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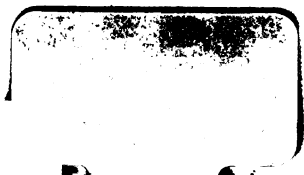
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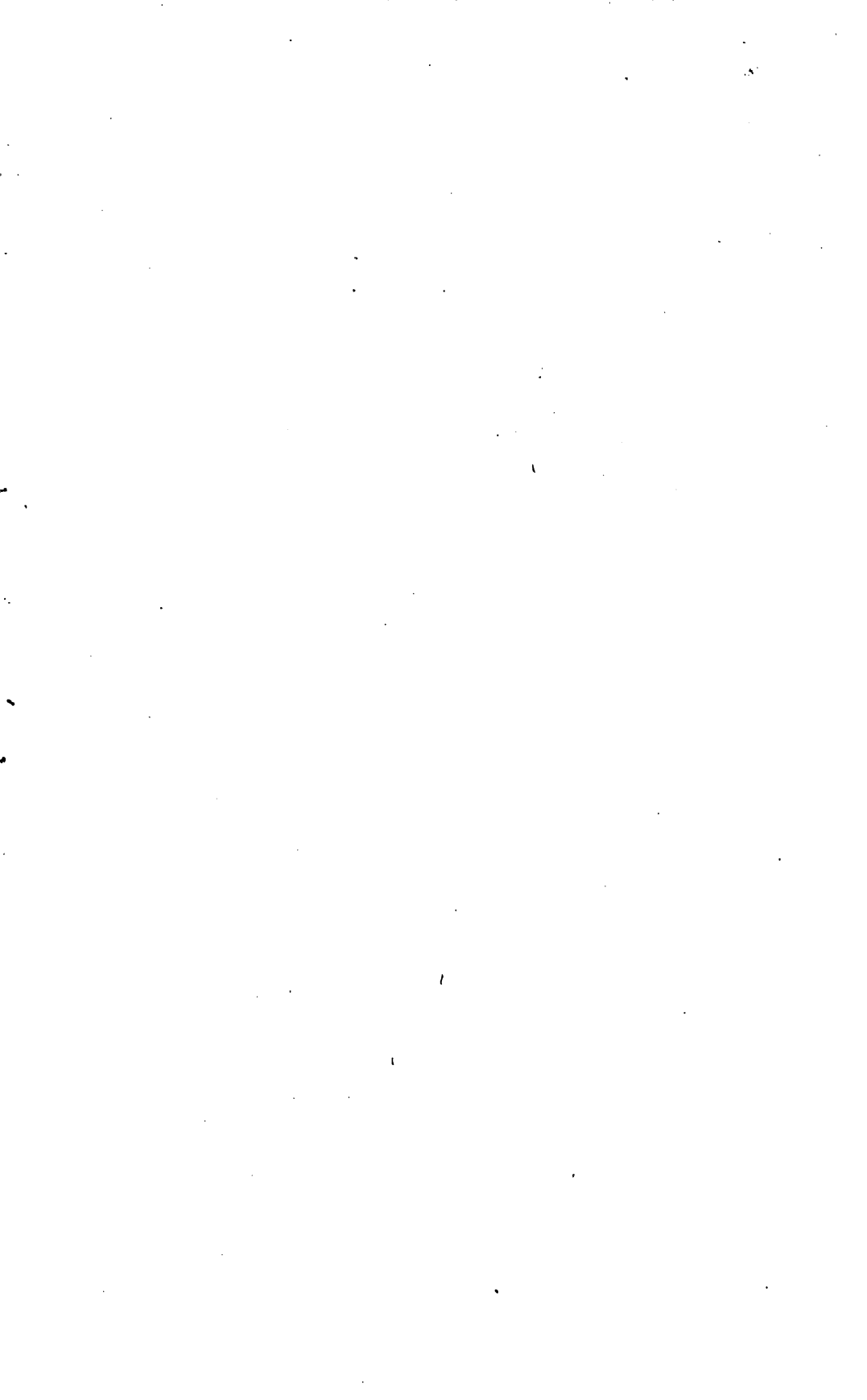


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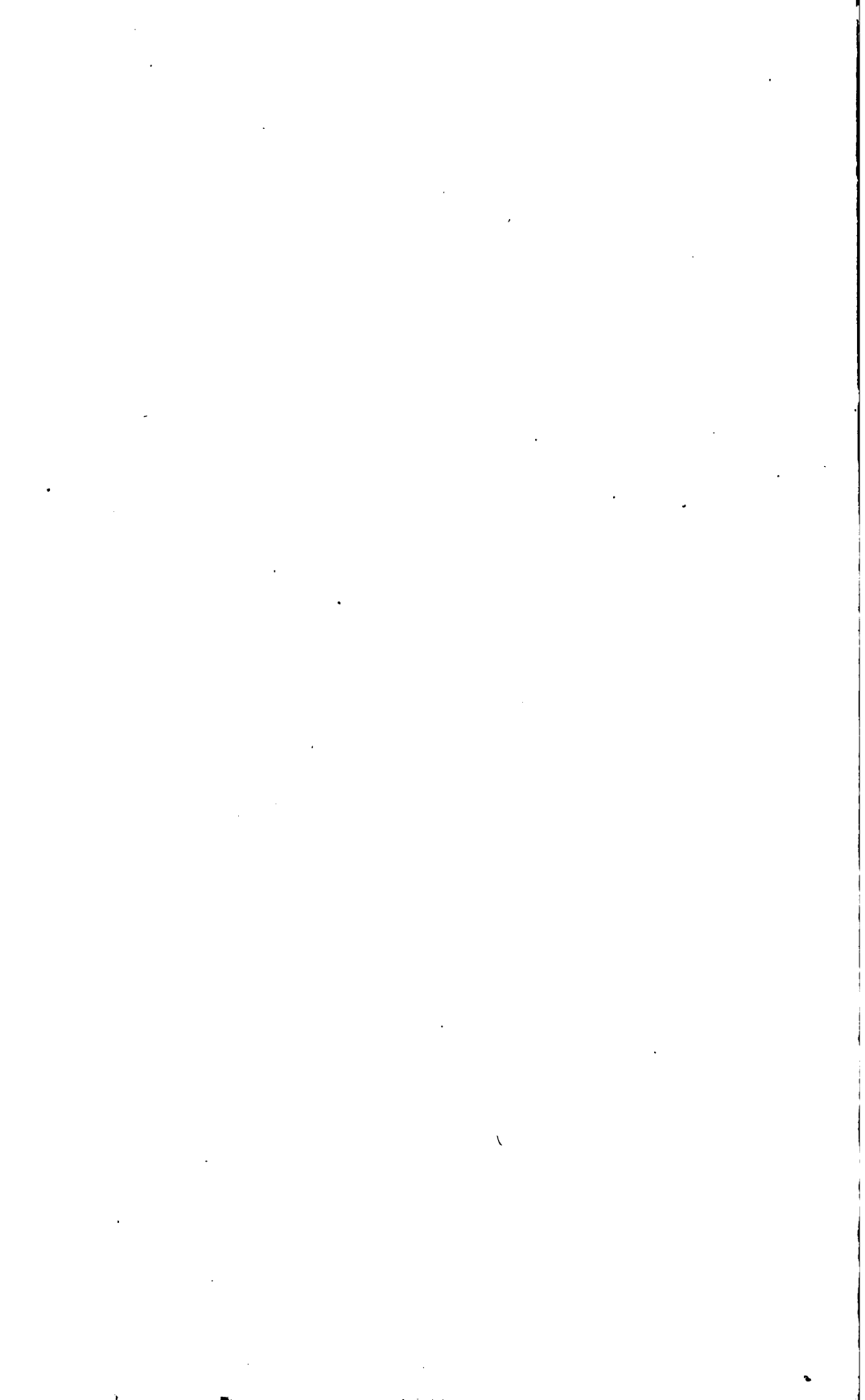
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REPORT
OF THE
FIRST ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE
ON
INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION
1895

REPORTED BY MISS MARTHA D. ADAMS

PUBLISHED BY
THE LAKE MOHONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE
1895

THE MOHONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES, 1895.

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Publication Committee: Dr. AUSTIN ABBOTT, New York; Dr. BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, Boston.

JUL 11 1911

PREFACE.

THE first annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration was held, through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, at the Lake Mohonk House, Ulster County, N. Y., June 5, 6 and 7, 1895. Five sessions were held. This Report contains the stenographic account of the proceedings, which consisted of addresses and discussions on the special subject of International Arbitration and related matters.

One copy of this Report is sent to each member of the Conference. If other copies are desired, application may be made to Mr. Albert K. Smiley.

SEPTEMBER, 1895.

THE FIRST LAKE MOHONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday Morning, June 5, 1895.

THE Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration met for its first session, by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, in the parlor of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House, on the 5th of June, 1895, at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Prayer was offered by Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D.

In opening the Conference and welcoming his guests, Mr. Smiley explained that for many years he had wished to bring about such a Conference, but had at first, by the advice of friends, set aside the plan in favor of the Negro Conference which for two years met here in June. He now believed the time to have come when, by the meeting together of Christians of sound convictions, strong opinions and a desire to do good, some important results might be reached in the cause of peace. He asked that the discussion might not go into the subject of the horrors of war or of the doctrine of "peace at all hazards," but might be turned to the consideration of the means by which our own country might have all her disputes with foreign lands settled by arbitration, and might bring other nations to join her as rapidly as possible. In closing, he urged that the same spirit which had always characterized the Mohonk Indian Conference might prevail here,—the spirit of Christian kindness, together with a frank expression of opinion.

Mr. Smiley then nominated as chairman of the Conference MR. JOHN B. GARRETT of Philadelphia, who was unanimously elected. On taking the chair Mr. Garrett spoke as follows:

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should enter upon the duties of this position with very great reluctance if it were not that in an audience of so much intelligence and devotion to moral purpose the work of a chairman is necessarily light, and that I may rely absolutely upon the unity of purpose of all who are here present to sustain me in anything which may be necessary to bring about the practical results which are desired. I hope for very large things as the result of this Conference. "The morning light is breaking," as we sang just now, and I think we must recognize that the call has come to us and to the community at large in the fulness of time, and that there never has been a more opportune moment for the judicious

consideration of the issues presented to our thought than here and now. This is a permanent, I might almost say a perpetual work; it is a work which will go on and on as long as sin and strife and contention are in the world. Our friend has begun none too early, while we trust it is not too late.

We should be unjust and ungracious to ourselves and to him if we did not acknowledge, at the outset, the deep debt which this cause of humanity and righteousness owes to him for the privilege of gathering under such auspices to consider a great moral subject. We must appreciate also the breadth of view and the large heartedness which are in a man who is bold enough to step out into such a field and to ask men and women from different parts of this country to come hither for such a purpose. I want to acknowledge this, and I know that I am sustained in that thought by all who are present.

There are very many branches of this subject on which we may differ widely. I think that the question of how the international difficulties are to be solved is probably the largest, and the one which will arrest most of our attention. I hope that we shall not overlook the tendency in our own country to increased armaments, to the imitation of the policy of continental Europe. I hope that we are not blind to what, to my own mind, is very evident, the increasing spirit of what has been called "jingoism,"—a spirit which rose with the inception of the Hawaiian difficulties, and which has been steadily growing since. I am convinced that this is one of the most opportune days in which to consider this subject, and to put in a sprag that will stop this dangerous tendency. It is due undoubtedly in part to political jealousies, but it is due in part also to the fact that we have covered our continent. There is the same intelligence and ambition and patriotism on the Pacific coast as on the Atlantic, and while the people of the southeast are looking askance at the West India Islands, and hoping that Cuba and some of the others may come soon under the jurisdiction of the United States, a very strong feeling has developed on the Pacific coast that there ought to be an outreaching of political power to the islands of the Pacific; and I regret to say that there is also a feeling along our northern and northeastern border that Canada might as well, perforce if not voluntarily, come under our jurisdiction too. But I must not enter into details now, but leave them to others.

The Conference then organized by the choice of Mr. Marshall H. Bright of New York, and Miss Martha D. Adams of Boston, as secretaries, and Mr. Joshua L. Baily of Philadelphia, as treasurer, and the following Business Committee: Dr. Austin Abbott of New York, Rev. George Dana Boardman of Philadelphia, Mr. Philip C. Garrett of Philadelphia, President Merrill E. Gates of Amherst and Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood of Boston.

The Chairman then called upon DR. BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, Secretary of the American Peace Society, to give some statement of what had already been accomplished in the promoting of interna-

tional arbitration, and of what this Conference might usefully undertake to do. Dr. Trueblood, being introduced, said :

ADDRESS OF BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, LL.D.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — The great peace movement of our century began in 1815, and has been rapidly organizing itself in recent years along many different lines. One of these lines is the peace society movement, which has grown since its inception eighty years ago till now there are about three hundred peace organizations in different parts of the world. Nearly every great city of Europe has such an organization, endeavoring to create public sentiment among the nations in favor of the settlement of all difficulties between man and man and between nation and nation, by peaceful means rather than by resort to war. In 1843 there began the peace congress movement, but after 1852 it was discontinued until 1889, when, at Paris, the first of the modern series of peace congresses was held, during the time of the French International Exposition. Since that time a series of six of these congresses has been held in different capitals and cities of Europe. In these congresses the subject of international arbitration, arbitration treaties and a permanent tribunal of arbitration have claimed a large amount of attention.

In the year 1889 there was also organized at Paris the Inter-parliamentary Peace Union. It was formed by members of the British and French parliaments, with a few representatives from other countries, who met in Paris to study the methods by which greater international harmony might be produced. This union has grown until at the time of the last annual meeting, at The Hague, last year, its membership numbered twelve hundred, all the European nations except Russia being represented in it, some of them by nearly all the members of their national legislatures, as in the case of Belgium, Switzerland and Holland.

We are so far removed from the international jealousies and difficulties of the Old World that we have given little attention to the militarism of Europe, and before we were aware of it, this militarism began stealthily to work its way into our own country. Our nation needs to be aroused at once to the danger which threatens its international relations from this source.

There are one or two important reasons why this Conference should limit its discussions specifically to the subject of international arbitration. In the first place, that is a phase of the subject on which we can all agree. There are but three possible views of the subject of war. One is that war is a divine institution, to be kept up because of the benefit and the glory of it. That view is rapidly passing away. The second is that war may some times be necessary, in certain extreme cases. A large proportion of the people of all civilized nations hold this view. But most of this class of thinkers are of the opinion further that war and the war system are such great evils

that every possible means of preventing war and removing its causes and breaking down its spirit should be brought into operation. There is a third view, which is that war is always and everywhere wrong ethically. That view is held by a considerable number of persons. You will be glad to know that in the great peace movement of our time, in the congresses held in Europe, people holding both these views meet in the utmost harmony, and discuss all the great questions pertaining to international peace without any clashing whatever. We shall certainly be able to do that here.

Again, we have passed the sentimental stage in the history of the peace movement. That is necessarily the first stage in any reform movement. The sentiment of the civilized world is already practically opposed to war and in favor of peace, and one of the great purposes of conferences like this is to assist in concentrating this public sentiment, much of which is lying about unused, and in hurling it against the war system of the world. Very little comparatively is said in any of the peace congresses to-day about public sentiment; we have reached the time when practical means are being discussed for the settling of difficulties. We are here to help concentrate the public opinion of our own land, which is very largely in favor of peace, and to bring it to bear upon the war system.

International arbitration springs out of that spirit of internationalism which has been growing up more and more during our century. There has come to be, in this century, an international conscience; the nations are beginning to feel that they are members one of another, that their interests are common, that the purposes of their national lives are largely one, and that they cannot do without one another, but must have each other's help. Hence arise treaties of commerce, treaties of extradition, etc. Arbitration is only one of the many lines of international co-operation in which this growing spirit expresses itself. And hence we have scattered all over the world our ministers and consuls, who in recent years have come to be real peacemakers. Diplomacy used to mean the art of getting nations into war, but it has come to mean the art of peaceful co-operation.

When this spirit of internationalism began to express itself, arbitration at once appeared. The first real cases of international arbitration were between this country and Great Britain, less than a century ago. These were provided for by the Jay treaty of 1794. From 1816 to the present time, there has been an average, through the whole seventy-nine years, of one important case of arbitration per year. Only four or five are known to most people; for one war makes more fuss than a hundred arbitrations, and costs more than a thousand. Only recently the President of the United States, as arbitrator, settled a difficulty between Brazil and the Argentine Republic, involving a territory of thirty thousand square miles, and the papers of this country had perhaps two inches of notice of it. In the last twenty years these cases have been occurring at the rate of two or three a year. They have covered questions of boundary, of insult to the flag, of property, of personal injury,—every question,

in fact, with which nations have to do except one, the question of the actual continuance of the national life, a question which there is reason to believe will never again appear among civilized nations. In every case the difficulty has been settled for all time, and no war has ever grown out of any of them. Our country has settled more than forty of these cases. During this period of eighty years, we have had three wars with foreign nations, lasting altogether only four years and a half. We have been literally the peace nation of the world. Great Britain has settled about a dozen in the same period, and all the nations of Europe have had from one to seven cases. China and Japan have in this way settled such difficulties; all the South American republics except two, and two of the Central American republics, have done the same. What it is proposed to do is to crystallize into law what is the general practice of the United States to-day, and to a considerable extent the practice of other nations.

We shall find another interesting subject of discussion in the proposed establishment of a great international tribunal of arbitration, which shall be to the nations of the world what the United States Supreme Court is to the States of the Union. There is considerable difference of opinion among jurists and even among leading peace men as to the possibility of such a court, and yet it will come legitimately within the range of the discussions of this Conference.

Again, we shall doubtless find it our place to consider certain obstacles to international arbitration,—the grave difficulties to be removed in the Old World; what historic prejudices are to be gotten out of the way; what special national difficulties are in the way of our own country adopting arbitration as a permanent policy; what there is in the race instincts of different countries to prevent permanent international arbitration.

I hope, especially, that the Conference may see its way to pronounce itself strongly upon the subject of a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. In the early part of 1887, the London Peace Society sent a delegation to Washington, which had an interview with President Cleveland and other officers, inviting this country to enter into a negotiation on this subject. In October of the same year Mr. William Randal Cremer, a representative in Parliament of the laboring classes in England, with twelve other prominent Englishmen, came to this country bringing a memorial signed by two hundred and thirty-four members of the British parliament, asking this country to co-operate with Great Britain in this sense. In reply to this, there was passed in the spring of 1890 what was known as the Sherman Concurrent Resolution, requesting the President of the United States from time to time, as occasion might arise, to negotiate with foreign nations for the settlement of difficulties by arbitration. Following this came the Pan-American Congress, and a form of arbitration treaty, drawn up by Mr. Blaine and signed by the delegates to the congress, was sent out in October, 1890, to all the civilized nations of the world. That invitation of our country has never been taken back; it still stands on the record of the State Department. In

1893, there passed unanimously in the British House of Commons a resolution requesting the Queen's government to co-operate with the United States along this same line. Following that, Mr. Cremer came again to our country, bearing a memorial signed by three hundred and fifty-four members of Parliament, specifying this time exactly what they wanted. I hope this Conference may be able to do something which will awaken and concentrate public opinion in the interest of this proposed treaty. If the United States could be aroused in the next four months to the importance of this measure, and could be made thoroughly acquainted with the spirit that prevails among the middle classes of the British people, there is little doubt that next winter we shall see the consummation of this movement that has been going on between these two countries since 1887, and that the closing years of this nineteenth century will be crowned with a treaty between these two countries which shall become the model for treaties between other countries, and finally create a cordon of treaties among the civilized nations which will girdle the earth and bring in the peace of the nations.

DR. BOARDMAN of Philadelphia was next called upon and spoke briefly as follows :

ADDRESS OF REV. GEORGE DANA
BOARDMAN, D.D., LL.D.

Mr. Chairman,—The healing processes, the vital forces, are slow and quiet; it is the destructive forces that are noisy and swift,—the avalanche, the earthquake, the tornado. Who ever hears a baby grow? Who ever hears a tree grow? But the lightning which rives that tree is salvoed by the thunder. The sunlight which for many a year has helped it to grow is as silent as gravitation itself. We little know what we are to accomplish in a Conference like this. We may bless God for this inauguration of another branch of His kingdom.

I would like to state, in as few words as I can, two theories of society. There are almost as many theories of society as there are thinking individuals in the world, but all may substantially be reduced to two. The first is the mechanical theory, the legislative theory if you please, which conceives of society as a human organization, managed by men. No wonder that those who hold to this theory instinctively resort to molecular arguments and apparatus for carrying out their theory. The other theory I venture to call the inward, the biological theory of society, which conceives of society, not as a human organization, originated and managed by human artifices or legislation, but as a divine organism, which exists independently of our own opinion concerning it, and to which it is both our privilege and our duty to conform our opinions and actions. The one is a human, the other a divine theory of society. We have met here,

I am persuaded, in the conviction that society is more than a human organization, that it is a divine organism, and that our humble purpose is to adjust ourselves, with the means Divine Providence places within our control, to what is an ideal conception on the part of our Creator.

The Chairman then invited DR. AUSTIN ABBOTT, Dean of the New York University Law School, to address the Conference.

ADDRESS OF DR. AUSTIN ABBOTT.

My Friends, — A large subject has been laid out for us; perhaps the most useful thing I can do is to suggest some of the interrogation points in it, and thus increase the fertility of the discussions. For we are all inquirers, on this subject. We see a need; an opportunity; but are not clear about the method in which the object can be attained.

We have already been told that international arbitration is now a question of practical politics. The sentiment of the intelligent part of the world, particularly in a free Christian nation and among English-speaking people, is already enlisted and seeks to be led into some practical measures that shall bring into reality that which we see to be so desirable in theory.

