

BRYAN
AMONG THE
PEACE-MAKERS



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Taken on the Balcony of the Hotel Cecil, London, After the Peace
Congress of the World's Lawmakers.

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Bryan Among the Peace-Makers

SPECIAL EDITION ISSUED IN CONNECTION
WITH THE OVATION TO MR. BRYAN
BY THOUSANDS OF HIS
FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN
AUGUST 30, 1906

EDITED BY

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SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO
THE 13TH AND 14TH CONFERENCES OF THE
INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

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INTRODUCTION.

THE people are entitled to know what is being done to promote their welfare and the men who are doing it, in order that they may approve the things that pertain to their peace, and support the men who dare to take a stand for the realization of these things.

It has been my good fortune to come in touch with leading statesmen who are doing the things that make for the peace of the world. It is my duty to them and to the people to make public the facts which have come to my knowledge.

I was present at the great Peace Congress at London on July 23d, 1906, which resulted in a declaration, by over five hundred members of the world's most important Parliaments, in favor of ideas whose adoption by the governments will make peace and justice in international affairs not only a possibility, but a reality.

After the Brussels session of this Union of the World's Parliaments, it was my privilege to visit the homes of several of the great statesmen, whose stand in favor of the plan proposed at Brussels by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, resulted in the progressive action taken by the London Conference.

Introduction.

This gave me a rare opportunity to know these men as they really are.

I wish I could have met them all. I wish I could present a more perfect picture of those whom I did meet.

But I have done the best I could, faithfully to reflect the facts, in the light of devotion to truth, and without distortion from personal or political considerations. Being an eye witness to the great service rendered by Mr. W. J. Bryan to the cause for which these men have done and endured so much, I have acted on the idea that the cause can be still further promoted if the people can become acquainted with these Peacemakers, when Mr. Bryan's return is awakening a great interest in this matter. A book on all phases of the question was in preparation and a part had been put in type. The printers joined me in an effort to overcome all limitations of time, and to present at this moment those parts of my book, which will enable the readers to get at the heart of the matter, if they will overlook all superficial errors.

In publishing a book on the Peacemakers, in which I mention only a few men, I do not mean to claim for them exclusively a title which belongs by right to every man who will claim the inheritance which belongs to him as a man. I do not even mean to say that these men are the greatest Peacemakers of the world.

Every man in any age or country who has brought, or who may hereafter bring, into human conscious-

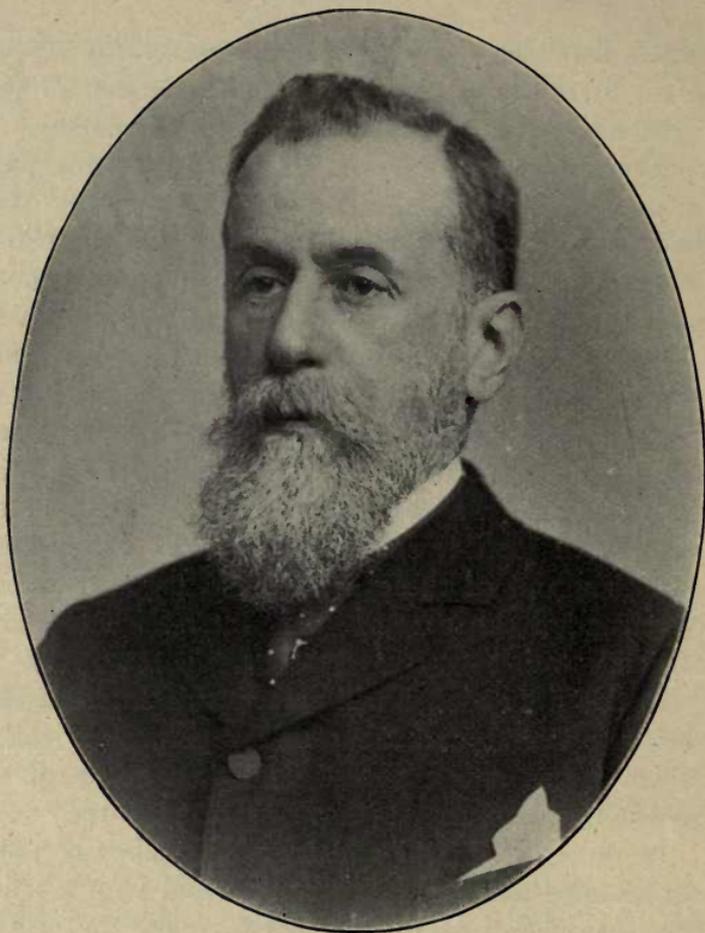
Introduction.

ness a true idea, is to that extent a peacemaker. And good literature is merely a feeble reflection of the light which these men shed upon the human sky.

