

solutions les meilleures devaient nécessairement être internationales. Il a été créé, dans ce but, en 1897 un Office international du travail, organe de l'Association internationale pour la protection légale des travailleurs. Le siège en est à Bâle et son influence heureuse a amené les États à conclure entre eux des ententes pour réglementer le travail dans les différents pays, d'une manière identique.

On sait le retentissement qu'a eu la première Conférence internationale pour la réglementation du travail, convoquée à l'intervention de l'Empereur d'Allemagne, en 1890. Bien que ces assises n'aient pas eu d'emblée le résultat qu'on pouvait en attendre, elle a été suivie de nouvelles conférences qui ont abouti à l'interdiction de l'emploi du phosphore blanc dans la fabrication des allumettes et à celle du travail de nuit des femmes.

La circulation des richesses a préoccupé depuis longtemps déjà les hommes d'État de tous les pays. Dans ce domaine, où les besoins de tous sont harmoniques et similaires, l'entente internationale a naturellement été plus aisée.

L'organisation de beaucoup la plus importante, qui ait été créée dans ce but, est celle connue sous le nom d'Union postale universelle : elle englobe à l'heure actuelle le monde entier. Les facilités qu'elle a procurées à tous sont trop notoires pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'insister sur son utilité. Elle a fait en réalité du monde entier un seul pays.

À côté de cette union, l'Union télégraphique universelle, étendue par des conventions spéciales aux câbles sous-marins et à la télégraphie sans fil, rend des services presque aussi importants.

Enfin l'Union pour le transport des marchandises par chemin de fer complète heureusement l'organisation créée par l'Union postale et l'Union télégraphique, et assure la circulation facile des produits et des hommes. A cette circulation se rattache l'importante question de la réglementation, d'une part des poids et des mesures, d'autre part des monnaies. La fameuse Convention du mètre a tenté de réaliser l'unité humaine au point de vue des mesures et des poids, et on ne peut que souhaiter ardemment que les peuples, qui n'ont pas encore adopté le système métrique, se rallient à l'accord presque unanime des gouvernements.

La question monétaire est évidemment plus délicate et bien qu'en Europe deux unions internationales, l'Union monétaire latine et l'Union monétaire scandinave, aient réalisées un progrès incontestable, les divergences entre les monnaies créent encore aux négociants et même aux simples voyageurs des difficultés connues de tous.

La Conférence panaméricaine a envisagé cette question, avec le sens pratique habituel aux peuples jeunes, lors de ses deux dernières réunions. Il est probable que, dans un délai relativement bref, l'unification monétaire des deux Amériques sera un fait accompli et aura sur les résolutions des autres gouvernements une influence heureuse.

Il est, en cette matière de la circulation des richesses, un autre problème qui a fixé l'attention des gouvernements ; c'est le problème douanier. Seulement, par une contradiction curieuse, l'entente ne s'est pas établie pour abolir les douanes, mais pour assurer la publication régulière des tarifs douaniers : les gouvernements de quarante états et colonies font partie de cette union. On sait l'importance considérable de la publication ainsi réalisée, qui en est, depuis la date de sa fondation en 1890, à son 60e. volume. On peut rattacher à la question douanière l'Union sucrière qui a mis un terme au système des *drawbacks* si onéreux pour les consommateurs du continent européen, la solution recherchée par les gouvernements dès 1862 a abouti enfin à la convention de 1902 actuellement en vigueur.

Si des faits relatifs à la production et à la circulation des produits et des individus nous passons à ceux qui concernent le bien-être, moral et physique, nous constatons qu'ils ont donné lieu à la création de nombreux organismes de propagande et de prophylaxie. Les deux plus importants mouvements dans ce sens sont ceux qui ont pour objet la lutte contre l'alcoolisme, dont le premier congrès international remonte à 1878, et qui doit tenir l'année prochaine son douzième congrès à Londres, et la défense des jeunes filles contre les dangers des grandes villes, dont l'organisation remonte à 1888. On sait les mesures que les gouvernements ont prises de commun accord à cet égard pour enrayer l'introduction de l'alcool de traite dans les pays africains et pour combattre la traite des blanches.

La protection de l'enfance, le patronage des enfants abandonnés et des condamnés libérés, celui des aliénés, des sourds-muets, des aveugles, ont également fait l'objet de réunions internationales.

Pour protéger la santé publique contre les épidémies tout un système de prophylaxie internationale a été créé par les gouvernements. Les premiers efforts, dans ce but, datent de la conférence internationale sanitaire de 1851 : ils ont abouti, lors du congrès de Rome de 1907, à la création d'un office international d'hygiène, dont le siège est à Paris. Ce résultat, au surplus est dû aux nom-

breux congrès d'hygiène et de démographie qui se sont échelonnés au nombre de quatorze de 1852 à 1907.

Enfin les animaux eux-mêmes ont bénéficié d'une protection internationale, résultat des efforts de nombreuses sociétés protectrices nationales organisées, dans les divers pays, et dont les nombreux congrès internationaux, tenus depuis 1876, ont fini par avoir raison de l'inertie des gouvernements. Actuellement trois conventions ont été conclues : elles ont eu respectivement pour objet de limiter la destruction des phoques à fourrure, d'assurer la conservation des oiseaux insectivores, de protéger les animaux de l'Afrique centrale voués, par suite de la cupidité humaine, à une disparition presque complète.

À cette grave question du bien-être moral et physique de l'humanité, il faut rattacher les travaux poursuivis en matière d'assurance et de mutualité. Considérable est notamment l'importance des congrès d'actuares qui, depuis 1895, se réunissent régulièrement tous les trois ans. Les médecins des compagnies d'assurance se sont également groupés internationalement depuis 1899, et leur quatrième congrès vient de se tenir à Berlin en 1906.

Quant au mouvement mutualiste, dont l'ampleur grandit chaque jour, d'une manière réellement saisissante, lui aussi vient d'aboutir en 1905 à la constitution d'une Fédération internationale et à la création d'un Bureau permanent d'études et de statistique mutualiste dont le siège est à Bruxelles.

À la mutualité on peut rattacher le mouvement non moins considérable de la co-opération. Les résultats réellement merveilleux, obtenus notamment par la co-opération anglaise, sont dans la pensée de tous. On s'explique aisément que les hommes qui sont à la tête de ce mouvement aient songé à se grouper internationalement. C'est à ce désir qu'il faut attribuer la création de l'Alliance co-opérative internationale, dont les assises, chaque année plus importantes, constituent les sessions d'un véritable parlement co-opératif.

Aux faits que nous venons de relater on peut rattacher les études qui ont pour objet la situation de certaines classes sociales moins privilégiées. C'est à cette préoccupation qu'est due la création récente de l'Institut international pour l'étude du problème des classes moyennes. Dans un but similaire, un Comité permanent pour l'étude de toutes les questions relatives aux habitations à bon marché a été créé en 1905 par le septième congrès international des habitations à bon marché.

Parmi les autres faits qui nous restent à examiner il importe de

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grouper spécialement ceux relatifs aux sciences pures et aux sciences appliquées.

Parmi les sciences pures, le premier rang revient aux mathématiques : depuis 1897, les mathématiciens tiennent régulièrement tous les quatre ans des assises internationales.

Les astronomes se réunissent en congrès internationaux depuis 1895. Il a été créé, à leur intervention, diverses œuvres internationales : la plus considérable parmi elles a consisté à grouper un grand nombre d'observatoires pour dresser ensemble la carte photographique du ciel ; en outre, une union internationale a été constituée pour poursuivre d'après un programme commun les recherches solaires.

Le globe terrestre a, lui aussi, fixé internationalement l'attention des savants à divers points de vue. Sa connaissance géologique tout d'abord : les géologues, depuis 1878, se réunissent en effet en congrès internationaux, dont les sessions ont lieu tous les trois ans. Il a été créé également une Association seismologique internationale dont la première assemblée générale a eu lieu à La Haye en 1907. Il a été créé nouvellement une Association glaciaire internationale. Il existe aussi des réunions, régulières depuis 1886, relatives à l'hydrologie et à la climatologie. La météorologie, qui se rattache directement à cette dernière science, a donné lieu également à la tenue régulière de congrès internationaux. Une entente internationale assure l'exploration systématique et régulière de l'atmosphère, grâce à l'emploi de ballons-sondes.

Les gouvernements eux-mêmes ont participé à cette étude approfondie de la terre, en assurant par une entente internationale l'exploration systématique de la mer. Leur intervention a été plus directe encore dans la création de l'Association géodésique internationale instituée depuis 1862 et dont la quinzième session se réunissait à Budapest en 1906.

Si de la terre nous passons à ses habitants, nous constaterons que depuis longtemps déjà les questions anthropologiques et préhistoriques ont donné lieu à des assises régulières. Le quatorzième congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique s'est réuni en 1907 à Dublin.

À l'étude des questions d'anthropologie se rattachent aussi deux groupements, connus par le retentissement que leurs assises ont eu dans l'opinion publique, nous voulons parler des congrès internationaux des américanistes, dont la quinzième session a eu lieu à Québec en 1906, et de ceux des orientalistes, dont la quatorzième réunion s'est tenue à Alger en 1905. On peut aussi rattacher à

l'étude de la terre et de ses habitants les congrès internationaux de géographie tenus régulièrement depuis 1871.

Les sciences communément appelées naturelles : la zoologie, la botanique, la physiologie ont également donné naissance à des réunions internationales. Les congrès de botanique et d'horticulture datent de 1864, ceux de zoologie remontent à 1889 et des congrès spéciaux d'ornithologie se tenaient déjà dès 1884. Les physiologistes se réunissent eux aussi depuis 1889 et il existe désormais une Association internationale des anatomistes fondée en 1888.

La chimie également a ses assises internationales tant au point de vue des recherches purement scientifiques, qu'au point de vue des nombreuses applications industrielles auxquelles ces recherches ont donné lieu ; les débats du dernier congrès international de chimie appliquée, réuni à Rome en 1908, a nécessité la publication de sept volumes, témoignage symbolique de l'importance des travaux poursuivis au cours de cette réunion.

Les hommes de science n'ont pas tardé à sentir le besoin de se documenter d'une manière complète et rapide. On connaît la vaste compilation poursuivie avec une rare persistance par la Royal Society et publiée sous le titre de "Catalogue of Scientific Papers." Depuis 1895 cette œuvre est devenue une œuvre internationale : en effet, les États ont consenti à participer désormais à la publication de cette bibliographie systématique et alphabétique de tous les imprimés scientifiques. Il existe en outre des bibliographies sur fiches d'un format uniforme et international, publiées par le Concilium bibliographicum de Zurich.

Les académies principales du monde entier ont senti elles aussi la nécessité de se grouper, afin de poursuivre en commun des travaux d'intérêt général, dont le coût de réalisation dépasse les ressources dont chacune d'elles en particulier pourrait disposer. C'est ainsi qu'a pris naissance l'Association internationale des académies créée en 1898 à Wiesbaden et dont les sessions ont eu lieu successivement en 1900 à Paris, en 1904 à Londres, en 1907 à Vienne.

Si nous envisageons maintenant les sciences appliquées, nous voyons que le mouvement vers l'entente internationale est peut-être plus intense en ce qui les concerne qu'en ce qui concerne les sciences pures.

Parmi les réunions les plus importantes, à ce point de vue, on peut citer les congrès internationaux des sciences médicales qui remontent à 1867, et dont le quinzième congrès vient de se tenir à Lisbonne en 1906. On sait que ces assemblées ont compté, lors de leurs dernières assises, plusieurs milliers de participants.

À côté de ces congrès généraux, il existe toute une série de congrès des spécialités médicales. Ainsi les homéopathes se réunissent régulièrement depuis 1876, les dermatologues depuis 1889, les neurologues depuis 1885, les aliénistes depuis 1889. Les chirurgiens, qui se réunissent depuis 1888, ont constitué en 1905 une Société internationale de chirurgie.

Les congrès internationaux dentaires, dont l'importance égale presque celle des congrès des sciences médicales, se réunissent régulièrement depuis 1889. Les ophtalmologistes sont parmi les premiers qui se soient rencontrés en des congrès internationaux. En effet, leurs premières assises remontent à 1857. Les otologistes et les laryngologistes se réunissent régulièrement depuis 1889, les gynécologues depuis 1892. Enfin les vétérinaires, dont les congrès ont également une importance considérable, ont commencé à délibérer ensemble dès 1862.

Aux questions médicales se rattachent directement celles relatives à la thérapeutique. Dès 1865 les pharmaciens se réunissaient en un premier congrès international à Brunswick et leur dixième congrès se tiendra à Bruxelles en 1910.

On sait que la question de l'Unification des pharmacopées a tout spécialement préoccupé le monde pharmaceutique. Une conférence officielle des gouvernements fut convoquée à cet effet en 1902 à Bruxelles et aboutit à la création d'un Secrétariat international chargé d'étudier l'unification des médicaments actifs.

La vaccination a suscité les congrès retentissants des anti-vaccinateurs. La physiothérapie, dont les applications se font de plus en plus nombreuses à notre époque, a également donné lieu à des congrès récents dont le premier a été tenu à Liège en 1905, et dont le quatrième se tiendra à Berlin en 1912. La thalassothérapie, une des formes les plus anciennes de la physiothérapie, a également été étudiée en de nombreuses réunions internationales dont la première date de 1894. L'électrothérapie et la radiologie ont fait l'objet des travaux de plusieurs congrès dont le premier s'est réuni à Côme en 1899. L'hypnotisme expérimental a donné lieu à des congrès internationaux dès 1889.

Certaines affections spéciales enfin, la maladie du sommeil, la lèpre, et surtout la tuberculose, ont fixé l'attention des spécialistes de tous les pays et les ont engagés à se constituer en réunions internationales.

En matière technologique, les ingénieurs et les industriels ont senti depuis longtemps déjà le besoin de se grouper internationale-

ment. C'est ainsi que dès 1878 un premier congrès international du génie civil se tenait à Paris.

Les électriciens à leur tour se réunissaient dans la même ville dès 1881 et, dès 1902, se constituait une Union internationale des stations d'électricité dont les sessions sont annuelles depuis lors.

Les congrès internationaux des mines et de la métallurgie, réguliers depuis 1889, comptent parmi les plus importants en matière technique.

Les techniciens se sont préoccupés également de l'unification des mesures d'essai des matériaux, de l'aménagement mécanique et hygiénique des usines, de la surveillance et de la sécurité en matière d'appareils de vapeur, etc.

La technique des industries privées a été également l'occasion de réunions internationales, c'est ainsi que les techniciens de la brasserie, de la sucrerie, de la distillerie, de la boulangerie, ceux du pétrole, de l'acétylène, du ciment, du papier, les filateurs de coton, ont leurs réunions régulières internationales.

Aux questions de filature, se rattache celle de l'unité internationale du numérotage des fils, qui, elle aussi, a fait l'objet de congrès internationaux. Les agriculteurs se sont réunis internationalement dès 1848, et depuis 1889 leurs congrès siègent régulièrement. On peut rattacher à ces assises les réunions spéciales consacrées à l'enseignement agricole, à l'agronomie coloniale, ainsi qu'à l'unification des méthodes d'analyse des engrais et des substances alimentaires du bétail, enfin à la mécanique agricole.

L'importance de la culture de certains produits a justifié en outre la réunion de congrès spéciaux. C'est ainsi que nous relevons des congrès qui ont eu pour objet la culture du riz, la viticulture, la sylviculture, l'horticulture. On peut grouper dans la même catégorie toutes les réunions relatives à la zootechnie, notamment les congrès internationaux pour l'alimentation rationnelle du bétail, les congrès d'aviculture, d'apiculture. La laiterie tient depuis 1903 des congrès bisannuels.

Enfin les questions de chasse et de pêche ont également préoccupé les spécialistes des divers pays, et notamment celles relatives aux pêches maritimes. Au cours de l'année dernière il a été créé, en ce qui concerne ces matières, des offices internationaux.

Les moyens de locomotion et de transport soulèvent eux aussi des questions techniques d'une portée nécessairement internationale. On s'explique aisément que les directeurs et les techniciens des chemins de fer aient ressenti le besoin de se concerter.

Les congrès internationaux des chemins de fer se réunissent

depuis 1885. Ils sont l'organe de l'Association internationale des chemins de fer, constituée par 47 gouvernements et 411 administrations privées. Le bulletin, publié en français et en anglais par cette association, contient une considérable bibliographie mensuelle.

Les compagnies de tramways et de chemins de fer d'intérêt local ont également depuis 1886 constitué une Union internationale dont les sessions sont bisannuelles. L'union compte dans son sein 550 entreprises, exploitations ou associations de tramways.

Les techniciens de la navigation se réunissent également depuis 1885 en congrès réguliers dont le dixième vient de siéger à Saint Pétersbourg, au mois de mai dernier. Ces congrès sont également l'organe de l'Association internationale de navigation constituée par 22 gouvernements, 260 administrations et plus de 1,500 membres individuels.

Aux congrès de navigation se rattachent directement les congrès maritimes internationaux qui se réunissent tous les deux ans, depuis 1901.

Les sciences juridiques ont elles aussi pour organes de très importants organismes internationaux. Les deux plus connus, créés presque en même temps en 1873, sont l'Association pour la réforme et la codification du droit des gens (Association de Droit International), dont la vingt cinquième conférence se réunira cette année à Budapest, et l'Institut de droit international, dont la vingt-quatrième session aura lieu à Florence également au courant de cette année.

Les États n'ont pas tardé, sous la pression de l'opinion publique, à répondre aux vœux émis par ces deux associations, composées d'hommes de la plus haute valeur. C'est évidemment à leur influence que sont dues les conférences internationales destinées à régler les questions de droit international privé qui se sont réunies à La Haye en 1893, 1894, 1900, et 1904.

Les questions de droit spécial ont elles aussi suscité la création d'organismes internationaux : l'un des plus considérables est l'Union internationale de droit pénal, dont les sessions ont lieu régulièrement depuis 1889. Les congrès internationaux pénitentiaires ont presque une égale importance : leur première réunion date de 1846 et a constitué le premier congrès international qui se soit tenu dans le monde. À ce double organisme de droit pénal il faut rattacher les congrès internationaux d'anthropologie criminelle qui se réunissent depuis 1885.

Parmi les questions de droit privé celles relatives à la propriété industrielle, littéraire et artistique ont donné lieu à la création

de deux vastes associations dont les réunions ont eu sur les conventions intergouvernementales qui règlent les brevets d'invention, les marques et modèles de fabrique, ainsi que les droits d'auteur, une influence décisive.