The practicability of arbitration as a substitute for war has also been demonstrated. This substitution is only one phase of the great movement in which the progressive part of the human race have been engaged ever since the Prince of Peace interpreted the Mosaic law in its new aspect, namely, the establishment of conscience and reason as the guide and director of brute force. Brute force still remains in existence, like the sheriff standing behind the judge, the *posse comitatus* behind the sheriff, and the military of the State behind the *posse comitatus*, ready to be exercised; but not to be called into use until reason has had her opportunity, and to be directed in use, by the dictates of reason. The gradual substitution of reason in the place of brute force, this has been the history of the development of law from the beginning.

When Moses was in Egypt, he saw an Egyptian smite a Hebrew, and he looked this way and that and saw no man, and he smote the Egyptian and killed him. This was what Lord Bacon called "wild justice." Afterward when Moses came to rule these nomadic Hebrews, he had no military power, no revenue to maintain a police; he knew that revenge he could not wholly suppress, but he could subject it in some degree to reason, and he adopted this rule: When an assault is committed, the witnesses must punish the assailant, but only within the limits of reason; only "an eye for an eye," only "a tooth for a tooth;" for smiting a man the punishment is not to be death, it is only to be smiting. It was an appeal to the rude sense of reason of the people, and no one could gainsay the element of justice that was in it. Christ went farther when he

came, and put full restraint upon the wild justice of revenge. Since then the whole progress of law has been to enable judges on the bench to hold the passions of the contestants in quiet, until reason can be heard on both sides, and the voice of authority can solve the question.

What is the proposal for international arbitration? It is nothing less than that we should carry out the same system between civilized nations, and when international contests arise in which the passions of men are excited, that there shall be a common understanding among those in authority that these contesting powers are to be quiet until the question can be submitted to human reason, and some competent arbiter shall decide what is right. Brute force may still exist to enforce that decision; but the object is to interpose, between the passions of the contestants and the exercise of brute force, judicial reason and judicial power.

This is a difficult problem. These passions are strong; thousands, millions of men are enlisted in support of them. Is it practicable to subject them to this control? We have seen a wonderful demonstration, within this past season, of the readiness of even so great a country as ours to submit with good-natured acquiescence. The income-tax question has swayed the feelings, and to some extent the animosities, of men all over the country; political ambitions have been aroused, great financial interests have been involved in it. But before an officer can lay a hand upon the property of a tax-payer to compel payment, the judicial system allows the question to be reasoned out in the court of last resort. The court were equally divided; a second argument was had; the conviction of one judge, and that conviction, wrought out in the mind of a single judge by thorough argument, — deliberately formed in the light of reason before the whole public, and deliberately and clearly expressed; — that conviction settled the question upon which millions of property and immense political interests depended. And the whole country acquiesced. It is one of the most remarkable events in the history of human government, most significant of the growing power, and probably the ultimately dominating power, of judicial reason in silencing the rude contests of force.

What are some of the obstacles which stand in the way of introducing this system between nations? First, a large part of the human race love contention. A prize-fight is started. Shall we interpose and ask for an arbitration? They do not want an arbitration, they want a fight. There is an immense stratum of society where there is little desire to have any controversy settled; they want the contention. The better sentiment of the country is not yet strong enough to silence this love of contention. It is gradually overcoming it; the leaven is working; but the love of contention and of adventure are forces which must be recognized in looking at the practicability of international arbitration.

Another obstacle is the material interests which are enlisted in behalf of military movements. Few Americans know much about this; but I believe that in the continental armies a soldier gets, in time of peace, besides his subsistence in the barracks, two or

three cents a day, enough to keep him in tobacco. But the moment war is declared, his pay goes up, while his ambition for adventure is awakened at the same time, and hopes of promotion begin to work in his mind. Again, if war is declared, there must be a hundred thousand pairs of shoes ordered to-morrow, five hundred thousand blankets next day, contracts for innumerable supplies given out; there will be fresh activity in a hundred branches of trade; prices of wheat and corn will go up, and hundreds of thousands of men see their opportunity. These things are reduced to the nicest calculation, by the great military powers, in order that whenever political uneasiness requires a foreign war there may be a great enthusiasm in entering upon it.

Still further, military life and military glory is an important condition of social recognition and standing. We have much less of these elements to deal with in our free country, but they exist to some extent. Any great increase of our armament would at the same time increase those obstacles with us. Resulting from this love of contention, and from the material interests involved in war, come the political aspirations that depend upon it, the political capital which the leaders of a party think may be made by a belligerent policy. As between the United States and Great Britain there is much less of such obstacles than between France and Germany.

One of the happy conditions of our existence is that we have grown up with very little consciousness of the antipathies and antagonisms of nations and the satisfaction they take in them. That persistent and long continued antagonism between French and German Switzerland was curiously illustrated even I believe within this century. In the city of Basle, in Switzerland, German on one side of the river and French on the other, was long maintained on the centre pier of the bridge between the two a clock with a hideous face, and a tongue that could be run out of the mouth; and at every tick of the clock Big Basle showed its contempt for little Basle by running out that tongue. It was only within recent times that it was removed, and put in a museum as a relic of the instinct of animosity. The same thing is seen in all uncultured natures; if there is a long village, the boys in one end are the sworn enemies of the boys in the other. We all know the animosity of Irish to Italians, if they are ignorant; and we all know how quickly education elevates them above that. This unreasoning love of contention, while it may not cut much of a figure in American civilization, is an important element in any broad view of the question of international arbitration as compulsory on nations throughout the world.

Together with these obstacles to be met, we see some alleviating elements. A committee from the workingmen of England have been to this country to ask the American government to favor international arbitration. Perhaps some of us, who have had only antagonism for labor movements may see a providential reason for the existence of this tendency toward creating a brotherhood among the working classes, in the hope that it will finally lead to serious resistance against being drafted into military service and shot down by each other, for any cause which might be adjusted peaceably. The

workingmen, if another *casus belli* should arise between Germany and France, would very likely feel more brotherhood for each other than for the military authorities above them; and they might say to the two governments, "We are not prepared to sustain you in this war." It is probable that industrial organizations are infusing an element into the community life of civilized countries that will soon give control of the solution of this question.

It is worth while also to notice that these movements indicate the gradual intelligencing, if I may use the expression, of the physical forces engaged in life. At bottom, this love of contention comes from great physical activity. It is not probable that the millions of men that are under arms in Europe could be dismissed from military service and relegated to private life at once, by an abolition of standing armies, without an explosion. That force which is not expended in military organizations must have its outlet; it is better employed even in a standing army than by being turned loose and doing nothing. We have the scope and field for such active force here, and that is the reason why the United States is now the richest country in the world; but in some of the nations, even where arbitration is most needed, ready scope for these energies would not be found at once.

These points, and many others which will present themselves, indicate that the time is ripe for the consideration of arbitration as a practical question. It is so large a question, it seems almost presumptuous for any individual to undertake to throw light upon it. But while we can do nothing alone, we shall be able to do something together; we can organize into practical usefulness sentiments that alone were hopeless and ineffective. I hope this Conference will enable those who are already convinced of the great underlying principles of the matter, by taking counsel together and co-operating, to accelerate in some degree the great movement, already going on with the slowness of a glacier, towards substituting reason in the place of brute force and passion, as the controlling power in human affairs.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Within a few months, there was pending in the legislature of Pennsylvania a bill providing for military education in the public schools. A deputation of strong, intelligent men was sent to the capital of the State to protest against such an enactment. They found that their labors were not only supplemented by those of the labor element which appeared at the same time, but that the arguments of the representatives of labor unions were so strong and so convincing, and so much more influential with politicians, that the efforts of the philanthropists were very much lightened, and they were put, as it were, into the background. I say this in confirmation of what Dr. Abbott said of the tendency of our time.

The Conference then adjourned, at 11.30 A. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Evening, June 5.

The Conference was called to order by the President at 7.45.

MR. DANIEL SMILEY read the following passages from letters received from persons not able to attend the Conference :

From Hon. Thomas J. Morris, Judge of United States District Court, Baltimore :

"I am heartily in favor of every influence tending to promote that public sentiment which fosters the settlement of international disputes without resort to force or reprisals, and wish God speed to all who are devoting themselves to that noble and patriotic work."

From Hon. William Claflin, of Boston :

"The importance of the question to the world's welfare cannot be overstated. The terrible result of modern warfare cannot but arouse the people to take some action, in this country where, at present, there is the least danger of a conflict, to avert a catastrophe. Perhaps this nation is better situated than any other to suggest proper measures for international arbitration. It will do much to establish the principle of arbitration if the people of other lands see that our people are practically unanimous in demanding for all nations arbitration in their differences."

From Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., of Springfield :

"It would give me great pleasure to attend the Conference, especially as I have a profound interest in its object."

From William A. Mowry, Ph.D., of Hyde Park, Mass. :

"You were rightly informed that I am much interested in this question. As a member of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society for a series of years past, my attention has been specially called to this question, and I have studied somewhat the signs of the times. I believe the time has come when public sentiment *can* be successfully aroused in favor of peaceful arbitration of all international differences. And if the English-speaking peoples can start the movement in an earnest and vigorous way, the other European and American nations will follow."

From Pres. E. M. Gallaudet, Washington, D.C. :

"Let me assure you I regret extremely that it will be out of my power to be with you, for I have a most hearty interest in the object of your Conference, and should greatly enjoy a few days under your hospitable roof."

From Judge Asa French, Boston, Mass. :

"I cannot tell you how much pleasure it would give me to be present at the Conference referred to, and participate in it, but engagements which I have made to go abroad compel me to decline. I am greatly interested in the purpose of your Conference and am a strong believer both in the advisability and practicability of settling international disputes by arbitration, and no gathering of earnest, aggressive friends of such a cause can fail to do much good."

From Rev. Teunis S. Hamlin, D.D., Washington, D.C. :

"I am profoundly interested in the subject, and should be delighted and profited, I am sure, by hearing the discussions at your house."

From Prof. Theodore S. Woolsey, New Haven, Conn. :

"Although I cannot see my way clear to coming on to Lake Mohonk for that occasion, I am glad of this opportunity of testifying to my belief in arbitration as a means of settling special controversies between States. I do not, however, feel so hopeful as do many of the organization of an international court to settle all disputes international, or of its working value, even if adopted. My theory of progress, then, is this: 'To apply special arbitration to all disputes possible.'"

From Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D., Brooklyn, N.Y. :

"I very much regret that before your letter came I had promised to attend the meeting of the Home Missionary Society to be held in Saratoga during the week set for your Conference at Mohonk. It will be a personal loss to me that these two opportunities conflict and I can but wish that there were some way by which I could share in the advantage of the Conference."

From Hon. C. C. Bonney, Chicago, Ill. :

"You are quite right in supposing that I am profoundly interested in this object, and would take great pleasure in attending a meeting for its promotion. I have for several years been an ardent advocate of the establishment of an international court of justice for the hearing of all such cases as would be submitted to it,

either for advice in the form of a judicial opinion depending on its own moral force for compliance, or for decision in a formal judgment which the parties would be bound to obey."

From Judge D. J. Brewer, of the Supreme Court :

"It will be impossible for me to accept your kind invitation. The work of the court has been exceptionally burdensome; we shall not adjourn before June 3d, and I shall be unable to leave Washington for some days thereafter."

From Hon. George F. Edmonds, of Burlington, Vt. :

"I am deeply interested in the international arbitration matter, and should be very sorry if it should happen that we could not go."

From Pres. Francis J. Patton, of Princeton, N.J. :

"I am in deep sympathy with the object for which the Conference, to be held on the 5th, 6th and 7th of June, is called, and if my public engagements permitted I should greatly enjoy the pleasure of accepting your very kind invitation to be present."

From Prof. J. B. Moore, Columbia College, New York City :

"You are justified in supposing that I am much interested in the subject of international arbitration. I became interested in it while I was in the service of the Government in the Department of State."

From Pres. D. C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore :

"I am very sorry that the pressure of my duties here will prevent me from accepting your invitation to the Conference. I heartily sympathize with the movement in which you are interested, and regret not to show this sympathy by my presence."

From Cephas Brainerd, New York City :

"I am greatly interested in the matter of arbitration, and would like to take part in your discussions, though I do not have the extreme expectations in that regard which are entertained by some reformers."

From Miss Frances E. Willard :

"Miss Willard sends every good wish for the success of this Conference, and regrets that absence in England will prevent her from being with you."

From B. O. Flower, Editor *Arena*, Boston, Mass. :

"I thank you for your kind invitation. I am exceedingly interested in the cause of international arbitration."

From Hon. Wm. M. Evarts, New York City :

"You are quite right in ascribing to me great interest in promoting and extending the influence of international arbitration among friendly nations. I regret, however, to feel that my impaired sight prevents me from taking part in public assemblies."

From Pres. J. B. Angell, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor :

"I should be most glad to attend the Conference in June on international arbitration. It is a subject in which I am very much interested. Unhappily, my engagements make it impossible for me to be away at that time."

From Hon. A. R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, Washington :

"I very greatly regret that imperative duties here will not allow me to be present at the Conference. I offer my earnest wishes that its deliberations may contribute to the advancement of human welfare."

From Rev. H. L. Wayland, D.D., Editor *Examiner*, New York City :

"I am profoundly interested in the matter of arbitration, both international and industrial. My attention has been particularly drawn toward the latter. Both Mrs. Wayland and myself thank you very heartily for your valued invitation, and should be exceedingly glad to accept it, but circumstances at present seem to prevent our leaving home. I am more than usually pressed with work. I trust that the meeting will give a great impulse to the cause of arbitration."

From Hon. Seth Low, Pres. Columbia College, New York City :

"I am, as you suppose, in favor of such a settlement of international disputes, but I am sorry to say that it will not be possible for me to attend the Conference."

From Hon. George F. Hoar, Worcester, Mass. :

"I am much obliged to you for your courteous invitation to visit Mohonk Lake in the early part of June and take part in the Conference to be held there. But it will not be in my power to accept your invitation this year."

From Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, Supreme Court of Errors, State of Connecticut, New Haven :

"Were it in my power, it would give me pleasure to attend the Conference. The United States have already done much to promote the cause of international arbitration; but our commanding position on this continent enables us to do much more. The increased cost of modern warfare, and the mechanical structure which it is coming to assume, seem to me to be paving the way towards some European international agreement for a general reduction of military establishments. A clear and temperate expression of American public sentiment in its favor might have no inconsiderable influence towards the accomplishment of such a result."

From W. Randal Cremer, M.P., London :

"Our Parliament is now in session, and it is impossible for me to get away. I am glad to learn that the friends of Peace in the United States are pressing forward the good cause. A treaty of arbitration between your country and ours would not only prove to the world the practicability of our principles, but the example thus set would be speedily followed by other nations who have pledged themselves to follow it if we lead the way. Legislators are bound to do the will of the people when their will is strongly manifested, and in your effort to stimulate the actions of Congress through public opinion I heartily wish you success."

The Chairman then introduced MR. PHILIP C. GARRETT of Philadelphia as the first speaker of the evening.

ADDRESS OF MR. PHILIP C. GARRETT.

Mr. Chairman,—My own interest in the subject of this Conference dates from the time when, as a young man, I was drafted during the Civil War. Being a Friend, both by tradition and teaching, and by conviction, I was unable to serve in the army, and the Friends were extremely strict at that time about permitting their younger members to pay any commutation tax or to relieve themselves from any suffering they might be subjected to under the draft. If a personal friend, whose name I did not discover for years, had not paid the commutation for me, I should have been liable to be dragged into the field and subjected, as were some Friends in North Carolina, to a severe test of my principles. This brought me to consider the foundation of my opinions,—whether they were merely traditional or based on real conviction of the wrongfulness of war. To satisfy myself that I did not care to be exempted from the *cost* of the commutation, I devoted three hundred dollars to the peace cause. From that time I took a deep interest in the matter, and used to attend the meetings of the Committee on International

Arbitration, of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, and afterward some of the congresses of that body in Europe. The conviction was forced upon my mind on some of those occasions that the real difficulty was in the absence of a sense of justice among peoples and governments. I remember introducing a resolution, at the Conference at Frankfort-on-the-Main, which was treated with some contempt, to the effect that in the European congresses similar right should be given to the small powers to be heard to that which the greater powers claimed for themselves. I am bound to conclude that at the present time the British government believes that might makes right, when she continually encroaches upon small powers, taking possession of their territory for her own aggrandizement. We have, in endeavoring to substitute for war international arbitration or any other means of settling disputes, to confront these difficulties.

The suggestion I have to make this evening is rather in favor of enlarging Mr. Smiley's limitations as to the subjects which this Conference might consider, so far as to say that we want to settle international disputes, not by arbitration only, but by any judicial means rather than by forcible ones. I think there are at least two better methods than arbitration for avoiding wars. The first is organic union, as in the case of the union of the States of Germany, and of the States of Italy, into one single state which theretofore had been a number of petty states, constantly liable to be at warfare, but which now are combined, serving under one flag. The most signal instance of this is the case of the United States. Here are forty-four independent States, which originally claimed State rights, united together by legal bonds obligating them to settle all interstate disputes by courts. It is just as feasible to do this between all nations as it is between our States.

The second method is negotiation. It is better that before any effort is made to submit disputes between nations to the arbitration of an independent power, they should endeavor to settle such disputes by negotiation on the part of their own officials. Many difficulties are, in fact, settled in this way. But possibly better than either of these,—and a method which I think will be adopted some time,—is the establishment of a court which would be analogous to the Supreme Court of the United States as between the States of the Union, a Supreme Court for the civilized states of the world.

This is no new idea. You may be well aware that two centuries ago the founder of our State, William Penn, published what he called "An Essay towards the Peace of Europe," in which he proposed this to the nations of Europe. But it was too early; he anticipated public opinion so far that it did not attract great attention. It was his proposal that they should combine together in a sort of federation for the maintenance of peace, in which all states should bind themselves to suppress any violation of international law on the part of one. Although William Penn was a Friend and a peace man, he did not go farther,—perhaps it could not be done now,—than to back up this federation by force; he had a provision by which each State was to furnish a certain contingent of an army and navy, and he

thought the recalcitrant would never contend against the combined forces, and therefore there would never be any war.

JUDGE EARL.—How is your last proposal different from arbitration?

MR. GARRETT.—Arbitration I regard as a temporary submission of any question to a temporary arbitrator. A tribunal like the Supreme Court is permanent, and all questions are submitted to it without appeal.

The peace association with which I am connected addressed last year to Emperor William a respectful letter, appealing to him, as the head of the greatest military power in Europe, to use his efforts to bring about a stoppage of this competition between the nations for greater armaments. It was suggested that he appeal to them to reduce their armaments simultaneously and by an equal percentage, so that, while they retain the same proportion as now, the taxes of the people might be lessened. He returned, through the minister to Washington, a courteous and kindly response, acknowledging the merit of the suggestion and thanking us for our kind and generous intentions. This was much further than I expected him to go. It was a singular coincidence at least that just after this he actually made this proposal to the nations of Europe. Very likely he had had similar petitions from various quarters, and the combined appeal induced him to feel that there was something in it.

The Chairman then presented as the next speaker REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE of Boston, who spoke upon "A Permanent Tribunal."

ADDRESS OF EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The words which the president has just used are a good abridgment of my speech.—a Permanent Tribunal. The illustration which Mr. Abbott used this morning is perfect; it cannot be pressed too far,—the illustration of the United States of America. The United States of America is the oldest, as it is the largest and most successful, peace society which the world has ever known. All these different societies of which Mr. Trueblood spoke this morning, however successful they have been, are utterly inferior to the remarkable association known as the "United States of America." Beginning with thirteen independent States, proud of their independency, having very strong grounds for alienation from each other, and including afterward the acquisitions from Louisiana and from the Spanish territory,—acquisitions which mix the Latin race with the Teutonic race and bring in the Catholic religion to mix with the Protestant religion; in the face of all the difficulties which such a condition of things presents, you have the extraordinary spectacle of one hundred and six years of peace

broken only by the calamity of the Civil War. That calamity may be considered separately, and if properly considered it is itself an argument, and a very strong argument, in the line which we are pursuing. Leaving that out, speaking of the hundred and one years of perfect peace which have been preserved, beginning with thirteen different States and coming down to forty-four, you have the most remarkable history of peace in the world since the reign of the Antonines. And the great principles which are laid down by such writers as William Penn, and by Henry IV. a hundred years earlier, whose "Great Design" for the same purpose is almost word for word the design of William Penn, — these principles may be illustrated to the letter by anybody who chooses to study the history of the United States of America.

It is perfectly true, as was said this morning, that this is done so peacefully that nothing gets into the histories. That is the general rule for a history to leave out what is important, and to put in what is unimportant if only it be noisy. It would be a matter of surprise in most schools, and perhaps in most colleges, if you should say to them that in one hundred and five years there have been thirty or forty conflicts between States in the American Union which, under any other circumstances, would have been adjusted by shock of arms. We had between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in the year 1841 I think, a boundary contest, of a difficulty quite equal to the boundary contest of which the newspapers are full now, between the Central American States. Here were two independent States, with an absolute difference. The question was submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States, it was settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, and I do not believe that at the present moment there are fifty men or women in the State of Massachusetts or in the State of Rhode Island who know what the question was, or would be prepared to give any intelligent account of a matter which, under any other system, would have brought the troops of these two States into collision. This is one illustration out of a great many. There was a similar question between the State of Missouri and the State of Iowa as to their boundary, — a question which perhaps made rather more mark upon national politics. There have been countless questions with respect to the jurisdiction of States, but the Supreme Court does its work so quietly that it does not get into print. It is every now and then announced by European writers with the most extraordinary fanfarronade, that there is such a court; it takes them entirely by surprise. Our English friends when they travel here, call the President of the United States the "ruler" of the United States. He is not; the people of the United States is the ruler of the United States. We have had lately a very striking instance of the way in which the Supreme Court is virtually at the head of the government of America.