The Prince of Peacemakers never took any part in politics. He had a higher office to perform. He had to stand for and demonstrate the absolute truth, which alone can give the peace that neither men or nations can take away. But there is a peace which the operation of true political principles can give, and there are thousands of brave men who are laboring to extend the operation of these principles, so as to reduce to the narrowest possible limits the area in which war is waged, and to enlarge the area of peace thru justice, duly administered. More than two thousand of these are banded together in an organization known as the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

In this little book I will present this Inter-Parliamentary Union, and the plan for permanent peace which it has now espoused, and then an image of its leading men, as they have appeared to me.

In doing so I will add to articles already published some that are yet to appear, and I must trust the imagination of the readers to make the necessary connection between men and events, which it would have been a pleasure to contemplate and to publish if time had permitted this.



with best compliments
Vienna, Oct. 1905
E. Plener

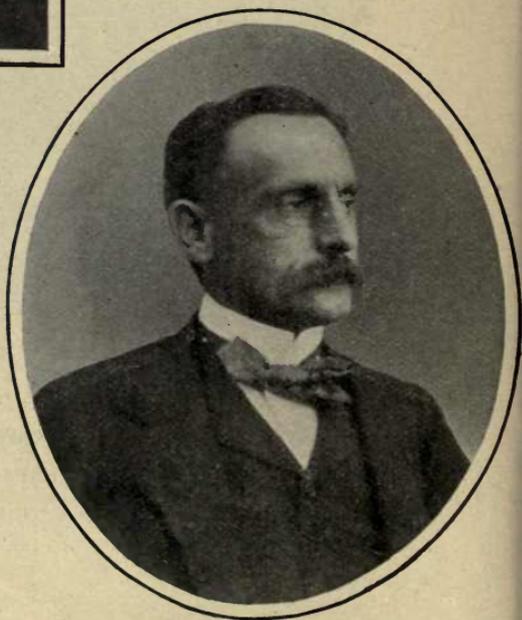
His Excellency, von Plener, ex-Secretary of the Austrian Treasury,
is President of the Interparliamentary Commission on Treaty of
Arbitration.

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Henri LaFontaine.



Baron D'Estournelles.

Bryan at the Peace Conference

BY HAYNE DAVIS

THE Interparliamentary Union, whose Fourteenth Conference was held at London on July 23d, 1906, is an organization composed exclusively of men who have now or who have recently had a seat in some national legislature.

It was organized at Paris in 1888, in order to advocate the substitution of law for war in international affairs.

Nine members of the British and twenty-five members of the French Parliament organized it, and the second meeting, held at Paris in 1889, determined that conferences of this kind should be held annually.

It contains now more than 2,000 men, all of whom have been elected to a seat in the lawmaking body of their own country.

It has held fourteen conferences. A delegation attends each conference from every parliament in which the members have formed a group for promoting Peace thru Arbitration.

It was the most powerful organized force in compelling the execution of the thirty-eight treaties of arbitration which are now in actual operation. In

1895 it declared in favor of a permanent International Tribunal of Arbitration. In 1899 such a tribunal was organized. In 1904 it adopted a resolution, at its St. Louis session, calling on the President of the United States to assemble the nations in conference to consider, among other things, the advisability of creating a permanent Congress of Nations, and the granting of jurisdiction to the Hague Court to try and determine certain classes of international controversies. The President complied with this request.

At its 1905 session, held at Brussels, upon motion of Hon. Richard Bartholdt, President of the American Delegation, it appointed two commissions, composed of eminent statesmen, to consider carefully the question of constituting a permanent International Congress, and also the question of the best form for a treaty of arbitration, designed to substitute judicial decisions for violence as rapidly as possible.

In June these commissions reported in favor of converting the second Hague Conference into a permanent body, and of granting jurisdiction to the Hague Court over questions not specifically reserved for settlement by force of arms.

After its session at St. Louis, in 1904, the delegates traveled over our country in two special trains, provided by the Government. At Denver they came across Hon. W. J. Bryan, and insisted upon his making the pilgrimage to the top of the Rocky Mountains with them; and when they arrived at

the highest point to which they intended going, they called on Mr. Bryan for an address.