Il existe également une Commission maritime internationale, dont la huitième conférence se réunissait à Venise en 1907 et qui a pour but d'unifier le droit maritime. L'unification du droit commercial a elle aussi fait l'objet de nombreux congrès internationaux qui se sont notamment préoccupés de simplifier et d'unifier les règles relatives à la lettre de change.

La trop longue et quelque peu fastidieuse énumération que nous venons de faire d'un grand nombre d'institutions et de groupements internationaux était indispensable pour donner une idée exacte de l'ampleur du mouvement qui entraîne le monde vers une organisation universelle.

Pourtant, pour être complets, il nous aurait fallu parler encore des réunions si importantes des Associations de la Presse ainsi que des nombreux congrès consacrés aux questions religieuses et philosophiques. Il nous aurait fallu analyser également l'organisation internationale des sports, qui jouent à l'heure actuelle un rôle si considérable dans les relations internationales et dont les jeux olympiques, qui viennent de se terminer à Londres, sont une des manifestations les plus grandioses.

Nous aurions dû également ne pas oublier les arts qui, eux aussi, ont donné lieu à de nombreuses réunions internationales dès 1861.

L'architecture, la musique, l'art public, l'art dramatique, la photographie ont été l'occasion de congrès multiples et influents.

Nous ne pouvons cependant terminer notre exposé de la situation actuelle des œuvres internationales sans parler de l'idée magnifique réalisée lors de l'Exposition universelle de Saint Louis, de réunir en un vaste ensemble tous les arts et toutes les sciences. Le congrès encyclopédique qui s'est réuni en cette ville, en 1904, a constitué parallèlement à l'Exposition internationale des produits une véritable Exposition internationale des idées.

Non moins grandiose est l'œuvre poursuivie par ceux qui s'efforcent d'établir l'Inventaire intellectuel du monde. C'est dans ce but que les congrès internationaux de bibliographie et de documentation se sont réunis successivement à Bruxelles et à Paris. Le labeur que les promoteurs de ces congrès se sont imposé à l'origine consistait surtout à collectionner et à classer méthodiquement les titres de tout ce que l'humanité a écrit et publié. Mais leur œuvre s'est peu à peu élargie, jusqu'à se transformer en un vaste projet de réunir quelque

part tous les écrits et toutes les publications et d'en former des dossiers qui seraient autant de chapitres et de paragraphes d'un seul et unique Livre universel. Leur ambition est d'élever à la pensée humaine un monument qui serait l'Encyclopédie universelle, définitive et perpétuelle. À cette encyclopédie collaboreraient les penseurs de tous les temps comme les penseurs de tous les pays. Ce serait la somme totale de l'effort intellectuel des siècles.

Pour réaliser un tel projet il est indispensable que toutes les Institutions Internationales apportent leur concours, qu'elles se groupent autour de l'œuvre commune et qu'elles s'affilient par la collaboration et par la co-opération. À cet effet, un Office central des Institutions Internationales a été créé à Bruxelles.

Cet office est l'organisme fédératif des Institutions Internationales, il a pour tâche propre d'établir un centre pour faciliter leur action et leurs travaux, d'étudier en commun les questions d'organisation, de co-ordination des efforts, d'unification des méthodes, de provoquer la co-opération entre les associations existantes et la fondation d'associations nouvelles. Son action s'exerce par un Bulletin, par un Annuaire de la Vie Internationale, par des Congrès périodiques des Institutions internationales. En rapport constant avec l'Institut International de bibliographie et de documentation, il pourra mettre à la disposition des diverses Institutions Internationales des moyens d'information et de diffusion tout-à-fait perfectionnés.

Tel est, en une esquisse sommaire, le travail accompli et poursuivi par des organismes qui tous cherchent à rapprocher les hommes et à faciliter leur aide mutuelle par delà les frontières diverses.

Si on examine avec soin la manière dont ces diverses institutions ont été créées et se sont développées, on constate qu'elles passent presque toutes par des stades similaires. Tout d'abord une réunion est convoquée, à laquelle sont invités tous ceux que l'objet de cette réunion peut intéresser à titre individuel. Mais la nécessité d'assurer de l'unité et de la suite aux travaux les oblige bientôt à s'organiser en une union et à constituer un bureau, dont la mission est de relier entre elles les diverses sessions de l'union et qui ne tarde pas à se transformer en office permanent. L'union, tout d'abord constituée par des adhérents individuels, tend à devenir une fédération des associations nationales qui étudient les mêmes questions, puis les Gouvernements sont invités à envoyer aux sessions des délégués officiels.

Les États peuvent ainsi se rendre compte dans quelle mesure il

est utile de donner une sanction officielle aux décisions prises par les savants groupés selon leurs spécialités, et la convocation des Conférences inter-gouvernementales en est la conséquence naturelle. Celles-ci s'efforcent de donner une forme pratique aux vœux et aux désirs émis et peu-à-peu se constituent ainsi sous nos yeux les organes d'une vaste administration unifiée du monde.

Quel est dans cette évolution rapide le rôle dévolu aux associations pacifistes et à leurs membres? Ce rôle est selon nous multiple et complexe. Chacun des adhérents des associations pacifistes occupe dans le monde une position ou y exerce un métier: il doit chercher avec persistance à grouper en organismes internationaux ses compagnons de travail ou d'étude.

Si de tels organismes existent dans sa profession il doit en faire partie et exercer sur ses collègues une action continue dans le sens d'un développement international de ces organismes.

Il y a lieu d'autre part d'exercer sur les gouvernements une pression énergique, pour qu'ils envoient des délégués à toutes les réunions internationales, pour qu'ils subsidient les œuvres internationales, pour qu'ils prennent l'initiative de créer dans les domaines les plus divers des unions d'États aussi nombreuses que possible.

Certaines personnes ont opposé cette politique active des pacifistes de demain à la politique de simple critique et de simple propagande des pacifistes d'hier. Nous pensons qu'il n'y a pas d'opposition entre ces deux politiques et qu'il y a lieu de les superposer. L'œuvre d'hier a eu surtout pour objet de susciter l'horreur de la guerre et de déterminer quels sont les organismes qui pourraient en permettre la suppression. Cette œuvre sera encore l'œuvre de demain, jusqu'au jour où la guerre aura définitivement disparu.

L'œuvre de demain doit cependant tendre à élargir la portée de nos efforts: nous devons, dans tous les domaines de la pensée et de l'action, pousser les hommes vers l'aide mutuelle et vers l'entente cordiale; tel est le rôle de l'internationalisme pratique. Dans ce mouvement admirable les pacifistes doivent être à l'avant-garde pour stimuler les volontés et entraîner ceux qui hésitent. Nous pouvons ainsi faire du pacifisme quotidien et poursuivre la réalisation de notre idéal au jour le jour de notre vie individuelle. Notre intérêt personnel sera ainsi en constant contact avec l'intérêt supérieur et collectif de l'humanité.

## APPENDICE II.

### Le Programme Pacifiste et L'Organisation Internationale.

*(Rapport présenté au congrès de Londres par M. E. Duplessix.)*

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##### CONCLUSION.

Quand le parti pacifiste eut conquis l'opinion publique d'une façon suffisante pour passer de la parole aux actes, il consacra tous ses efforts aux deux questions qui lui semblaient les plus urgentes et les plus faciles à résoudre : l'atténuation des charges militaires et l'organisation de l'arbitrage international.

Le temps écoulé, l'expérience acquise nous permettent de vérifier si notre programme était bon et si nous n'avons besoin ni de le modifier ni de le compléter.

C'est le but de l'étude que nous présentons.

## PROGRAMME ANCIEN.

## I.—Atténuation des Charges Militaires.

La plupart des pacifistes sont convaincus que l'atténuation des charges militaires ne peut être que la conséquence de l'institution d'une justice internationale satisfaisante et ne saurait constituer une mesure préalable.

Cependant la question de la limitation a été posée devant la première et la seconde conférence de La Haye ; certains hommes politiques se sont faits les champions de cette idée ; les gouvernements ont déclaré que la limitation était désirable, qu'ils ne trouvaient pas de formule satisfaisante pour la réglementer, mais qu'ils seraient heureux qu'on parvînt à la découvrir.

Tout ce bruit paraît avoir impressionné le parti pacifiste et avoir fait renaître en lui quelques illusions, puisque le Congrès de Munich a demandé la nomination de deux commissions pour examiner la question. L'une d'elles a été chargée de présenter un rapport au présent congrès ; l'autre, permanente, doit être nommée par le Bureau de Berne et faire de la limitation l'objet constant de ses études.

Nous ne savons dans quel sens se prononceront ces commissions, mais comme il est indispensable de décider si cette question doit être inscrite au programme général que nous désirons établir et à quelle place nous devons l'y faire figurer, nous sommes bien obligés de nous y arrêter.

L'atténuation des charges militaires peut se réaliser sous trois formes différentes : l'arrêt des armements, la limitation proportionnelle, le désarmement général.

## 1.—L'Arrêt des Armements.

L'arrêt des armements aurait pour but de mettre un terme à l'accroissement continu des charges militaires dont de coût s'augmente d'un milliard et demi tous les cinq ans, conformément aux statistiques établies par M. de Messimy.

Pour réaliser cette opération on prendrait comme base fixe la situation des armements à un moment déterminé et, à partir de cette date, les Etats ne pourraient plus augmenter ni le nombre de leurs soldats et marins ni l'importance de leurs flottes et de leur matériel de guerre, ni leurs budgets de la guerre et de la marine.\*

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\* Comme l'a expliqué M. Duplessix, en présentant au Congrès les résolutions basées sur ce rapport, il est publié à titre de document. Nous croyons devoir faire observer que le Congrès a adopté une formule d'arrêt des armements qui diffère complètement de celle que M. Duplessix avait suggérée. (Note de la Rédaction.)

C'est ce que la Russie avait proposé en 1899, alors qu'elle se croyait invulnérable, mais ce dont elle n'a plus voulu entendre parler à la conférence de 1907, alors qu'elle restait presque sans défense.

La Suède, la Norvège, et la Grèce s'y sont refusées à la conférence de 1899, la Suède et la Norvège parce que leurs armées étaient organisées suivant un système vieux de deux siècles. La Grèce parce qu'à la suite de sa dernière guerre avec la Turquie, elle avait à reconstituer son armée et sa marine sur de nouvelles bases.

L'Angleterre qui possède de beaucoup la plus puissante marine du monde a proposé de prendre la situation actuelle comme base. L'Allemagne s'y refuse parce qu'elle a besoin de toute sa liberté jusqu'en 1917, date à laquelle elle aura pu parachever son formidable programme de constructions navales.

La Chine, si on la consultait aujourd'hui, demanderait le temps nécessaire pour achever l'organisation de sa nouvelle et innombrable armée.

Mais s'il fallait attendre que les nations en retard eussent complété leurs armements, les nations possédant une avance tiendraient à la conserver et n'accepteraient pas de rester immobiles pendant que les autres s'efforceraient de les rattraper.

C'est pourquoi il est évident que, ni maintenant ni plus tard, il ne sera possible de trouver un moment où tous les peuples de la terre se trouveront prêts à concéder que l'organisation de leurs armées est parfaite, que leur matériel de guerre sur terre et sur mer est aussi neuf et aussi perfectionné que possible, qu'ils n'ont plus aucun effort à faire pour égaler en puissance militaire ceux des autres peuples dont ils redoutent les entreprises guerrières, et que l'organisation militaire de chaque État peut sans inconvénient rester à jamais figée dans le moule qu'elle occupera au moment fixé pour l'arrêt des armements.

Il faut donc abandonner cette solution fantaisiste, laquelle ne respecte pas le principe de l'égalité des États dans le droit à la défense de leur territoire, et ne présente d'ailleurs qu'un bien minime intérêt, puisqu'elle ferait seulement obstacle à l'accroissement continu des dépenses et n'amoinvrirait en rien les charges actuelles que tout le monde s'accorde à juger intolérables.

## 2.—La Limitation Proportionnelle des Armements.

La seconde combinaison d'atténuation des charges militaires serait plus équitable et plus efficace.

Elle consisterait à fixer un maximum que chaque État ne pourrait dépasser dans l'organisation de sa puissance militaire.

Ce maximum ne serait acceptable que s'il était fixé suivant une

règle proportionnelle ramenant à une limite raisonnable les armements des États ayant dépassé la mesure et permettant à ceux qui peuvent être restés au dessous de cette limite de l'atteindre sans trop d'efforts.

Mais en admettant, chose assez improbable, que tous les États acceptent le principe d'une limitation ; quel criterium devra-t-on adopter pour fixer le nombre de soldats et de marins que chacun d'eux pourra exercer et l'importance du matériel de combat sur terre et sur mer qu'il pourra détenir ?

Faudra-t-il choisir comme base la superficie des territoires à défendre ? Mais alors les armées de l'Europe occidentale se trouveront singulièrement réduites et feront bien pâle figure dans le monde.

Sera-t-il préférable de procéder d'après la population de chaque État ? Mais alors ce serait faire part égale aux quatre cent millions de Japonais et de Chinois qui habitent l'Extrême-Orient vis-à-vis des quatre cent millions de blancs qui habitent l'Europe.

Il est bien certain qu'aucun des gouvernements de l'Europe occidentale n'accepterait ni l'une ni l'autre de ces bases ; or il n'en existe aucune autre qui soit rationnelle et équitable et cette conclusion amène l'écroulement du système de la limitation proportionnelle.

Et d'ailleurs, la question n'est pas aussi simple qu'elle paraît à première vue.

Supposons que, contrairement à toute vraisemblance, les États soient disposés à adopter l'une des bases qui précèdent ou toute autre ; il faudra, si on veut établir entre tous les États une juste proportion des moyens de défense, envisager une foule d'éléments d'appréciation que le colonel allemand de Schwartzhoff a parfaitement fait ressortir à la conférence de 1899.

Il faudrait faire entrer en compte pour chaque État : (1) La situation géographique, colonies comprises ; (2) la proportion devant exister entre ses moyens de défense sur terre et sur mer, en la déterminant d'après cette situation géographique, d'après l'étendue et la vulnérabilité de ses frontières, d'après l'orientation et la nature des dangers d'invasion qui le menacent plus particulièrement ; (3) la puissance de son matériel de guerre sur terre et sur mer au moment de l'inventaire général, en tenant compte de sa valeur offensive et défensive, de ses qualités de résistance, de son ancienneté et de son usure ; (4) l'intelligence, l'instruction, l'endurance et généralement toutes les qualités et tous les défauts physiques et psychiques de ses marins et soldats ; (5) ses voies et moyens de transport et tous éléments favorisant la mobilisation et la marche des armées ; (6) ses

viles fortifiées, ses forts, ses camps retranchés, ses fleuves, ses montagnes et autres moyens naturels ou artificiels de défense ; (7) ses approvisionnements en denrées, chevaux, objets d'équipement et munitions ; (8) ses ressources financières, son crédit, etc.

Tous ces éléments de puissance militaire ainsi appréciés pour chaque État, il faudrait ensuite les comparer avec ceux de tous les autres États et déterminer le point exact où chacun devrait s'arrêter dans l'établissement de chacun de ses moyens de défense, puis veiller ultérieurement à ce qu'il reste à ce point et n'élude aucune des prescriptions imposées.

Mais quelle est donc l'autorité internationale qui aurait la surhumaine compétence et le suprême pouvoir nécessaires pour trancher toutes ces questions et pour faire respecter ses décisions sur toute la terre ; et quels sont les États qui accepteraient une pareille ingérence dans leur vie intérieure, une surveillance aussi continue et aussi irritante de leurs moindres actes en matière de défense nationale ?

Nous croyons inutile d'insister et nous n'hésitons pas à conclure qu'il sera toujours impossible de découvrir une formule pratique d'arrêt, de limitation ou de réduction des armements, parce qu'on ne peut unifier sous une même règle des situations et des conceptions aussi divergentes que celles des différents États au point de vue de la défense nationale, et que ces États n'accepteraient d'ailleurs jamais de se soumettre aux mesures inquisitoriales nécessaires pour l'application d'une telle règle.

### 3.—Le Désarmement Général.

Parmi les mesures tendant à l'atténuation des charges militaires le désarmement général constitue la plus radicale, celle qui, au premier coup d'oeil, paraît la plus irréalisable ; et c'est cependant la seule qui soit d'une réalisation facile, non pas aujourd'hui, mais dans un avenir qui peut être très rapproché.

Ce qui fera le succès du désarmement, c'est qu'il donnera des résultats autrement satisfaisants qu'une simple atténuation des charges militaires, et surtout c'est qu'il constituera une mesure simple, d'une application générale possible, exempte de toute ingérence prolongée dans la vie intérieure des peuples.

Mais quand et dans quelles conditions le désarmement sera-t-il possible ?

Il n'est pas permis d'y songer dès maintenant, car la fièvre des armements n'est qu'un effet, et cet effet a pour cause l'insécurité dans laquelle vivent les peuples ; or, tant que la cause n'aura pas

disparu il sera puéril d'espérer que l'effet produit par elle puisse disparaître.

C'est pourquoi, quelque ingénieuses que puissent être les combinaisons inventées pour l'arrêt, la limitation ou la suppression des armements, la question de sécurité primera toutes les autres et il sera fort inutile de proposer aux divers États de supprimer ou seulement de réduire les puissantes flottes et les formidables armées pour la constitution desquelles ils se sont ruinés, tant qu'on ne pourra pas leur offrir en échange des garanties supérieures de sécurité.

Par contre, il est certain que si on parvient à édifier une organisation internationale protégeant efficacement chaque État contre toute invasion, toute oppression et toute violation de ses droits, les armées nationales de combat deviendront inutiles et leur suppression s'imposera d'elle-même.

Dans ces conditions, nous estimons que le désarmement général doit être inscrit à notre programme, mais qu'il doit en constituer le terme final et ne peut être que la conséquence de l'organisation internationale projetée.

## II.—L'Arbitrage International.

Le parti pacifiste avait bien compris dès le début que, pour supprimer la guerre comme procédé de règlement des conflits internationaux, il fallait lui substituer une justice internationale chargée de trancher ces conflits d'après le droit et l'équité.

Malheureusement il n'existait aucune loi commune ni aucune autorité ayant qualité pour écrire cette loi, pour organiser entre les nations une justice analogue à celles que possèdent les sociétés civilisées et pour assurer l'observation des arrêts de justice.