Now why was not Henry IV. right when he said there might be the United States of Europe? Why might there not be a permanent tribunal which could be called into session at any moment, and which could have the questions referred to it which are now referred to war? I was glad that little conversation took place just now

with regard to the word arbitration. I think all of us who have come here have come supposing that the word was interpreted in the larger sense in which it comes into literature. There is a good New England phrase, "Leave it out to men." When a couple of farmers have got into a discussion as to whose ox gored whose cow, and they feel afraid of the lawyers and do not want to go to the county town, they say, "I guess we'll leave it out to men." So one names Mr. Jones and the other names Mr. Black, and they two name Mr. White, and then the three hear the whole story and they settle it. We have a home habit of calling that "arbitration," and that is the scheme which has brought about seventy-seven arbitrations since the year 1815, — and a very good scheme it is, if you must create a court for the immediate occasion. But the world on the whole, in affairs of business, has got beyond the method of making a court for every separate occasion. It has found out for many reasons, that it is better, instead of having Mr. Black and Mr. White and Mr. Jones engaged for that particular occasion, to have some people used to deciding cases, — to have a court which by the correctness and purity of its decisions, year in and out, gains the confidence of all the people engaged, — to have a court preordained, if one may say so, made long beforehand, without the possibility of the judges being selected with reference to the particular matter which they are to decide.

And so I want to urge, first, second, last, and always, a permanent tribunal. That is the thing which, if I may use the expression of the streets, must be "rubbed in" to the public mind. You really do not advance much on the present condition of affairs until you can get the governments of the world to see that it is a great deal better to appoint one permanent tribunal, — I shall say those words a hundred times before I have sat down, for I wish that people may dream of it at night and think of it in the morning, — one permanent tribunal to sit for a hundred years, than to have to make a new tribunal for each particular case. It is exactly as my young friend who went out on a bicycle ride this morning was glad he had the same bicycle he rode on yesterday, instead of being obliged to go and make a bicycle for himself. He was glad to have a permanent bicycle, made by people who understood how to make them, and to use the same bicycle all through his travel.

This was considered, in Henry IV.'s time, as somewhat visionary, though he came very near carrying the plan out. In the time of William Penn, a hundred years afterwards, it was still considered a dream, an ideal. But a hundred years after William Penn, comes along the United States of America, tries the great experiment, and it succeeds; and seventy millions of people, in forty-four States, are now living under the success of that experiment. Nobody dares any longer say that it is dreamy or poetical or visionary, because it has succeeded better than the "dread arbitrament of war," better than the experiments of diplomacy. It has turned out that a permanent tribunal in the United States has wrought the success which no other experiment that has been tried has wrought. So we are, if I may again use the language of the ungodly, "on the inside track,"

and the burden of proof in this argument is on those people who want to make a separate court every time there is a quarrel.

I should like to go into the realm of imagination a little as to the future in this matter. You would appoint your court, and your court would *exist*. You would not say, "This court is appointed for the purpose of determining about the seals," or "about the indemnity which Nicaragua owes to Great Britain;" you would say, "This court is appointed to *exist* as a permanent tribunal." I should say that a good plan, to begin with, would be for the six great powers to name each a jurist of the highest rank in jurisprudence, precisely as the President now appoints a jurist to the Supreme Bench of the United States. It should be the highest honor to be given in the service of each of those powers. This gentleman should be named to sit as long as his health permitted, or to retire, if he pleased, at a fixed age, with an honorable pension. The honorarium to be paid to him should be of the very highest; and the dignities of his position should be of the very noblest. This court of six persons, appointed by the six great powers, might then name six "assessors" with themselves, from the smaller powers of the world, so that they might have a court of twelve persons, not too large for consultation, and at the same time the susceptibilities of every one of the powers might be met by more frequent changes among the assessors, as I call them, than among the original six. I would have the vacancies in the six filled by the powers who originally filled them.

This court would *meet*. It would be a great thing to have it meet; after the world had been in existence six thousand years, or six hundred thousand, as you take it, to know that six men of conscience, religion and integrity were sitting somewhere for the purpose of finding out the living truth on the practical questions which came before the world. This court would sit, first in London, then in Paris, then perhaps in Rio Janeiro, or Washington, then in Berlin. I do not say the whole twelve would meet, but a sufficient quorum would meet. I know very well that at first these states would be very slow about bringing their questions to the diplomatists. But there would come along some question, say as to whether the whole race of seals should be annihilated, — a question that nobody understood; and they would say, "Here is this ornamental court, let us leave it to them." The court will decide it, it would decide wisely, and the public opinion of the world would confirm the opinion of that court.

There would be no talk of resistance. This is precisely the point where the theorists find fault with any such statement. William Penn, as our friend said, was obliged to imagine an army behind. Has the presence of the United States army been needed to enforce the decision of the income tax? Was a file of soldiers necessary anywhere to compel agreement in the decision that I speak of, between the State of Massachusetts and the State of Rhode Island, — did it require even a sergeant or a corporal? Not at all. It is just as when Colonel Scott aimed at the coon; the coon said, "Don't waste your powder, Colonel, I'll come down." The coons of this world know when a decision has been made. There has not been necessary, in

the whole course of the jurisdiction of the United States, between State and State, the burning of one ounce of powder to enforce a decision which the Supreme Court made, so certain was it that public opinion would confirm its decisions.

Now compare this with the decision made, even by as respectable a board of arbitration as that which met at Paris, which proved not to understand the subject at all, and which has decided it in such a manner that all the seals are being killed, and there will not be any left for another arbitrament. Under such circumstances you name people who are not used to sitting together as a court, you have a court about which it is very doubtful how it is to get its witnesses together, a court creating the law which they are to administer. In place of that, by a permanent tribunal, you are gradually forming a body of international law all the time. For the first time since the days of the Antonines, or perhaps since Adam and Eve, there is somebody to say what international law is, instead of its being left for professors of colleges to write about. There will grow up a body of law from the decisions of this permanent tribunal, and to the decisions of that court everybody will be disposed more and more to submit. There was growling about submission to the Alabama decision, there was growling about the murder of the seals; but there has been an eager assent to every decision made by our Supreme Court.

I will not go into further detail with regard to a proposal which I have confessed to be imaginary. I do think, however, after a discussion which has lasted nearly a hundred years, it is quite necessary that this country, if it means to make any proposal at all to the other nations of the world, should come forward with a practical and definite proposal. It is not enough to sing,

"No war nor battle sound
Was heard the world around."

This thing is not to be settled by singing. It is going to be settled by a hard-and-fast system, laid down in consequence of historical precedents, and in such a way that it may command the attention and respect of the practical people in the world. And with that remark, and a single illustration, I will not try to hold your attention any longer.

It is to be observed that the passion for war is not a passion of the men who create the wealth of the world, or who are the really important people in the work of the world. Merchants never want to make war, the persons who pass from country to country never want to make war, scholars never want to make war. War checks the real progress of the world in invention, manufacture, trade; and all these demands for war which Mr. Abbott alluded to this morning are superficial. The real workers and thinkers are always opposed to war. It is the loafers, the people who wait for something to turn up, those who think they shall like to enlist in the armies, the people who are supposed to make public opinion, but who really follow public opinion, who make wars popular at the beginning. And it is the steady dislike of people to being killed and to having their brothers killed, to spending money in taxes, to having their ships

taken at sea, which always makes war unpopular when it comes to an end. We may be quite sure that if we can propose a practical system which will commend itself to practical men we shall go into any discussion of the subject with a good working force behind us.

The next speaker invited to address the Conference was JUDGE ROBERT EARL, late of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York.

ADDRESS OF JUDGE EARL.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Public opinion rules the world, and until we have cultivated a public opinion which demands imperiously the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, it will not come. Our aim therefore should be, in our own country and in all lands, to cultivate a public sentiment that demands the cessation of war, the disarmament of nations, and the settlement of international disputes by some international tribunal. I have observed that the spirit of militarism and “jingoism” is more rampant, notwithstanding all efforts in the direction of peace, in our own country than it has been in my day before, except during the war. We see its manifestation on all hands. Recently statesmen and newspapers gave utterances favorable to the taking of the Hawaiian Islands, even if we came into conflict with other nations. More recently, when a Spanish war-vessel fired into one of our merchant vessels, statesmen, newspapers and politicians were ready at once to wage war with Spain, and if necessary to seize the island of Cuba and annex it to this country. Still later when Great Britain sent her vessels to Central America and landed her troops upon the soil of Nicaragua, statesmen and newspapers urged our government to send on vessels to prevent the proceeding by force.

Again, there is the demand which has been made for several years that our navy be largely increased. Every time a great war vessel is launched there is glorification all over the country. We have no use for a great navy, except to send our officers around the world with chips on their shoulders, provoking quarrels instead of settling them. We need a navy for the purpose of protecting us, not against the strong nations of the earth, but against the weak republics of the South, who are sometimes unable to preserve order themselves, and to protect our property in their waters or the lives of our citizens there. We also hear now and then that our army ought to be largely increased, to make it worthy of a great republic like ours. What do we want with an army? No nation, I am very confident, will ever attack this country. We should not be called upon to bear the expense and the demoralization of sustaining a large army in anticipation of any conflict in the remote future. We do want an army for police purposes, to protect us against anarchists and other disorderly elements at home and to keep the Indians in order; but beyond that we have no need of an army. I think the friends of peace

should set their faces against an increase in the navy and in the army, or the building up in this country of a great naval and military power.

Thousands of years ago, warlike people worshipped warlike gods, and deified their military heroes. We are doing very much the same thing. North and South, in all large cities, in public squares, monuments are erected to military men and very few to the men who have achieved great success in civil life,—very few to philanthropists, to benefactors. We have been engaged, for many years, in making pets of all the men, good and bad, who were engaged on the side of the North in the war of the Rebellion. We have given them pensions unparalleled in the history of the world; they are entitled to the best places in public life; they get most votes when they run for office. We have days set apart for the purpose of cultivating this spirit. We have a law in the State of New York, requiring that flags shall be raised over the schoolhouses, so that children may imbibe the military spirit by looking at this emblem. And a movement has recently been set on foot to have military drill taught in our public schools, on the express ground that as the old soldiers pass away they should leave behind them some men qualified to fight. We cannot condemn all these things, nor can we change them. I simply speak of them to show that there is a great deal to foster the military spirit which has been rampant for some years.

To counteract this spirit, we must do all that we can to make our nation a peaceful nation, opposed to war, in favor of settling disputes by international arbitration.

Another thing we ought to do is to promote commerce between nations. Commerce is a great civilizer, and nothing so binds nations together as unrestricted trade. In early days every nation was arrayed against every other nation, ready to fight, ready to do all the injury possible by restrictions upon trade. That is gradually being changed, and it should be completely changed. For the present, probably, we must erect tariff barriers, but the time will come when trade and commerce will be as free as between the States of this country; and then war will be utterly impossible, because the nations will be so dependent upon each other. A distinguished senator of the United States said many years ago, "Commercial dependence is the greatest security for national independence."

How are we to accomplish this? We have first to cultivate public sentiment against war, and in favor of what we have called arbitration. Arbitrators are not necessarily temporarily appointed for a particular case; we have had in some States permanent boards of arbitration. The first thing will be the settlement of individual cases; the two nations having a dispute, first having tried diplomacy, may submit their difference to a temporary court of arbitration. By this system the public mind is educated, and nations get used to the idea. In process of time, the thing to be aimed at is a permanent board of arbitration, or a permanent court for the arbitration of international disputes. I apprehend, however, that before that is reached a great many difficulties will have to be surmounted. It would probably be necessary to bring in nearly all the civilized

nations of the earth, and there will be disputes about representation,—whether the smaller powers should have the same representation as the larger powers,—disputes more difficult, as between the nations, than the disputes which almost wrecked the efforts to form a constitution for this country. Yet I have the greatest faith that, under the improvement in the public conscience which must be accomplished by the moral and religious forces which are now at work, this great tribunal will at some time be erected.

Some one has suggested the difficulty of enforcing the judgments of such a tribunal. I apprehend there will not be the least difficulty. In the seventy-nine or eighty cases already referred to, every award has been practically approved and carried out; that shows that public sentiment presses upon the nations so that they do not dare to disregard the decision. But suppose any nation should refuse to obey the award? No judgment can be entered in such a tribunal as we are talking about. But its decision can be enforced as we would enforce a judgment against an individual. If an individual refuses to pay, his property is seized, or even his person. If any nation should so refuse, the other nations which are combined in favor of settling disputes in that way can enforce the award by seizing property, if necessary, by force of arms; and this would not be war in the sense in which war is waged now.

I conclude by saying, let us show through all the organs of our national life that we are a nation of peace, and thus lead the way in the pacification of the nations.

MR. JOSHUA L. BAILY of Philadelphia was asked to speak upon the subject of the evening as it presented itself to a business man.

ADDRESS OF MR. JOSHUA L. BAILY.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The ultimate settlement of differences which arise between nations, by some method other than war, seems to me inevitable. Inevitable not merely because of the spread of Christian ideas—a higher and more enlightened civilization, nor from any humanitarian considerations, but inevitable because the material interests of the nations will intervene and demand that peace shall be preserved.

Those who are engaged in commercial pursuits have especial occasion to notice how the barriers by which nations were once hedged in are being gradually removed. Not only are the natural barriers overcome by the spanning of rivers and the tunnelling of mountains, but the restrictions upon intercourse have been much abated. Passports are not so necessary as once they were. Our international postal system has contributed much towards a unification of interests, as have also the railways which interlace and bind whole continents with their net-work of steel. Electricity too has brought the nations into such close and instant communication that time and distance are well nigh annihilated and those who were one

time far separated, have become near neighbors. There has been established a close community of interest and sympathy which could not permit of war between any two of the nations without most disastrous results to all.

Again it seems to me that the reference of national differences to some tribunal other than war is inevitable because of the frightful cost involved. I have somewhere seen it stated that fully one-third of all the revenues of the nations of Europe is required to pay the interest on their national debts, contracted, as you know, chiefly for war purposes; another third of the revenues goes to keep up the armies and navies on the present war footing, while only one-third remains for the civic administration and all other objects of government. Think of it! Two-thirds of all the revenues of the nations of Europe to meet the obligations of war, and only one-third for all other purposes whatever! And instead of diminishing, this sorrowful disproportion is increasing. To-day the standing armies of Europe number more than four millions (4,000,000) of men, not counting other millions of reserves. The number has nearly doubled in the last twenty years, and the national debts, incurred chiefly for war puposes, have piled up to the almost inconceivable total of twenty-three thousand millions (23,000,000,000) of dollars. There must be a limit to this vast expenditure. Well may we ask whether the maximum has not been reached. Already some of the nations are dangerously near the vortex of bankruptcy.

For still another reason a resort to peaceful measures as a substitute for war seems inevitable. We must not lose sight of the contribution which science is making to this end. Think of the amazing increase in the murderous effectiveness of the weapons of war which has taken place in the last few years, say since the close of the Franco-German war. I read in a late paper that our Navy Department had recently adopted a rifle, the invention of a Connecticut artisan, which would fire five shots in three seconds and send a bullet through the bodies of two men standing one behind the other at the distance of three miles. And there are said to be cannon now in use by which a projectile can be thrown eight miles and at that distance penetrate an eighteen inch plate of Harveyized steel. I have heard also that a gun has been invented which will throw eighteen hundred (1800) shots in a minute.

To-day, were two great nations to make their appeal to the arbitrament of war they might array their armies miles apart and yet murderously destroy each other, indeed a near approach would be impossible, and so wholesale would be the slaughter that there would be none left to care for the wounded or to bury the dead. Such warfare would be not conquest, not victory, but extermination for both armies.

Will not the nations stand aghast and hesitate long before entering upon a contest involving such direful consequences? Is it too much then to claim science as an ally, and that the very terrible effectiveness of these modern weapons of human butchery is a guarantee of peace?

While I speak of these material conditions as making inevitable the

abandonment of war as a means of settling national differences, I by no means underestimate the value of moral agencies in creating a correct public sentiment. I agree with all that has been said here along that line. No one deprecates more than I do the spirit of militarism of which there has recently been such a widespread revival. The demand for military training in our schools and the establishment of boys' brigades even under the roofs of the churches should be an occasion of sorrow and alarm to all who believe that the true greatness, the prosperity and permanence of our nation will be found in the cultivation of the arts of peace rather than the arts of war. There are no doubt many good citizens who have taken up with this new movement inconsiderately, but whose sober second thought will condemn it.

The teachings of our schools has, I think, been all along in an erroneous direction; most of the histories which we put into the hands of the children speak of war as though it had been the most praiseworthy employment of mankind, and its heroes are held up for unstinted admiration, while the achievements of peace and the heroes of peace are too often only subordinately mentioned.

Notwithstanding some of these much to be regretted present conditions, it cannot be doubted that arbitration as a substitute for war is growing in popular favor.

Let it be our duty to keep this great question to the front, as second in national importance to no other, and concerning the welfare of not one nation only, but of all mankind.

HON. WILLIAM H. ARNOUX was then invited to speak and addressed the Conference briefly.

Mr. Chairman,—I think that Dr. Hale stands like one of the old prophets, looking far into the future to see what will inevitably come. But I agree with Judge Earl that we must have the doctrine of evolution applied first. In my judgment, the easiest way of approaching the object aimed at would be that a committee should be appointed here, to urge upon the government that the United States should make a treaty with every power, big or little, of the world, in which they should agree with one another that they would never go to war, but would submit any dispute that might arise to the determination of some tribunal, made by themselves or ready-made, like the permanent tribunal which has been spoken of.

If the United States should propose to make such a treaty with England, and then with France, Italy, Austria, Sweden, Spain and all the powers of Europe, with all the powers of Central America and all the powers of South America, I believe we should find in every instance that they would be ready to join with us. In this way we should bring about a permanent tribunal more certainly than if we aimed at that first.

THE CHAIRMAN said that it had been suggested that the publication of the proceedings of the Conference, and a wide dissemination

of the addresses which had been made, would do good ; and he asked an expression of opinion from the members of the Conference.

On motion, it was unanimously voted that the Business Committee be authorized to print the proceedings of the Conference, and that the treasurer be authorized to invite contributions, to the amount of four hundred dollars, for that purpose.

THE CHAIRMAN.—While the distribution of the Proceedings of the Indian Conferences is restricted, the work of this Conference is so largely educational that it would be wise to distribute its Proceedings much more widely. If a larger sum than that which it has been voted to ask for could be placed in the treasury, we might send the Proceedings to the press, the ministers and the legislators of this country, in a form in which they would be read and studied and be productive of much good.

The Conference then adjourned, at 9.30 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, June 6.

The Conference was called to order at 10 o'clock by the Chairman, who announced the subject of the session to be the proposed treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. He then introduced as the first speaker, the President of the American Peace Society, the HONORABLE ROBERT TREAT PAINE of Boston.

ADDRESS OF HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

The movement we are interested in only needs to be fully appreciated by ourselves to succeed. The hardest fighter that we ever had on this continent, when he said, "Let us have peace," struck a chord that has not ceased to vibrate.

This matter of the treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States does not differ very widely from the subject that we considered last evening. A treaty is the first step, and an international court of arbitration that shall include all nations of the world is the last step; we have not necessarily to take the last step first. Why may we not have a high court of arbitration that shall be sanctioned by a treaty between two nations, or three, or several, and at last include all? A treaty between two nations is perhaps the simplest step; and the most important treaty, if we may say so, that can be enacted is that between the two great English-speaking nations, the United States and Great Britain. Is that hopeless? I think a brief statement of facts will show us that we are on the very eve of accomplishing this superb achievement.

This cause has proceeded by triennial steps. I have here a brief history, prepared by the secretary of the American Peace Society, Dr. Trueblood, who has put such splendid work into this cause for the last three years. It is a history of the movement for an arbitration treaty between Great Britain and the United States. I think we may say that it began in 1887, when a deputation of thirteen Englishmen brought over a memorial, signed by two hundred and thirty-three members of the British House of Commons, presented it to the President, and were received by him most cordially. Let me read a few words. The memorial asked for "a treaty which shall stipulate that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments, which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency, shall be referred to arbitration. Should such a proposal happily emanate from the Congress of the United States, our best influence shall be used to ensure its acceptance by the government of Great Britain." President Cleveland made a kind response, promising to give the matter his "faithful and careful consideration."

The next important step forward was taken on the 3d of April, 1890, when the Sherman Concurrent Resolution was passed unanimously by our House of Representatives; a brief but important resolve:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), that the President be, and is hereby requested, to invite from time to time, as fit occasion may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the governments, which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency, may be referred to arbitration."

Now you will remember that just at that time the Pan-American Congress had been meeting at Washington, summoned by our government from all the republics of this continent. Let me read a few words spoken when that conference was called together, in the welcome extended to them by Mr. Blaine. This was on the 3d of October, 1889. These are official words, spoken by our Secretary of State, welcoming officially the delegates from the countries of this continent:

"The delegates whom I am addressing can do much to establish permanent relations of confidence, respect and friendship between the nations which they represent. They can show to the world an honorable and peaceful conference of seventeen independent American powers, in which all shall meet together on terms of absolute equality; a conference in which there can be no attempt to coerce a single delegate against his own conception of the interests of his nation; a conference which will permit no secret understanding on any subject, but will frankly publish to the world all its conclusions; a conference which will tolerate no spirit of conquest, but will aim to cultivate an American sympathy, as broad as both continents; a conference which will form no selfish alliance against the older nations from which we are proud to claim inheritance; a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing, propose nothing, endure nothing, that is not, in the general sense of all the delegates, timely and wise and peaceful."