The *Denver News*, September 18, 1904, said:

"Typical Colorado hospitality was dispensed with characteristic Western prodigality thruout the sojourn of the visitors.

"Early yesterday morning the guests were up and about. At 8.30 o'clock one detachment of the party left for a run over the Moffat road, while another went to Fort Collins to inspect the State Agricultural College.

"William J. Bryan joined the party in Denver and was a member of the Moffat excursion.

"One of the interesting incidents of the visit of the peace delegates to Denver was their attention to Mr. Bryan. The remarkable interest which the foreigners displayed in the great commoner was a theme for general comment by the members of the Denver reception committee and the railroad men who accompanied the delegates on the trip over the Moffat road yesterday.

"When Mr. Bryan reached the Moffat depot yesterday he was recognized by several of the party, some of whom he had met in Paris last winter, while on his European tour. Instantly the Nebraskan was the center of attention. The foreigners crowded about him, eager to greet him and exchange a word.

" 'I noticed,' one of the Moffat road officials said yesterday, 'that the foreigners appeared to be as interested in Bryan as are his own followers in this country. It was a unique sight to me to see these

men from foreign lands, who have not the slightest interest in our politics, crowding about Bryan as Americans do.' ”

While at Mammoth Mr. Bryan responded to an invitation to deliver an address.

Mr. Bryan was in his best vein and happiest mood, and spoke with extreme pleasure of being present at such a gathering in the heart of the Rocky Mountains. As a number of his auditors could not understand English, Dr. A. Bourquin, French consul at Denver, interpreted the speech as it was delivered, and in this manner all heard and understood. Mr. Bryan would speak a sentence and Dr. Bourquin would interpret it.

Mr. Bryan was loudly cheered at the conclusion of his remarks. This is what he said :

“MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I would have preferred to meet you in my own State, Nebraska, which lies upon the mountain slope to the east of us. You pass through that State tomorrow, and I hope that it will impress you as favorably as it impressed me when I first beheld it, an impression that has remained to this day. But next to Nebraska, I do not know of a better place to meet you than in the mountain State of Colorado. I say this, not only because the people of this State have been very kind to me and deeply interested in the principles for which I have been contending, but also because Denver, the queen of the mountains, is, in my judgment, the most beautiful city of its size in the world. When you have seen the city, as you will see it this afternoon, I am sure that you will agree with me.

“But there is still another reason why I am glad to meet the friends of peace here. There is an inspiration about

the mountains, and from the days of Sinai much law has come down to us from the heights.

“Meeting you at this altitude, I am reminded of a passage in the Old Testament. When Elijah was discouraged and thought that few were left to join him in worship, the Lord commanded him to stand upon the mountain, and a great wind was made to sweep by him, but God was not in the wind. The lightning was made to play about him, but God was not in the lightning. The thunder was made to roar above him, but God was not in the thunder. Then came a still, small voice, and it was the voice of God.

“Today when great nations are borne down with mighty armaments; today when increasing fleets and larger armies are to be seen; today when the lovers of peace find so much to discourage them, those who stand upon the heights are learning that justice is not in the navies that sweep the ocean, nor in the lightning that flashes from the musket’s mouth, nor yet in the roar of cannon, but in the still, small voice that issues forth from tribunals such as you desire to establish throughout the earth.

“When contests are decided by physical force and upon the battlefield the strongest nation is the victor, but when reason shall be substituted for force and arbitration for armies, nations may enter into honorable rivalry with the stronger ones and by being best become the greatest.

“Man is a three-fold being; he has a body, a mind and a heart. When war determines the destiny of nations, the contest is upon the lowest possible plane. You who are promoting peace are endeavoring to lift the contest to a higher plane and make it an intellectual struggle rather than a physical one. But there is still a higher plane. In contests of minds, men and nations may overreach each other. Let us hope that, after leaving the battlefield, we may push upward through intellectual contests to that moral plane where the object will be not to do each other harm but to help each other.

“Carlyle, in closing his story of the French Revolution, declared that thought is more powerful than artillery—that thought at last molds the world like soft clay, and then he adds that there was never a wise head that did not have behind it a generous heart. Carlyle thus sets forth the true relation that exists between the body, the mind and the heart. Thought is stronger than armies and in the end will win against armaments, but greater than thought is love, and love is characteristic of the heart. There can be no permanent peace that does not rest upon justice, and justice is impossible until all hearts are so filled with love that we can recognize the rights of others and do our duty toward them.