Il était en outre à prévoir qu'une organisation si nouvelle et si complexe exigerait de longues années de préparation et rencontrerait des résistances obstinées.

Dans ces conditions, le pacifisme s'attacha à développer l'arbitrage international, sachant que cette institution, susceptible de fonctionner en l'absence de toute loi et de toute autorité constituée, était la seule qui pût donner des résultats immédiats.

Tous ici nous savons l'essor atteint par l'arbitrage, les services réels qu'il a rendus et ceux qu'il est encore appelé à rendre.

Mais, tout en rendant hommage à cette institution et à ses promoteurs, nous devons examiner si l'arbitrage international constitue bien cette justice rêvée qui doit apporter la sécurité à tous les peuples et engendrer des certitudes de paix, ou si, tout au moins, il est suffisamment perfectible pour qu'on puisse fonder sur lui de tels espoirs en vue d'un stade prochain.

Après étude approfondie de la question notre conviction s'est faite négative.

L'arbitrage est une juridiction qui, par essence, est facultative.

D'un côté c'est un avantage, car les justiciables en admettent facilement le principe, mais d'un autre côté c'est un grave inconvénient, car il n'est pas permis de compter sur la protection tutélaire d'une justice qui ne peut traduire malgré eux les criminels à sa barre, qui ne dispose d'aucune sanction, qui est, par suite, impuissante à se faire obéir.

C'est pourquoi la Cour d'arbitrage organisée à La Haye peut être comparée à un tribunal d'honneur auquel les honnêtes gens seraient invités à confier le soin de trancher les petites questions d'intérêt moral ou pécunaire qui les divisent, mais auquel les mal 'ai-teurs seraient absolument libres de se soustraire.

Une telle institution ne peut donc constituer à elle seule un système complet de justice internationale, et il est impossible de se reposer sur elle du soin d'assurer la paix générale et de nous conduire au désarmement.

D'ailleurs, les faits sont là pour confirmer ces déductions.

Depuis 1899, date de la constitution de la cour d'arbitrage de La Haye, des guerres d'intérêt et de conquête ont eu lieu et la folie des armements, augmentant encore d'intensité, à contaminé des nations jusque là restées indemnes.

Cependant, l'arbitrage compte encore des défenseurs pénétrés de la conviction qu'à lui seul il suffit pour nous conduire vers le but rêvé.

Si l'arbitrage, nous disent certains d'entre eux, est facultatif en principe, les États n'en sont pas moins libres de passer entre eux des conventions particulières d'arbitrage obligatoire, et ce procédé leur plaît beaucoup, parce qu'il leur permet, tout en consacrant le principe de l'obligation, de conserver la faculté de choisir leurs juges ; or, quand tous les États se seront ainsi reliés entr'eux par des traités de ce genre, l'arbitrage sera devenu réellement obligatoire.

Il est certain que ces traités conventionnels d'arbitrage ont pris un grand développement, ainsi que le prouve l'ingénieux tableau publié par notre collègue, le capitaine Moch, dans l'almanach de la paix de 1908, et nous nous en réjouissons tous.

Mais une question de cette importance ne se tranche pas sur l'examen superficiel d'un graphique, il faut aller au fond des choses pour dégager la vérité.

Quelle est d'abord la valeur effective d'un traité ?

Nous savons tous que le droit international admet pour l'extinction des traités deux causes spéciales :

- (1.) La déclaration de guerre ;
- (2.) La dénonciation, c'est à dire la résiliation par la volonté d'un seul des contractants.

Dans ces conditions un traité d'arbitrage a-t-il vraiment plus de valeur qu'une vulgaire promesse électorale ?

Mais supposons que la bonne foi, l'abnégation, la patience et autres vertus du sage deviennent l'inaltérable règle des rapports internationaux, que désormais on puisse, sans provoquer d'ironiques sourires, "dormir tranquille sous la foi des traités" et examinons, d'après le tableau de M. Moch, la portée des conventions existantes.

Les traités conclus dans un esprit large et sans restriction ont été signés entre des Etats d'importance secondaire, la plupart situés aux antipodes l'un de l'autre et ne pouvant songer réciproquement ni à se conquérir ni à se disputer l'hégémonie dans une région quelconque du globe.

Tels sont les traités passés entre le Danemark et le Pérou, l'Espagne et le Venezuela, la Suisse et l'Equateur, etc.

Les traités signés entre les grands États excluent de la convention arbitrale les questions intéressant l'honneur, l'indépendance ou les intérêts vitaux des nations contractantes ; et créent ainsi une catégorie d'exceptions tellement large qu'il n'est guère de cas où un habile diplomate ne puisse invoquer l'une d'entre elles.

Quant aux grands États dont les relations révèlent de l'antagonisme ou une sourde hostilité, ils n'ont rien signé et ne signeront rien.

Dans ces conditions, la pluie de traités d'arbitrage que nous signalons constitue simplement une manifestation d'heureuses tendances vers le règlement juridique des conflits, mais jamais ces traités n'assureront avec certitude la paix générale, et jamais ils ne permettront de songer au désarmement.

On nous a objecté aussi que, conformément aux vœux de l'opinion publique, l'arbitrage international deviendrait un jour ou l'autre obligatoire et qu'alors satisfaction serait donnée à nos desiderata.

Cette question de l'arbitrage obligatoire a été examinée par les délégués aux conférences de 1899 et de 1907. Ces délégués ont jugé désirable que l'arbitrage devint obligatoire pour les États, mais à la condition que chacun d'eux puisse repousser cette juridiction toutes les fois où il apprécierait personnellement que son honneur, son indépendance ou ses intérêts sont en jeu. C'était rendre illusoire le principe d'obligation, aussi voyant qu'ils n'aboutiraient à

aucun résultat effectif dans cet ordre d'idées, ils se sont contentés de donner une satisfaction à l'opinion publique en émettant un simple vœu favorable à l'adoption "limitée" du principe obligatoire.

Il convient de rechercher quels motifs ont dicté ces prudentes réserves et par quels moyens il serait possible de vaincre cette résistance réfléchie et persévérante à la complète application du principe obligatoire en matière de justice internationale.

Certains motifs d'ordre psychologique peuvent avoir influé sur la décision des États.

Malgré le progrès des idées de paix et de justice, tous les gouvernements n'ont pas complètement renoncé à la gloire des armes ni à l'appât des spoliations qu'on peut exercer au nom de ce que nos ancêtres ont appelé le droit de conquête, aussi certains d'entr'eux hésitent-ils encore à s'interdire à jamais la liberté du crime de lèse-humanité.

Les gouvernements ont pu également obéir à ce sentiment de répulsion qu'éprouvent les hommes à se plier à une règle obligatoire, sentiment qui les conduit à retarder l'adoption de cette règle jusqu'au moment où ils ont tellement souffert de l'anarchie causée par son absence qu'ils l'acceptent enfin comme un moyen de salut.

Si ces obstacles étaient les seuls qui s'opposassent au développement de la justice internationale, le temps et l'action de l'opinion en auraient bientôt triomphé; mais ce qui paraît avoir spécialement déterminé les représentants des États, c'est que la justice arbitrale, telle qu'elle est organisée et telle qu'on la prévoit dans l'avenir, n'offre pas des garanties suffisantes pour que les gouvernements lui accordent une confiance absolue et acceptent de lui laisser trancher les litiges intéressant gravement les intérêts moraux ou matériels des nations.

C'est donc une question d'ordre technique qui les retient, et cette réserve est, à notre avis, pleinement justifiée.

Quelles sont, en effet, les garanties offertes par l'arbitrage?

Suivant les principes posés par les conférences de La Haye et suivant les usages établis, c'est à trois arbitres qu'est assignée la tâche de rendre la sentence.

Comme, le plus souvent, deux États seulement sont en cause, chacun d'eux choisit son arbitre et le choisit autant que possible parmi ceux dont il suppose les idées favorables à la thèse qu'il soutient. Il en fait par là même non pas son juge, mais son avocat chargé de soutenir ses revendications. Tout le poids de la décision retombe donc sur le tiers arbitre, qui, à lui seul, peut avoir à trancher une question du plus haut intérêt pour des centaines de mil-

lions d'individus. N'y a-t-il pas là une disproportion inquiétante entre la faiblesse intellectuelle relative d'un cerveau unique et l'extrême importance des jugements qu'il est appelé à rendre?

Voyons en outre dans quelles conditions procèdent ces arbitres, quels sont les guides de leur jugement, quelles sont les garanties d'exécution de leurs sentences?

Il n'existe aucune loi internationale fixant à chaque peuple les droits qui lui appartiennent et les devoirs qui lui incombent; si bien que les arbitres, à la fois législateurs et juges, soient obligés d'inventer le droit postérieurement à la naissance due fait à juger et que, n'étant ni guidés ni retenus par aucune règle préexistante, ils sont exposés à se laisser entraîner vers des décisions fantaisistes aussi bizarres qu'inattendues.

Si on ajoute à cela que les arbitres internationaux sont des juges occasionnels et que chaque cause est soumise à des arbitres différents dont la plupart n'auront à remplir ces fonctions qu'une seule fois au cours de leur existence, on se rend compte qu'il sera impossible d'établir une jurisprudence et que les justiciables, en se soumettant à un arbitrage, se lancent, pour ainsi dire, les yeux fermés dans l'inconnu.

Aux personnes qui demanderaient un exemple et voudraient connaître d'autres jugements que le nôtre en cette matière, nous citerons les commentaires qui ont été inspirés au professeur Mallarmé par la sentence d'arbitrage du 22 février 1904, laquelle accorda un droit de préférence pour leurs nationaux créanciers sur les créanciers des autres États, à l'Allemagne, à l'Angleterre et à l'Italie, parce que ces puissances avaient coulé des navires appartenant à l'État débiteur, c'est à dire au Vénézuëla.

"C'est donc, dit Mr. Mallarmé, à une action militaire seule que les alliés doivent de bénéficier d'un traitement préférentiel. C'est là une théorie qui rappelle celle d'anciens auteurs attribuant à la conquête la faculté de donner des droits nouveaux et légitimes à ceux qui l'exercent. Le droit des gens moderne a abandonné une pareille théorie qui aurait pour effet de légitimer tous les abus de la force et qui est contraire à l'état pacifique des relations internationales.

"Quant à la sentence en elle-même, elle ne constituera pas, espérons le, un précédent dangereux pour l'avenir; la façon dont se constitue le tribunal de La Haye, la diversité des espèces qui lui sont soumises, s'opposent à ce qu'une jurisprudence puisse se former."

Si à ces considérations, déjà puissantes cependant, nous ajoutons celles tirées de ce que la justice arbitrale ne peut atteindre ceux

qui refusent de comparaître devant elle, de ce qu'elle se trouve dans l'impossibilité de faire exécuter ses arrêts et de sauvegarder l'existence et les intérêts du peuple dont elle aura proclamé le bon droit, nous sommes amené à conclure que ce n'est pas sans de sérieux motifs que les gouvernements refusent à l'arbitrage une confiance aveugle et illimitée.

Certains de nos amis pacifistes nous ont dit : " Mais qu'à cela ne tienne, nous allons perfectionner l'arbitrage, nous allons codifier le droit international, nous multiplierons au besoin le nombre des arbitres, nous rendrons l'arbitrage strictement obligatoire, nous traînerons s'il le faut devant des arbitres désignés d'avance ceux qui voudront se dérober à la justice, et nous mettrons à la disposition de ces arbitres des sanctions telles qu'il faudra bien obéir à leurs sentences."

À ces amis nous répondons : " Mais quand vous aurez ainsi perfectionné l'arbitrage qu'est ce qu'il en restera ? Vous aurez supprimé le principe facultatif qui constitue l'essence même de l'arbitrage, si bien que, sous peine de commettre une hérésie juridique, il ne vous sera plus permis de lui donner ce titre et vous aurez seulement conservé de l'institution primitive certains de ses inconvénients. Parmi ces inconvénients figurent la dangereuse liberté laissée à tout arbitre de statuer uniquement d'après sa conscience et contrairement, s'il le veut, aux usages et aux lois ; et aussi cet inconvénient capital qui résulte pour les arbitres actuels de leur dispersion sur tous les points du globe et ne leur permet pas de constituer un véritable corps de justice possédant une doctrine fixe et pouvant siéger dès qu'on a besoin de lui.

Il en résulte qu'en voulant, au moyen de procédés bâtards, faire de l'arbitrage, justice primitive et facultative, une justice perfectionnée et obligatoire, et en voulant faire du produit hybride ainsi obtenu une institution unique s'appliquant à tous les besoins et à toutes les circonstances, on tombe dans l'incohérence et on aboutit à l'avortement.

Et maintenant, après avoir discuté les idées de certains de nos amis avec une liberté dont nous nous excusons auprès d'eux, nous allons exposer les nôtres.

Nous pensons qu'il faut conserver précieusement l'arbitrage en lui laissant son caractère purement facultatif.

Il est très désirable, en effet, que les États aient la liberté de déférer leurs conflits à un ou plusieurs arbitres toutes les fois qu'ils jugeront l'objet du litige trop peu important pour nécessiter la convocation d'une imposante, solennelle et coûteuse assemblée judi-

ciaire, et toutes les fois également où ils estimeront que la justice arbitrale revêt un caractère d'intimité et de confiance qui correspond plus exactement à la cordialité de leurs relations.

Nous pensons en outre qu'il sera bien de perfectionner autant que possible l'institution arbitrale et celle des commissions internationales d'enquêtes, de façon à donner toute satisfaction à ceux qui s'adresseront à elles.

Mais, par contre, nous croyons qu'il sera très sage de ne pas vouloir faire sortir l'arbitrage de la sphère dans laquelle il est apte à se mouvoir; qu'il conviendra de lui attribuer dans l'organisation judiciaire internationale un rôle modeste analogue à celui que lui ont réservé dans le droit interne nos différentes lois nationales, et qu'à côté de cette justice exceptionnelle il faudra créer une justice ordinaire; ainsi que l'ont fait tous les États policés, ainsi que paraît vouloir le faire la Conférence de La Haye, à en juger par le projet d'établissement d'une cour permanente d'arbitrage international établi par elle au cours de sa session de 1907.

C'est à cette juridiction d'un ordre supérieur constituée de façon à revêtir le caractère d'une véritable justice mondiale que pourront s'adresser, d'un commun accord, les États en conflit, quand ils préféreront demander à une assemblée composée de magistrats de carrière nombreux, expérimentés, guidés et retenus par une loi précise, des garanties de jugement qu'un ou plusieurs arbitres ne sauraient leur assurer, et c'est seulement devant cette haute juridiction qu'il sera permis d'assigner les États qui auront refusé à leurs adversaires d'accepter un arbitrage, ceux qui après l'avoir accepté refuseront de nommer des arbitres, et enfin ceux qui, révoltés contre la loi commune, auront commis ou tenté de commettre quelque crime de lèse-nation.

Tel est, croyons nous, le seul moyen de vaincre la résistance obstinée des États à l'acceptation intégrale du principe d'une justice internationale obligatoire.

La première fois que nous avons exposé ces théories des esprits timides les ont jugées par trop neuves et trop hardies. Ce sont, nous ont-ils dit, des innovations et des réformes auxquelles l'opinion publique n'est pas préparée et qui ne seront réalisables que dans un avenir lointain, vers lequel nous devons procéder étape par étape, et attendre que l'évolution s'accomplisse, faute de quoi nous tomberions dans l'utopie et verrions échouer tous nos efforts.

Mais ceux qui formulent ces critiques sont-ils bien sûrs que nous ayons dépassé le niveau atteint par l'évolution; ne serait-ce pas plutôt qu'ils sont en retard sur elle.

En somme, que proposons-nous ?

Nous proposons de créer une institution judiciaire qui suppose la préexistence d'une loi internationale commune ; or cette loi existe déjà en partie et le législateur chargé d'en écrire les derniers chapitres existe également.

Tous les États organisés du monde, en envoyant leurs délégués à La Haye, leur ont donné pour mission de préciser et de compléter les usages internationaux et d'en faire une loi écrite.

Ces délégués, obéissant à des instructions impératives, se sont attardés, il est vrai, à codifier les lois de la guerre tandis qu'ils ne faisaient qu'ébaucher les lois de la paix ; mais ils ont manifesté la volonté de continuer leur travail et nous devons leur accorder temps et crédit.

L'assemblée législative formée par eux ne devait avoir tout d'abord qu'une existence éphémère.

La pression de l'opinion publique lui a assuré un lendemain, puis une existence périodique. D'ici à quelques années, de par la puissance de l'opinion, de par la force de choses, elle jouira de l'existence continue nécessaire à l'accomplissement de son œuvre et cette œuvre s'accomplira.

Nous proposons, en second lieu, de créer à côté de l'arbitrage une justice ordinaire plus complète et offrant des garanties supérieures, mais n'est-ce pas ce que tous les États ont déjà cherché à faire et à mettre en pratique ?

Quand des conflits d'intérêts ou d'ambition d'une importance capitale se sont élevés entre des États et que ceux-ci ont eu néanmoins le bon esprit de chercher à les résoudre par des procédés pacifiques, ils n'ont pas songé à l'arbitrage et personne n'y a songé pour eux. Tous ont pensé que la solution de tels problèmes ne devait pas être réservée à l'humble et primitive justice arbitrale, mais bien à des congrès et conférences internationales.

Dans le principe, les États promoteurs de ces congrès n'y admettaient aucun tiers désintéressé et se contentaient le plus souvent d'y partager les dépouilles des peuples vaincus ou sans défense.

Mais peu à peu ces errements se sont modifiés et à la conférence d'Algesiras les États désintéressés dans le débat constituaient la majorité de l'assemblée et délibéraient de concert avec le gouvernement Marocain admis à présenter sa défense et à soutenir ses intérêts.

Eh bien, n'est-il pas permis de voir dans cette conférence la genèse de cette justice mondiale dont nous demandons la création et n'est il pas exact de dire que loin de nous adonner à la conception

de rêves illusoires et de devancer de plusieurs siècles l'évolution des idées, nous nous contentons simplement de guider cette évolution dans la voie où elle s'est elle-même engagée et de donner une forme plus pratique et plus parfaite à des institutions qui existent déjà ?