And a few words toward the end of Mr. Blaine's welcome:

"It will be a greater gain when we shall be able to draw the people of all American nations into closer acquaintance with each other,—an end to be facilitated by more frequent and more rapid inter-communication. It will be the greatest gain when the personal and commercial relations of the American States, South and North, shall be so developed and so regulated that each shall acquire the highest possible advantage from the enlightened and enlarged intercourse of all."

You will remember that as a result of that Pan-American Congress, a brief draft of a treaty of arbitration was prepared, to be signed by the delegates of those countries, and was signed by almost all. Unfortunately it had a time limit, which required that it be ratified by the home governments on or before a given date, which came too soon, so that no accomplished treaty has grown out of that proposal. Many of our friends in Europe think that the first draft signed at Washington was final and definitive, but it was not.

After the adjournment of the Pan-American Conference, and following up the resolve passed unanimously by our House of Representatives, a circular letter was addressed by our State Department, over the signature of Mr. Blaine, and sent to the various countries with whom we have diplomatic relations, intimating that the United States was ready to negotiate treaties of arbitration. This was another very important step forward.

This was in the autumn of 1890. I happened to be in Paris in September, 1891, and inquired of Mr. Whitelaw Reid what progress had been made in this matter with France. He said that France was not then ready to negotiate a treaty of arbitration. France felt that she had a matter to settle with Germany, to recover Alsace and Lorraine, which meant war, and she was not ready seriously to consider arbitration. I had a delightful interview with Mr. Passy, the old French patriarch, who, with his children and grandchildren, has worked in this cause now for two or three generations, and he gave me the same information. In London I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, our ambassador at the Court of St. James. He said he had communicated the letter of our State Department to the British government. It had been acknowledged, but nothing further had been done, and at that time he was not hopeful that Great Britain would act. Large powers move slowly; England did not act until after a lapse of over a year, when the friends of peace in the House of Commons made a strenuous attempt. The 16th of June, 1893, was a great day in the history of our cause. Mr. Cremer and other friends of the arbitration cause had their motion heard in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone took part in the discussion, improved the resolution by an amendment which he himself offered, and after a debate, in which he made a powerful speech,—he being then prime minister,—and Sir John Lubbock and other leading Englishmen spoke, and a good part of the session was devoted to speeches in favor of the motion, this resolution was passed “without division,” that is, unanimously:

“That this House has learned with satisfaction that both Houses of the United States Congress have authorized the President to invite from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments, which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agencies, may be referred to arbitration, and peacefully adjusted by such means;

“And that this House, cordially sympathizing with the purpose in view, expresses the hope that Her Majesty’s government will lend their ready co-operation to the government of the United States upon the basis of the foregoing resolution.”

Mr. Bayard, then our ambassador, in communicating this action of the House of Commons, said in reference to the speaking that it “was entirely above the usual range of Parliamentary expression.” The Earl of Rosebery, then Secretary of State, sent the following letter, in July, 1893, to Sir Julian Pauncefoot, the British ambassador at Washington:

"I transmit to Your Excellency copy of a resolution which was passed in the House of Commons on the 16th ult., expressing sympathy with the action taken by the Congress of the United States in favor of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

"Her Majesty's government have pleasure in bringing this resolution to the knowledge of the government of the United States, and would be glad if the President should see fit to lay it before both Houses of Congress.

"I request that Your Excellency will communicate a copy of this resolution to the Secretary of State, with an intimation to the above effect."

In the autumn of that year, our American Peace Society at Boston deemed it important to secure the next step forward if possible, and at their request I visited Washington in November, and had a very satisfactory interview with Mr. Gresham, the Secretary of State. I strongly urged him to secure some favorable mention of this matter in the President's message. The message which appeared shortly afterward in December, 1893, had this clause in it:

"It affords me signal pleasure to lay this Parliamentary resolution before the Congress, and to express my sincere gratification that the sentiment of two great and kindred nations is thus authoritatively manifested in favor of the rational and peaceful settlement of international quarrels by honorable resort to arbitration."

I think we must admit that this was the culmination of the movement thus far. I said that we had advanced by triennial steps; perhaps we must be patient, and be well content if in 1896 the thing can be done. At any rate, not much progress has been made since.

The question for us to consider this morning is, What is the next action that should be taken? It would seem that the next thing is for our Executive Department to negotiate the desired treaty. But it has been supposed by some of our friends that it would be wise to have Congress again invite our Executive to act. Resolutions to that effect were introduced in the House of Representatives and in the Senate in the spring of 1894, about a year ago, and were under consideration during that session.

When Dr. Trueblood and I visited Washington at the beginning of the last session, in December, we found conditions somewhat unfavorable in the House of Representatives. Just then the disagreement existed with Great Britain about the Mosquito Territory, and also the proposal to complete the Nicaraguan Canal was deemed of great importance in Washington. Senator Morgan, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, was making a great speech in behalf of this canal. It was supposed that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain might operate to prevent the United States doing what some enterprising commercial men wish to have done by our government; and there is a certain feeling among members of the House of Representatives that until we get what we wish in regard to this canal, by England's consent or in spite of her, we do not wish to tie our hands with a treaty which might compel us to submit any such disagreement to impartial arbitration. The matter had come up, therefore, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, it had

been referred to a sub-committee; but though Dr. William Everett of Massachusetts, as chairman of that sub-committee, had done everything he could to secure a favorable report, he had failed. We consulted with members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, and on the whole they deemed it wise that the resolve should not be acted upon in the Senate; because after the Executive negotiate a treaty, it then becomes the constitutional duty of the Senate to consider, act upon, and either accept or reject the treaty.

So we went back to the Executive Department, and had a brief but satisfactory interview with Mr. Gresham, who was very friendly to the cause in all the interviews we had with him,—I delight to do him this honor. Just at that time he was preoccupied with other important business and so the arbitration treaty waits for an opportune moment. We do not want to underestimate the strength of our cause. I do not think there is the slightest reason for discouragement; great events come slowly. We need to appreciate what I was about to call the almost unanimous sentiment of this country in favor of this movement. The fact that a resolve like this passed unanimously in our House of Representatives, that it passed without division in the House of Commons of Great Britain, shows that when the fit moment comes, the treaty will be made.

I am delighted to think that we meet here to do what we can, in wise counsel, to expedite further this great cause, which will unite the two great English-speaking nations in perpetual peace and amity. It will be an object lesson to the rest of the world, and a very powerful step in the progress towards disarmament among the nations of Europe.

Just one word further about the relations that have existed between Great Britain and the United States, on a very important portion of the world's surface. It is not much known; it is one of those great things which have almost passed into oblivion because it has done its perfect work. How many of us know the fact that in 1817, after the war with Great Britain, the United States negotiated a short treaty, of about one page, which provided that on the chain of the Great Lakes, stretching so far across this continent, neither power should at any time have any vessel of war? Till the present time, nearly eighty years, the treaty has been faithfully observed, and the result is that there are no fortresses, no preparations for war, by land or water, on that whole territory. We came very near to the abrogation of that treaty during our Civil War, but fortunately the notice that had been given by our government to Great Britain was withdrawn and rescinded, and the treaty stands. This illustration shows how efficacious is a wise step in the right direction.

How can we make our influence effective? I cannot refrain from saying how greatly encouraged I am when I see the men and women in this gathering, and feel, what we all must feel, that it is not a little local movement, that we are not isolated units struggling at a hopeless cause, but that we are united and resolute in behalf of a cause which is sure to win. Shall we not go home cheered and confident? We have the press with us. When Mr. Cremer's

resolve was introduced in our House of Representatives last year, the press took it up very favorably and widely through the country. We find our Boston press always ready to help this cause; I believe the New York press is ready; I have no doubt the Philadelphia press is ready. Of course we know that the pulpit is on our side. It only needs determination among ourselves to secure the result which we have at heart to accomplish.

MR. PHILIP C. GARRETT moved that a committee be appointed by the Chairman of this meeting, to visit Washington after the close of the Conference, and appeal to the government for the furtherance of proceedings in relation to this treaty.

In presenting this resolution, Mr. Garrett said:

It seems to me this is an opportune time for a movement in this direction. I happened to be present in 1887 when the deputation from the British Parliament presented their address to the President. Mr. Andrew Carnegie introduced them and made an introductory speech. A large number of gentlemen stood around the President, and it was an impressive occasion. To my surprise, when they were done, instead of merely a few words of acknowledgment, the President drew from his breast a roll of paper. He had carefully written a very diplomatic answer, which, while it showed an appreciation of the subject, and a certain sympathy on his own part, also showed that he was very cautious about it and not at all sure that the government would do anything. Within a few weeks I had occasion to visit Secretary Gresham on another subject. The real sympathy which he showed with the cause of peace, the real desire that peace should be maintained among the nations of the earth, were extremely manifest. Whoever may be his successor, I hope Mr. Gresham's spirit may rest upon him.

JUDGE ARNOUX offered, as an amendment, the suggestion that the committee have power to take such action as may further their object in the future.

Mr. Garrett accepted the amendment, and the resolution was then, upon motion of HON. GEORGE S. HALE, referred to the Business Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We have with us at this time a link between Great Britain and America, a gentleman trained in the law on the other side of the Atlantic, who is now occupying a chair in Johns Hopkins University. I am sure that we should be glad to hear at this time from PROFESSOR GEORGE H. EMMOTT.

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR GEORGE H. EMMOTT.

Mr. Chairman,—We have had placed before us in a very interesting and able manner by Dr. Trueblood and also by the speaker, who has immediately preceded me, the Hon. Robert Treat Paine of

Boston, the part taken by Great Britain in a series of transactions now extending over some seven or eight years and establishing, I believe, in the clearest possible manner the desire on the part of a large portion of the electorate of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to enter into a *permanent* treaty, providing for the settlement of all international disputes, which may hereafter arise between the two countries, not involving the existence of the national life, by means of arbitration. As I have had no opportunity for consultation with the previous speakers, I must apologize if I, to some extent, cover again any part of the ground already covered by them. I should like in the first place to read verbatim the memorial to which reference has already been made as having been signed by three hundred and fifty-four members of the British House of Commons, and recently presented to the President and Congress of the United States of America. It is in these words: "In response to the resolution adopted by Congress on April 4, 1890, the British House of Commons, supported in its decision by Mr. Gladstone, on June 16, 1893, unanimously affirmed its willingness to co-operate with the government of the United States in settling disputes between the two countries by means of arbitration. The undersigned members of the British Parliament, while cordially thanking Congress for having, by its resolution, given such an impetus to the movement and called forth such a response from our government, earnestly hope that Congress will follow up its resolution, and crown its desire by inviting our government to join in framing a treaty which shall bind the two nations to refer to arbitration disputes which diplomacy fails to adjust. Should such a proposal be made, our heartiest efforts would be used in its support and we shall rejoice that the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland have resolved to set such a splendid example to the other nations of the world." Three hundred and fifty-four members of the British House of Commons have indicated in a formal manner to the United States that in their belief the initiative must come from her, they have expressed a willingness to use every legitimate means to urge the matter upon the attention of their own government as soon as any move is made by the government of the United States, and they have promised to do their very best to obtain a hearty co-operation on the part of their own government with any measure of practical importance which may be suggested by the government of the United States.

The significance of this movement on the part of three hundred and fifty-four members of the British House of Commons can hardly be overestimated; a careful perusal of the names shows that amongst the signers were men of every shade of political belief; there are, as one would expect to be the case, a large number of Liberals, including the Right Honorable Sir John Lubbock, the Right Honorable C. P. Villiers, the life long friend and associate of Cobden and of Bright, and many others; but the list also contains the names of Sir Richard Webster, the late Conservative Attorney-General, and widely known and universally respected as one of the leading members of the English Common Law Bar, and a large number of the leading Liberal Unionists.

Now speaking as an Englishman, and yet as one a very large part of the last ten years of whose professional life has been spent in the service of one of the great universities of the United States, in close contact both at Baltimore, Washington and elsewhere with much of what is best and noblest in your noble country, and loving it, as I have long since learned to do, as second only to my own, I have no hesitation in saying that this memorial expresses the heartfelt sentiment of a large part not only of the House of Commons, but also of a large part of the British electorate.

I have no idea at all that this memorial was in any sense a suggestion of the British government as such. I do not see attached to it — I hardly should expect to see attached to it, — the names of any of the more prominent members of the British Cabinet; I am inclined to believe that this is a movement on the part of the great masses of the British people, who realize very fully that their interests are one with those of the people of the United States. Now, if you will excuse me for referring for a moment to my own personal history, I think I can show you that I am in a rather peculiarly favorable position from the various circumstances in which I have been placed to know something about the wants and feelings of the laboring classes in England. Born and brought up in one of the great manufacturing centres of industry of the North of England, living there with the exception of my school, college and university life until close upon thirty years of age, and from then up to the present time spending a substantial part of each year in the same place, where my father, a large employer of labor, lived until the close of his active life, and where two of my brothers still live, I may say that I have all my life lived either amongst, or at any rate in close contact with, the laboring classes of the North of England. I know what I am talking about when I say that the feeling of the great body of the people in Great Britain is entirely different towards the people of the United States from that which it is towards the people of any other country. I regret to say that I believe that the average Englishman might not be unwilling in the event of certain circumstances arising, to make considerable sacrifices in order to engage in a war with France; I believe that he would be extremely unwilling to raise a hand, however great the provocation, against this country, which he justly regards as connected with his own by so many ties.

I hope that I have made it abundantly clear that the feeling in England now is that the next step, the initiative, must come from the United States. I hope that you will not think me discourteous when I say that many of my countrymen believe that Great Britain has gone far enough. Everything therefore depends upon the attitude of the United States. Great Britain is ready, as she has abundantly testified, to co-operate heartily in any feasible scheme which may be proposed by the government of the United States for the practical solution of this question by judicial decision. On the reading of the memorial to which I have referred in the House of Representatives Mr. W. J. Coombs on January 19th last moved the following resolution, namely: "Whereas in response to the resolution adopted by Con-

gress on April 4, 1890, the British House of Commons on June 16, 1893, unanimously affirmed its willingness to co-operate with the government of the United States in settling disputes between the two countries by means of arbitration; Therefore — Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to take such further steps in the matter, in order to secure the results contemplated in those resolutions, as to him may seem expedient; and to that end, if he deems it necessary or expedient, he is authorized to appoint Commissioners to meet an equal number appointed by the government of Great Britain to negotiate a treaty to accomplish the purposes of said resolutions." This resolution together with the memorial was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and there, I believe, it has since remained, and I think it is very important that this Convention should use its influence to urge suitable action on the part of the President and, if necessary, on the part of the Congress of the United States at the earliest possible opportunity.

In England at the present time, out of every twenty shillings that is collected in the shape of imperial taxation, something like sixteen shillings and sixpence goes towards the expense of armaments, past and present, while something like three shillings and sixpence goes towards the support of the various objects of a non-warlike character that press for constant attention. When I went, some two or three years ago, to look up some topic of special interest in the field of comparative jurisprudence in the library of the British Museum, I found that the books published in France and Germany, and even some published in England, during the last three or four years had not been purchased; on inquiry, I was told that the government had found it necessary to cut down by £10,000, or say nearly \$50,000, the grant made every year to the library of the Museum. In fact, it is not too strong an expression to say that the present condition of things in France, in Germany, and even in England, is only one degree better than that of actual war; Italy, as you know, is already practically bankrupt; Russia, I am afraid, is not far from it.

Whilst I hope that we may earnestly strive towards the establishment of such a permanent tribunal, consisting of representatives of all the great civilized powers, as the one whose constitution was outlined to us yesterday in such an interesting way by Dr. E. E. Hale, whilst I believe that such a tribunal is an ideal to be steadily looked to and striven towards, yet most assuredly we ought *now* to do that which is present to our hands. It has taken much hard and laborious work for many years to bring the British people to the point at which they now are, and this is the point where rests, for the present at any rate, the solution of this question. If the offer which Great Britain has made to you is not accepted, if it is even left over indefinitely, the cause of international arbitration may receive a set-back that will take it a very great number of years to recover. If, on the other hand, we can bring this matter to a satisfactory conclusion between these two great countries, the cause of international arbitration will have taken a great step onwards. And not only have we, as my learned friend Dr. Austin Abbott has

shown, the precedent of the Supreme Court of the United States administering many widely differing systems of law, but also in England the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, — which tries cases involving even more widely differing systems of law than those which exist within the confines of the United States. To-day the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may be engaged with an appeal from Lower Canada, based entirely upon French Law; to-morrow it may be engaged with the construction of an English statute, or with the application of the equitable principles laid down by the Court of Chancery; the next day with an ecclesiastical appeal from an English Court, and the day following with an appeal from the furthest removed British colony on the face of the globe. With such precedents English and American lawyers can surely try all cases that can possibly arise between two nations which have, to a very large extent, the same system of common law, and whose jurists are on terms of constant association and consultation with each other. Each of the three obstacles to which Dr. Abbott referred yesterday under the heads of, love of contention, material interests, and the large degree of approbation given by society to the war system, applies with tenfold force in a country like Great Britain. The latter point is one which it is almost impossible to overestimate. Owing to the union between the Anglican Church and the state, the pulpit is not in England a force against war; rather I should say, great as is its service in many ways, the pulpit of the Anglican Church is almost without exception the friend and the ally of war. The best and most devoted Anglican clergymen are found blessing colors, and in every way lending the sanction of their consecrated office to a system so closely associated with the state.

I feel that it is of the greatest importance that something should be done *now* in this matter. From the close contact that I have with my native land, I feel that you may never have the like opportunity again. And I can conceive of no nobler work than to take any step, however small, to bring together these two great countries, which are being every day knit more closely together. I can conceive of no higher or more sacred duty, no higher blessing for any man or any woman, than to take a share in cementing that union between these two great nations which, broken for a time by circumstances which we all regret, by circumstances for which each was partly to blame, every day and every hour tends now to make more permanent, and to bind together in a tie never again to be broken as long as this world lasts. To use his or her influence, however small, towards the attainment of this end ought to be the object of every member of this Convention.

At the conclusion of Prof. Emmott's address, Mr. SMILEY expressed his pleasure at having in the Conference a gentleman from England, and his hope that another year persons may be present from Germany, France and from whatever other countries feel an interest in the cause of arbitration. He asked the co-operation of the members of the Conference in suggesting the names of such persons, and in securing their attendance.

DR. TRUEBLOOD offered the following resolution :

That it be the judgment of this Conference that the Business Committee invite Prof. Emmott to furnish this address in a suitable form to be used at once in the public press of this country, as the Business Committee may be able to use it.

The resolution was voted unanimously.

REV. B. FAY MILLS.—What is the obstacle in the way of a more formal action on the part of the Parliament of Great Britain? If a majority sign this informal communication to the President, would they not be willing to pass a formal resolution, and thus take the initiative? I understand that our Congress has taken official action upon it.

DR. TRUEBLOOD.—There has been no official action of Congress having specific reference to this proposed treaty with Great Britain. The action has been entirely general. There has been no official action, either of the executive or of legislative department, on either side of the water, in regard to such a treaty. Besides this, the relation of the House of Commons to the English government is somewhat different from the relation of our Congress to the President. The English government *is* the government, and it often acts in opposition to what the House of Commons does, for a time, at least. And so, even though there were a unanimous vote of the House of Commons in favor of this treaty, it would not follow that the English government would immediately, or indeed in any future, take it up; while our President would be practically bound to do so at once. As I understand Mr. Cremer and the promoters of this cause in the House of Commons, it is not only that they think our country in duty bound, because Great Britain has gone so far, to take the next step; but they think our country is in a position, from her standing in the world, to do what would be looked upon with a certain suspicion if it were inaugurated by the British government. Our friends in the House of Commons are sure that at the present point a resolution of that kind would do no good; the government will have to be moved on a little more by the people.

MR. GARRETT.—It would also be impossible to obtain the concurrence of the House of Lords.

MR. JAMES WOOD, of Mt. Kisco, N.Y., was then introduced as the next speaker.

ADDRESS OF MR. JAMES WOOD.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have brought the consideration of this question to a very practical point; we are

advocating a movement to put upon paper an arrangement that, because of the force of precedent, already practically exists. The British government and that of our own country have established a precedent of settling their disputes by arbitration; the burden of proof now is on the other side, to break the line of precedent. The moral and legal status is in favor of arbitration to-day; and this force of precedent is even more binding upon the British government than upon our own.

I cannot conceive of an issue arising between the two governments which would result in an appeal to arms. First, because of precedent; second, because of the force of public opinion,—and the British government is more sensitive to public opinion than our own. We may have a Congress that does not represent public opinion upon some great question; the executive branch of our government may go on for four years in direct opposition to the opinion of the people; but in Great Britain the government must be in accord with the people, or a change immediately occurs.

We are often misled by what we think to be public opinion, because of the expressions in the public press. But many of the utterances of the public press are not really signs of the public opinion of the country, but of a wish to influence votes, and so to appeal to the passions of some particular nationality in the community. Much of the outcry against Great Britain in our papers has been for the purpose of influencing the Irish voters who are presumed to be opposed to British policy at all times and in all places.

Again, it is impossible to conceive of a resort to arms between these two countries, because of the fact that the sober judgment on both sides of the Atlantic would condemn it. First, and from the lowest standpoint, because Great Britain knows that it would be impossible for her to defend Canada, and we know that it would be impossible for us to defend our seaboard cities from the British navy; there would be everything to lose and nothing to gain. If there are any sensible people in this world, I believe a goodly proportion of them belong to the Anglo-Saxon race, and I believe that race has not fools enough to undertake such a thing. Then, as we get to a higher plane, there comes in the public sentiment of the masses of the people, which is opposed to it. On a still higher plane, these are two Christian nations, and in the gradual evolution of the true doctrines of our Saviour they are lifted to a plane too high to violate His commands, especially when it comes to slaying our brethren. I do not believe we need a treaty of arbitration in order to settle all disputes between Great Britain and the United States.