“It has given me great pleasure to meet you, the distinguished representatives of so many nations. I find that I can agree with some of the English representatives upon the tariff question; I find that I can agree with Dr. Otto Arndt, the eminent German bi-metalist, upon the money question; I can agree with the representatives of France upon many questions of government, and I can appreciate the services rendered the world by little Switzerland, and, in common with you all, I desire to contribute toward the establishment of universal peace.

“All the nations of the world have brought us valuable lessons and have contributed much to our greatness through the sons and daughters they have sent to us.

“America should be foremost in the work in which you are enlisted, for she is connected by ties of blood with all the nations of the Old World, and those who have made this their adopted home are in a position to send their relatives across the sea news of every good word and work.

“Carry back to your friends in Europe the greetings of the new world and say to them that the people of America, instead of desiring to excite fear by physical force, aspire to a moral grandeur that will draw forth admiration and esteem.

"I thank you for the opportunity to share with you the pleasures of this day and for the encouragement that your presence brings to us."

This address produced a profound impression upon those present, and was so highly appreciated by Sir Philip Stanhope and Mr. William Randal Cremer, the President and Secretary of the British Delegation, that they invited Mr. Bryan to attend this year's conference at London.

Mr. Bryan accepted the invitation and came to London from Norway, resolved to propose that the Union declare in favor of a judicial investigation of *every* dispute between nations, prior to the commencement of hostilities.

Upon his arrival at London he filed a motion to this effect with the President and Secretary of the Conference.

He did not know then that this very idea had been proposed by Mr. Bartholdt at Brussels, and had been deemed by the Commission too progressive for the present moment. Mr. Bryan, upon learning this fact, declared that he thought Mr. Bartholdt was right, and requested that the idea be adopted, declaring that, because it is the longest step that can be taken, he desired to see the Interparliamentary Union declare in favor of taking it.

The Committee which gives preliminary consideration to such motions decided to incorporate this idea, slightly modified, with another which it had merely suggested as desirable, and to make a strong

declaration for the proposition put forward by Mr. Bryan in this amended form.

Mr. Bryan was then requested by the Executive Committee to address the Conference in full session in favor of this declaration.

There were over 500 members from 22 parliaments present. The Conference presented the customary appearance of deliberative bodies on the morning of July 24th, when this matter was on the order of the day. Members were talking to each other, moving about the hall, standing in the aisles, and were coming in and going out of the doorway. Looking upon such assemblies one's first impression is, "No good can come from such a scene of confusion." But when the critical moment comes, you see a great transformation. It was so with this Conference on July 24th. When it was announced that Mr. Bryan would now address the assembly, those who were whispering became silent; those in the aisles and about the door found seats, and when Mr. Bryan reached the rostrum harmony had already been established in this vast audience. He began by thanking the Commission for improving his motion by their wise amendment. Then he confessed that, until that morning, he had not known of Mr. Bartholdt's previous presentation of the idea, which he now brought forward, and declared that he was glad of an opportunity, in pressing for this amendment, to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Bartholdt, "who," he said, "had been so conspicuous in his efforts to promote Peace."

Mr. Bryan spoke so simply, clearly, confidently and convincingly that he had no trouble in raising this entire body of national lawmakers to the high already attained by its most progressive leaders, and in solidifying the sentiment of the entire assembly in favor of a strong stand, more progressive in one particular than seemed wise to the leaders, before they came in contact with the force of Mr. Bryan's convictions.

The Conference declared unanimously in favor of:

1. Periodical assembling of a Conference of Nations at The Hague.

2. Jurisdiction for the Hague Court to try and finally determine certain classes of disputes.

3. An investigation of *all* questions in dispute between nations or a resort to mediation prior to the commencement of hostilities.

4. National appropriations annually in aid of International Arbitration.

5. National consideration of the question of armaments, with a view to an international agreement to limit and then decrease the intolerable military burdens which now weigh upon the world.

The third proposition was approved by reason of the force of Mr. Bryan's advocacy of this idea, and the force which he brought into the Conference was

not without its effect in strengthening the sentiment of this great body of national lawmakers in favor of all five of the resolutions approved at its London session.