Mais, dira-t-on, si nous devons nous attacher à la constitution de cette justice supérieure, nous allons être arrêtés par de graves difficultés, car un pouvoir judiciaire normal suppose la co-existence non seulement d'un pouvoir législatif, mais encore d'un pouvoir exécutif et nous sommes amenés par cette chaîne logique à aborder l'inquiétant problème de l'organisation internationale.

C'est vrai, nous sommes arrivés au pied de l'obstacle, il s'agit maintenant de la franchir.

#### PROGRAMME D'AVENIR.

##### I.—Les Congrès de la Paix et l'Organisation Internationale.

Avant 1905 nos congrès ont de temps à autre exprimé des vœux en faveur de l'organisation internationale et notamment en faveur de la fédération de l'Europe, de la fédération universelle, de l'institution d'une justice internationale et de l'adoption d'un code de droit international ; mais ces vœux, résultat d'initiatives isolées et intermittentes, étaient conçus en termes vagues et ne furent pas suivis d'études approfondies.

En 1905, au congrès de Lucerne, MM. Arnaud et Alexander développèrent avec beaucoup de talent et de conviction des propositions qui fournirent le texte de la lettre adressée à M. le Président Roosevelt pour le prier d'user de sa haute influence : " afin d'amener la seconde conférence de La Haye à donner à la Société internationale des institutions acheminant les peuples vers une fédération ; à instituer une assemblée internationale se réunissant à intervalles réguliers pour délibérer sur les questions d'intérêt général ; à organiser un bureau administratif chargé de l'application des travaux de cette assemblée, de la gestion des intérêts communs des Etats et du perfectionnement de la vie internationale ; et enfin à rendre l'arbitrage obligatoire et à codifier le droit international."

Nous devons ajouter, à l'honneur de nos éminents collègues, que leur vœu fut écouté et a dû inspirer le Président Roosevelt quand il a inséré dans son message de décembre 1905 cette phrase mémorable : " Nous voulons d'étape en étape faire un pas en avant pour arriver à créer quelque chose comme une organisation des Etats civilisés, pour cette raison que plus le monde atteindra une organisation supérieure, plus le besoin de marines et d'armées diminuera."

En 1906, au congrès de Milan, M. Arnaud reprit la même thèse,

cita les travaux que l'auteur du présent rapport avait faits dans cet ordre d'idées et entraîna à nouveau en faveur de ses théories l'adhésion du congrès.

Toutefois, avant de passer au vote, M. Quidde déclara qu'il acceptait les propositions de M. Arnaud en ce sens seulement qu'elles fixaient le but des pacifistes d'une manière générale, mais qu'il serait dangereux pour leur parti de vouloir réaliser dès maintenant toutes ces idées, parce que les gouvernements n'y étaient pas encore préparés.

Est-ce cette réserve réfrigérante qui a paralysé le mouvement naissant? Toujours est-il que le congrès de Munich a laissé de côté cette question qui, cependant, est la plus importante de toutes, car c'est d'elle et d'elle seule que dépend la solution du problème de la paix.

En tous cas, les réserves de M. Quidde prouvent combien il est désirable que nous nous livrions à une étude approfondie de l'organisation internationale, afin de dissiper des préventions et les malentendus qu'un examen trop superficiel a suscités parmi nous, afin de nous mettre d'accord une fois pour toutes sur notre programme d'avenir.

## II.—Formation d'une Société des Nations Civilisées.

Avant d'entrer dans les détails de l'organisation internationale, il convient de déterminer avec précision la nature du lien politique qu'il s'agit d'établir entre les Etats, lien qui doit constituer la base de l'entente générale.

Toutes les propositions qui ont été soumises à nos précédents congrès tendent à l'établissement d'une fédération, soit en la restreignant provisoirement aux Etats de l'Europe, soit en y admettant dès le principe tous les Etats du globe.

Nos devanciers avaient raison quand ils ont songé à baser l'organisation internationale sur le principe de la fédération, mais ils ont eu le tort à notre avis de se contenter de déclarations trop vagues et d'adopter des résolutions qui n'avaient pas été suffisamment mûries. Il en est résulté des erreurs de pensée et des erreurs d'expression qu'il importe de rectifier par une mise au point minutieuse de la question.

La première chose à faire quand on aborde un tel sujet est de jeter un coup d'oeil sur le passé et sur le présent, d'étudier la formation et le développement des sociétés humaines, de dégager de cette étude les règles qui président à leur évolution, et de fixer le point auquel cette évolution est parvenue. Cela fait, il devient facile de déterminer les mesures qui s'adaptent le mieux à la situation.

Si nous procédons à cette étude, nous en arrivons à formuler la règle suivante :

A mesure que les territoires se peuplent, des rapports d'intérêt naissent et se multiplient entre les individus, et bientôt ceux-ci, désireux d'éviter l'insécurité, le désordre et l'anarchie, éprouvent le besoin de se grouper et de confier à une autorité supérieure la mission de diriger leurs relations et de les soumettre aux mêmes lois.

Les premiers groupements une fois formés, des rapports d'intérêt naissent entre eux et ils éprouvent à leur tour le besoin de s'unir par séries, suivant les lois de l'affinité et la situation géographique des territoires, et de placer chaque série de groupes primitifs sous une autorité nouvelle possédant une juridiction plus étendue.

Et, suivant une règle constante, ces groupements tendent à s'amplifier de plus en plus et à rechercher dans des formations plus larges un accroissement de puissance, de sécurité, de richesse et de grandeur morale.

C'est ainsi que tout en conservant leur personnalité et autant que possible leur autonomie, les familles, premiers groupements humains, ont formé le clan et la tribu, puis plus tard le comté et autres circonscriptions féodales ; que celles-ci se sont réunies pour constituer des provinces et des principautés, lesquelles à leur tour se sont unies et fondues sous l'autorité de l'État.

Et maintenant que toutes les contrées facilement habitables de la terre sont occupées par des États organisés contigus entre eux, que les chemins de fer internationaux franchissent les fleuves frontières et passent à travers les montagnes qui jadis isolaient les nations, que des lignes de navigation à vapeur relient les ports de tous les continents, que l'électricité permet de correspondre instantanément d'un bout à l'autre du monde, il est né entre toutes les nations du globe des relations si fréquentes et il en est résulté entre elles des rapports d'intérêt si considérables, que toutes sentent la nécessité de charger une autorité supérieure de régler ces relations et que toutes commencent à comprendre que la forme sociale appelée l'État n'est pas la forme suprême, que les États sont de simples personnalités juridiques dont l'ensemble constitue l'humanité, terme final des groupements humains, et que l'heure est venue d'organiser l'humanité.

L'évolution que nous venons de décrire indique nettement une tendance vers une fédération universelle des sociétés humaines, mais est-il permis d'en conclure, comme nous l'avons fait dans de

précédents congrès, que l'Europe est mûre pour la fédération et que nous devons consacrer tous nos efforts à hâter cette fédération ?

La négative est certaine, s'il s'agit de donner au mot fédération le sens technique que lui attribue le droit international.

La fédération, tout en laissant à chaque État une autonomie plus ou moins large, comporte une direction générale unique et par suite, un pouvoir, des lois et un budget d'empire comme dans la fédération allemande ; un pouvoir, des lois et un budget fédéral comme aux États-Unis et en Suisse ; et ces lois et pouvoirs communs à tous les États ou cantons fédérés règlent toutes les relations avec l'étranger, pèsent sur le statut personnel de tous les citoyens, et fixent d'une façon uniforme leurs droits et leurs devoirs les plus importants, si bien que l'autonomie des États fédérés est toujours plutôt nominale qu'effective.

Une fédération n'est donc possible qu'entre des États ayant une grande similitude d'organisation politique et dont les citoyens sont prédisposés à s'unir par une certaine affinité de race et une grande analogie de langage, de mœurs et de tendances.

Or, comment amalgamer dans une même confédération et sous un même chef des républiques radicales, des monarchies constitutionnelles et des monarchies absolues comme celles qui se partagent l'Europe ; des peuples qui n'entendent pas leur langage réciproque, dont certains détiennent des biens volés aux autres ; des peuples qui, hier encore se battaient, et n'ont pas eu le temps d'oublier leurs morts.

Dans ces conditions nous devons conclure que tous les sociologues qui, depuis Sully, ont rêvé la constitution des États-Unis d'Europe ont simplement bâti une hypothèse qui se réalisera sans doute, mais seulement dans un avenir dont un nombre de siècles indéterminé nous sépare ; et nous pensons comme M. Quidde que nous nuirions à notre parti en cherchant à pousser les gouvernements des États vers une solution qui n'est pas en harmonie avec la situation politique actuelle et à laquelle ces gouvernements ont parfaitement raison de se montrer hostiles.

Après avoir écarté la fédération, nous devons chercher s'il existe d'autres liens politiques moins étroits et mieux appropriés aux circonstances.

Les ouvrages de droit international n'indiquent aucun autre procédé classique que l'union qui est le régime sous lequel ont vécu la Suède et la Norvège, l'Autriche et la Hongrie.

Mais ce régime exige encore une similitude d'organisation politique entre les États qui s'y soumettent ; il exige un chef commun,

une représentation commune vis-à-vis de l'étranger, il ne saurait donc convenir aux Etats de l'Europe.

On peut lui reprocher d'ailleurs son caractère mal défini qui ne le distingue de celui de la fédération que par de légères nuances, et aussi les mauvais résultats qu'il a donnés à l'usage. La Suède et la Norvège viennent de se séparer ; quant à l'union Austro-Hongroise elle est fort précaire et souvent menacée de rupture.

Si nous n'acceptons ni la fédération, ni l'union, il ne nous reste plus qu'à inventer un lien sui generis qui s'adapte mieux à la situation politique actuelle.

Ce sont, pensons nous, les sociétés commerciales que nous devons prendre comme modèle.

Dans ces sociétés uniquement basées sur l'intérêt, les associés mettent seulement en commun ceux de leurs intérêts qu'ils croient avantageux de mettre en commun. Chacun d'eux conserve la libre propriété et le libre usage de sa fortune personnelle et de tout ce qui n'est pas compris dans son apport social, et, s'il se rend à certaines heures au lieu où il travaille avec ses collaborateurs, il n'en conserve pas moins son "home" ou aucun de ses co-intéressés n'a rien à voir, rien à dire, rien à savoir.

Eh bien, il nous semble que cette façon de procéder est la seule qui puisse s'harmoniser avec les besoins et les tendances actuelles des Etats, car s'il est évident que ces Etats retireraient des avantages inappréciables d'une association qui sauvegarderait et mettrait en valeur leurs intérêts communs, il est non moins évident qu'ils ne sont pas aptes à unir leur vie privée, qu'il faut laisser à chaque peuple la faculté de se placer librement sous le régime politique, législatif, administratif, et économique de son choix et qu'en un mot il faut lui réserver son "home" où les autres peuples n'auront rien à voir, rien à dire, rien à savoir.

Ceci établi, il nous reste à examiner si, conformément à l'idée qui avait conduit à préconiser l'institution des Etats-Unis d'Europe, il y a lieu de limiter l'association projetée aux seuls Etats de cette partie du globe.

L'affirmative ne serait pas douteuse si nous en étions encore au temps où l'Amérique, l'Afrique et l'Océanie étaient uniquement occupées par des peuplades inorganisées, et où les anciennes civilisations de l'Extrême-Orient étaient encore plongées dans la léthargie profonde où elles vivaient depuis de longs siècles.

Mais aujourd'hui la situation a bien changé et nous ne voyons aucune nation qui doive rationnellement être écartée du pacte à intervenir.

En formant leur association, les blancs d'Europe y feraient entrer nécessairement leurs colonies, c'est à dire, à quelque chose près, toute l'Océanie, toute l'Afrique et la moitié de l'Asie. Ces mêmes blancs d'Europe n'auraient aucun motif d'exclure d'une aussi large association les peuples issus de leur sang et pourvus d'une excellente civilisation qui se partagent l'Amérique. L'admission du Japon s'imposerait, puisqu'il a contracté des traités d'alliance avec des États Européens.

Il ne resterait donc, à priori, en dehors du pacte, que la Chine, la Perse et le Siam. Mais pourquoi traiterait-on en parias ces peuples que nous avons invités à venir à La Haye, qui y ont travaillé avec nous à l'amélioration des rapports internationaux et à l'organisation de la paix générale ; ces peuples doués pour la plupart d'une très belle morale et qui avaient déjà atteint une civilisation supérieure à l'âge où les peuplades barbares errant à travers l'Europe n'avaient encore aucun nom dans l'histoire ?

Nous ne devons pas d'ailleurs perdre de vue que la paix et le désarmement constituent le but suprême vers lequel doivent tendre tous nos efforts, et que si l'entente n'est pas universelle il nous sera impossible d'atteindre ce but.

Si, en effet, les ligues forgées par les artisans de la paix armée ne font que prendre plus d'ampleur, s'il faut que les blancs d'Europe aient à redouter les ambitions et les entreprises des jaunes de l'Extrême-Orient, des noirs de l'Afrique ou des jeunes et puissants peuples de l'Amérique ; si au lieu d'États isolés ce sont des continents entiers qui se disputent l'empire des mers et des territoires ; la paix restera plus précaire que jamais et les armements continueront plus formidables encore que par le passé.

Dans ces conditions, il n'est pas de demi-mesure possible et nous sommes amenés à conclure que la société des nations doit pour vivre et pour réussir être une société universelle.

Nous ne prévoyons pas que le congrès puisse se diviser au sujet des solutions que nous venons de proposer, au cours du présent chapitre. Si cependant certains d'entre nous hésitaient à les adopter, nous leur ferions observer que nous n'innovons rien et que nous nous trouvons en parfaite concordance avec les manifestations officielles de l'évolution actuellement en cours, attendu que les conférences de La Haye de 1899 et de 1907 ont inséré dans l'exposé des motifs qui précède le texte de la convention d'arbitrage international la phrase suivante, dont nous ne saurions trop souligner l'importance : "Reconnaissant la solidarité qui unit les membres de la société des nations civilisées."

Il en résulte que les 44 États représentés à La Haye en 1907 ont déterminé le lien de droit par lequel ils désiraient s'unir, que ce lien a tous les caractères d'une société universelle et qu'il a pour titre : "La Société des Nations Civilisées."

#### DES INTÉRÊTS COMMUNS A TOUS LES PEUPLES.

Comme nous venons de le voir, les délégués des États réunis à La Haye ont adopté le principe d'une société des États civilisés, mais ils se sont abstenus d'en déterminer l'objet.

Nous devons nous faire les continuateurs de leur pensée et rechercher quels sont les intérêts qui sont communs à tous les peuples et pour la sauvegarde desquels ceux-ci auront intérêt à s'associer.

Ce sont, la sécurité, la justice et certains intérêts d'ordre intellectuel et économique.

##### 1.—La Sécurité.

Ainsi que l'a très bien dit Novicow dans ses remarquables ouvrages de sociologie, la première préoccupation d'une société est d'assurer sa sécurité et de l'assurer avec le moindre effort possible, afin de pouvoir consacrer toute son activité à la vie intellectuelle et à la production des richesses qui assurent sa grandeur morale, sa prospérité matérielle et le bonheur des membres qui la composent.

Nos sociétés contemporaines ont donné des preuves bien manifestes de cette préoccupation, mais elles n'ont réussi ni à assurer leur sécurité, ni à se contenter d'un effort raisonnable pour y parvenir.

Il en sera ainsi tant que les États agiront isolément, car ceux-là même qui se seront le plus épuisés en armements, qui seront parvenus à réunir les armées les plus nombreuses, à posséder les instruments de combat les plus perfectionnés et les plus redoutables, n'en seront pas moins exposés à succomber dans une guerre par suite de ces événements défavorables et imprévus qui déjouent les meilleures combinaisons des tacticiens de génie ou par suite d'une coalition dont ils ne pourront briser la puissance.

Depuis quelques dizaines d'années certains États, conscients de l'insécurité dans laquelle ils vivaient et convaincus que le seul remède à cet état de choses résidait dans l'association, se sont réunis par groupes pour se garantir mutuellement leur indépendance et ces essais ont donné des résultats très heureux.

L'Amérique en proclamant la doctrine de Monroe et la doctrine de Drago a constitué entre les nations qui la composent une association tacite laquelle a fermé ce continent aux incursions conquérantes des peuples étrangers.

Des ententes internationales récentes ont garanti le maintien du

statu quo territorial actuel dans l'Extrême-Orient, d'autres ont garanti l'indépendance d'Etats secondaires en Europe, mais le plus remarquable est celle qui, divisant en deux groupes les grandes nations de l'Europe, c'est à dire les nations les plus guerrières du monde entier, a fait régner la paix entre elles depuis près de quarante ans.

Ces deux ligues, qui doivent être considérées comme de véritables ligues de paix, ont atteint leur but, non seulement parce qu'elles étaient d'une puissance à peu près égale, ce qui rendait de part et d'autre la lutte formidable et la victoire incertaine ; mais aussi et surtout parce que chacune d'elles était formée de plusieurs grands États. Il en est résulté qu'aucun de ces États n'était assez sûr de sa force pour faire seul la guerre à la ligue adverse toute entière et que ses associés, peu soucieux de se lancer à sa suite dans de terribles aventures pour des questions de susceptibilité ou de convoitise qui ne les touchaient en rien, ont servi d'élément ponderateur et ont apaisé tous les orages naissants.

Mais si cette application partielle à l'Europe du principe de l'association a donné de bons résultats, ceux-ci ne sont eux-mêmes que des résultats partiels. D'une part, la paix est resté précaire, puisqu'il suffisait d'une rupture d'équilibre entre les ligues pour décider le plus fort à profiter de l'occasion et à déchaîner la guerre ; d'autre part elle est devenue ruineuse en raison des efforts parallèles et démesurés faits par chaque groupe d'États pour développer sa puissance militaire et assurer sa sécurité.

Ces inconvénients capitaux disparaîtraient complètement si, au lieu de former seulement des ententes partielles, tous les Etats s'associaient entre eux pour assurer leur sécurité réciproque et parachevaient au moyen d'un dernier effort l'évolution si bien commencée.

Il n'y aurait plus alors d'États rivaux ou ennemis, les ligues partielles de paix se transformeraient en une union générale, la sécurité de chacun garantie par tous deviendrait absolue, une paix profonde en résulterait ; les flottes et les armées de combat deviendraient inutiles, les charges écrasantes de la paix armée disparaîtraient, une destinée beaucoup plus heureuse et beaucoup plus prospère serait assurée aux peuples.