But we are advocating peace throughout all the world, and what can we do to further that end? We can conceive of no influence so impressive as for the world to see the great English-speaking peoples formally agreeing to settle all their disputes in this way. The world knows, notwithstanding all race feeling, that the English-speaking people are soon to rule the world. Thoughtful men of all countries see that in the present century those who speak the French language have decreased by six to eight per cent.; that

those who speak the German language are only eight per cent. more than they were; but that those who speak the English language are nearly two hundred per cent. of what they were at the beginning of the century. When we look at the map of the world, we can see what has sprung from that little handful of men that occupied the island of Great Britain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when colonies first began to be planted throughout the world. It is the wonderful thing in modern history. And another thing, we take all races of men and bring them into the Anglo-Saxon household, and they come not only to speak the English language but to adopt the Anglo-Saxon habit of thought and view questions from the Anglo-Saxon standpoint; until after two generations in America you cannot find the line of distinction between the descendants of other peoples and the descendants of our own ancestors. The great mold in this country is the public school. The public school educates the child from every nation on the earth and stamps a character upon him. It is the great power, not only for molding our people but preserving our nationality.

I was brought up very strictly after the manner of the Quakers, and taught that all war was wrong. But when I went to a public school, and mingled with my associates there, I gradually got an idea that, while what my mother said must be true, there was one exception,—it would be not only right, but a duty, to fight England, seven days in the week if necessary. That was the public sentiment of the country when I was a boy; gentlemen, you remember it. It was simply because many of the men who fought in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 were still living. You cannot find a public school in America where that sentiment exists to-day.

We want to promote our great object by giving to it the combined influence of English-speaking people before the world. And as all the world knows that in another century English-speaking people must rule the world, they will be glad to fall into line, and keep step with the procession which they see is moving round the world. Fortunately the German nation is so closely allied with the English-speaking nations in blood and in habit of thought that Germany would of necessity be the first nation to fall into line. Russia is—Russia, and nothing else; nobody can generalize on Russia. Nobody can generalize on France, because of the peculiar temperament of the French people, and because of the present irritation, which it will take one or two generations to remove, in reference to Alsace-Lorraine. But with Russia and France eliminated, I can see no reason why a treaty between the government of Great Britain and the United States should not result in the very early acceptance of a similar treaty by Germany, by Norway, by Sweden, by Denmark, by Italy, possibly by Spain, and thus we would see our dream accomplished,—not our dream, but our earnest hope and trust.

Judge Earl said last evening that he thought this would come, but that its coming was very remote. I think that it will come, and come with a rush. The public sentiment of Germany is just ripe for it. I have been among that people. Social position in Germany is dependent largely upon military rank, and those ambitious of

social position favor the war system; but below them, the great mass of the German people are but of one mind in this matter. To me the situation is most hopeful.

How can we promote peace? The proposition for a committee to go to the government is a wise one. We want to attack the government at the head, and then we want to attack it at the tail. The way to get things through a legislative body is simply to go for the members of that body. When a man is in Congress, he always wants to be re-elected. He may get a letter from a constituent urging a certain measure and not pay much attention to it; he gets a second on the same subject, and he says, "What does this mean?"; he gets a third and a fourth, and he finds out what it means and votes accordingly. That is the way we are to attack the government from the other end. If each of this little company will use his influence on friends and acquaintances throughout the land, and get two or three thousand letters written to members of Congress in the next year, we shall have this thing passed through the House of Representatives, and our government actively promoting the great object we desire.

The Chairman then introduced, as a representative of the Boston bar, HON. GEORGE S. HALE.

ADDRESS OF HON. GEORGE S. HALE.

I am perhaps expected, as a member of the legal profession, to present something of a practical character. I do not wish to be philological entirely, but I have not quite accepted the distinction which some of our speakers are inclined to draw between arbitration and treaties. There is a feeling that arbitration is something voluntary, as it is in that practical application which is expressed in the New England phrase, "Let such-a-thing be left out to men." If you will think for a moment, you will remember that arbitration is simply the determination of a controversy by impartial third parties, apart from the interests and excitements of the contestants. When the poet speaks of "the dread arbitrament of war;" when in that wonderful description which Shakespeare gives of a feature of the English law, which has existed within the memory of man, when the individual was allowed to appeal to the wager of battle, to throw down his glove to be picked up, not for conciliation but for contest, and to fight out his controversy with his companion; where the king tells the two contestants, Mowbray and Bolingbroke,

"There shall your swords and lances arbitrate
The swelling difference of your settled hate;"

he reminds us that this arbitrament is the determination of a higher power. If you will think for a moment you will see that the whole system of civilization rests upon compulsory arbitration. Without that, nations would sink and dissolve into anarchy; you would come back to the system recognized by law, within historical times, when

great lords fought with each other, when cities subsidized mercenaries, who killed each other for hire, and settled their controversies about civil matters in the most uncivil way. There was little advance until there came the interposition of some higher power, to lay a restraining hand upon the contestant, and to force him to pause, to submit to the consideration of some one unaffected by the stimulus of hostility and of bitter remembrance and revenge. Think for one moment that it is not many hundred years ago since a controversy between Ulster County and Dutchess County in regard to their boundaries might have been fought out by armed forces.

Practically, then, the first thing is what my friend Mr. Garrett suggested, — not to compel an agreement, but to invite an agreement. There must be compulsory negotiation, there must be compulsory consideration in a peaceful manner; you must ask government to lay a hand upon the two opposing forces and say, "Pause; agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him, lest he deliver thee to the officer and the officer cast thee into prison." That is the first step, as I believe, of all legislation by treaty; to have the nations agree together that, when a controversy arises which threatens collision and war, the great powers shall lay their hands upon them, shall make them, like prize-fighters in a ring, step forward and shake hands, and then ask them, "Canst thou be at one with each other without compulsion? Get, if you can, peace with honor, — not peace by superior power, but peace from your own recognition of the rights of one whom I will not call your enemy." The first thing is to bring people together, to obliterate that spirit which from the earliest times made the stranger the barbarian, and the barbarian the enemy.

That is the first thing to be accomplished, — to compel negotiation. The next thing is not to compel submission to a court, but to invite submission to those who should not have the power of compulsory action; to appoint a commission who shall sit down and in a friendly manner consider whether a suggestion for a compromise cannot be accepted. That is no new thing; there are two institutions in Massachusetts which we are proud to speak of, which have existed for many years, for the promotion of arbitration without compulsory powers. Our Board of Railroad Commissioners listens to complaints from individuals, and from companies against individuals, considers what they deem to be the best course for both, and says, "You had better do this." And it is a remarkable fact that instances are at least rare when the contending parties did not accept that friendly recommendation. We have a Board of Arbitration between employers and the employed; they have no compulsory power, — their only power is to hear, to suggest, to invite, to conciliate, and in numerous instances that effort has been successful, without the application of the law. We have felt that it was not desirable to grant to these bodies the power of compulsion. That, therefore, seems to me to be the first step in any legislation by treaty for the accomplishment of our purpose, — that we should invite negotiation; negotiation failing, that we should compel the submission to a dignified, impartial and able board of men, to listen to the case of

one and the other, and to say to them, "Now, as Christians, as men, as lovers of peace, we suggest to you that one should yield this, and that the other should yield that, and that those concessions will be better for both of you, as well as for the great Federation of the world." In the majority of cases, I believe that would succeed, without any compulsory action.

There must be, doubtless, compulsion. That is, great powers like England and the United States and Germany and France must join together, and say, "You shall not fight, until we have given you an opportunity to do justice and to love mercy and to recognize the rights of other parties as well as to press your own." That is the step with which it seems to me desirable to begin in regard to the different nations of the world. But that powers like England and the United States should make a binding agreement each with the other, that they will submit to an impartial third party, — that step is one to which we should give our most earnest and effective efforts. Here we can do something. Think for a moment; if every one of the men and women here would give one half-hour during the next year to a personal effort or suggestion to those who have influence upon this subject, — how wide, how effective, how deep, this result would be! The field must be prepared for the harvest before you can expect the seed to grow. That field is the minds and the wishes and the judgments of those whom you select, or permit, to control the administration of the country. Every one of you knows some one of these men; every one of you knows some one who knows one of these men. The public opinion of what I am proud to say I believe to be the best portion of the community, directed with concentrated effort upon these minds, cannot fail to secure the result which we all hope for and desire. I believe that, as has been urged, the time has come. "*Now* is the accepted time, and *now* is the day of salvation" for every great effort, and there never is a time when that effort should be omitted or passed by. Soon, let me say with reverence, may we hope to see the sign of Peace in Heaven shown, when as Milton says,

"The Eternal, to prevent such horrid fray,
Hung forth in Heav'n his golden scales."

HON. CHARLES R. SKINNER, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, being then invited to address the Conference, said:

Mr. Chairman.—As I understand this matter, there is no reason why the movement which was set on foot in Great Britain, sent forward with a kindly word in the American Congress, and returned again from Great Britain with added words of interest and encouragement, may not be taken up by the President and Secretary of State, and why the nations may not be invited to join in this treaty. I do not believe that it is necessary to go again to Congress and introduce a resolution and wait upon committees. We are enlightened Christian people, and so they are in the great mother-country where this ball was set in motion, and, with this public spirit behind us, the President would be sustained by every Christian in the world

if, on the authority he now has, he would invite the Christian nations of the world to unite with the United States in an international treaty. The way is open; I do not believe that any excuse can be given for not advancing in this work.

The Nicaragua Canal is spoken of. If the Nicaragua Canal commends itself to the business and commercial interests of the world, that canal will go through. And if it is going to be a benefit to the United States, it will be a benefit to Great Britain and to all the world.

It has been an education to me to hear the friends of this movement tell how it started, and to learn how it had its inception in the wishes of the English people. I do not believe that we should have any more Anglophobia; we ought not to say unkind words against our fathers and brethren, who speak our own language. We are great enough and strong enough to love every Christian nation in the world, with a love founded upon humanity itself.

One incident in my Congressional career impresses me with the kindly feeling which England has towards us. Some years ago, when the people of the United States were anxious concerning the fate of the Greely expedition, and the season came when if anything was to be done it must be done quickly, the United States had no available ship to send for tidings. It was a matter which excited great interest throughout our country, and no less interest in the official departments at Washington and in Congress. One afternoon in the House of Representatives, there was announced a message from the President, containing an official message, through the State Department, from the Queen of England, giving the ship "Alert" to the United States government fully equipped for immediate sailing in search of the lost expedition. I have never seen, before or since, strong men so overcome by emotion. The message was read amid perfect silence, and the Congress of the United States unanimously passed a resolution thanking the Queen for the timely gift, and the ship "Alert" went into northern waters on its mission of mercy.

We are not a nation of barbarians, but an enlightened nation. The sunlight of Christianity has been blessing us for centuries, and it has had its effect. I believe that there is, that there has always been, in England a kindly feeling toward us. If England had wished, could she not have added millions to our losses, and thousands to those who died, during the last war? I believe to-day that the spirit of every English-speaking people in the world is in favor of peace and not of war. We have heard this morning that the press is with us, that the pulpit is with us. I want to give you the assurance of what I believe, and what encourages me greatly in my work, that the public school system shall do its part to help on the good work.

HON. JACOB LEFEVRE of New Paltz, member of Congress, was invited to speak, but excused himself until some later time.

MR. GARRETT.—Do you agree with Mr. Skinner as to the wisdom of going forward without attempting further legislation?

MR. LEFEVRE.—You will find Congress at any time ready to lend its support to any negotiation that might be of advantage to further movements of this kind. But all popular uprisings begin with the people, and while they have expressed themselves to a certain extent, it needs the impulse of the people, through Congress or otherwise, to induce the President and the Secretary of State to move in this matter.

DR. TRUEBLOOD was then asked to close the discussion.

Mr. Chairman,—Before noticing the two or three obstacles in the way of a permanent treaty between this country and Great Britain I should like to say that in Washington I consulted a number of members of Congress, and I found that while a general impression prevailed that the State Department was already sufficiently authorized to proceed to the negotiation of this treaty without any further resolution of Congress, yet it was thought that it would be a matter of great interest to our people, and indeed an education to them, if Congress should pass another resolution, with specific reference to this treaty with Great Britain. All the resolution that Congress has passed thus far is a general resolution with regard to peaceful means of settling difficulties with any of the great nations with which we have diplomatic relations.

I am fond of trying to interpret history, and while the previous speakers were talking about the possibilities of war with Great Britain I remembered that our last war with that country began in 1812, and closed about two years later. For eighty-one years we have not had a war with Great Britain. In that period we have had ten or more settlements by arbitration of important international difficulties between this country and the mother country. The war of 1812 was as much an international misfortune as an international crime, and would almost certainly have been prevented if we had had an Atlantic cable at that time; it is now a commonplace of history that the British government had taken such steps before war was declared in this country that, if they had been known on this side of the water, the war would never have been declared. The war was condemned by a large portion of the people in this country, especially in New England, and England was amazed that war should have been declared under the circumstances. Since that war, as I have said, we have had ten or more cases of arbitration between these two countries, and I accept with the utmost faith the statement made here more than once, that there never will be another war of any kind between these two countries, notwithstanding all that the alarmists and the jingoists may do.

I do not mean to say, however, that peace will prevail of itself, or that there will be no war if things are allowed to take their own course. There are two obstacles in the way of securing this permanent treaty of arbitration,—two dangers just now to peace between these countries. We are having at the present time a harvest of the hereditary warlike instincts which were the outgrowth of the period of 1860-1865. Whatever good things we may say about the Civil

War, it has, as all know, left warlike instincts among our people, that just now, a third of a century later, are beginning to bear fruit. I remember to have heard in the days of the war the prophecy of an intelligent peace man, who said, "Woe be to the nation that treads upon our toes twenty-five years hence!"

The jingoism of the present time, which I think has its root chiefly in these hereditary instincts, takes two different lines; first, it manifests itself in an extreme disposition to take offence at everything and everybody, and secondly, in what Mr. Godkin has called "intense Americanism,"—that is, the feeling that the United States can thrash the whole creation if necessary, and that she ought to have the Sandwich Islands and Cuba and Hayti and Jamaica and Mexico and Canada and all the rest of the world around about, whether the rest of the world wants to have the lion lie down with the lamb in that way or not. Along these lines is working itself out a disposition with many to extend the borders of our country at all hazards. A distinguished member of Congress, who is talked of as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in case Mr. Hitt of Illinois shall not be sufficiently restored in health to take that position, said to me at the door of the House of Representatives, that he was in favor of this country's constructing the Nicaragua Canal, if we had to openly break the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in order to do so. That is, in simple English, he would have the nation dishonor herself by falsehood before the civilized world, in order that the Nicaragua Canal might be built.

MAJ. BRIGHT.—There is a provision for abrogating that treaty by giving a notice.

DR. TRUEBLOOD.—That is quite true, but the gentleman of whom I speak did not have reference to this mode of getting rid of the treaty. I want to say that, in my judgment, whoever completes this canal, the United States or England, or private individuals, it will necessarily be a great neutralized international waterway like the Suez Canal, and no country can or ought ever to have exclusive control and use of it.

Another obstacle to the realization of this treaty is found in the incipient militarism springing up in our schools and churches and elsewhere, which I am afraid has not reached its worst in our country yet, though it is already having a detrimental influence upon our relations with other nations.

Still another obstacle is found in the ignorance, on each side of the water, of the real condition of the people on the other side. This is not much to be wondered at, however, for it takes a long time for one of us to go to England and study the condition of the people,—and a much longer time for an Englishman to come to this country and study the condition of this people. There is an impression prevailing at the present time among politicians at Washington, that the English government wants to tie the hands of the United States government by means of a treaty, so that when she wants to put her foot down in Nicaragua or in Venezuela or some other country, we

shall be powerless to interfere. But the truth is that the movement for an arbitration treaty with our country is in no sense a movement of the English government as such. Every step towards one has been taken until recently in the face of the opposition of the English government and the English Foreign Office. The movement began in 1873 with Mr. Henry Richard, who was for forty years the secretary of the London Peace Society, and for more than twenty of those years a member of Parliament. He carried through the House of Commons, only twenty-two years ago, the first resolution ever passed in any country in favor of the principle of arbitration. Then the movement which brought the British deputation to this country in 1887 was a movement of the middle classes and of the workingmen. The Cremer resolution which passed the House of Commons in 1893 was backed up by more than a million of the workingmen of Great Britain, either by direct signature or the signature of the officers of their organizations. And the three hundred and fifty-four members of Parliament who signed the memorial recently brought to this country by Mr. Cremer were induced to do so because of the pressure coming up from the masses of the people. This false impression with regard to the motive with which a treaty of arbitration with us is sought, ought to be corrected. It is doing great mischief in this country. No more wicked thing can be done, there can be no greater treason against the better interests of humanity and the higher civilization of our time, than for a man, in Congress or out of it, to do anything to inflame the war spirit between these two great countries.

In my judgment, we shall have this treaty between the United States and Great Britain before this century closes. The closing years of this nineteenth century are to be blessed to all coming time, I think, by the consummation of this movement which has been going on for the past twenty-two years in different forms. I have hoped that this Conference might throw the weight of its influence strongly upon this single point; for, this treaty once signed, not only will Germany come in, but I think France will join us just as quickly. I have lived for some time among the French people and know the great heart of peace that is beating among them. I should expect that, in less than five years after the treaty was signed between us and Great Britain, France would have signed it also. For already in the French Parliament have resolutions to this effect been introduced; and our country and France, never having had any quarrels, are essentially, in spirit, as near together to-day as the English and American people. This treaty once signed will be the commencement of the speedy overthrow of the whole war system.

The Conference then adjourned, at 12.30 P. M.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Evening, June 6.

The Conference was called to order by the Chairman at 7.45. DR. AUSTIN ABBOTT, for the Business Committee, reported favorably upon the resolution introduced by Mr. Philip C. Garrett at the morning session, proposing the appointment of a committee which should visit Washington to urge the negotiation of the treaty between this government and Great Britain. Dr. Abbott recommended that the Chair appoint such a committee; which was done, as follows:

Mr. Philip C. Garrett, Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Mr. Albert K. Smiley, Mr. James Wood and President Merrill E. Gates.

On motion of DR. GATES, the Chairman, Mr. John B. Garrett, was added to the committee.

DR. ABBOTT. — The Business Committee further recommends that the following resolution, offered by Dr. Edward Everett Hale, be placed upon the minutes of the Conference, and that a committee of three be appointed by the Chair, to consider the subject in detail and report at the next Conference.

Resolved, That the President be requested to invite the governments of Austria, England, France, Germany and Russia to join with the United States in the establishment of a Permanent Tribunal of the highest character, to which may be submitted from time to time, for arbitration, questions arising between those powers.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted, and the committee appointed, as follows: Dr. Austin Abbott, Judge Robert Earl and Hon. George S. Hale.

A vacancy in the Business Committee having occurred, by the necessary absence of Mr. Philip C. Garrett, Hon. Robert Treat Paine of Boston was elected to fill his place.

THE CHAIRMAN then announced as the subject selected for the evening, "The Enlisting and Educating of Public Opinion in Favor of the Peaceful Settlement of International Controversies." The first speaker introduced was HON. CHARLES R. SKINNER, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of New York, and formerly a member of Congress.

ADDRESS OF HON. CHARLES R. SKINNER.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, — I have come to believe that the last generation of men has learned this truth,—that after all is done, reason and a humane spirit to our brothers is

higher, nobler and better than war. There is a spirit which recognizes the importance and value of compromise based upon honor. Arbitration does not mean that we are willing to submit to wrong, but that we promise to do no wrong. Arbitration, if directed by the judgment of men and not by their prejudices and dislikes, will accomplish all that wars can do, and save precious lives and treasure untold.

I do not want to disagree very much with my friend Judge Earl, but I believe in that education of our children in school which has for its object the making of better citizens. I do not mean by that better fighters; I mean men and women who are better informed concerning the principles of the government under which we live. For many years, therefore, it has been my privilege to help along a movement which I believe to be in the interest of good citizenship, namely, to have the stars and stripes float over every place where school is kept. Not that our children shall be educated in war, for the flag is not a warlike emblem; it stands for love of country, loyalty, belief in the integrity of our nation and a realization of what our liberty has cost. It means the study of the highest politics in the world, that which looks to the making of good government. And therefore I am glad to say that our State legislature enacted a law at the last session compelling every schoolhouse in the State to have a national flag floating over it. I believe it will make our boys better men and our girls better women, to pursue their studies under the influence and shadow of that symbol which represents good government, magnanimous government, true government.

But it does not follow that the children in our schools should have military instruction. There is another bill, which the legislature has also passed, and which is now before our governor, providing for the encouragement of military training in the public schools. I do not believe that this should become a law. It provides that all able-bodied male pupils, from the age of eleven years upward, who are regular attendants upon any of the academies, high-schools, union or public schools, of the State, may be enrolled by the respective principles of such schools, as members of the American Guard of the State of New York, which is hereby created a military body. For the equipment of this Guard the bill appropriates thirty thousand dollars. Originally it provided for an expenditure of two hundred thousand dollars for this purpose.