The number of national parliamentarians who had come to this Conference, was the largest in the history of the Union, more than 25 per cent. of the membership being present, whereas the attendance is generally about 10 per cent. This was due to the gravity of the propositions put forward by Mr. Bartholdt at the Brussels Conference last August. The members of the Union, as well as the two Commissions appointed to consider Mr. Bartholdt's motion, have been busy during the year, and they came to this Conference alive and ready to take a hand in the discussion.

When this great body was on the eve of this discussion of the advisability of creating immediately an international Parliament, the papers announced that the Russian Duma had been dissolved. The next morning the Prime Minister of Great Britain declared to the elected Representatives from twenty-two national Parliaments, assembled in the hall thru which the King of England passes when he visits the British Parliament in person, "The Duma is dead; vive la Duma."

The circumstances under which this declaration was made by the British Prime Minister are indeed remarkable. It was in the year 1253 that the first Representative Parliament of England was assem-

bled. In other words, half of one thousand years ago the Idea of a representative Parliament appeared in practical form before the face of hereditary rulers, at the place where the Inter-parliamentary Union was holding its fourteenth session. During the intervening fifty years this Idea has established itself as Sovereign over every foot of territory on the two great continents of America and over a portion of Europe. All the other parts of Europe have this Idea as semi-Sovereign, the Parliaments dividing the Sovereignty with the reigning families, but in most cases having secured the larger part for themselves. Outside of the hall in which this Conference was held stands the statue of Oliver Cromwell, placed there by the British people as a notification to the royal family of England that the right of the British people to a representative Parliament is perpetual. It was this man who won the struggle between arbitrary authority and Parliamentary government in the British Isles, and on the day they made this stand for destroying arbitrary authority in international affairs, these lawmakers sat down to luncheon in the hall where the British Parliament tried and sentenced Charles I.

So that, on the morning of July 23d, when the Prime Minister of Great Britain found himself confronted by 500 parliamentarians from all Europe and the greater part of America, the Idea of Parliamentary Government in international affairs was in

the presence of the Government of Great Britain in the form of this Interparliamentary Union, and was about to take up the question of achieving for itself an official as well as an actual position in world politics. It was in this situation that the declaration of faith by the Government of Great Britain was made in the perpetual and irresistible power of the parliamentary principle in government. Immediately after this declaration the Conference entered upon the consideration of the report of the Commission proposing the conversion of the second Hague Conference into a permanent body. When the time came to vote on the proposition, no man was found to raise a voice against it.

The Idea of Representative Parliamentary Government, having firmly established itself in England, and having successfully fought for five hundred years in order to gain possession of all other parts of the world, has now returned to England and called for its acceptance for the whole world by superimposing upon the national parliaments a permanent International Parliament, just as in federal governments interstate parliaments are superimposed upon state parliaments. Whatever any one may think in regard to the acceptance of this proposition by the second Hague Conference, and then by the several governments that will be represented in that Conference, there is no escape from the fact that the declaration made by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in regard to the cer-

tain resurrection of the buried Russian Parliament is equally true in regard to the formation of an International Parliament. The sovereigns of the world, whether royal families with Parliamentary adjuncts, or Parliaments with Executive adjuncts, will find no one Sovereign, nor any combination of Sovereigns, that can prevent the people of the several nations from applying, in the affairs which are common to all the nations, those political principles which have been found indispensable, not only to the preservation of peace inside of the particular governments, but to the preservation of the government itself.

After President Roosevelt had stated that he would call such a Conference in accordance with the Resolution of St. Louis, Mr. Bartholdt declared that there could be no question of party politics in such a great movement, and that if a Democrat had been President on the 24th day of September, 1904, he would have done what was done on that day by Theodore Roosevelt. Events have justified Mr. Bartholdt's declaration.

An American statesman who has twice been a candidate for the Presidency, and who is a Democrat of the old and true type, has not only shown that he would have done what President Roosevelt did in 1904, but that he is prepared to take a more advanced position in favor of this great movement for a system of law and order, duly declared and administered thru modern governmental machinery,

and reaching to the furthest limit of human intercourse, than has yet been taken by any other American statesman having the same prominence in his own party. He has not gone any further, or even quite as far, as Mr. Bartholdt has gone, but he has gone as far as the exigency of the moment called for, and by going this far he has crystallized the sentiment of the most powerful organized body of international statesmen in the world, into a very progressive and practical form.