La solution de la question est donc aussi simple que facile et la paix ainsi établie reposerait pour jamais sur d'inébranlables fondements.

C'est vrai, nous a-t-on dit, mais comment songer à réunir en une association unique des peuples qui ont des souvenirs irritants des luttes passées et une sourde et persistante animosité ?

S'il s'agissait de faire contracter à ces peuples une union intime, une sorte de mariage d'inclination, la raison de sentiment pourrait devenir déterminante ; mais la question à traiter est une simple affaire d'intérêt dans laquelle le cœur n'a pas à intervenir.

N'est-ce pas ainsi que l'a compris la triple alliance où vivent côte à côte la vainqueur et le vaincu de Sadowa, où l'Italia irredente donne le main à l'Autriche son ennemie héréditaire et s'unit à elle contre la France, sa soeur latine.

Et peut-on dire que c'est uniquement en raison d'un élan spontané d'amitié qu'est née la ligue adverse qui a servi de contre-poids à la Triplice ?

Il résulte de ces précédents que la question de sécurité est une question où l'intérêt domine tout, qui ne nécessite aucune effusion sentimentale d'amitié, et sur laquelle une entente générale s'impose.

2.—La Justice

Il ne suffit pas que l'indépendance de chaque État soit garantie, il est nécessaire que ses droits et intérêts légitimes soient respectés ; et puisque nous voulons lui interdire tout recours aux armes pour sauvegarder ces droits et intérêts, il est indispensable que nous prévoyions l'organisation d'une institution chargée de rendre la justice et de statuer aux lieu et place du sabre.

En examinant dans un précédent chapitre la valeur et l'avenir de l'arbitrage nous avons été amené à conclure qu'il ne pouvait constituer à lui seul un système complet de justice et qu'il y avait lieu de lui adjoindre aussitôt que possible une justice ordinaire calquée sur celles qui existent dans nos sociétés civilisées.

Obligé de limiter l'étendue du présent travail nous n'entrerons pas ici dans les détails d'organisation de cette justice qui sont d'importance secondaire et comportent de nombreuses variantes, nous indiquerons simplement les bases sur lesquelles il convient de l'édifier.

Avant de constituer une justice internationale la logique rend nécessaire la fixation du droit international.

Actuellement il n'existe qu'à l'état de droit coutumier. Certains chapitres en sont restés vagues, controversés et pleins de lacunes, d'autres sont en retard de plusieurs siècles sur la civilisation. Il est donc de toute nécessité qu'on charge d'abord un législateur autorisé d'écrire le code des lois appelées à régir les rapports internationaux.

Cette préexistence de la loi avant toute entrée en fonction de l'autorité judiciaire est indispensable, à quelque point de vue qu'on se place.

Il faut en effet que chaque Etat connaisse exactement les droits qui lui appartiennent afin de pouvoir les revendiquer en justice avec certitude, et aussi les devoirs qui lui incombent, afin que le juge puisse lui faire grief de ses écarts.

Cette préexistence est également indispensable pour satisfaire aux règles de principe sans lesquelles il n'est pas de bonne justice et qui sont : la séparation des pouvoirs législatif et judiciaire, la non rétroactivité des lois, la limitation des pouvoirs du juge et la fixité de la jurisprudence.

La loi établie, le moment sera venu de nommer des juges.

La composition de la Cour chargée de rendre la justice devra notamment répondre aux exigences que nous allons énumérer.

(1.) Les membres devront être fournis suivant une proportion équitable par tous les Etats composant la société des nations, afin de donner à chacun d'eux une juste satisfaction d'amour-propre, et aussi afin d'annihiler au moyen de ce recrutement universel les tendances à la partialité qui pourraient se faire jour malgré eux chez certains membres de la Cour appartenant à des Etats amis ou ennemis de ceux qu'ils auraient à juger.

(2.) Ils devront être recrutés parmi les professionnels du droit international et joindre à une science juridique incontestée la plus parfaite honorabilité.

(3.) Ces juges devront être nombreux, à la différence de ce qui se passe en matière arbitrale.

C'est seulement, en effet, devant un nombreux aréopage, choisi avant la naissance du fait à juger, qu'on peut être certain de voir les questions d'intérêt particulier s'effacer, toutes les objections se produire et la haute valeur de l'ensemble du corps judiciaire réparer les défaillances intellectuelles et morales qui peuvent affecter le jugement de certains de ses membres.

La France dont les institutions judiciaires sont généralement appréciées confie les intérêts et le sort de ses justiciables à un seul juge pour les tribunaux de paix jugeant les affaires de minime importance, à trois pour les tribunaux de première instance, à sept pour les Cours d'appel, à quinze pour la Cour de Cassation, à trois cents pour la Haute Cour de justice.

Il est évident que ni les ressources du budget international ni les exigences d'un recrutement de haut choix ne permettraient d'attribuer à la Cour de justice internationale un nombre de juges aussi élevé que celui des Sénateurs qui composent la Haute Cour Française ; mais il serait sage de tenir compte dans une juste

mesure du principe que nous venons de poser et dont l'observation est d'ailleurs indispensable pour permettre, ainsi qu'il convient, aux délégués judiciaires de tous les États de siéger dans toutes les affaires.

(4.) Cette Cour devra avoir une existence permanente et ses membres devront tous résider au siège fixé, de façon à pouvoir se réunir et tenir audience immédiatement en cas de besoin.

Il importe que dans les cas graves l'administration de la justice ne puisse pas être retardée comme elle l'est souvent en matière d'arbitrage, soit par les hésitations ou la morosité apportées par les parties au choix de leurs juges, soit par les délais nécessaires pour réunir ces juges occasionnels, délais pendant lesquels le débat a le temps de s'envenimer et de dégénérer en conflit armé.

Il faut se souvenir que, quand l'opinion publique est surexcitée et menaçante, le meilleur moyen de la calmer est de déférer immédiatement à la justice ceux qu'elle accuse.

(5.) Enfin, sous peine de rester illusoire comme maintenant, la justice internationale devra être obligatoire, et obligatoire dans toute la force du terme, en ce sens que si un État assigné par un autre ne se présente pas devant la Cour de justice, il sera jugé par défaut ; et que, si aucun État tiers ne prend l'initiative des poursuites contre celui qui aura violé la loi commune, l'autorité internationale aura qualité pour le traduire d'office devant la justice internationale.

Nous n'insistons pas davantage sur les conditions d'organisation de la justice internationale et nous passons aux sanctions de cette justice, lesquelles constituent peut-être la partie la plus délicate et la plus difficile du problème à résoudre.

#### SANCTIONS DE LA JUSTICE INTERNATIONALE.

Un jugement dépourvu de sanctions n'a d'autre valeur que celle d'une consultation donnée par un avocat à un justiciable et ne peut par lui-même assurer le triomphe du droit.

Il sera donc indispensable d'armer la justice internationale des sanctions nécessaires pour imposer l'observation de ses arrêts.

Ces sanctions peuvent se diviser en deux catégories :

- (a.) Les sanctions d'ordre moral.
- (b.) Les sanctions coercitives.

##### A.—Sanctions d'Ordre Moral.

Ces sanctions pourraient être les suivantes :

- (1.) L'avertissement.
- (2.) La censure.
- (3.) La restitution.

- (4.) Les réparations morales.
- (5.) Les réparations pécuniaires.
- (6.) L'exclusion de la société des nations.

Les cinq premières sanctions indiquées constituent les sanctions normales et doivent suffire dans tous les cas ordinaires pour rétablir le droit et réparer toute lésion.

La sixième, l'exclusion de la société des nations, est une sanction pénale très grave qui serait réservée pour les cas où des États auraient agi de façon à revenir indignes d'être maintenus au rang des États civilisés, ou se seraient refusés systématiquement à se plier aux exigences de la loi commune.

Cette dernière sanction serait d'une application simple et facile, elle serait en outre très efficace, car tout gouvernement hésiterait à commettre des actes susceptibles de faire mettre sa nation au ban des nations civilisées et de la priver des garanties de sécurité et de justice assurées par la société internationale à tous ses membres.

Mais la menace et le besoin l'application de cette sanction suffiront-elles en toute circonstance pour assurer l'observation de la loi et l'exécution des arrêts de justice ?

Certainement, a-t-on dit autour de nous, car les statistiques établissent que les sentences rendues en matière d'arbitrage international ont été, à quelques rares exceptions près, acceptées et spontanément exécutées par les parties intéressées ; or la Cour de justice internationale étant appelée, en raison de son organisation supérieure, à jouir d'une autorité beaucoup plus grande que celle dont bénéficient les tribunaux d'arbitrage, il faut en conclure à fortiori qu'aucun État ne songera à s'insurger contre ses arrêts.

L'argument ne porte pas, car il est impossible de raisonner en matière de justice obligatoire comme en matière de justice facultative.

Nous savons par expérience que les gouvernements n'acceptent l'arbitrage facultatif que dans les cas seulement où l'intérêt en litige est secondaire, où ils ne veulent pas faire la guerre, et où ils ont le sincère désir d'étouffer un incident malencontreux tout en sauvegardant pour le mieux leur amour propre et leurs intérêts. Il est donc naturel que dans ces conditions ils acceptent la sentence désirée et demandée par eux.

La situation sera fort différente quand la justice internationale, aujourd'hui facultative, sera devenue obligatoire ; quand il s'agira de faire comparaître malgré eux devant cette justice les États qui auront violé la loi, qui auront tenté de réaliser des rêves de conquête et d'hégémonie ou qui, poussés par l'appât du lucre, auront lésé les

autres États dans l'exercice de leur droit au travail, de leur droit à la richesse, de leur droit à la vie.

Erreur, nous a-t-on dit encore, car si au sein d'une société on trouve toujours des malfaiteurs isolés refusant d'obéir à la justice, une telle mentalité n'est pas celle de l'ensemble des citoyens qui forment un peuple. Cet ensemble qui constitue une moyenne raisonnable est toujours doué d'assez d'honneur, de droiture et de sagesse pour éviter de se révolter contre la loi et de se classer au rang des criminels.

Ce nouvel argument ne porte pas davantage, et il faut avoir lu avec un esprit bien distrait l'histoire des sociétés humaines et n'avoir jamais eu de groupes d'hommes à conduire pour lancer de semblables affirmations.

Les masses ne sont que le reflet et l'écho de ceux qui les mènent et ceux qu'elles préfèrent suivre, ce ne sont pas ceux qui leur prêchent la sagesse et la modération, mais ceux qui leur promettent des choses irréelles et qui les exhortent à la violence pour les conquérir. Une fois que ces masses se sont ébranlées rien ne les arrête plus, elles deviennent démentés et sauvages, et c'est sans hésitation comme sans remords qu'elles se livrent à la dévastation bête et à des tueries sans pitié.

Tel est le spectacle que nous offrent sans cesse l'émeute, la guerre civile et la guerre internationale; aussi jugeons-nous impossible d'admettre comme régulateurs de la justice mondiale le sang-froid, l'intelligence et la sagesse hypothétiques des foules.

Il faudra donc toujours compter avec les mauvais conducteurs de peuples, avec ceux que de malsaines ambitions dévorent, avec les orgueilleux qui après avoir élevé des prétentions injustes jetteront plutôt leur pays à l'abîme que de confesser leurs torts, avec ceux enfin qui chercheront dans la gloire militaire une diversion à des troubles intérieurs ou la consolation d'un trône ébranlé.

Il faudra aussi toujours compter avec les poussées d'expansion des peuples prolifiques et pauvres qu'attire la fascination des pays de soleil et des riches territoires, et avec les peuples qui, tombés dans l'anarchie et le brigandage comme aujourd'hui le Maroc, rendent la vie internationale impossible dans la région qu'ils occupent et dans ses alentours.

Et c'est pourquoi la justice internationale restera éternellement impuissante et la question de la paix et du désarmement éternellement insoluble si l'autorité internationale qu'il s'agit de constituer ne peut disposer de sanctions coercitives pour assurer le triomphe du droit.

## B.—Sanctions Coercitives.\*

Les sanctions coercitives pourraient être :

Le blocus économique.

La création d'une police internationale.

Le blocus économique consisterait à priver les États belligérants de tous prêts d'argent et de tous approvisionnements en armes, munitions et autres objets pouvant leur permettre de faire la guerre ou de la prolonger.

Ce procédé a été recommandé, inutilement d'ailleurs, aux États neutres pendant la guerre Russo-Japonaise et son emploi a été préconisé à plusieurs reprises, et non sans raison, au cours de nos congrès antérieurs. Nous devons donc rechercher quelle est exactement sa valeur et quels sont les moyens pratiques d'en faire usage.

Les États pourront s'entendre pour refuser tous subsides aux belligérants ; mais devront-ils les en priver indistinctement ? N'y aura-t-il pas lieu d'établir une distinction entre l'État agresseur qui, préméditant une invasion, aura réuni dès le temps de paix toutes ses ressources, et l'État envahi à l'improviste qui n'aura pu réunir les siennes ni pourvoir à sa défense ?

Il nous semble que de telles décisions ne pourraient être prises avec l'unité et la rapidité désirables que par l'autorité internationale collective dont nous proposons la création.

Supposons maintenant ces décisions prises. Les États neutres pourront s'abstenir, en tant qu'États, de fournir des subsides aux belligérants, mais pourront-ils empêcher les grandes sociétés financières et industrielles et les simples particuliers de se laisser tenter par les primes considérables qu'offrent en pareil cas les belligérants aux importateurs et de fournir à ces belligérants tout ce dont ils auront besoin ?

Le seul moyen d'y parvenir sera de constituer un blocus de guerre tout autour des frontières de l'État ou des États mis à l'index.

S'il faut compter pour établir ce blocus sur l'intervention directe de tous les États, ceux-ci seront obligés de conserver en vue d'une

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\* L'auteur de la présente étude souhaite ardemment que des sanctions purement morales suffisent pour assurer le règne du droit, la certitude de la paix et le désarmement ; mais malgré tous ses efforts il n'a que vaincre son propre scepticisme à cet égard et persiste à croire que le droit ne triomphe que quand il est à même de s'appuyer sur la force.

Tel n'est pas l'avis général du parti pacifiste et la Commission du Congrès de Londres chargée d'examiner le présent rapport s'est refusée à la conception de toute sanction coercitive et de toute police mondiale.

Il est donc entendu que les idées exprimées par l'auteur à ce sujet lui restent personnelles et ne figurent ici qu'à titre documentaire. (Note de l'auteur.)

telle éventualité leurs flottes et leurs armées, ce qui perpétuera les charges de la paix armée et les risques de guerre qu'engendre le seul fait de l'existence continue de ces moyens de combat. Il est d'ailleurs évident que cette intervention directe les États serait toujours tardive, désordonnée, et dégènerait presque fatalement en une guerre avec la nation bloquée qui, elle aussi, aurait conservé sa flotte et ses armées.

Le blocus économique est donc un procédé coercitif qui ne pourrait être utilisé d'une façon pratique que par l'autorité internationale, après le désarmement des nations, et à la condition que cette autorité se serve uniquement pour rendre le blocus effectif des forces de police internationale mises d'une façon permanente à sa disposition.

Il en résulte que les blocus pourra devenir un utile moyen d'action de l'autorité internationale, mais qu'il ne constituera point par lui-même une sanction permettant de renoncer à la création d'une force armée internationale, puisqu'il n'aura de valeur que grâce à l'appui de cette force spéciale.

Il nous reste donc comme suprême ressource de prévoir l'organisation d'une puissante police internationale chargée d'assurer le triomphe de la justice et la paix du monde.

Nous savons, mesdames et messieurs, que cette idée compte des opposants dans le parti pacifiste.

Certains de nos amis conservent l'espoir d'arriver par la persuasion à rendre le monde meilleur, à lui faire comprendre ses véritables intérêts, et à rendre dans l'avenir la guerre invraisemblable.

Leurs efforts sont très louables, très utiles, mais ne pourront conduire qu'à des résultats partiels insignifiant; car, ainsi que l'écrivait dernièrement M. Rolland de Mares, les pacifistes ne peuvent avoir la prétention de faire régner entre les hommes cette fraternité que dix neuf siècles de christianisme n'ont pu établir.

D'autres pacifistes admettent volontiers qu'une bonne justice internationale peut seule nous conduire vers la paix, mais ils préfèrent voir cette paix rester incertaine plutôt que de doter l'autorité mondiale d'une force armée qui pourrait être appelée à verser le sang et à renouveler les horreurs de la guerre contre lesquelles nous nous élevons avec indignation.

Mais alors, c'est retomber dans ce sentimentalisme exagéré qui a écarté de nous tant de bonnes volontés et nous a valu tant d'insuccès relatifs.

On ne gouverne pas le monde avec des maximes philosophiques, et le droit ne triomphe que quand il peut s'appuyer sur la force. De longs siècles d'expérience ont prouvé qu'il n'existait pas d'autres

moyen de sauvegarder la vie et la liberté des honnêtes gens que d'armer des gendarmes pour tenir les assassins en respect ; que si les brigands entrent quand même en lutte contre la société il vaut mieux, après tout, que ces brigands soient exposés à disparaître, plutôt que les honnêtes gens dont ils veulent trancher l'existence ; et que d'ailleurs si on veut éviter d'avoir à verser le sang de ces brigands, le plus sûr moyen d'y parvenir est de leur opposer une force armée assez puissante pour paralyser tous leurs efforts, assez imposante, pour leur faire comprendre l'inutilité de s'insurger contre la loi.

Renonçons donc à toute exagération de sensibilité, rendons nous compte que tant que la Cour de justice internationale n'aura d'autres garanties à offrir aux États que des malédictions et des anathèmes à l'adresse de ceux d'entre eux qui violeront la loi commune, aucun gouvernement ne sera assez naïf pour licencier ses soldats et ses marins et pour détruire ses armes ; qu'aussi longtemps que durera cet état de chose la paix demeurera incertaine, le désarmement impossible, et le fardeau des armements plus intolérable que jamais.

Concluons donc en acceptant le principe d'une police mondiale déjà consacré d'ailleurs par les usages de la vie internationale, ainsi que le prouvent l'expédition internationale de Chine, l'occupation internationale de la Crète, la création d'une gendarmerie internationale en Macédoine, et le mandat international donné à l'Espagne et à la France pour la police des côtes du Maroc.