I do not believe that the State of New York should thus provide for the military instruction of all the boys in the common schools of the State. In the first place, we have no time for it in our school curriculum. Our courses of study are already overcrowded, and we are losing sight of those fundamentals which children must have to enable them to go out and fight the battles of life. If we can instruct them in the common branches, if with these studies we can teach morality, temperance, virtue and love of country, we shall send them out well equipped. Do we need military education to bring up our children as patriotic citizens? We did not have military instruction in our public schools before 1861; and yet from the homes and farms of the North, there came the grandest army the world has

ever seen. They fought for freedom, and when it was won, they returned to their homes and melted away into civil life. I hope and pray that the time may never come when our children may be needed to go and fight any more battles; but if an emergency does come, if the interests of the United States are attacked and cannot be preserved by arbitration, then all the military instruction we can give in our schools will not provide us a better army. I trust this Conference will express itself clearly on this subject. In a time of profound peace, when we are all asking that there may be war no more, and that all our controversies may be settled in a spirit of friendship, I do not believe that it is best to encourage in our boys and girls a love for military instruction.

The true end of education is to instruct our citizens in good government. School, it seems to me, is the place for us to teach, not only the manly and womanly virtues, but it is the place to make our children loving, loyal citizens of our State; the place to help along the great movement which has been inaugurated here. Let education do everything that war can accomplish, and in a peaceful way. Let each one of us be a centre of influence, and let that influence work always toward the great object which we seek to attain, until all the nations of the earth shall walk together "in the paths of pleasantness and peace."

PROF. RUFUS M. JONES of Haverford College, the Editor of *The American Friend*, was then asked to address the Conference.

ADDRESS OF PROF. RUFUS M. JONES.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Some eighty years ago, in a great Friends' meeting in the city of New York, a very prominent member stood up and urged his brethren not to have anything to do with the building of the Erie Canal. He said that if the Almighty had wanted any communication between the lakes and the ocean, He would have put a river there. After he had urged that for half an hour, a Friend from the country rose and said, with a trembling voice, "And Jacob digged a well,"—implying, upon Scriptural authority, that we do not find things in the world exactly as the Almighty meant them to be, but that He gives us the power to make things better than they are. Some people have said that there is always to be war in the world because the Almighty has put into men in all countries and races and times certain animosities, that rise up whether we will or not. But every one of the qualities that make men great and strong and good springs out of a basis that seems at first to be evil in its nature. Even love, the supreme quality, in its inception is not spiritual but a selfish thing. We are to begin with things as they are in this crusade of education, and work in the line of nature, as our host has worked in building up this beautiful place. An educator finds in his pupil a tendency to animosity, and he sees that out of it he can make a character, if it is

touched in the right direction. We do not want men who hate, we do not want a spirit of animosity, but we do want men who will stand up and fight against wrong.

Patriotism is not at its highest when a man says: "I will die for my country;" it is at its highest when a man says: "I will live nobly for my country. I will give my heart and my strength to make this the best country on the earth." The old hero of Rome was Quintus Curtius, who threw himself into a chasm to save his country. I believe the hero of our country is rather a man like Dr. Parkhurst, who shows not a whit less courage in standing at his post to sound the alarm, and when he sees evil speaks and works against it. That is what we want; we want to make our young men, not into soldiers, but good citizens in the largest sense.

I want to say a word about the method of teaching history in the public schools. I think I am right in saying that there is hardly any great college in this country that makes much any more of military movements and great battles. History, in the higher institutions, is studying the development of society, the springing up of great cities, the slow growth of constitutions, the march of human history. But in our schools we still spend our time teaching how this general led these troops along this place, and met so many more troops, and blew them to pieces, and so on. We want a higher method of teaching history. If we are faithful in teaching our children the principles of right and justice and truth and honor, we shall at last win the greatest victory,—the victory we are here to work for, the victory at which we shall dismantle our forts, spike our guns, and look upon every nation as a sister and every man as our brother.

REV. B. FAY MILLS was then asked to speak on the subject of the evening, considering it from the religious side.

ADDRESS OF REV. B. FAY MILLS.

The only way to reach the practical is through realization of the ideal; it is the only way in which any great reform will ever be accomplished. I am aware that we may educate people by practical propositions, and with all my heart I have held up my hand to vote for the resolutions that have been presented here. I believe in all that they have proposed, and more. I am hopeful that the suggestions that have been made by Dr. Hale will be carried out in the life-time of men whose hair is already touched with gray. The young men may see visions; and I believe that we may see a vision even of more than this great accomplishment, in the light of the gospel of Christ.

I may say parenthetically that I do not think we need have any fear that a permanent judicial tribunal, representing all the nations, would have the slightest difficulty in enforcing its judgments. I am one of those who believe in humanity. There are some things which men cannot do, and I believe it would be a moral impossi-

bility for any nation to act contrary to the judgment of all the nations which represent the civilization of the world. I believe in asking for the greatest things from our governments, and continuing to ask for them, in the largest confidence that the very request, made in the name of God and humanity, will be an education to the government itself.

There are three classes of people, when considered in relation to their views on the subject of war. First, those who oppose war. Second, those who favor it, from mercenary or otherwise selfish motives. Third, those who are indifferent, and who may be led into fellowship with either the first or the second class. This third division comprises the vast mass of the people in this country and the solution of the peace problem is the education or the conversion of this great body of indifferent people.

What we need for the education of the people of this and other lands is just two things. First of all we need to get God's conception concerning the world, and then His thought of man's place in it. The truest word and the most significant that has been spoken in this Conference was spoken by Dr. Boardman when he said that the whole question was one that concerned man's view of society, — whether he regarded it as something that man was patching up in a mechanical fashion, or an out-working of the mind of God. When we understand God's thought concerning the world; when we look forward to that day when there shall be a conception of Christianity even higher than that of to-day; when we shall gain the thought that a Christian is not merely one who will "resist not evil," but who will give his life as a sacrifice for the general good; when we feel that organized bodies of men, in the home, in business, in government, shall be subject to the laws of Christ that should govern the individual; then I believe we will have gained a conception that will never die until the whole earth shall be filled with the peace of God that is guaranteed to us by the sacrifice of Christ, representing that divine idea of service that is in the midst of all thrones and all true governments.

I have faith to believe that the day will come when we shall gather here to consider, not simply what the nations should be willing to do in the non-resistance of evil, but what the nations should be eager and glad to do in ministering unto the other nations of the world. That, and that only, is a Christian conception; and the state department of a nation should no more exist for the sake of considering what might be done for the welfare of its own people in relationship to others, than you and I have a right to exist to consider what shall be done for ministering to our selfish interests. The world will never be a Christian world until every nation shall be the servant of every other nation, and shall be endeavoring to lay down its life for others. I believe that this time will come; and I expect that we will look back upon ourselves as if we had been residents of some far-off uncivilized age, and see that what we call civilization is simply the kind concession of a gracious God to our barbarism,—as the sacrifices, under the ancient dispensation, were given to the people until they had discerned the heart of God and the real meaning of sacrifice.

There will come the time when there will not only be no temple in the new Jerusalem, because every man's work shall be his worship, but when there shall be no prisons and no courts and no governments, because every man shall be the lover of his fellow-men.

This is the thing that we need to teach to our children—that God's thought for this world is that no man shall have any concern for himself, and no nation shall be concerned about anything except the welfare of the fellow-nations of the globe. That day is coming; the day of the Lord is coming even now like a thief in the night. We are living in tremendous days. God is going to be able to do more in one minute in the coming century than He has done in hundreds of years in the days that are gone. I expect that God Almighty is to move the hearts of men with a mighty impulse of love. What a significant utterance was the last word written by that lover of his fellow-men, Prof. Swing: "We have much to hope from the development of the spirit of the brotherhood of man." God pity the man who does not know that the great *Zeitgeist* moving the world to-day is a mighty impulse that shall never grow old, but shall accomplish all that has been in the heart of God concerning man! What we have to do, as individuals and as nations, is to find out the place where God would have us march in the great procession.

I do not believe that the wisest of us have begun to imagine the things that are to come in the decades before us. We hear people say that the days of miracles are past. The age of miracles has not commenced. If by miracle we mean some overturning by God of laws that God has made, then I do not believe that there ever was or ever will be a miracle; but if we mean the restoring of the divine order in place of the present confusion and chaos, then has the day of miracles not commenced. The Christian is one who knows in his own soul that the time shall come when the glorious life of the Eternal God shall reign upon an earth to which heaven has come down, when heaven and earth have been brought together in one. I believe that when those who bear the name of Jesus are willing to do as Jesus did; when there shall be men banded together for the purpose of fellowship in righteousness; when all lawyers and courts shall be redeemers of men as God intended them to be; when all governments shall be simply the fellowship of men in the endeavor to complete the work of Jesus Christ; then I believe that we will find that the savages of earth are only savage because their fellows have shown so much barbarism towards them; I believe we will find that the wild beasts are wild because man is fierce; I believe that we will find that the venom will be drawn from the serpent's fang and all malice drawn from the lion's tooth. And the lion shall lie down with the lamb, and a little child shall lead them. All the vegetable creation shall be touched by the touch of love, which is the touch of life. And the trees of the field shall clap their hands and sing for joy; and the wilderness shall rejoice and blossom as the rose, and all the barren rocks shall become fertile at the touch of God. For the whole "creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same, in hope that even the creation itself should be delivered from the bondage

of corruption into the glory of the liberty of the children of God." And "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain until now, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God!" And I want to be one of them.

THE CHAIRMAN then introduced as the last speaker of the evening DR. MERRILL E. GATES, President of Amherst College.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MERRILL E. GATES.

THE NATIONAL STATE IS A PERSONALITY.

Mr. Chairman, Friends of the Conference,—If we feel an interest in history, we have very soon to interest ourselves in larger personalities than those of individuals. No man can love history, or read it in any comprehensive way, without coming to feel that states and nations have a personal existence, and personal characteristics of their own. These peculiarities of different people show themselves familiarly, and are illustrated in stories we all know, almost too trifling to be told in a gathering like this except by unanimous consent.

A student, for instance, who aimed to be a cosmopolitan, said that he could always tell of what race a man was, as he sat in a German beer-garden, by the way he behaved when a fly got into his beer. If it was an Englishman, he called for the waiter, showed him the fly, scolded a long time about it, sent the glass away, and demanded another, paying for but one glass. If it was an American, he flipped the fly out, called for another glass, and paid for both. If it was a Frenchman, he called for the waiter, got a fork, took the fly out very carefully, and drank the beer. If it was a German, he drank the beer, fly and all, and said nothing! Or by the story that touches artist-life, race characteristics are shown. A prize was offered by the Society of Beaux Arts in Paris for the best painting of a camel. It was open to art students of all races. The day the prize was announced, three young English artists, with the thoroughness that is the glory of their race, immediately purchased their equipments, prepared an expedition, and started for the heart of Africa and the *habitat* of the camel, to study their subject "on the ground." They were gone a year. The German art student shut himself up in his little attic and cogitated out of his interior consciousness the camel as he ought to be, and so painted him. And the young American art student took a walk to the Zoological Gardens, and had a look at the camels there, and then finished his work so quickly and cleverly that he won the prize!

Whether such stories are true or not, there is individuality enough, enough difference among peoples of different races, to warrant their circulation. Political philosophers are not oblivious to these distinctions. In a recent book upon political science, by Prof. Burgess of Columbia College, there is an interesting study of some of the

race-traits of certain of the people who are rapidly becoming good American citizens. He says that we have trouble with the solid Irish vote in our cities, because the Irishman, in his political evolution, has never got beyond (Prof. Burgess thinks it doubtful if the race ever will get beyond) the point where he regards personal devotion to the leader of his clan as the essence of political life. In studying the problems which cluster about party politics in our great cities, we find illuminating suggestiveness in Prof. Burgess' view, whether or not we accept it as quite correct.

These race-traits come out in national life; and the most notable political evolution,—in part an evolution, and in part the deliberate work of thoughtful men,—is attainable in the national state, that is, in the state where the political limits and the race-limits so nearly coincide that there is a strong national life, a community of language, and that community of customs without which no law is really effective law. An ethnic unity,—that is, unity of race,—situated in a geographical unity,—where there are natural boundaries,—and having political unity in its ideals and its government,—thus gives us the national state.

THE STATE, AS A RATIONAL BEING, AS A PERSONALITY, IS BOUND
TO OBSERVE MORAL LAW.

What I want to ask you to think about for a few minutes is the question whether, after all, the problem of international arbitration does not turn upon the fact that *nations are more and more clearly seen to be rational persons*, with distinct personalities. The chief function of the nation, on the old theory, was to manifest hatred toward other nations. You know how that breaks out, even in the words "march" and "market." The march was the waste land separating the territory of one tribe or clan from that of another. The member of a clan had to be honest to the men in his own town, but if he went over the "march," to trade with "foreigners," in the "mark-et," he might cheat if he could. The law of the "mark-et" was, cheat the stranger if you can. Have we yet got entirely free from this old *exclusive* idea of nation,—that you cannot love your own nation without hating other nations, and that right and justice are only for those who are inside the favored circle of your own nation?

RATIONAL PERSONS SHOULD SETTLE DIFFERENCES WITHOUT
FIGHTING.

I firmly believe that there have been times in the history of the race when war was not only a necessity, but a very great blessing. I believe that there are now some things possible that are worse for a nation than war,—a possible degradation of morality, a possible lack of moral tone, that, awful as is the curse of war, is still worse for a nation than a war strenuously conducted, with moral ideals at the front. But in what I say to-night I want to put war, and the necessity for war, into the background. War was once a necessity. There have been periods in the history of our race when the brute

force of savage nations threatened civilization. As the ocean overwhelms Holland, so these vast hordes of uncivilized men threatened to overwhelm the life and put out the light of civilization. There was need of brute force managed by brains, to hold these barbarians back, as force is needed against the insane sometimes, or against violent criminals. But that time is past, and past forever. The barbarous nations which are left upon the earth are not strong enough to threaten civilization by brute force, and war can no longer be excused on that ground. More and more, as the life of a nation, as the life of a state, comes to be strong and vigorous, *it becomes clear that moral principles should rule the state* as they must rule the individual. You remember the significant evolution of the word "virtue." At first the man, who was the *vir*, the heroic, strong man, if he had brute strength, could knock down and throttle his adversary if he would; and *virtus*, manly strength, meant simply physical strength and prowess. We know how that word has been refined, as men have come to see with truer vision where strength really lies. Did I say, as *men* have come to see? As *men and women* have come to see where true strength lies! Several times in our discussions here allusion has been made to the habit of disposing of cases involving points of equity by the method indicated in the significant New England phrase, "*Leave it out to men!*" But we are coming to understand that many of the problems of society which have proved perplexing to men may be solved by "leaving them out" *to women!* More and more we find that moral force comes to the front in our social and political life, as the influence of pure and noble womanhood in public affairs, becomes intelligent and constant. The largest influence for womanhood, the very widest and strongest that she can secure for herself or we can yield to her,—whether it be through the ballot or in other ways,—let that be secured and moral ideals in the state will come still more steadily to the front.

WHAT OUGHT THE STATE TO DO FOR US?

Ask yourself what those things are which you may fairly expect from the state. We do not believe in too much government; we are foolish if we do not believe in some government. What ought we to expect the state to do for us, and what ought we to do for ourselves? A very simple old formula comes pretty near to indicating the dividing line between the right nature of action for the state, and that preservation of individual freedom and initiative which we value and wish to preserve. We should expect the state to do for us three classes of things,—what individuals *cannot* do for themselves, what they *will not* do for themselves, and what they *ought not to do* for themselves. For instance, hospitals for the sick, care of paupers and the aged,—these things the individual concerned *cannot* do for himself. Second, "what is everybody's business is nobody's business;" unless the state cares for the highways, they go uncared for. While theoretically every man *ought to* keep the road in good condition before his own property, *he does not do it*, and the state must do it. And third, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay,

saith the Lord." Men have never been found in any nation who could safely be entrusted with the duty of taking vengeance, of inflicting penalty for wrongs done to them personally. And therefore the state should do these things, which we *ought not* to do for ourselves. Beyond this, it is best to leave the individual free. Liberty to act precisely as I choose, so long as my choosing does not make it impossible for others to act freely within their own rights,—these are the only proper limits to free action, and these limits the state should respect. Have we not outgrown the time—ought not the whole civilized world to have outgrown the time,—when the state could be looked on as the personal appanage of a favored individual of royal birth? Is it not true that to-day we can hardly repress a smile at the extravagant assumptions with which William III., of Germany, now and then seeks to set forth the powers and prerogatives of royalty? Do not we think that he needs to study again the history of the last hundred years, lest he come dangerously near to making the German royal formula that formula which the world condemned in Louis XIV., who was only a boy when he made his foolish boast, "*L'état, c'est moi*"? The time when government could be looked upon as a matter to be administered for the private benefit of the sovereign, as a matter involving dignities or gain for one family or one class of men, has forever passed. The era of the rights of all man, as against the privileges of a few favored men, is being established the world over. The monarchies of Europe are very rapidly moving into line. The time, then, has come when the business of the government in its relation to other governments, when the business of the state in its relation with other states, is the observance of that same line of right action which makes possible in society the existence of free personalities, of free men. The government, the state, has no right to act in any way which fails to recognize the rights of all other states and nations. All international law is based upon a recognition of this principle,—that every government, every state, no matter how small, how feeble its resources, has the right of personality, and is to be treated with consideration and respect for its rights, whether it is large or small, powerful or weak.

If we go back to the definition of personality, and take it in its simplest form, the essence of personality is three-fold, self-conscious being, self-directed intelligence, and self-determined activity. This definition of personality will apply to the state, too; and the state, in its relation with other states, is bound to recognize, no matter how weak a neighboring state may be, the fact that that state too has a right to the direction of its own energies along the line of its own true development; has a right to the full development of all its own powers, as has the individual. What should we think of the strong man who disregards the rights of a little child simply because he is stronger and can do it? When the hand of the "inexpressible Turk" is heavy upon Armenia, in utter disregard of all her rights, do not we feel that the Turk and his methods are an anachronism in our century, that he is out of place as a power in Europe?

The time has come when national rights are to be recognized as

belonging to every nation. It would be unreasonable, unworthy of civilized nations, if we did not find some other way than the arbitrament of the sword to settle differences about territory, differences about precedence. Should the accidental hot-headedness of an individual here and there, acting without the orders of his government, who may disregard the rights of some person entitled to the protection of our own nation, be followed at once by war? There are better ways than war for settling these differences. And I therefore maintain that we may count, and with very great confidence, upon the coming in of the reform that brings us together here. It is in the line of civilization, it is in the line of the progress of the last century, it is in the line of evolution, and it is in the line of God's manifest purpose as he educates the race.

THERE IS NO PERMANENT STRENGTH FOR NATIONS, SAVE MORAL
STRENGTH.

It is very foolish for a nation to feel, "I shall cripple my strength if I promise to go into an arbitration treaty with another nation." Nations are learning,—nations who speak English profess already to know,—that no nation is truly strong which transgresses the law of righteousness. In the end, violence is weakness; there is no strength for man or nation except along the line of right action. How hard it is for men to learn the lesson that they do not prove their strength by *breaking law*! A man who seeks to prove that he is strong by defying law and order, might as well seek to prove that he is physically strong by maintaining that sometimes he has such paroxysms of delirium that three men cannot hold him! By admitting that he is in this abnormal condition, he puts himself out of the ranks of healthy men! And the man who is guilty of the profanation of moral law, and imagines that he is thereby proving himself a strong personality, evidences weakness, and puts himself in the ranks of the diseased. And so with the nation that trusts to brute strength and defies justice. Russia has still much to learn in this respect. Marked as has been her progress within a hundred years, yet we cannot help feeling, when she reaches that long arm of hers down the coast of China to Japan, that here again is a nation which still holds that "might makes right."

LOVE OF COUNTRY DOES NOT MEAN HATRED OF OTHER NATIONS.

I want to say a word or two about England, and the flag. We did enjoy hearing the Englishman who addressed us this morning speak with affectionate regard of the land in which he was born, and then speak affectionately to us and of our institutions. I believe that love of the human race begins in love of one's own race and one's own family. I have very little sympathy with the philanthropist who is so given up to what he calls love for all mankind that he neglects his own family affairs and the welfare of his own town and state,—does not care for his country's flag,—and yet professes to be devoted to the whole human race! I do not believe that the stars and stripes are a symbol of war; I have not so read history as to believe that patriotism is necessarily "jingoism." The symptoms of

ingoism in certain of our political speakers are strong just now ; but I do not place among such symptoms that placing of our flag on the schoolhouse, which has been deprecated by a speaker here as tending to war ! I think that the flag on the schoolhouse means reverence for law, and that love of country which begins with love of home and one's own family and duties.

The focus of patriotism is always in love of home. "Focus" means fireside. And the man who is a true patriot, if he wants to make an appeal to brother patriots, calls on them to "strike for their altars and their fires." They do not love the human race any less for loving their own homes well ! But that does not necessarily mean war, — though I do not feel that alarm which has been expressed here over what are called "the warlike tendencies" in our children ; nor am I troubled because they remember with loving honor the patriotic soldiers who stood between us and national destruction. I think that the lesson of reverence for law is taught, and taught thoughtfully and prayerfully in our homes, in connection with "Memorial Day." I should be ashamed if the children in our schools should forget the heroes who, when the supreme test came, laid down their lives that we might know peace and good government and liberty. I do not think that by recognizing the noble work they did, we shall bring up our children to be fond of war. I have not found that the veterans with whom I have talked in this country are devoted to war. I do think that a standing army, kept up as in Germany or England, carries with it very dangerous tendencies toward militarism. But I do not believe that this is our great danger at present. I have a great deal more faith in the coming generation and in the mothers who teach our boys at home than some of our friends seem to have. I do not believe we are going to destruction through love of military glory.