There are two deductions which must be drawn from this. The question of party politics in the matter of international arbitration is settled, as far as the United States is concerned. The present President of the United States brought the second Hague Conference into existence. The man who is most likely to be the next Democratic President, and whom many men of good judgment regard as the most probable successor to President Roosevelt, has already lent his powerful influence to the idea of making that Conference permanent, and of founding the Hague Court on the solid ground of jurisdiction over specified classes of controversy, and of crowding the right to make war back to the point of permitting a judicial finding of the facts in *every* controversy, before the commencement of hostilities.

From this the second deduction follows, namely, the people in Europe who really want permanent peace, and who are willing to pay the price of peace, namely—surrender of the right to make war,

coupled with the acquisition of the right to vote by ballots instead of by bullets in international affairs—can find in America an Executive who will lead them on to the realization of this noble end, whenever they are prepared to espouse it with anything like that devotion which was necessary to establish peace and prosperity within the borders of their respective countries.

Mr. Bryan's Address to the Interparliamentary Conference

MR. President and Gentlemen of the Interparliamentary Union—I regret that I cannot speak to you in the language which is usually employed in this body, but I only know one language, the language of my own country, and you will pardon me if I use that. I desire in the first place to express my appreciation of the courtesy shown me by Lord Weardale, our president, and by Baron von Plener, the chairman of the committee which framed the model treaty. The latter has framed this substitute embodying both of the ideas (investigation and mediation) which were presented yesterday. I appreciate the superior wisdom and the greater experience of this learned committee, which has united the two propositions, and I thank this body also for the opportunity to say just a word in defense of my part of the resolution. I cannot say that it is a new idea, for since it was presented yesterday I have learned that the same idea in substance was presented last year at Brussels by Mr. Bartholdt, of my own country, who has been so conspicuous in his efforts to promote peace, and I am very glad that I can follow in his footsteps in the urging of this amendment. I may add also that it is in line with the suggestion made by the

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honorable Prime Minister of Great Britain, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in that memorable and epoch-making speech of yesterday, in that speech which contained several sentences any one of which would have justified the assembling of this Inter-parliamentary Union—any one of which would have compensated us all for coming here. In that splendid speech he expressed the hope that the scope of arbitration treaties may be enlarged. He said:

“Gentlemen, I fervently trust that before long the principle of arbitration may win such confidence as to justify its extension to a wider field of international differences. We have already seen how questions arousing passion and excitement have attained a solution, not necessarily by means of arbitration in the strict sense of the word, but by referring them to such a tribunal as that which reported on the North Sea incident; and I would ask you whether it may not be worth while carefully to consider, before the next Congress meets at The Hague, the various forms in which differences might be submitted, with a view to opening the door as wide as possible to every means which might in any degree contribute to moderate or compose such differences.”

This amendment which I propose is in harmony with this suggestion made by the Premier of Great Britain.

The resolution (as originally proposed by the Arbitration Commission) is in the form of a postscript to the treaty, but like the postscripts of some letters, it contains a very vital subject—in fact, I am not sure but the postscript in this case is as important as the letter itself, for it deals with those questions which have defied arbitration. Certain questions affecting the honor or integrity of a nation are considered outside of the jurisdiction of a court of arbi-

tration, and these are the questions which have given trouble. Passion is not often aroused by questions that do not affect a nation's integrity or honor, but for fear these questions may arise arbitration is not always employed where it might be. The first advantage, then, of this resolution is that it secures an investigation of the facts, and if you can but separate the facts from the question of honor, the chances are one hundred to one that you can settle both the fact and the question of honor without war. There is, therefore, a great advantage in an investigation that brings out the facts, for disputed facts between nations, as between friends, are the cause of most disagreements.

The second advantage of this investigation is that it gives time for calm consideration. That has already been well presented by the gentleman who has preceded me, Baron von Plener. I need not say to you that man excited is a very different animal from man calm, and that questions ought to be settled, not by passion, but by deliberation. If this resolution would do nothing else but give time for reflection and deliberation, there would be sufficient reason for its adoption. If we can but stay the hand of war until conscience can assert itself war will be made more remote. When men are mad they swagger around and tell what they can do; when they are calm they consider what they ought to do.