### 3.—INTÉRÊTS D'ORDRE INTELLECTUEL ET ÉCONOMIQUE.

En outre des intérêts de sécurité et de justice que nous venons d'examiner, les États auraient encore avantage à mettre en société certains intérêts communs qui appartiennent aux domaines de la science, de la littérature, des arts, du commerce et de l'industrie.

Il serait très désirable que l'organisme dont nous prévoyons la création put se charger d'administrer les services internationaux déjà existants, d'installer tous ceux dont le besoin se fait et se fera sentir, et de leur donner tout le développement nécessaire.

Mais nous n'indiquons ce chapitre que pour mémoire, M. La Fontaine devant le traiter devant vous avec la compétence exceptionnelle qu'il possède en cette matière.

### III.—CONSTITUTION D'UNE AUTORITÉ INTERNATIONALE.

Après avoir précisé l'objet de la société des nations, il nous reste à déterminer les principaux caractères constitutifs de fond et de forme que devra revêtir l'autorité internationale chargée d'administrer cette société.

Notre première préoccupation en établissant le régime nouveau doit être de lui donner la liberté pour base.

Il faudra donc que l'autorité constituée soit nettement internationale et qu'aucun État ni aucun groupe d'États n'ait le pouvoir d'exercer un rôle prépondérant et dominateur dans la gestion des intérêts communs.

Et il faudra, en même temps, que les pouvoirs de cette autorité soient limités de telle sorte que, tout en lui laissant l'initiative et l'indépendance nécessaires pour se mouvoir dans la sphère d'action qui lui sera assignée, elle reste dans l'impossibilité d'exercer sur les États une domination tyrannique.

Ces prémisses nous conduisent à formuler les règles suivantes :

L'autorité internationale devra être confiée à une collectivité constituée au moyen de délégués appartenant à tous les États composant la société des nations.

Cette collectivité ne pourra placer à sa tête aucun chef susceptible d'exercer sur elle une pression ou une direction quelconque, et le président qu'elle sera obligé d'élire afin de la personnifier dans ses rapports avec les États ne devra jamais être qu'un mandataire révocable privé de tout pouvoir personnel.

L'autorité ainsi constituée ne possédera que des pouvoirs législatifs, afin qu'elle ne puisse imposer aux États une seule règle en dehors de celles qu'ils auront librement acceptées.

Cette autorité sera appelée il est vrai, à remplir un rôle législatif, mais ce rôle sera purement préparatoire. La loi commune et les statuts sociaux ne deviendront exécutoires que par l'acceptation des États. Aucun État ne sera forcé de faire partie de la société, et chacun d'eux restera libre d'en sortir si les statuts sociaux viennent à être modifiés contre son gré.

Ainsi constituée, l'autorité internationale ne pourra porter ombrage à aucun État, d'autant plus qu'elle sera toujours impuissante par elle-même, puisqu'elle n'exercera de souveraineté sur aucun territoire et qu'elle disposera seulement des contingents armés et des subsides que les États voudront bien lui fournir.

Ces principes, généraux étant posés, nous devons tracer les grandes lignes de l'organisation projetée.

La constitution de l'autorité internationale devant avoir beaucoup d'analogie avec celle des gouvernements des États, il y aura lieu d'adopter pour elle, avec quelques légères variantes, la règle des trois pouvoirs et celle de la séparation de ces pouvoirs.

On le fera en instituant un conseil législatif, un pouvoir judiciaire et un pouvoir exécutif.

Le conseil législatif compose de délégués spéciaux élus par les États devra prendre naissance le premier et aura, en quelque sorte, le caractère d'une assemblée constituante. Il préparera la loi internationale et le projet de statuts de la société des nations et les soumettra aux gouvernements des États. Ceux-ci les examineront et décideront s'ils doivent les accepter et entrer dans la société en formation. Cela fait, le rôle initial du conseil législatif sera terminé.

Il pourra être nécessaire d'avoir encore recours à ses services, soit pour interpréter des textes législatifs existants, soit pour modifier ou compléter ces textes ; mais ce rôle ultérieur du conseil législatif aura un caractère purement épisodique.

L'autorité judiciaire sera représentée par une seconde assemblée de délégués spéciaux.

Elle jouira d'un pouvoir de juger absolu. Son existence sera continue. Ses membres devront résider au domicile élu par la société des nations et se tenir prêts à siéger à toute réquisition du pouvoir exécutif. Elle requerra ce dernier de faire exécuter ses arrêts.

L'autorité exécutive sera constituée au moyen d'une troisième assemblée de délégués spéciaux.

C'est elle qui mettra tout le mécanisme de l'organisation internationale en mouvement, qui réunira le conseil législatif postérieurement à la période transitoire constitutive et fixera le programme de ses travaux ; c'est elle enfin qui saisira l'autorité judiciaire des causes qu'elle aura à juger et veillera à l'exécution de ses arrêts.

Elle représentera l'autorité internationale toute entière vis-à-vis des États, commandera les forces de police internationale et administrera tous les intérêts communs dont la charge lui aura été confiée.

Quant aux forces de police internationale qu'il s'agit de constituer, elles devront, suivant nous comprendre des forces maritimes et des forces terrestres.

La mer est le domaine commun à toutes les nations et c'est sur ce domaine que devra s'exercer normalement l'action de l'autorité internationale.

Il conviendra donc de lui attribuer la police exclusive de la haute mer, chaque nation restant chargée de la police dans les eaux territoriales bordant ses côtes.

Pour remplir le rôle à elle dévolu, l'autorité internationale devra disposer d'une flotte et d'une armée de terre assez puissantes pour réprimer toute tentative de piraterie, pour porter secours à tout État menacé d'invasion et pour assurer la sécurité des étrangers dans les pays non civilisés ou désorganisés par des troubles anarchiques.

En même temps que se constituerait cette police mondiale, les États réduiraient peu à peu, suivant une dégression convenue, l'importance de leurs armées et de leur matériel de combat, de façon à ne plus entretenir, à partir d'une date déterminée, que les forces de police largement nécessaires pour le maintien de l'ordre intérieur dans la métropole et dans les colonies.

Et c'est ainsi qu'on aboutirait progressivement au but suprême de nos efforts, la suppression des armées de combat.

Nous espérons même que les forces de police internationales, dont nous prévoyons la création et qui devraient être très imposantes au début, seraient susceptibles dans l'avenir, non de suppression complète, mais de réductions successives à mesure que les peuples s'habituerait à cette vie internationale nouvelle qui rendrait leurs relations plus intimes et plus cordiales, à mesure qu'ils ressentiraient les bienfaits de la civilisation supérieure dont nous voulons les doter, et aussi à mesure que la liberté se répandrait dans les régions qui lui sont encore fermées.

#### CONCLUSION.

Le moment est venu de conclure.

Depuis plusieurs années nous nous sommes quelque peu endormis et nous nous sommes laissés devancer par les événements au lieu de les préparer nous-mêmes. Il est donc urgent de réviser notre programme et de prendre des résolutions viriles.

En arrêtant ce programme, n'oublions pas que, sinous voulons atteindre notre but final qui est la paix et le désarmement, il faut que nous soyons écoutés et suivis par les gouvernements sans lesquels nous ne pouvons rien ; et que les gouvernements ne nous écouteront et ne nous suivront que si nous leur présentons un plan d'organisation internationale essentiellement pratique, tenant compte de toutes les contingences possibles.

Nous devons donc descendre des hauteurs de la pure pensée philosophique où nous nous sommes trop longtemps attardés, nous devons nous garder d'une sentimentalité excessive qui ne s'accorde pas avec les procédés indispensables de gouvernement, et nous devons savoir concilier sagement la rigueur de nos principes avec les nécessités de la vie. Nous le devons pour ne pas mentir à notre tâche, pour ne pas désertier la lutte, pour ne pas tromper l'attente de l'humanité, pour que la paix ne se fasse pas sans nous et derrière nous.

En avant donc, amis, car ainsi que l'écrivait dernièrement M. Fried nous sommes en retard, l'organisation générale est déjà com-

mencée, et l'évolution dont elle procède s'accroît chaque jour ; or nous ne sommes pas des historiens chargés simplement d'enregistrer et de commenter les faits du passé, nous sommes les pionniers de l'humanité et nous devons marcher à sa tête en tenant bien haut le flambeau de l'idée pour la guider vers l'idéal réalisable de justice, de liberté et de fraternité qui brille à nos yeux dans un proche et lumineux avenir.

## APPENDICE III.

### LA PAIX ET L'ÉVANGILE.

*La lettre suivante a été adressée au Président du Congrès.*

Turin, 29 Juillet, 1908.

A Monsieur le Président du Congrès de la Paix à Londres.

Monsieur le Président,—Je me permets quelques lignes que je vous prie de vouloir bien présenter au Congrès, car il s'agit d'une chose très-importante.

Il s'agit de détruire la mauvaise impression laissée par la déplorable phrase de M. le Général Moltke, qui pour exalter les esprits dans le sens de la guerre a dit : " La guerre est d'institution divine." C'est vrai. Avec l'Ancien Testament la guerre était d'institution divine. Car nous y lisons que Dieu souvent ordonnait aux chefs du peuple Juif, d'attaquer les ennemis et de les battre et détruire.

Mais avec le Nouveau Testament, avec l'Évangile, Dieu a voulu que " La Paix soit d'institution divine." En effet, l'Évangile a été annoncé aux hommes avec le chant des anges, soit : " Pax sit hominibus bonae voluntatis." Du reste, il suffit de lire l'Évangile, pour voir combien la guerre est exécration et sacrilège.

On comprend qu'une nation chrétienne doive se défendre contre une nation *non chrétienne*, qui l'attaque. Mais on ne peut pas admettre que deux nations chrétiennes se fassent la guerre. C'est un sacrilège énorme, une infamie. Même Ménélik l'a dit jadis.

Les papes devraient excommunier une nation chrétienne qui déclare la guerre à une autre nation chrétienne (au lieu de s'occuper de politique et des biens terrestres). " La Paix est d'institution divine." Il faut le proclamer très haut ; car beaucoup de personnes croient encore à la phrase stupide de M. le Général Moltke.

Pardonnez-moi, je vous prie, d'insister sur ce point, très simple mais pas trop connu.

Agréez, Monsieur le Président, les sentiments de ma plus haute considération.

COMTE JULES CARELLI.

Turin, rue Napione 27.



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Pelissier, Jean, l.-ès l. (Correspondant de l'Indépendance Belge), and delegate of l'Association International de l'Hexagramme), Bandgasse 34, Wien VII., Austria.

## DENMARK.

### DANISH PEACE SOCIETY. (Dansk Fredsforening.)

\*Bajer, Mr. Asfred, Islands Bank, Reykjavik, Iceland.

Bajer, Mr. Gunnar, Marselisborg, Kostskale, Aarhus, Denmark.

Bayer, Mr. J., Copenhagen, Denmark.

Bayer, Mrs. J., Wildersgade 11b, Copenhagen, Denmark.

\*Grün, Mr., President of the "Næstved" branch of the Danish Peace Society.

Hansen, Miss Anna (member), Copenhagen, Denmark.

\*Hausim, Mr.

\*Meyer, Mrs. Johanne, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Rasmussen, Mr. R. P., Talledvej 14, Copenhagen, Denmark.

\*Stum, Mr., Næstved, Denmark.

### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

#### THE ANGLO-GERMAN FRIENDSHIP COMMITTEE.

Fox, Francis W., Reform Club, Pall Mall, London.

Moscheles, Felix, 80, Elm Park Road, London, S.W.

Newman, T. P., Hazelhurst, Haslemere, Surrey.

#### BRADFORD PEACE SOCIETY.

Hodgson, Radnor H., 16, Bromley Road, Shipley, Yorks.

#### BRADFORD SOCIETY OF FRIENDS—PEACE COMMITTEE.

Guy, John A., Ellenthorp, Eccleshill, Bradford.

#### BRIGHTON AND HOVE PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Alexander, Mrs. W. H., Penelva, Furze field Crescent, Reigate.

Penney, Mrs. R. A., Keldholm, Dyke Road Drive, Brighton.

Prime, Rev. Priestley, Harrington Road, Preston, Brighton.

#### BIRMINGHAM AUXILIARY TO THE PEACE SOCIETY

Ellis, Rev. Jas. J., 97, Anderton Road, Sparkbrook, Birmingham.

Hotchkiss, Consul J., Brynterion, Richmond Hill Road, Birmingham.

Sturge, Joseph, J.P., 447, Hagley Road, Birmingham.

Sturge, Miss S. (member), 447, Hagley Road, Birmingham.

#### BRISTOL PEACE SOCIETY.

Hughes, W. W. (the late), Downfield Lodge, Clifton.

Milner, R. A., 44, Berkeley Road, Bishopston, Bristol.

Macey, Professor T. S., 5, Victoria Square, Cotham, Bristol.

Morday, B. J., Lexden, Howard Road, Westbury Park, Bristol.

Sherwood-Smith, Th.

#### COLCHESTER AND DISTRICT PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Barritt, W., Aldham Hall, near Colchester.

Bunting, Miss Julia, The Nurseries, N. Station Road, Colchester.

Green, Mrs. P. R., The Bank, High Street, Colchester.

Hurnard, S. F., Hill House, Lexden, Colchester.

#### *Member:*

Barritt, Mrs. W., Aldham Hall, near Colchester.

#### DARLINGTON LOCAL PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Burt, Mrs., Sandal Lodge, Darlington.

Hodgkin, Jon. B., Elm Ridge, Darlington.

Pease, J. Francis, Pierremont, Darlington.

Peer, John, 46, Fife Road, Darlington.

#### DUNDEE PEACE SOCIETY.

Braithwaite, Thomas K., 10, St. Clement's Lane, Dundee.

Steel, Mrs., c/o Miss Isles, Burrelton, near Coonar Angus, N.B.

Walsh, Rev. Walter, 8, West Albany Terrace, Dundee.

## EDINBURGH PEACE AND ARBITRATION SOCIETY.

Denham, James, 13, South Charlotte Street, Edinburgh.

Paterson, Professor J. A.

Simpson, Sir A. K., D.D., Hawthornden, Lasswade, Midlothian, N.B.

## THE GUILD OF SAINT JOHN.

Southey, Mrs. E. M., 20, Carlyle Road, W. Brighton.

## HALSTEAD PEACE SOCIETY.

Giles, Rev. A.

## HAMPSTEAD PEACE SOCIETY.

Taylor, Dr. Claude, Eland House, Rosslyn Hill, London, N.W.

*Members :*

Thompson, Dr. A. Hugh, 26, Ellerdale Road, London, N.W.

Thompson, Mrs. A. Hugh, 26, Ellerdale Road, London, N.W.

## HITCHIN AND DISTRICT PEACE AND ARBITRATION SOCIETY.

Mackinlay, D. C., Sunnybrae, Hitchin.

Taylor, Fred, Rowanhurst, Hitchin.

*Member :*

Taylor, Mrs. Fred, Rowanhurst, Hitchin.

## IRISH PEACE SOCIETY.

Douglas, James, G., 18, Wexford Street, Dublin, Ireland.

Hogg, Mrs. J., Stratford, Rathgar, co. Dublin, Ireland.

## IPSWICH AND DISTRICT PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Alexander, William, J.P., Galewick, Park Road, Ipswich.

Kitching, Miss Sarah A., 47, Henley Road, Ipswich.

\*Seaman, Mrs., 83, Berners Street, Ipswich.

## INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Bonner, Mrs. Bradlaugh, 23, Streathbourne Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.

Clark, Dr. G. B., Fryerne, Caterham, S.O., Surrey.

Furmage, F. D., 3, Eglantine Road, Wandsworth, London, S.W.

Green, J. F., 41, Outer Temple, London, W.C.

Maurice, C. E., Eirene Cottage, Gainsborough Gardens, London, N.W.

Mills, Miss M. A., c/o Mrs. Lough, 14, Dean's Yard, London, S.W.

Moscheles, Felix, 80, Elm Park Road, London, S.W.

Perris, G. H., 112, Streathbourne Road, Upper Tooting, London, S.W.

*Members :*

Burrows, Herbert, 99, Sotheby Road, Highbury Park, London, N.

Clark, Mrs., Fryerne, Caterham S.O., Surrey.

Ethna ni Chrimhthan, 41, Outer Temple, London, W.C.

\*Fletcher, Howard, 46, Addison Road, London, W.

Furmage, Mrs., 3, Eglantine Road, Wandsworth, London, S.W.

Harvey, Miss B., Kingswood, May's Hill Road, Shortlands, Kent.

Moscheles, Mrs. Felix, 80 Elm Park Road, London, S.W.

Parikh, J. M., 2, Garden Court, Temple, London, W.C.

Perris, H. S., 40, Outer Temple, London, W.C.

Phipson, Miss A. C., 14, St. Mary's Road, Harlesden, London.

Wright, Mrs. Bracey, 549, Old Kent Road, London, S.E.

## INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION LEAGUE.

Baum, F. C., 117, Old Street, London, E.C.  
 Brugneay, George, 148, Sandhurst Road, Catford, London, S.E.  
 Burrows, Herbert, 99, Sotheby Road, Highbury Park, London, N.  
 Evans, Howard, 17, Caxton House, Westminster, London, S.W.  
 Lassasie, Monsieur J. F., Paris.  
 Lee, W. A., 39, Pine Road, Cricklewood, London, N.W.  
 Pentney, J. C., 98, Queen's Road, Dalston, London, N.E.

## LANCASTER AND DISTRICT PEACE ASSOCIATION.

\*Weekes, G. H., Church Street, Lancaster.

## LEICESTER PEACE SOCIETY.

James, Rev. J. Ernest, The Rood House, Rothley, Loughborough,  
 Leicestershire.

## LINCOLN AND DISTRICT PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Spencer, Miss Mary, 15, Prior Street, Lincoln.

LIVERPOOL AND BIRKENHEAD WOMEN'S PEACE AND  
ARBITRATION SOCIETY.

Hoare, Mrs., The Vicarage, Oakhill Park, Old Swan, Liverpool.  
 Robinson, Miss E., 43, Newsham Drive, Newsham Park, Liverpool.  
 Stromeyer, Miss Emmeline, 22, St. Domingo Grove, Liverpool.  
 Thompson, Miss F., Rowan Tree, Rose Mount, Birkenhead, Liverpool.

## LIVERPOOL PEACE SOCIETY.

Bathgate, Archibald, Brooklyn, Cressington Park, Liverpool.  
 Snape, Alderman T., The Gables, Croxteth Road, Liverpool.