While I do believe we may count confidently upon industrial forces to forward this reform, industrial interests alone will not bring us what we seek. Industrial forces and commercial interests unaided cannot bring in, will not long preserve, the reign of peace. It is a fact of supreme importance, however, that the great masses of the workingmen of England, and the great masses of the workingmen in Germany are more and more steadily in favor of peace. Why is it that German workmen in such numbers are ready to leave Germany and to come to America ? Why, at home, in Germany, he goes to his day's work, day after day, bowed to the ground beneath the burdens of taxation for military display. Every laboring man who goes out to his day's work in Germany "carries on his shoulders a full-armed soldier all day long !" I tell you, the load of taxation upon European nations for their standing armies and their navies has come to be so heavy that the workingmen of Europe will not longer endure it. They are approaching the condition of Babbage's calculating machine, which runs along most perfectly through series after series of computations, until a point is reached where suddenly the machine reverses, and all the rules of its action fail. Will it not be thus with the nations of Europe under these oppressive armaments ? The forces of commercialism and industrialism

are helping to bring in peace measures; but if they were all we had to trust in, we should not be hopeful. Nations must rise above questions of commercial gain when great issues are to be met. Men have to go beyond questions of dollars and cents to settle things as they ought to be settled. Men must go in the face of obvious loss,—must act for the sake of something higher than dollars, when great interests are at stake.

I believe that more and more the power of the idea that makes sacred the Christmas-tide is coming to dominate the world. When the angels came to announce that the reign of Christ had begun on earth,—that pacific and blessed reign under which they had always been, the sway of the Prince of Peace,—their message was given to workmen. I am thankful they came to those simple, faithful shepherds! And the message was peace—"Peace on earth to men of good will,"—only to men of good will! That message never failed to be sounded in our Master's teaching; and when He came back from the lower world, victor over Death, the first thing He did was to breathe upon his Apostles, to give them the great gift of *Peace*. What a spirit of peace is in Christianity! We must work toward the reign of Peace, or we cannot be true Christians. We must regard war as an awful evil. The world is nearly done with it, we trust. We shall not stand it very much longer. There may still come crises when it will be necessary for the Christian patriot to take up the sword or rifle. For God has put some things above life. He has not made it the law that any one of us should live in the flesh forever; He has made it the law that every man of us shall obey the law of righteousness, even at the cost of laying down life. It seems to me that we have not yet reached the time when peace can always be kept without the appeal to force; but the larger light shines already upon the whole problem. When men mature, they leave behind them the feeling that to have one's own way is the great point to gain in life. We come to understand that liberty is merely the power of choice, and that only when choice is intelligently made in accordance with the dictates of law, does liberty become valuable; and we see why the sons of God are called "free." And as national life grows more intelligent, the nations are coming to know that national power is a thing to rejoice in only when it is used to insure to all their rights; only when it is used, as the strong man rejoices to use his strength, for the protection of the weak,—to secure the full and right development of the young, for the uplifting of the down-trodden. So I believe the blessed signal-bell has already struck,—through such movements as arbitration, established by a series of precedents in these seventy-eight arbitrated cases; through the possibility of a tribunal outlined to us by our dear friend Dr. Hale,—a tribunal already moved for by the peace societies of Europe, and being considered by committees of our own Peace Society. I believe the bell has already struck which heralds the coming in of that new day when there shall be a peaceful federation of all nations, under the sway of the Prince of Peace.

The Conference adjourned, at 10 o'clock P. M.

Last Session.

Friday Morning, June 7.

The Conference was called to order at ten o'clock by the Chairman, who said :

A question has been raised as to the omission of the name of Italy from Dr. Hale's resolution. The subject has been before the Business Committee, and it seems best to include Italy in the nations enumerated, to go into the printed proceedings of this Conference. If you will leave the Business Committee, on looking the matter over carefully, to do this if it should seem best, they will use their liberty.

On motion of JUDGE ARNOUX, it was voted that the Business Committee be so left at liberty.

A telegram was read from Dr. A. V. V. Raymond of Union College, regretting that he had been unexpectedly delayed, so that he was unable to attend the Conference. A message to the same effect was received from Mr. Herbert Welsh of Philadelphia.

THE CHAIRMAN then announced that the discussion would continue on the topic, "How to Enlist and Educate Public Opinion," and presented as the first speaker MR. WILLIAM G. HUBBARD, of Columbus, Ohio, President of the Peace Association of Friends in America.

ADDRESS OF MR. WILLIAM G. HUBBARD.

Mr. President and Friends,—The Peace Association of Friends in America was organized in 1868, and has carried on its publication work now for more than a quarter of a century, sending out its literature to every state and territory of this nation, into the hands of students, preachers, statesmen, politicians, and especially of teachers and educators. For twenty-four years Daniel Hill, our secretary, edited *The Christian Arbitrator and Messenger of Peace*, and has sent out regularly from four to six thousand copies, fifteen hundred of which have gone into the hands of ministers, where they must have furnished material for many thousands of sermons. During these years we have also had some able speakers in the field, who have been educating public sentiment.

For the last two or three years we have been going especially to the colleges, academies and high-schools, from Maine to California.

We have received expressions of gratitude from professors who, I suppose, have no superiors in their own lines, for presenting to them the first arguments on peace which they had ever heard. One of them said to me the other day, "When I heard you were to speak, I wondered what could be made of the subject of peace. I had heard many war speeches, but never one on the subject of peace. But you astonished me in the first five minutes, and you kept me astonished for an hour." I gave an address to a body of ministers in San Francisco, and I think not one of them ever heard a discourse on the subject before. The president of the board of one of the colleges said, but a few days ago, "We are much obliged for this address. It is the first one I ever heard, and I am deeply interested."

These schools are open to arguments, either for peace or war. The school doors are open to peace, from sea to sea, in schools both Catholic and Protestant. But they are also open to war, and the military men whom we make by machinery in our military schools are seeking entrance to them. The government has offered to pay the salary of a graduate of West Point who will find a position in a school and teach the young men a little tactics and mathematics. Nearly a hundred of our poorer colleges, that are struggling for existence financially, have been glad to take a professor of mathematics on these terms. The only question is, who shall reach these schools first to turn the tide? Shall we have a people instructed in military affairs, with the tendency to drift us back into a warlike nation, to make of us a great military camp like Germany or France, bristling with bayonets?

Germany has two soldiers to the square mile; the United States has one soldier to one hundred and fifty square miles. And yet I maintain that the United States is ten times better off and safer than Germany. For standing armies are no protection; the world thinks them so, but they endanger life, liberty, property, everything that is good and dear. If I went about armed, I would endanger my life rather than make it safe. That is what occurs with reference to nations, and history teaches that those nations who have had the greatest standing armies have been those which were oftenest engaged in war.

We need to maintain this educational work among our schools and colleges, to get the subject before the preachers and teachers and all the educational forces of the land. Who shall enter these open doors? Shall Mars, the god of war, or shall Christ, the Prince of Peace? The doors of churches and schoolhouses over this country are open to instruction on this subject. The man who first discovered the Pacific Ocean is said to have waded into it up to his waist, and drawing his sword stretched it out over the ocean, saying, "I take possession of this sea in the name of my king." Shall we not enter these open doors quietly, lovingly, peacefully, and take possession of them in the name of our King, the Prince of Peace?

The relation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to this work was then described by MRS. HANNAH J. BAILEY of Maine, the head of its department of "Peace and Arbitration."

ADDRESS OF MRS. HANNAH J. BAILEY.

Honored Chairman, Gentlemen and Ladies,—The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has taken up forty-one lines of work, called departments. The construction of the machinery by means of which these departments are carried on, is very much like that of a wheel within a wheel. The World's W. C. T. U. has adopted only seven departments, and one of these is a department of Peace and Arbitration. The national superintendents get their instructions from the world's superintendent and report to her. In the United States the national superintendent gives instructions and obtains reports from county superintendents, and they in turn from local superintendents. There are 10,000 local unions in the United States and a membership of about 200,000 women.

I will tell you something (though but little, for want of time) of the aims, objects and work, of the special department of Peace. I will quote largely from my own report to the World's Convention that will assemble in London the fourteenth of this month and continue until the twenty-first.

Mrs. Burgess, of New York, my associate superintendent, will represent me there and read my report.

This department aims to secure such training for children, in home, Sunday school, public school and loyal temperance legions, as will make them despise physical combat and will lift them to a plane where the weapons are arguments, parliamentary usage and law; all of these having above them the "sword of the Spirit," that weapon which is above all others, worthy of reasonable and responsible beings.

The department of Peace is one of love and forgiveness. It teaches people to regard one another as a common brotherhood, and not to judge each other harshly. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is, itself, organized mother-love, and, as a part of the duty of a mother is to make peace in her family when contentions exist, or, better still, to prevent them by timely care, it is fitting that the W.C.T.U. have a department of Peace and Arbitration. The work of peace is especially adapted to women. They are expected to be in sympathy with every peace measure. When women shall have a direct voice in politics, and in determining the continuance of carnal warfare, doubtless the former will become more purified and the latter be abolished altogether.

Victor Hugo once predicted that the nineteenth century, woman's century, would be followed by a cessation of warfare in the twentieth century. God grant that his prophecy may be fulfilled in the early part of the century now dawning upon us.

The World's Department of Peace and Arbitration is exerting an influence in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Denmark, Norway, India, Italy, Syria, Palestine, the Bahamas and other West India Islands, South Africa, Australasia, Mexico, Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, in Chile, South America, where we have a peace band of two hundred boys and girls, and in the United States of America. In some of these countries the work is

well organized, under the care of efficient leaders, but in others the work is done and peace principles promulgated by a few interested persons, through the distribution of literature, scattering of peace papers and by personal influence.

The national peace department of the United States is organized in twenty-six States, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of New Mexico. Hundreds of lectures have been given and sermons preached in the interest of peace. More than a million pages of literature and thousands of our department papers — the *Pacific Banner* and *The Acorn*—have been distributed. The public press, and, especially, local papers, where the W. C. T. unions exist, have been utilized, and the principles of peace taught in the Sabbath schools. Peace bands have been organized among children, and strenuous efforts made to counteract the tendency toward desire for military teaching and display in secular schools and Sunday schools; also, to convince mothers of the danger and inconsistency of placing military toys, pictures, etc., in the hands of their children. Dr. Chalmers truly said: "So soon as the character of man has the last finish of Christian principle thrown over it, from that moment all the instruments of war will be thrown aside and all its lessons will be forgotten."

At the National Council of Women of Canada held last year, Mrs. McDonnell, our Superintendent of the peace department for the W. C. T. U., moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Lady Richie, and carried by a large majority:—"Resolved, That this meeting of the National Council of Women of Canada most heartily approves of the principle of arbitration in the settlement of international disputes, and urges that every opportunity be taken for its permanent adoption."

The maritime provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia adopted the peace department in October, 1894, and appointed Mrs. Margaret McKay superintendent, who is pushing the work with a degree of interest and zeal which insures success. In her last report to me she says: "In January, 1895, I forwarded a letter of explanation and suggestion to every union in the Provinces. The majority of replies expressed regret that boys' brigades and military drill in high schools, not in line with the work of white ribboners, exist. Indeed, the department would have smooth sailing if it were not for this delusion, 'playing at soldier.' This is the 'Hill Difficulty' up which the maritime superintendent is climbing, and we intend to 'get there.'"

We consider the most important work which has been or is being accomplished by our department, is that bearing directly upon the training of children. The Boys' Brigade, which so many Sunday schools are blindly adopting, and the military drill in public schools, have been handled with earnest effort to prevent the spread of their pernicious influence.

The tendency of all military teaching is, of course, towards militarism, and it is passing strange that any should fail to discern this fact. A person interested in peace, recently visiting the family of one who had used great influence in favor of boys' brigades, claim-

ing that they do not foster militarism, gave a sum of money to two lads connected with the family in order to see what they would do with it. They purchased mimic weapons and converted the dining-room into the scene of a mimic battle.

Our department has tried to exert an influence against prize fighting and all its attendant evils.

Our honored leaders are in full sympathy with the aims and objects of this department and are helpful to us in every way practicable. In a letter recently written by our beloved President, Frances E. Willard, to the presiding officer of a conference of Christian churches met in London, in the interests of peace, she said:

"It is needless to say that I am heartily in accord with every expression of the admirable letter you have sent me under the heading, 'The Peace of Europe.' It looks as if the subject had passed from the realm of theory and emerged on the broad plains of practical legislation. To have contributed, even by a single drop, to such a quickening of the moral sense among the nations affords to any one of us who is trying to help on the cause of peace and good will a reason for having lived and wrought."

Lady Henry Somerset, on the same occasion, wrote: "I am in warm sympathy with the Peace movement in our own country and throughout the world. No word or deed of mine shall ever be lacking that can help forward a reform so holy and so heavenly."

The twentieth century will soon dawn upon us, and it is time, high time, that we prepare to enter upon a twentieth century civilization where human life will be held too sacred to attack, and true patriotism will everywhere prevail. We heartily endorse the sentiments expressed by the honored ex-president of the United States National Council of Women, Mrs. May Wright Sewall of Indiana, in her triennial address given to the Council at its meeting recently held at the national capital. She said: "The assertion is not unfrequently made that patriotism is on the decline; that not only the spirit of '76 but the spirit of 1861 has expired and, wrapt in the mantle of peace, is embalmed merely in patriotic memory. It is well for women to bear in mind that this assertion is made only by those who believe that the highest expression of patriotism is found in one's willingness to die for one's country. If the truth shall ever be universally recognized that to die for one's country is a service far inferior to living for one's country, women must bear a large share in its inculcation. So long the ideal of physical courage has been recognized in a willingness to meet death, and the highest ideal of moral courage has been associated with the willingness to meet death for a good and noble cause, that it has grown a difficult task to make people realize that it requires more physical courage to live three-score-years-and-ten than to die at an earlier date, and that it requires more moral courage to come up to four-score years, 'by reason of strength' which has been devoted to the illustration, as well as to the advocacy, of high moral ideals, than to die for any, however noble, cause.

"What the world needs is not men who can meet death, and women who can see their beloved die without terror and without re-

volt. Such men and such women it has had from the earliest historic times. But it needs men and women who together can meet life, who can unite in the solution of its problems, which, with the advancement of civilization, are constantly becoming more delicate, more intricate, and more exacting.

"Perhaps the highest patriots thought the duty exacted in 1861 was death. Whether we think them right or wrong in interpreting the signs of that time, all must agree that death is not the duty exacted of the patriots of to-day. It is perhaps a harder one. It is quite impossible that men should solve these problems wisely who have grown up in homes where these great subjects were held in abeyance to the relatively trifling questions of what we shall eat, and what we shall wear, and what our neighbors say, or, indeed, what the last novel or the last poem says; subjects which the prevailing dilettanteism takes quite seriously."

Many have expressed regret that peace and arbitration had not been added to the great polyglot petition of the World's W. C. T. U. to all governments, but we believe the spirit and tendency of the petition is to harmonize governments and create a "brotherhood of nations." Hon. Elijah A. Morse of Massachusetts, in a speech before the late Congress, when the bill for the increase of the navy was under discussion, spoke of the great petition in the following language: "Mr. Chairman, does this great movement, championed in England by Lady Henry Somerset and in this country by that queen of American women, Miss Frances Willard, and known as the white ribbon movement which has circled the world in its errand of love, — I say, does this argue nothing in favor of disarmament and the ushering in of that glorious day so long predicted in God's Word, when men shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and when nation shall not lift up sword against nation nor learn war any more?"

Those who visited the encampment of the South Sea Islanders at the World's Fair in Chicago probably noticed a placard posted there by the managers, which read thus: "Visitors will please refrain from asking these people any questions about cannibalism, as it is very annoying to them to hear it spoken of." Doubtless our children's grandchildren will be annoyed by hearing the practices of their ancestors in regard to war alluded to, and will look upon a cannon, if they find one in some museum, with the same feelings that we now experience when we see the instruments of torture used in the time of some of the cruel English queens.

The eyes of the people of all civilized nations are surely opening to the sinfulness of warfare and the righteousness of peace. May the time come on apace when the world will be organized into a brotherhood of nations, and men shall "learn war no more." The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is striving to be constantly enlisting and educating public sentiment to this end, and to begin this enlisting, largely, with the mothers, and the educating with the children who are to occupy the world when we have done with it.

THE CHAIRMAN then called upon the Secretary of the Conference, MAJOR MARSHALL H. BRIGHT, Editor of *The Christian Work*, New York.

Mr. Chairman,—How shall we educate public opinion in favor of international arbitration? For one thing, I think we shall not educate the people along this line by ignoring our past in any respect, not by condemning the two great wars that, in my view, have been necessary, the war of creation and the war of permanence and perpetuation. How would we have got rid of slavery, how have a united and happy country to-day, and how could we have an arbitration commission which would represent the whole country, but for war? As President Gates has well said, "There are some things worse than war." Pusillanimity is worse, cowardice is worse, abject submission to an ignoble peace, and slavery,—these are jointly and severally worse than war. And I believe that the God of Israel, who is declared in sacred writ to be the God of battles, is no less the God of a righteous cause to-day. I do not want to see our flag lowered, nor could I possibly stand apologetically before the grave of a hero like Thomas or Grant. If I were called upon to do this, I should feel that I had no rightful place in this Conference. But I am sure the Conference entertains no such feeling towards the nation's heroes, and I am no less certain that you will assent to the statement that as our nationality was first achieved and then perfected through furnace fires, so we, on our part, have no regrets, least of all have we any apologies to offer for that past, but only pride and thankfulness instead. And now as we have come into clearer and cooler and calmer atmosphere, we may well rejoice that arbitration, without any possibility of misconception as to the underlying motive, has its right and proper work to do.

And here let me say, in all frankness, that I cannot sympathize with that feeling which has found expression from one speaker in this Conference, that a standing army is a constant menace to our national honor. I think an army is one thing, and to use that army for waging unjust war is another and very different thing. If we were to abolish our army to-day, we should have no guarantee of peace with the Indians, any more than if we were to abolish our police, there would be security for life and property in our great cities. Nor can I sympathize with that feeling which would lower the stars and stripes from any schoolhouse, or would allow the blotting out of some of the stars from our constellation sooner than engage in war. You remember that statesman, editor and politician, who said, thirty-five years ago: "Erring sisters, depart in peace." I think that I can appeal even to an arbitration conference to say that time and public sentiment have not justified him, but have justified the civil war and its results.

How shall we diffuse education through existing agencies in behalf of arbitration? There is one thought that suggests itself right here, and it is this: we must begin with the education of the young. When Lord Brougham made his celebrated speech on education in the House of Lords, with failing health and almost in sight of

an open grave, he said: "If our children are not educated up to eight years of age along the paths of righteousness and right doing, it is in vain that you will seek to supplement that education, or to correct it by the three R's in later life; nor will they take their lessons in ethics in later, which have been withheld from them in earlier years." Some forty-five or fifty years ago, when Mr. Seward, then senator from New York, held his discussion with Archbishop Hughes, and the first signs of the differences of opinion and the difficulties attending the introduction of religious instruction in our public schools appeared upon the horizon, Archbishop Hughes said: "Give me the children up to eight years of age, and I do not care who has them afterwards." Both those men were giants in their way; they were not uttering commonplaces or pleasant abstractions. They meant what they said, and it was only saying in another way what the wisest of preachers said: "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," and "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." And yet again, the Master said: "Suffer," not the children alone, but "the *little* children to come unto me." If you ask what this has to do with peace and arbitration, it has this much to do, that by a profound and most subtle provision of nature, instruction which is given in that age which is the most immature, the most unthinking, the most incomplete, yet proves to be the most abiding and permanent. If, therefore, we would inculcate right principles in a people, we must begin with the young of five and six to eleven and twelve years. Some of them perhaps will be too young and too small to understand the polysyllabic word "arbitration"; but "peace" is a good word in its place, and it can always be explained to them that it is to be a peace which is just, honest and honorable. Then this same instruction should be given in our schools and colleges. We must remember that in twenty years these boys will have grown into men who will cast votes, who will form legislation, who will sit in gubernatorial chairs and influence the policy of a whole country. We need that instruction given to them.

As for the rest, let me say that I hope the information, or a large part of it, which has been given here may be diffused through the public press. The great need of the religious press, and of the secular press, and of all editors, is information. The papers in New York have not the information that they desire. I was very glad to see the adoption of the resolution providing for a committee to go before Congress and push the matter of arbitration there, and for this reason, that the newspapers are always ready to take anything which comes from official sources. And there is not a secretary of state or a secretary of one of the departments, no matter what may be his political proclivities, who will not open the closet of his information, so far as he can, to the representative of every leading paper, giving him information to be sent forth on the white wings of the press all over the land, with editorial comments enlightening the uninformed, impressing the thinking readers, and in this way forming and molding public opinion. So far, then, as the members of this Conference, as the com-

mittee of this Conference, get these public matters into the hands of a Congressional committee, and before our secretary of state, to just that extent will they influence the public press to take hold of them, and through them arouse public attention.

I think that what we have to do is to go right on in the path which this Conference has marked out, seeking to promote arbitration, not by discrediting the flag or the Revolutionary War or our Civil War,—not by thinking to wipe out the record of which every true American is proud, but recognizing the truth that there is no necessary antagonism between an army and peace, and that an army rightly controlled, like a police department, is itself a guarantee of peace. Taking human nature as it is, I would not make our army smaller than it is to-day. By and by the time may come when we may do it, but the time is not yet. Universal arbitration is not going to spring up like a mushroom, in a night. It is going to take time. Arbitration will, I believe, in the near future prevail between Great Britain and this country; but even now we have a significant lesson. Venezuela proposes arbitration over what is considered in this country to be a most unjust procedure on the part of Great Britain; but that great power, up to the present time, has refused arbitration; if it is ultimately granted, it will be because of the intervention of this country, and because we are a united, peaceful nation, and not two divided, helpless republics. Let us, then, labor on, not seeking to antagonize, but, instead, careful to preserve what is historically inwrought into the nerve and tissue of our national life, and without which we could be neither the foe of oppression nor the stout champion of a Christian civilization that we are. Let us carefully preserve all the necessary concomitants of a great and powerful nation, using them ever in the spirit of that religion to which the American people overwhelmingly acknowledge allegiance, and in the flow of feeling and the faith of reason we may believe we shall hasten “the good time coming,” foretold by the prophets,

“When peace shall over all the earth
Her ancient splendors fling,
And the whole earth give back the song
Which now the angels sing.”