The third advantage of this investigation is that it gives opportunity to mobilize public opinion for the compelling of a peaceful settlement, and that is

an advantage not to be overlooked. Public opinion is coming to be more and more a power in the world. One of the greatest statesmen of my country, Thomas Jefferson—and if it were not immodest I could add that I believe him to be the greatest statesman the world has produced—said that if he had to choose between a government without newspapers and newspapers without a government, he would rather risk the newspapers without a government. You may call it an extravagant statement, and yet it presents an idea, and that idea is that public opinion is a controlling force. I am glad that the time is coming when public opinion is to be more and more powerful; glad that the time is coming when the moral sentiment of one nation will influence the action of other nations; glad that the time is coming when the world will realize that a war between two nations affects others than the nations involved; glad that the time is coming when the world will insist that nations settle their differences by some peaceful means. If time is given for the marshaling of the force of public opinion peace will be promoted.

This resolution is presented, therefore, for the reasons that it gives an opportunity to investigate the facts and to separate them from the question of honor; that it gives time for the calming of passion, and that it gives time for the formation of a controlling public sentiment.

I will not disguise the fact that I consider this resolution a long step in the direction of peace, nor

will I disguise the fact that I am here because I want this Interparliamentary Union to take just as long a step as possible in the direction of universal peace. We meet in a famous hall, and looking down upon us from these walls are pictures that illustrate not only the glory that is to be won in war, but the horrors that follow war. There is a picture of one of the great figures in English history (pointing to the fresco by Maclise of the death of Nelson). Lord Nelson is represented as dying, and around him are the mangled forms of others. I understand that war brings out certain virtues. I am aware that it gives opportunity for the display of great patriotism; I am aware that the example of men who give their lives for their country is inspiring, but I venture to say there is as much inspiration in a noble life as there is in a heroic death, and I trust that one of the results of this Interparliamentary Union will be to emphasize the doctrine that a life devoted to the public, and ever flowing, like a spring, with good, exerts an influence upon the human race and upon the destiny of the world as great as any death in war. And if you will permit me to mention one whose career I watched with interest and whose name I revere, I will say that, in my humble judgment, the sixty-four years of spotless public service of William Ewart Gladstone will, in years to come, be considered as rich an ornament to the history of this nation as the life of any man who poured out his blood upon a battlefield.

All movements in the interest of peace have back

of them the idea of brotherhood. If peace is to come in this world it will come because people more and more clearly recognize the indissoluble tie that binds each human being to every other. If we are to build permanent peace it must be on the foundation of the brotherhood of men. A poet has described how in the Civil War that divided our country into two hostile camps a generation ago—in one battle a soldier in one line thrust his bayonet through a soldier in the opposing line, and how, when he stooped to draw it out, he recognized in the face of the fallen one the face of his brother. And then the poet describes the feeling of horror that overwhelmed the survivor when he realized that he had taken the life of one who was the child of the same parents and the companion of his boyhood. It was a pathetic story, but is it too much to hope that as years go by we will begin to understand that the whole human race is but a larger family?

It is not too much to hope that as years go by a human sympathy will expand until this feeling of unity will not be confined to the members of a family or to the members of a clan or of a community or state, but shall be world-wide. It is not too much to hope that we, in this assembly, possibly by this resolution, may hasten the day when we shall feel so appalled at the thought of the taking of any human life that we shall strive to raise all questions to a level where the settlement will be by reason and not by force.

William Jennings Bryan

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN is so well known that words describing him seem out of place. And yet few men in America are seen thru such a mist of misconception by so great part of their fellow citizens. This results from the volcanic eruption during the political campaign of 1896, when those who opposed Mr. Bryan were made to feel that the ordinary terms of demagogue, etc., were inadequate. Socialist was too good a word. "Anarchist" was frequently found in publications not having the reputation of being either sensational or yellow. Millions of Americans were made to believe that Mr. Bryan's chief aim in life was to steal the property of Americans by way of an act of Congress.

The man stood this storm and has borne up under the clouds which followed in its wake, and which still hang on the American horizon. They are no longer lowering, as in the 1896 time, nor are they dark, as in 1900. But they are still dense enough to distort the image of the man when thousands of his countrymen hear his name mentioned. Either the real man is as I and countless others see him, or he is as his political opponents believed him to be and as they pictured him a decade ago. Which is the real Bryan?

None of us can take another man's opinion, but we can form our own opinion in the light of facts. In drawing this sketch of him I will state the facts as I believe they occurred. If these facts are true, then they proclaim the man.