*Members :*

Bathgate, Mrs. A., Brooklyn, Cressington Park, Liverpool.  
 \*Callie, J. W. S., 48, Seaview Road, Liscard, Cheshire.  
 Dunnico, Rev. Herbert, 5, Onslow Road, Fairfield, Liverpool.  
 Hoare, Rev. E. N., Oakhill Vicarage, Liverpool.  
 Howarth, Mark, Beech Bank, Buckside Park, Anfield, Liverpool.  
 Lawton, William, 12, Elm Hall Drive, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.  
 Lawton, Mrs. W., 12, Elm Hall Drive, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.  
 Mitchell, Rev. A. M., M.A., Barton-wood Vicarage, Liverpool.  
 \*Shrouder, J. B., 9, Ashdale Road, Waterloo, near Liverpool.  
 Slater, J. K., 163, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.  
 Slater, Mrs. J. K., 163, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.  
 Wilson, Alexander C., 45, Greenbank Road, Higher Tranmere, Birken-  
 head, Liverpool.

## MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT PEACE AND ARBITRATION LEAGUE.

King, A. J., M.P., 7A, Whitehall Court, London.  
 Stevenson, Charles, 9, Albert Square, Manchester.

*Members :*

Holdsworth, C. J., J.P., Alderley Edge, Manchester.  
 Robinson, Richard, 18, Exchange Street, Manchester.

## MANCHESTER WOMEN'S PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Byles, Mrs. W. P., 8, Chalcot Gardens, London, N.W.

Harrop, Mrs., Heaton Lodge, Heaton Mersey, Manchester.

Neild, Mrs. E., Lyndale, Ellesmere Park, Eccles, near Manchester.

Neild, Miss A. L., Lyndale, Ellesmere Park, Eccles, near Manchester.

## NAILSWORTH ARBITRATION AND PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Vine, Rev. W., The Manse, Nailsworth, Gloucestershire.

Vine, Mrs. W., The Manse, Nailsworth, Gloucestershire.

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Playne, Miss A. M., Whitecroft, Nailsworth, Gloucestershire.

## NEW SOUTHGATE AND DISTRICT PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Baxter, J. T., 43, Limes Avenue, New Southgate, London, N.

## NOTTINGHAM PEACE SOCIETY.

Bowser, Rev. Principal, B.A., Midland Baptist College, Nottingham.

\*Lawrence, W., J.P., Loughboro' Road, W. Bridgford, Nottingham.

\*Thomson, J., "Strathmore," Castle Boulevard, Nottingham.

## NORWICH LOCAL PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Castleton, George, 7, Heigham Street, Norwich.

Jeremy, Arthur R., 12, Scoles Green, Norwich.

## PEACE SOCIETY.

Aitken, George, 178, Cuthbertson Street, Glasgow, Scotland.

Alexander, Edward, Underwood House, Hornsey Lane, London, N.

Alexander, Mrs. E., Underwood House, Hornsey Lane, London, N.

Baines, Miss, 30, Castlewood Road, Stamford Hill, N.

Clifford, Rev. John, 25, Sunderland Terrace, Bayswater, W.

Crow, H. Went, 94, Romford Road, Stratford, London, E.

Darby, Dr. W. Evans, 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

Dickinson, W. H., 51, Campden Hill Road, London, W.

Elliot, Rev. M. J., Daventry.

Ellis, Rev. J. J., 97, Anderton Road, Birmingham.

Hazell, W., J.P., 52, Long Acre, W.C.

Hayward, John, Halesowen, Leigh-on-Sea.

Lever, W. H., M.P., Thornton Manor, Thornton Hough, Cheshire.

Molteno, P.A., 3, Fenchurch Street, London, E.C.

Morday, Rev. B. J., Lexden, Howard Road, Westbury Park, Bristol.

Moscheles, Felix, 80, Elm Park Road, London, S.W.

Mottram, Rev. W., 18, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.

Schnadhorst, Rev. E., North Bow, E.

Street, Rev. J. C., Shrewsbury.

Wright, Thomas, The Orchard, Sharnbrook, Beds.

*Members :*

\*Armstrong, John, Ealing, London, W.

\*Armstrong, Mrs. J., Ealing, London, W.

Clark, A. T., Warlingham.

Clark, Mrs., Warlingham.

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Cadbury, Barrow. Southfields, Wheeley's Road, Birmingham.

- Carpenter, Principal J. Estlin, M.A., Manchester College, Oxford.  
 Chant, Mrs. Ormiston, Grove Hill Lodge, Harrow-on-the-Hill.  
 Diamond, A., B.A., 15, Devonshire Street, London, E.C.  
 Darby, Mrs., 35, Balfour Road, Highbury, N.  
 Darby, W. S., West Dulwich, London.  
 Fox, Francis, W., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.  
 Hirst, Mrs. H. M. C., 27, Campden Hill Square, London, W.  
 Hitchcock, Walter M., 48, The Memorial Hall, Farringdon Str., London.  
 Hodgkin, Mrs. Howard, Hill Croft, Claygate, Surrey.  
 Hughes, W. W., Bristol.  
 Howarth, Mark, Beech Bank, Buckside Park, Anfield, Liverpool.  
 Hodgkin, J. B., Elm Ridge, Darlington.  
 Hotchkiss, Mr. Consul, Brynterion, Richmond Hill Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.  
 Kennedy-Mackay, Rev. R., 406a, Clapham Road, London, S.W.  
 Mather, John, 8, King Street, Manchester.  
 Midgley, J. H., Grange-on-Sands.  
 Neild, Theodore, Grange Court, Leominster.  
 \*Ough, Rev. Charles, 1, Park Crescent, Worthing.  
 Peckover, Miss Algerina, Sibald's House, Wisbech.  
 Peckover, Miss P. H., Wistaria House, Wisbech.  
 \*Prust, Albert, Launceston.  
 Rogers, Miss R. E., London.  
 Scully, E. J., 47, New Broad Street, London, E.C.  
 Spyer, Wm. G. L., Watlington, Oxon.  
 Snape, Alderman T., J.P., The Gables, Croxteth Road, Liverpool.  
 Sefton-Jones, H., 42, Russell Square, London, W.C.  
 Tebb, William, Burston.  
 Tebb, Mrs. W., Burston.  
 Yates, Rev. Th., 73, Philbeach Gardens, London, W.

#### THE PEACE UNION.

- Cooke, Miss M. L., 90, St. Ann's Hill, Wandsworth, London, S.W.  
 Evans, Miss, 22, Bolton Gardens, London, S.W.  
 Fox, Mrs. A. Lloyd Fox, 17, Campden Hill Gardens, London, W.  
 Hodgkin, Mrs. Howard, Hillcroft, Claygate, Surrey.  
 Robinson, Miss Ellen, 43, Newsham Drive, Liverpool.

#### PLYMOUTH PEACE SOCIETY.

- Balkwell, Miss C. P., 9, Woodside, Plymouth.  
 Richardson, Mrs. Anna M., 9, Woodside, Plymouth.

#### THE PEACE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

- Alexander, J. G., 3, Mayfield Road, Tunbridge Wells.  
 Braithwaite, Miss R. B., 312, Camden Road, London, N.  
 Cadbury, Barrow, J.P., Southfields, Wheellys Road, Birmingham.  
 Enoch, Arthur Guy, 60, Dunsmure Road, Stamford Hill, London, N.  
 King, Alfred J., M.P., Rock Bank, Bollington, near Macclesfield.  
 Newman, Thomas P., Hazelhurst, Haslemere, Surrey.  
 Newman, Mrs. Thomas P., Hazelhurst, Haslemere, Surrey.  
 Peckover, Miss P. H., Wistaria House, Wisbech.

Philipps, Miss M. E., South Side, the Green, S. Tottenham, London, N.  
Sefton-Jones, Herbert, 42, Russell Square, London, W.C.  
Sharp, Isaac, Devonshire House, 12, Bishopsgate Without, London, E.C.

READING PEACE AND ARBITRATION LEAGUE.

Stanfield, Chas. E., M.A., Ingleside, Upper Redlands Road, Reading.

SOUTH LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

Middleton, Rev. F. E., M.A., 30, Granville Park, Blackheath, London, S.E.

*Member :*

Barnard, J. J., 27, Levensdale Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.

SCARBOROUGH PEACE AND ARBITRATION SOCIETY.

Hetherton, John, Burton House, Westwood, Scarborough.

Hetherton, Mrs. John, Burton House, Westwood, Scarborough.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS PEACE UNION.

Candler, Miss Lucy, 104, Upper Grosvenor Road, Tunbridge Wells.

TYNESIDE BRANCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION  
AND PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Mawson, Miss E. Cameron, Ashfield, Gateshead-on-Tyne.

Ridley, R. W., 173, Rectory Road, Gateshead-on-Tyne.

Ridley, Mrs. R. W., 173, Rectory Road, Gateshead-on-Tyne.

*Members :*

\*Bell, J. E., 13, Braidburn Terrace, Edinburgh.

\*Lemon, A. B., Pilgrim Street.

WISBECH LOCAL PEACE ASSOCIATION

Cockett, Henry, Lynn Road, Wisbech.

Grant, Mrs., May Bank, Bearsted, Maidstone.

Jarvis, —, Queen's Road, Wisbech.

Kerridge, James, Norwich Road, Walsoken, Wisbech.

Miller, Miss, Wistaria House, Wisbech.

Peckover, Miss P. H., Wistaria House, Wisbech.

Sparling, Rev. P. W., Holme Rectory, near Runton, Norfolk.

Staveley, Miss Laura, Norwich Road, Walsoken, Wisbech.

Spriggs-Smith, Rev. W. J., Vicarage, Terrington Str. John, Wisbech.

Wade, Mr. and Miss, Bowthorpe Road, Wisbech.

Wilmot, North Bank, Wisbech.

*Members :*

Penrose, Jas. Doyle, Sibald's Holme, Wisbech.

Penrose, Hon. Mrs. J. D., Sibald's Holme, Wisbech.

WEST OF SCOTLAND PEACE AND ARBITRATION SOCIETY.

Aitken, George, 178, Cuthbertson Street, Glasgow, Scotland

Henderson, Miss Eliza S., 112, Manor Road, Dumbreck, Glasgow,  
Scotland.

Henderson, Miss Margaret A., 112, Manor Road, Dumbreck, Glasgow,  
Scotland.

\*McCallum, John M., M.P., Southdene, Paisley.

Watson, Miss Mary, West View, West Kilbride, Scotland.

Wishart, A., 247, W. Princes Street, Glasgow, Scotland.

## WEST HARTLEPOOL PEACE SOCIETY.

Hewitt, W. J., Brook House, South Road, W. Hartlepool.

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES IN SYMPATHY WITH THE PEACE  
MOVEMENT AND REPRESENTED AT THE  
17th UNIVERSAL CONGRESS.**

## BAPTIST UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Pike, Rev. E. C., B.A., 6, Dunedin Villas, Church End, Finchley,  
London, N.

Skerry, Rev. W. R. (member), 18, Elm Road, Beckenham, Kent.

BROUGHTON, GAINSBORO', AND SPALDING MONTHLY MEETING.  
Hall, C. Dalrymple, 37, New Road, Spalding.

*Members :*

Spencer, Miss Mary, 15, Prior Street, Lincoln.

\*O'Brien, Miss S. G., 23, Winchelsea Avenue, Newark-on-Trent.

## METHODIST CONFERENCE, BELFAST.

Crawford, A. J., Wesley College, Dublin, Ireland.

## BROMLEY, BECKENHAM, AND DISTRICT FREE CHURCH COUNCIL.

Jones, William, J.P., Orpington, Kent.

*Members :*

\*Lewis, Rev. W., St. Mary's Cray.

Selby, Rev. T. T., 22, Oakland Road, Bromley.

## BIRMINGHAM EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCH COUNCIL.

Southall, Alfred, Richmond Hill, Birmingham.

**BOLTON AND DISTRICT EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCH  
FEDERATION.**

Brimelow, William, J.P., Carlyle House, Chorley New Road, Bolton.

## BRADSHAW MONTHLY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Harris, Miss Dora, Derwent Bank, Broughton, near Cocker mouth.

## BRIDGWATER FREE CHURCH COUNCIL.

Branson, Rev. James, c/o Rev. David Lloyd, The Manse, North  
Petherton, Bridgwater.

## BRISTOL AND FRENCHAY MONTHLY MEETING.

Swann, Mrs. Louise B., 116, Chesterfield Road, Ashley Hill, Bristol.

*Members :*

Colman, William, 181, Church Road, St. George.

Colman, Mrs. William, 181, Church Road, St. George.

Kidd, Miss Elizabeth, 10, Melrose Place, Clifton, Bristol.

**CALVINISTIC METHODISTS, GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF, (or Presbyterian  
Church of Wales).**

Roberts, Sir J. Herbert, M.P., Abergele, Wales (or House of Commons).

*Members :*

Davis, David, M.P., Plasdinan, Montgomeryshire, Wales.

Davies, Timothy, M.P., Pantycelyn, East Putney, London.

Evans, Rev. W. Pembroke Dock.

Jones, Rev. Francis, Abergele, Wales.

CAMBRIDGE, HUNTINGDON, AND LYNN WOMEN'S MEETING.  
Cadman, Miss Harriet M.

CAMBRIDGE MONTHLY MEETING (Huntingdon and Lynn).  
Peckover, Miss P. H., Wistaria House, Wisbech.

*Members :*

\*Fox, J. Kingston.

\*Miller, Elizabeth.

CHESTERFIELD MONTHLY MEETING.

Brown-Burt, Gopsil.

*Member :*

\*Bowman, Sidney.

COGGESHALL MONTHLY MEETING.

Doubleday, Edith M., Coggeshall, Essex.

*Member :*

Harrison, Miss Gertrude, Windyholme, Braintree, Essex.

COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON'S CONNECTION.

Jones, Rev. J. Westbury, M.A., 39, Marquess Road, Canonbury, N.

CORK, SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Peet, Geo. Edward, Rock Spring Terrace, Cork, Ireland.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION, OXFORD.

Carlyle, Rev. A. J., St. Edmund's Hall House, Oxford.

DARLINGTON MEETING OF SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Baynes, O. B., 1, Woodside Terrace, Darlington.

DARLINGTON UNITY CHURCH.

Mottram, Miss A., 81, Stanhope Road, Darlington.

DORKING, HORSHAM, AND GUILDFORD MONTHLY MEETING.

Crossfield, Herbert, 32, Beaufort Road, Reigate.

*Members :*

Newman, Thomas P., Hazelhurst, Haslemere, Surrey.

Newman, Mrs. T. P., Hazelhurst, Haslemere, Surrey.

DUBLIN MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS.

Webb, Miss Gertrude, 8, Ashdale Road, Terenure, co. Dublin, Ireland.

EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCHES, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF

Law, Rev. Thomas, 24, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.

*Members :*

Compton-Rickett, Sir J., M.P., D.L., 100, Lancaster Gate, London, W.

Rawlings, E. C., Denehurst, Ealing Common, London, W.

White Robert, 51, King Henry's Road, London, N.W.

METROPOLITAN FREE CHURCH COUNCIL.

Thomas, Rev. W. C.

FRIENDS FOREIGN MISSION ASSOCIATION.

Lynn, Alfred, The Deanes, St. Albans.

*Members :*

Fox, Alfred F., 17, Campden Hill Gardens, London, W.

Wilson, Dr. William, 15, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

## GLOUCESTER AND NAILSWORTH MONTHLY MEETING.

Bellows, John Earnshaw, 20, Queen Square, London, W.C.

## GUILDS UNION, NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Freeston, Rev. Frank K., Essex House, New Road, Campden Hill, London, W.

## HARDSHAW EAST MONTHLY MEETING.

Neild, Mrs. Eliza, Lyndale, Ellesmere Park, Eccles, nr. Manchester.

## HARDSHAW WEST MONTHLY MEETING.

Lawrence, Thos. D., 21, Clayton Square, Liverpool.

*Members :*

\*Longmaid, Wm. Henry, B.A., 10, Stanley Avenue, Southport.

\*Robinson, Miss Louisa, 43, Newsham Drive, Birkenhead.

Thompson, Miss Frances, 39, Rose Mount, Birkenhead.

Wilson, Alexander C., 45, Greenbank Road, Birkenhead.

Wilson, Mrs. A. C., 45, Greenbank Road, Birkenhead.

## HEREFORD AND RADNOR MONTHLY MEETING.

Neild, Theodore, Grange Court, Leominster.

*Member :*

\*Reynolds, E. B., Argyll Villas, Leominster.

## INDEPENDENT METHODIST CHURCHES.

Hunter, George, J.P., Bradshawgate, Mayor Leigh, Lancs.

*Member :*

Crumblehulme, J., Fernhulme, Lostock, Bolton.

## KINGSTON MONTHLY MEETING.

Morland, Miss L. F., Helvedon, Fairfield Road, Croydon.

*Members :*

Cooke, Miss M. L., 90, St. Ann's Hill, Wandsworth.

Thompson, Francis, Eversley, Haling Park Road, Croydon.

## LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING.

Holdsworth, Charles, J., J.P., Fernhill, Alderley Edge, Cheshire.

*Member :*

Neild, Mrs. E., Lyndale, Westminster Road, Eccles.

## LEINSTER QUARTERLY MEETING.

Haughton, Joseph J., Ferns, co., Wexford, Ireland.

*Member :*

Webb, Miss E., 6, Eustace Street, Dublin, Ireland.

## LEWIS AND CHICHESTER MONTHLY MEETING.

Alexander, J. G., Mayfield, Tunbridge Wells.

*Members :*

Candler, Miss Phillis M., 104, Upper Grosvenor Road, Tunbridge Wells.

Penney, Robert A., Keldholm, Dyke Road Drive, Brighton.

Penney, Mrs. R. A., Keldholm, Dyke Road Drive, Brighton.

## LIVERPOOL BAPTIST UNION.

Slater, J. K., 163, Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool.

## LIVERPOOL SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

Black, A.

## LONDON CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

Macfadyen, Rev. D., M.A., 35, Jackson's Lane, Highgate, London, N.

*Members :*

Chapple, W., 63, Hallam Street, Portland Place, W.

Leach, Rev. C., D.D., 17a, Canonbury Park South, N.

Prangnell, W. J., 213, Barry Road, East Dulwich, London, S.E.

Reason, Rev. Will., M.A., Guyhirne, Macdonald Road, New Southgate, London, N.