GENERAL O. O. HOWARD was next called for and spoke in substance as follows:

ADDRESS OF GEN. O. O. HOWARD.

Ever since I came here, I have been thinking over this subject, and with more feeling than you can dream of. I am still in the army of the United States; if I had the conviction of the sister who has just read her paper, of course I should resign to-day. The spirit of my Heavenly Father has been with me in peace and in war, though I suppose you can hardly believe it. Going into my first battle of Bull Run, my brigade was detained in the rear, and as I listened to the roar of the cannon and the rattling of the musketry, the thought of the danger came upon me, and a weakness came

over me so that my limbs would scarcely hold me. But I looked up to God, and said, "O Father, enable me to do my duty," and He gave me his Spirit and I became strong. We did not have any hatred in our hearts then; our country was threatened to be torn asunder, and we went to save it. General Sherman himself, one of the fiercest of our warriors, said: "Submit to the government, lay down your arms, and you will find we are the best friends you ever had." General Grant,—I never saw any man love peace as much as he did; that very arbitration that was so successful,—the Joint High Commission, as he called it,—originated in his mind and heart. I remember when he called me into his room and sent me to Arizona, to try to make peace with a tribe of Indians. I went without arms, for it was a peace commission; we went up the mountain, into their stronghold, which we had been told nobody could get into, stayed with them, and brought out five hundred Indians that had been at war for ten years. The soldier can do the work of peace, when God sends him in the interest of peace.

Here are a hundred thousand Hungarians in the country,—many of them ignorant, drinking men; here are hordes of Italians and other peoples. We are sending missionaries among them; but we have more than once needed the military to restrain them, when they were mad and wanted to overthrow the government. Let us use both forces. Use your little police force to restrain men who are mad, and on the other hand follow the work of reform until "all shall know Him from the least unto the greatest." When the truth has permeated their minds, then indeed you can say, lay down the means of defence.

I love what you say about peace; enter every open door, but be careful not to condemn men upon suspicion. These young men who go out from West Point to the army have duties which are very hard and constant. People think the soldiers are idle; they are never idle; there are wicked men among them, but it is not put into them after they get there. Most of these young men who go out to the colleges are Christians, and their salary is the salary they would have wherever they were placed. Do they teach militarism? No, not distinctively. They teach discipline, they teach order. They do teach their pupils to march; and the other day in Minneapolis twelve hundred pupils, at an alarm of fire, marched out of the building in five minutes. Is that militarism? No; we love God, and want to worship Him and do His holy will; but if He sends us to do a good thing we want to be ready for it.

Would not you have any defences to your government, make no more guns nor fortifications? Why, in New York alone there are at least five thousand men who would overthrow that city in ten days if they did not know that there was a power there that could reach them; and the police alone are not sufficient. The fact that Governor's Island is close by and that the United States is represented there, and that there are other forts in the bay, shows them that in an hour's time a force could be brought there that they could not handle. I have heard men say: "We will burn these houses. You have no right to have money nor property. This should be a country

of liberty!" They despise our history and what our fathers did; they hate the principles that we love. Let us not make mistakes in these things. Some things we ought to do and not leave the others undone. I cannot but feel that it is my duty to stand for my country while I live, as I have done in the past.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Those who know the personal history of General Howard,—and who does not?—know the sincerity of his Christian faith and the earnestness of his purpose; and I, for one, rejoice to call him friend.

May I call upon our friend AARON M. POWELL of New Jersey, Editor of the *Philanthropist*, who had been a fighter in the moral ranks before the war of the rebellion?

ADDRESS OF MR. AARON M. POWELL.

Mr. Chairman,—I have observed, as a student of this subject, two marked tendencies. One of these is in the direction of world-wide interest in arbitration as a method, as against the war method, pure and noble as the motive of the genuine soldier is. I recall with gratification a meeting twenty years ago with one of the English pioneers, Henry Richard, M.P., at a great philanthropic international congress in Geneva. He told me then how much upon his heart had been this wish to promote arbitration among nations. Afterward I met him in London, and all these twenty years I have watched with profound interest the growth of the spirit of which our English friend told us yesterday, in favor of adjusting difficulties by peaceful methods. And a kindred work has been going on here; the growth in both countries has been a delight to me. But in recent years in America there has been another tendency developing, which threatens, if not checked, to neutralize the work which Henry Richard in Europe, and Charles Sumner in the United States Senate, inaugurated twenty years ago.

This Conference itself is a teacher as to how to influence public opinion. I should be the last to detract from the sincerity of the service which General Howard and such as he have rendered as soldiers, and may yet have to render in this country, in the absence of the moral stamina in the nation which would make such a service unnecessary. But if the message of the abolitionists could have been heard in time, and heeded by the nation, then the great sacrifice of General Howard and the thousands who laid down their lives would have been rendered unnecessary. With the attitude slavery assumed, with the lack of moral stamina in the nation, war became inevitable. We are, as a people, confronted to-day with problems no less grave and serious than the slavery question; and what is our duty? This Conference has a specific function, as it seems to me: to teach the lesson that it is possible for public opinion so to assert itself as to make the physical contest unnecessary.

Let me give one illustration. I remember when duels were fought in this state; but now who hears of a challenge for a duel? Such has been the change in public opinion that the challenger is regarded no longer as an honorable man, but as a criminal. In one of the last great speeches by Senator Sumner, he spoke of the "duel" between France and Germany. If it is possible for public opinion to make a personal duel unpopular, then it is quite possible, with such a Conference as this, by multiplying and circulating the literature to which it gives rise, to create a public opinion which will demand that, if differences do arise, they shall be adjusted without the destructive physical conflict.

I have learned from my boyhood the lesson which is inculcated among the Friends: When differences arise, care should be taken speedily to settle them, not by recourse to personal conflict, not even by recourse to law, but practically by arbitration. The practice is to call in high-minded Christians to consider the whole question, to advise those who differ, and counsel a peaceful settlement. It has worked well within that denomination for two centuries; it is an object-lesson to-day. If every Christian church, from this day forward, would inaugurate practical arbitration within its own borders, among its own members, it would work a mighty revolution in the direction of the public opinion we seek to create and direct.

GEN. HOWARD.—I want to say distinctly, what I did say by implication, that that resolution for settling difficulties by arbitration, by a commonwealth of nations, met with my hearty indorsement. I want to have that recorded.

MR. HUBBARD.—I feel that one point that I attempted to make has been misapprehended. In our public advocacy of the cause, we advocate two views,—one from the Christian standpoint, and the other from the standpoint that, no matter what view you take of the necessities of the past, for the future we should provide a better way of adjusting international disputes than by splitting each other's heads open about boundary lines. In a sense, there has been a necessity for war in the past; but that necessity is a good deal like the necessity of the first comers to this country to swim the rivers because there were no bridges. When the rivers were bridged, only a madman would risk his life in the torrent. If we can bridge all these bloody chasms by permanent treaties of arbitration, instead of by the use of the sword, then there will be no excuse for plunging into the gulf.

REV. ALBERT G. LAWSON, D.D., of Camden, N.J., was then asked to speak.

Mr. Chairman,—It is a good military maxim, "Never under-rate your enemy." We must keep our eyes open to the difficulties in the way; and if sometimes, in seeking to see these clearly, we

are disposed to state them a little more fully than they are, that is a natural tendency of human nature.

Practically our standing army to-day, as General Howard said, is a police force. It does not stand at all in the same line with the armies of the European lands. There are other difficulties more serious than is the fact of such an army.

It has been said that the need of this country is, "not more men, but more man." How shall we grow the man? We cannot do other than begin at the beginning. As a boy in New York State, I learned that "Boston is the Hub of the Universe, because out of it go *spokesmen* for the *weal* (wheel) of mankind, who never *tire* of doing good to their *fellows* (fellows)." I would make every school, of lower or higher grade, such a "hub," and every scholar should be made to recognize that he is so related beyond the boundaries of his own state to other states and to the world, that as he goes out he shall go out for the weal of mankind, for blessing and for strength.

We ought also to realize that, as has been suggested this morning, help comes to us, and with exceeding richness, in the quiet and silent forces. Some of these are already beginning to manifest themselves. The kindergarten method of instruction is one of the finest and sweetest recognitions of His coming who is to bring peace to all the world.

We must of course have the press. When I take the pains to go into an editor's office and speak to him with respect to a topic that really takes hold upon my own heart, I have very rarely found such an editor to be an unwilling listener, or unwilling to use in his paper, as far as he could, the thought that was brought to him. The school, certainly; the press, certainly; and then, recognizing the need of patience, and ever looking up to Him who guides us and carries us forward, we shall find success.

The world is being cursed to-day not so much by false theories as by false statements of fact. It is a difficult thing to state a thing exactly as it occurred, and false statements of fact prepare the way for false convictions. We must recognize that it is often possible for us, in the zeal of our hearts and in the earnestness of our desires, unwittingly to enlarge or to reduce, so that the apparent fact ceases to be a real fact.

Last of all, I wanted to say this: we must recognize that this question, top, bottom and both sides, is a moral question, which must be submitted to calm, quiet conviction and reasoning, and that it is not the question of a day. If the heaven be the right kind of heaven, it will take care of the whole lump.

I believe we have only to keep looking up into His face whose we are and whom we serve, to win our victory. In the spirit and strength of that which He has entrusted to our keeping, steadfastly to point the direction, to press the truth, and to show the example, the day hastens when we shall have the joyful assurance of the wide welcome, in other lands than our own, of this gracious message of peace.

THE CHAIRMAN.—In one of the earlier sessions of the Confer-

ence, a little criticism was made of the language of a speaker as to the line between arbitration and a permanent tribunal. It is important that we should be accurately informed upon the subject, and we have asked DR. AUSTIN ABBOTT to speak for a few minutes upon this distinction.

ADDRESS OF DR. AUSTIN ABBOTT.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not think we need enter into any verbal discussion; let us look at the things themselves. The solution of many controversies, — perhaps some international controversies, — may be aided by turning from contest on the phrases in which things have been couched and considering the things themselves. Two chief ways have been known among men of settling difficulties, otherwise than by coming to agreement. If you and I are disagreed upon our rights against each other, and we can agree contingently that Mr. Smiley shall tell us what to do and we will do what he says, that is arbitration. If, on the other hand, I evade you or you evade me, and I cannot get justice or a hearing, and if I think Mr. Smiley has power over everybody on this “reservation,” and I appeal to him, to compel you to come before him and hear my complaint, and make you do me justice, — then we have a court. In other words, one is voluntary and the other is in theory compulsory. The coon came down voluntarily, but he would not have come down voluntarily if Colonel Scott had not had his gun.

It is much the same principle between nations; but with a difference. Because, as the area expands, as the number of interests involved enlarge, and great societies are concerned, new forces come into play.

The great problem in international law thus far has been this, that there is no common authority above the nations, which can compel submission; and therefore it has been supposed that we cannot have anything but arbitration. As there is no common power superior to all nations to which we can appeal, many jurists have denied that the word “law” could be properly used in respect to international justice. Suggestions have been made that some federation of nations be created, which should have that common power; but these suggestions have not yet come into practical form, in the judgment of men of experience in national affairs. To appreciate how serious is the task of substituting, in place of war, arbitration or judicial reasoning, whether it be by a court or what is commonly called arbitration, it must be remembered that it is a plan to take away power from one set of men and confer it upon another. It is a plan to take away the power of declaring war from the executive, and confer upon the judiciary the power of reasoning to conclusions which the executive must carry out. It is a revolution. But it is one of those revolutions that we see going on, though they take place slowly. English history shows some of these. It is not many gen-

erations ago since the order of things was "King, Lords, Commons." In the time of William Pitt, Moreton, chief-justice of Chester, in an argument in the House of Commons, desiring to impute some questionable sentiments to the prime minister, in speaking of "The King, Lords and Commons," added, "or as the right honorable gentleman opposite me would probably say, 'Commons, Lords and King.'" Pitt rose and stopped the discussion. He said: "I demand that the words be taken down. It makes my blood run cold to hear such sentiments, — Commons, Lords and King! It inverts the whole structure of the nation." The words were taken down and read before the speaker's desk. Moreton frightened, rose and said, "Indeed, Mr. Speaker, I meant nothing. King, Lords and Commons, — Commons, Lords and King, — it is all one, *tria juncta in uno*. Indeed, I meant nothing!" "Very well," said Mr. Pitt; "far be it from me to reprove an unintentional error. But let me admonish the gentleman that next time he *means* nothing he had better *say* nothing." The mistake or mischievous imputation of Moreton has become the actual fact. I suppose I am not going very far wrong when I say that if we were to consider where the chief power in the British government lies, some of us at least might mention Commons first, and Lords next, and Crown last.

We have gone a step farther in this country; we have placed the Supreme Court, a tribunal of judicial reasoning, above them all, under the constitution. And the President himself, the executive in all its departments, the legislative bodies, and all inferior organizations of the government, have come, in the process of that quiet revolution, into positions subordinate to the judicial reasoning that rules the country in the last resort. One of the most striking facts in our recent history is the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Debs* case, which declares that there is no dispute, no contest, among men, so hot and so angry in its details, but that the power of a court of equity may deal with it, and the power of the national government can carry into effect the decree of a court of equity; and the people all acquiesce because the result is reached by disinterested reasoning.

The question is, can those principles be applied in international relations? I presume that, if I read aright the signs of the times, we shall find that we shall not need that external superior force which can compel the nations to submit. Force will be found in the common people. When the tribunal of judicial reasoning is created, with ability and public confidence, that shall be able to discuss and determine these questions of international controversy on principles of reason that commend themselves to the sense of the people at large, the tax-payers and the arms-bearing men, the conscriptable classes, will furnish force enough to prevent the administration from going into unnecessary war. When you want to bring the herd into the farmyard, it is not enough to get them up to the corner of the pasture; you must open the gate. A treaty of arbitration, or a permanent court, — a step of that kind in what ever form it is found practicable, — will be opening the gate. And the common people will compel the government to go through that gate, rather than pay

the taxes and spend the treasure and shed the blood that will be necessary to avoid it.

One word more. I think our friends who doubt the propriety of force even to maintain peace, may come to admit that Captain Scott's rifle, if he does not use it, is all right. Do not let us fear bluster; there are a great many people in this world who like to make annoyance. You have seen a boy rattle his stick against all the palings in your fence, and the more you ask him not to, the more he enjoys doing it, and the more nervous and annoyed you get about it the better he is pleased, for then he feels he is making progress. Every healthy boy who comes to the consciousness of his power begins to do things that are annoying and disagreeable to other people, not because he has too much power, but because he has not judgment to balance it. That is just the condition of "Young America." A great many people in this country have much to learn, and we must be patient with them while they are learning it. The national consciousness is awakened. How are you going to teach these boys in these valleys, in their contracted lives, anything about national relations? What is the flag for, what does it mean? It is what you are going to teach them by. It does not mean war, it means union, and means union more and more, year after year, as we add new stars to the constellation. How are you going to wake the national consciousness, which we must have to create a nation of citizens, without those emblems and symbols, and the interpretation of them?

I have no doubt the time will come when the ball, the boat and the bicycle will be found to be better exercises than the bullet and the bayonet and the military drill. Things are already moving in that direction. You cannot abolish swords and spears by annihilation; the Scripture is wiser than that. It says, turn the swords into ploughshares and the spears into pruning-hooks. And you cannot destroy the one except as you begin to create the other. Intelligent industrial progress will undermine any standing army.

If you want, thirty years hence, to have a settled system of international arbitration and a permanent court, you must certainly teach the children. Thirty years hence you will get the results of it.

But if we want to do anything this next year, we must observe men as they are, and take the case in hand. We ought to do both. The children in the schools; more still the young men in the colleges; still more the citizens in political life, and most of all in the present and immediate pressure of political interests and parties, should be made acquainted with the simple facts of the present situation. I believe that this is more needed than any one thing at the present time,—that our citizens throughout the country should begin to realize three facts. First, that arbitration is already a success; its success is demonstrated. I do not believe people know it. They think it is something in the millennium, that we are reaching forward to, but must wait for. Second, that the time is ripe now for making it the rule. Third, that it is our business, the business of the United States of America, to take one short simple step forward in that direction.

MR. GARRETT.—I hesitate to assume to correct so profound a

teacher of international law; but I thought, when Dr. Abbott reversed the order of things, he inadvertently omitted to speak of the British people before the Commons.

DR. ABBOTT. — I accept the amendment. If there are any who do not recognize it as a fixed fact, they will receive it as a persuasive prophecy.

The Business Committee then presented the Declaration of the Conference, which was read, and, on motion of JUDGE ARNOUX, was adopted by paragraphs and as a whole. The Declaration is as follows:

DECLARATION OF THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION,

Held at Mohonk Lake, N.Y., June 5-7, 1895.

The feasibility of arbitration as a substitute for war is now demonstrated. In the last seventy-nine years at least eighty important controversies between civilized nations have been successfully adjusted in this mode. Thirteen of these were controversies between the United States and Great Britain. Arbitration is now the American practice. To perpetuate peace, a formal act should make it henceforth the rule of national life.

The present time is ripe for such a step. In 1887 an English delegation of thirteen men, all prominent in public life, brought to this country a memorial signed by two hundred thirty-three members of the House of Commons, addressed to the President and Congress of the United States, and expressing the wish that all future differences between the countries be settled by arbitration. In response to this memorial our Congress in 1890 unanimously requested the President to open negotiations to this end with all countries with whom we have diplomatic relations. In the same month the republics of North, South and Central America, by their representatives in the International American Conference, declared their adoption of arbitration as a principle of American international law in the settlement of controversies between these republics. And in October of the same year a treaty drafted by that Conference was submitted by our State Department to the governments of all the civilized nations, for their consideration and concurrence. In June, 1893, the British House of Commons unanimously expressed its approval of the movement.

In taking the next great step forward, the United States should lead. Our country is free from foreign entanglements, is strong and prosperous in the result of its peaceful policy, and the world knows that we are not moved to it by fear. It is for those nations whose peaceful position is strongest, and whose strength is most conspicuous, to take the initiative; and it is time for Great Britain and the United States to act.

Expressing, as we believe, the judgment of the American people we urge the government of the United States to negotiate a treaty of arbitration with Great Britain.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We have heard with very great interest that the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of New York will make a liberal subscription to the publication fund of the Conference, and will see that copies of the proceedings are placed in the libraries of colleges and public schools throughout this State. If we could have such liberality exercised by representatives of other States, we should make a great step forward.

DR. ABBOTT.—Judge Earl has made a very important suggestion, that the Declaration of the Conference, certified by the officers, should be forwarded to the governor of each State, with the request that he lay it before the legislature of that State, and ask that they consider and report upon it and instruct their Senators and Representatives in Congress to further such legislation.

On motion of the **SECRETARY**, it was voted that the Business Committee be authorized to carry out this suggestion.

It was voted, on motion of **MR. SMILEY**, that the Business Committee, the secretary and treasurer, continue in office until the next Conference is held.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Nothing remains save a few concluding words and a resolution of thanks, which is most appropriate on our part, to our kind host and hostess.

I do not think that we go away from this place without feeling that we have been brought nearer together as brothers and sisters in Christ,—that we have been here in God's hand for high and holy purposes. The avoidance of war was certainly the thought which was uppermost in our host's mind when he invited us. Peace and the avoidance of war are approximate synonyms, and while we may differ very much, both in our construction of past history and as to the possibilities of the future, I do not believe that a single heart beats in this room that does not wish most earnestly that the peace of the nations may be preserved. I was glad that Judge Earl, in his address, used the word "demoralization." War is demoralizing, as every one of us knows, and war proceeds from demoralization.

A remark of Mr. Paine's also arrested my attention, which was that the pulpit is on our side. I wish I could endorse the thought. If the American pulpit, through and through, were in hearty sympathy with the purpose of this Conference, that purpose would be carried on to its consummation at a very early day. I do not condemn my brothers of the ministry, but I do wish that they could be stirred up to the consideration of the responsibilities of the position which they hold before the country and before their people. I wish that they could realize that, in every time of popular clamor and

contention and strife, it is their primary duty to hold as high as possible the banner of the Prince of Peace. I wish this Conference might appeal to the Christian ministry of this continent, in order to keep before them this important feature of the work of the Christian church. While at heart the ministers of this land would agree with us, I wish they could have been seated in this hall, and could have heard some of these discussions. For they, as the politicians and the editors of the press, are too easily swayed by popular feeling, and too easily respond to that which will carry them with the current.

Before this Conference adjourns I will ask you to certify, by a rising vote, your thorough and hearty appreciation of the kindness of our host and hostess, and I would also include the brother and his wife who have been so largely instrumental in carrying out the arrangements for the Conference.

The vote being unanimously given, on motion of JUDGE ARNOUX a vote of thanks was extended to the Chairman, the Business Committee and the other officers of the Conference.

MR. SMILEY then briefly expressed his gratification at the success of the Conference, and his hope of meeting the members when it should assemble again next year.

With the singing of the Doxology, the Conference then adjourned.

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E. J. F. K.
 5/18/11