Smee, W. R., 22, Durham Road, E. Finchley, London, N.

## LUTON AND LEIGHTON MONTHLY MEETING.

Lynn, Jonathan, The Deanes, Althorp Road, St. Albans.

*Member :*

Lynn, Mrs. J., The Deanes, Althorp Road, St. Albans.

## MANCHESTER DISTRICT ASSOCIATION OF PRESBYTERIAN AND UNITARIAN CHURCHES.

Peach, Rev. Charles, 68, Richmond Grove, Manchester.

## MID-SOMERSET MONTHLY MEETING.

Clark, Mrs. W. S., Millfield Street, Somerset.

*Member :*

Clark, Miss M., Millfield Street, Somerset.

## NEWCASTLE MONTHLY MEETING.

Richardson, Miss S. A., Ashfield House, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

*Member :*

Pumphrey, Miss E. Louisa, 6, Summer Hill Grove, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

## NORTHAMPTON AND WELLINGBOROUGH MONTHLY MEETING.

\*Gravelly, Thomas E., Silver Street, Wellingborough.

## NON-SUBSCRIBING CONGREGATIONS OF LONDON AND S.E.

## COUNTIES; PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY OF

Edwards, Rev. J. E. M., 1, Valley Road, Streatham, S.W.

## NORTH MIDLAND PRESBYTERIAN AND UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

Smith, Chas. A., Moorfield, Totley, near Sheffield.

## NORTH SOMERSET AND WILTSHIRE MONTHLY MEETINGS.

Ashby, Francis, Pranker's Mead, Winscombe, Somerset.

*Members :*

Clark, Thomas Beaven, Quarry Batch, Winscombe, Somerset.

Lean, Dr. Bevan, Sidcot School, Winscombe, Somerset.

## NORWICH MONTHLY MEETING.

Youell, Margaret, Broad Row, Great Yarmouth.

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Gibson, Rev. J. Monro, D.D., 111, Abbey Road, London, N.W.

*Members :*

Pope, Alderman Walter, 3, St. Ann's Villas, Notting Hill, London, W.

Roberts, Rev. Richard, 6, Westbourne Park Road, London.

Wilson, Rev. J. A., M.A., 91, Grove Park, Camberwell, London, S.E.

Wilson, Rev. J. M., B.A., 110, Grosvenor Road, Highbury, London, N.

## PICKERING AND HULL MONTHLY MEETING.

\*Rowntree, A. Claude, Yealand Cottage, Royal Avenue, Scarborough.

## PROTESTANT DISSENTING DEPUTIES.

King, Joseph, Sandhouse, Witley, near Godalming, Surrey.

*Members :*

Freeman, J. H., 53, Oakley Square, London, N.W.

Macie, John, M.P., Reform Club, London.

Shepherd, Mr. Alderman A. J., 6, Finsbury Circus, London, E.C.

Spicer, Evans, J.P., Bellair, Dulwich, London, S.E.

## RATCLIFF AND BARKING MONTHLY MEETING.

Diamond, Augustus, B.A., 91, Albert Road, Ilford.

## READING MONTHLY MEETING.

Edminson, Fred. J., Grove House, Leighton Park School, Reading.

*Members :*

Harris, Wilson, M.A., Grove House, Leighton Park School, Reading.

Ridges, John, Grove House, Leighton Park School, Reading.

Rowntree, W. S., Grove House, Leighton Park School, Reading.

Stanfield, Pattie, Upper Redlands Road, Reading.

## SHAFTESBURY AND SHERBORNE MONTHLY MEETING.

\*Bracher, Edwin, The Limes, Mere, Wiltshire.

\*Bracher, Mrs. Edwin, The Limes, Mere, Wiltshire.

## STOCKTON-ON-TEES, SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Pumphrey, T. Walter, Richmond House, Stockton-on-Tees.

## TOTTENHAM, EDMONTON, AND ENFIELD FREE CHURCH COUNCIL.

Bush-Stone, Rev. W., B.A., The Manse, Northumberland Park, Tottenham.

*Member :*

Williams, A., 92, Winchelsea Road, Tottenham.

## TOTTENHAM MONTHLY MEETING.

Bennington, George, The Glade, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, London, N.

*Members :*

Armfield, John G., Norma Villa, The Green, Tottenham, London, N.

Dell, Henry, Holmwood, Winchmore Hill, London, N.

Frethey, Mrs. Amy, 573, Alexandra Park Road, Wood Green, London, N.

\*Pollard, Henry J., Holmwood, Stanley Road, Enfield, London, N.

\*Wilson, Miss Ethel, 45, Pellatt Grove, Wood Green, London, N.

## ULSTER QUARTERLY MEETING AND LESBURN MONTHLY MEETING.

Marsh, Joseph C., Belfast, Ireland.

## UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION, BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

Harrison, John, 62, Christchurch Road, Tulse Hill Park, London, S.E.

*Member :*

Tarrant, Rev. W. G., 53, Westover Road, Wandsworth, London S.W.

## UNITARIAN, FREE CHRISTIAN, AND OTHER KINDRED ORGANISATIONS, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF

Jones, Rev. F. H., 14, Gordon Square, London, W.C.

## UNITED METHODIST CHURCH CONFERENCE.

Hooper, Rev. George, 6, The Gardens, East Dulwich, London, S.E.

*Member :*

Halbert, Thos., Broadmead, Chapel Road, Forest Gate, London, E.

## UNITED METHODIST CHURCHES (Liverpool).

Snape, Alderman T., The Gables, Croxteth Road, Liverpool.

## WALES MONTHLY MEETING, SOUTH DIVISION OF

Watkins, Richard, Siddall Buildings, Alexandra Road, Swansea.

*Member :*

Whitehead, Miss Lydia, 13, Victoria Road, Clevedon, Somerset.

## WEST DEVON MONTHLY MEETING.

\*Richardson, Mrs. Anna M., 9, Woodside, Plymouth.

*Members :*

\*Harris, Mrs. Amy E., 3, Quwnslgate Villas, Plymouth.

\*Rendel-Harris, G., Spencer House, Freedom Park, Plymouth.

## WESTMINSTER AND LONGFORD MONTHLY MEETING.

Fox, Francis William, Reform Club, London.

*Members :*

\*Dix, Mrs. Jane, 31, Dartmouth Park Avenue, London, N.W.

\*Gregory, Maurice, 25, Hillingdon Road, Uxbridge.

\*Jones, H. Sefton, 42, Russell Square, London, W.C.

Smith, Miss Sarah J., 10, Highbury Place, London, N.

Townson, Miss M. A., 131, Highbury New Park, London, N.

Waller, Augustus G., 32, Grove End Road, London, N.W.

## WESTMORLAND QUARTERLY MEETING.

Midgley, James H., J.P., Margeney, Clevedon, Somerset.

*Member :*

Pollard, Arthur B., 4, Woodside Terrace, Kendal.

## WISBECH MONTHLY MEETING.

\*Brown, Mrs. M., York Road, Wisbech.

*Member :*

Peckover, Miss Algerina, Sibald's Holme, Wisbech.

## WORCESTERSHIRE AND SHROPSHIRE MONTHLY MEETING.

Cadbury, Richard, Rose Hill, Worcester.

## YORK MONTHLY MEETING.

Davies, Samuel H., Ryecroft, New Earswick, York.

*Members :*

Meyer, Sebastian W., J.P., Brackenhill, St. George's Place, York.

Pollard, Frank E., 18, Bootham Crescent, York.

Pollard, Mrs. F. E., 18, Bootham Crescent, York.

Westrope, Richard, Wayside, Poppleton Road, York.

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

## OTHER SOCIETIES IN SYMPATHY WITH THE PEACE MOVEMENT

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Fox-Bourne (the late), H. R., Albany House, Caterham.

## BAHAI SOCIETY.

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BASINGSTOKE LIBERAL AND RADICAL WORKING MEN'S CLUB (REG.).  
Bonney, W. E., Monk Sherborne, Basingstoke.

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O'Malley, Sir Edward, Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, W.

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Osborn, Mrs. Llanberis, West Cliff Avenue, Southend-on-Sea.  
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*Members :*

Harvey, Miss, 16, Mays Hill Road, Shortlands.  
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## ETHICAL SOCIETIES, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

Spiller, Gustav, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.

## ESPERANTO SOCIETY (London).

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## MARYLEBONE WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

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NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS' UNION.

Burt, Rt. Hon. Thomas, M.P., 20, Burdon Crescent, Newcastle-on-Tyne;  
and Reform Club, S.W.

Fenwick, Chas., M.P., 14, Tankerville Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne; and  
National Liberal Club; and Cobden Club.

OPIUM TRADE, SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE  
Wilson, Rev. Geo. A., Bridge House, 181, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

PADDINGTON WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

Dreydell, Mrs. Rosetta, 109, Lauderdale Mansions, Maida Vale, W.

P.S.A., NATIONAL FEDERATION OF

Britton, Rev. G. C., 6, Wyneham Road, Herne Hill, S.E.

Stuart, John, Astley, Hersham, Walton-on-Thames.

P.S.A., LONDON FEDERATION OF

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Ward, Mr. Wm., Maple Lodge, Park Road, W. Dulwich, S.E.

RATIONALIST PRESS ASSOCIATION.

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SCOTTISH WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION.

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THE SOCIAL CIRCLE (Hampstead Branch).

Gomersall, Rev. W. J., Stanley House, 1, Stanley Gardens, Haverstock  
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SOCIAL SERVICE, BRITISH INSTITUTE OF

(See British Institute of Social Service.)

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*Member:*

Thorne, Will, M.P., 44, Effingham House, Arundel Street, W.C.

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UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER, VICTORIA UNIVERSITY.

Mather, Sir William, 16, Kensington Palace Gardens, London, W.

UNIVERSITY OF WALES.

Jones, Lt.-Col. E. Pryce-, M.A., Caerhowel, Montgomeryshire.

## WEST BRISTOL WOMEN'S LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

Swann, Mrs. Louise B., Lisnagarvey, 116, Chesterfield Road, Ashley Hill, Bristol.

## WOMEN'S INSTITUTE.

Sims, Miss H., 23, Priory Court Mansions, W. Hampstead, N.W.

## WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION.

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\*Freeman, Mrs. Kate, 99, Ashley Gardens, S.W.

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Leigh-Browne, Miss, 58, Porchester Terrace, W.

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## WOMEN'S NATIONAL LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

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Hobhouse, Mrs. Charles, 47, Rutland Gate, S.W.

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NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND.

Cadbury, Mrs. George, Northfield Manor, near Birmingham.

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS (Manchester, Salford, and  
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Gamble, Mrs. S., Moorfield, Withington, Manchester.

## WORLD'S WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

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Alexander, Mrs. M. Hirst, 14, Philbeach Gardens, S. Kensington.

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Barclay, Miss, 13, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn.

Barclay, G. R., 13, Old Square Lincoln's Inn.

Baty, Mrs., Southcroft, Devonshire Road, Sutton.

Baty, Miss, Southcroft, Devonshire Road, Sutton.

Beneke, Dr.

- Berg, Mr. N. von, 97, Barrowgate Road, Chiswick.  
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 Brækstadt, H. L. (Consul General, Norway), Hill House, Court Road, Eltham.  
 Braunecker, Baroness Stina, 48, Queensborough Terrace.  
 Brooksbank, Mrs., Belfort Lodge, 5, St. John's Road, Putney, S.W.  
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 Carey, Mrs. E. J., 13, Stamford Road, Kensington, W.  
 Channing, Sir Francis, Bart., M.P., 40, Eaton Place, S.W.  
 Chitty, Edward, Sonnerburg, Castle Avenue, Dover.  
 Cock, Mrs. A., 2, Tregunter Road, S.W.  
 Coleman, Miss Mary A., 4, Bolingbroke Road, W. Kensington Park.  
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 Dennis Robert.  
 Dowering, Miss, 24, Kingdon Road, West Hampstead, N.W.  
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 Ellison, Miss Grace, 13, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn.  
 Evans, Miss (Peace Union), 22, Bolton Gardens, S.W.  
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 Finkenstein, A. C. V., 11, Milman Street, W.C.  
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 Grosch, Monsignor P. H., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.  
 Greening, E. O., 92, Long Acre, W.C.  
 Harding, Miss, c/o Miss Poole, Brabazon House, Moreton Street, S.W.  
 Harris, A.G. (Tottenham Adult School), per Dennis Bird, 108, Ranelagh Road, Tottenham, N.  
 Haslam, R. E., Park Lodge, Church Street, Chelsea, S.W.  
 Haslam, Miss, Park Lodge, Church Street, Chelsea, S.W.  
 Hecht, Mrs. Edward, Greysote, Haslemere, Surrey.  
 Hent, W., Tottenham.  
 Heyermans, Miss F., 45, Priory Road, Bedford Park.  
 Hill, Miss F., 154, Stepney Green, E.  
 Hodgkin, Mrs. Howard, Hillcroft, Claygate, Surrey.  
 Holden, J., Hermon House, Wanstead, Essex.  
 Howarth, Mrs. Mark, Breckside Park, Lunner Park Road, Liverpool.  
 Howes, Miss D., 97, Barrowgate Road, Chiswick.  
 Hymans de Tiel, Mrs. F., 24, Kingdon Road, W. Hampstead.  
 Hymans de Tiel, Miss S., 24, Kingdon Road, W. Hampstead.  
 Illingworth, Mrs. Alfred, Daisy Bank, Bradford; and Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.  
 King, Mrs. A. J., 7, Whitehall Court, S.W.  
 Lockyer, Lady, 16, Pen-y-wern Road, London, S.W.  
 Long, Bernard E., 14, Cambridge Street W.; South View, Basingstoke.  
 Maclachlan, Mrs., Hemmell's Croft, Southminster.  
 Maurice, Mrs. C. E., Eirene Cottage, Gainsborough Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Moore, Mrs., 5, Prince's Terrace, W.  
 Morris, Edgar, The Mead Cottage, Gerrard's Cross.

Mundella, Victor A., 13, Onslow Gardens, Muswell Hill, London, N.  
 Myatovich, Chedo, Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, W.  
 Myatovich, Mrs., Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, W.  
 Norris, E., 56, Old Bailey, London, E.C.  
 Norton, H. E., 56, Old Bailey, London, E.C.  
 Pace, Mrs., 99, Holland Road, Kensington, W.  
 Perris, Mrs. H. S., 31, Rydal Road, Streatham S.W.  
 Perris, Rev. H. W., Elsinore, Church Lane, Upper Tooting, S.W.  
 Playne, Miss A. E., Whitecroft, Nailsworth, Glos.  
 Powell, Miss, Brathray, Thornton Road, Clapham Park, S.W.  
 Prendergast, Miss, 21, Ampton Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.  
 Preston-Read, Mrs., The Shrubbery, 125, Cazenove Road, Stamford Hill, N.  
 Preston-Read, Miss Amy, 125, Cazenove Road, Stamford Hill, N.  
 Reckitt, Mrs. George, 20, Dulwich Wood Park, Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 Reckitt, Miss Juliette, 20, Dulwich Wood Park, Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 Reckitt A. L., 20, Dulwich Wood Park, Upper Norwood, S.E.  
 Rennebarth, Arnold N., 65-66, Basinghall Street, E.C.  
 Robinson, S., Presbyterian Church, Tooting, S.W.  
 Rodway, Rev. A. W., Weldon Park, Harrow, Middlesex.  
 Schwalt, Mrs. S. M., 12, Belsize Grove, Hampstead N.W.  
 Schwalt, Miss Henrietta, 12, Belsize Grove, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Spurr, Mrs.  
 Tagart, Miss M. Lucy, Manor Lodge, Froggnal Lane, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Tcherkesoff, W., 23, Eversholt Street, N.W.  
 Thomasson, Mrs., 16, Sussex Place, Hyde Park, W.  
 Toynbee, Miss, 7, Gray's Inn Residences, E.C.  
 Vance, Rev. G. Hamilton, The Lodge, Leinster Road West, Dublin.  
 Vane, Sir Francis, Bart., 3, Grey Coat Gardens, Westminster, S.W.  
 Vay, Mrs. A.  
 Warner, S. A., Swindon, Wiltshire.  
 Weiss, Charles, Birchbank, Christchurch Road, Hampstead.  
 Weiss, Miss May, Birchbank, Christchurch Road, Hampstead.  
 Wilkinson, Hon. Mrs., Dringhouses Manor, York.  
 Wright, Miss Ada C. G., c/o Laird Macgregor, Miramar, Meads, Eastbourne.

## FRANCE.

### PEACE SOCIETIES.

#### L'ARBITRAGE ENTRE NATIONS, SOCIÉTÉ FRANÇAISE POUR

Bokanowski, M. Maurice, 6, Rue Dante, Paris v, France.

Bokanowski, Mme., 6, Rue Dante, Paris v, France.

Williams, Miss Alice, Villa Lavonnière, Epervan, Eure et Loir, France.

#### ARDENNES, GROUPE PACIFISTE DES.

Mélin, Mdle. Jeanne, Briqueterie re Carignan, Ardennes, France.

Dumas, M. J., Rethel, Ardennes, France.

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#### Member :

Manessier, M. Paul, Pont-Rémy, Somme, France.

## L'ALLIANCE UNIVERSELLE DES FEMMES POUR LA PAIX PAR L'ÉDUCATION.

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Andrée d'Albert, Mme., 29, Rue Hamelin, Paris.

Cahen, Madame Marie.

Lallemant, La Comtesse de, 37, Rue Vineuse, Paris 16e.

## BASSES-PYRÉNÉES, AMICALE DES

Bouillon, M. Léon, Rue St. Gilles 47, Orthez, Basses Pyrénées, France.

Dollé (see La Paix par le Droit).

## CHRÉTIENNE DES AMIS DE LA PAIX, SOCIÉTÉ

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Allégret, M. le pasteur P., 11, Rue Fernand-Delmas, Brive, Corrèze, France.

Langer, Madlle. E., 11, Rue Fernand-Delmas, Brive, Corrèze, France. HAVRE.

Huchet, M. Henri, 19, Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, Havre, France.

LUNERAY (Seine Inférieure).

Joye, M. le pasteur, Luneray, France.

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Joye, Madame, Luneray, France.

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\*Hersant, M. Julien.

Vodoz, M. Auguste, 36, Boulevard du Temple, Paris XIe, France.

## ÉCOLE DE LA PAIX.

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