Six years ago, while traveling in Europe, I was impressed with the fact that Europeans of eminence whom I met accepted the Republican opinion of Mr. Bryan. I sought for the reason and soon found it. The metropolitan press and the reports of the foreign correspondents at New York and Washington create the atmosphere thru which Europeans see Americans generally. These foreign correspondents are in close touch with the metropolitan papers. Regardless of their individual leanings, they find themselves perpetually in touch with and to some extent influenced by the opinions which pervade the precincts of the great dailies at the metropolis. In the next place, Europeans naturally regard more highly those Americans who succeed. "If a man is right, why doesn't he win?" may not be consciously said by the great mass of humanity in the formation of its opinions, but it is an operative factor and not the least powerful one. In the third place, Europeans were more convinced than even the Republicans of America that Bryan's silver opinions were not only wrong, but foolish, even dangerous in a high degree. This predisposed Europeans to accept every bad opinion of the man which found a way to them thru the press. I remember meeting a gentleman in a railway train

near London who asked me if Mr. Bryan would ever be heard of in American politics, now that he had been defeated again in 1900. It was a new thought, and I answered it on the spur of the moment somewhat like this: Mr. Bryan can't live without observing what is going on. He can't do this without forming and expressing opinions. When he expresses opinions they have power with the people. You cannot put such a man down. Mr. W. T. Stead asked me about him, and was readier than any other man I met to accept my answers as probably true. Among other things, Mr. Stead asked what Bryan would do in regard to international arbitration. I had never heard Mr. Bryan express himself, but I assured Mr. Stead that he would be one of its ablest advocates in America when the proper moment came. Three years after that Mr. Bryan went to Europe for the first time. He was invited to speak at a great assembly of eminent men in London. It took him only one hour to dissipate the mental fog which hung over Europe concerning him. Unaffected by the personal or party antagonisms of American politics, the eyes of these men opened instantly, so that they saw in Bryan a really great man. Thruout all Europe he was honored, not perfunctorily, but sincerely and in unusual ways. The light which dawned in Europe then has since been making its way westward. But the fog was thicker here, particularly on the Atlantic seaboard. But I have noticed that a corrected impression of Mr. Bryan is coming out

during the past two years in many Eastern publications. His recent tour of foreign countries seems to have raised him to a place of very great honor among the really exalted people of the Old World. I speak not of those whose position depends on the law of heredity, but of those who are in high places because they have demonstrated unusual individual capacity. I became personally acquainted with a number of these men during the past two years. They are well acquainted with what we may call the "power of Europe" in accepting the Biblical description of the controlling personalities of the day. And they tell me that Mr. Bryan is now recognized in Europe as great, even for an American of the best type.

During the recent Conference at London he walked into a place of commanding influence without any effort whatever. It contained members of Cabinets, Speakers of National Assemblies, leaders of great political parties. Being an eye witness of this, it was not possible to remain blind to it, unless personal or party considerations closed the eyes or made a cloud to conceal the fact which was so plain to unprejudiced observers. Then, too, he was able to induce this great International House of Representatives to take a longer step forward than it would otherwise have done, and I felt that the Conference took this longer step more confidently and more firmly than it was prepared to take the less progressive stand proposed prior to the advent of Mr. Bryan into its councils.

Mr. Bartholdt, of the American delegation, had already proposed taking the very step which Mr. Bryan induced the Conference to take, and it was delightful to see that Mr. Bryan's assistance, in strengthening the knees of the Europeans in the face of this bold move, was so heartily appreciated by Mr. Bartholdt. When politicians become advocates of a noble idea that makes them statesmen. And among real statesmen party and personal considerations vanish, and the success of the idea becomes the chief concern.

Mr. Bryan, when called on to address this great assembly, began by saying that the executive committee had improved his motion by the modification they had made in it. Then he stated that Mr. Bartholdt, a year before, had suggested the same idea, and that he was glad to follow in Mr. Bartholdt's footsteps in its advocacy. There was no evidence of a desire to achieve special credit for himself, but to acknowledge justly and simply all the facts and to unite with the others in an effort to get the right idea adopted.

And the fact is that Mr. Bryan suggested, in an open letter to Mr. Roosevelt, the advocacy of this idea by the United States, at the very moment when Mr. Bartholdt was putting it forward at Brussels in 1905 for acceptance by the world's lawmakers who are working for arbitration as a substitute for war. Neither man knew what the other was doing. Both were standing for what seemed to them right, and events brought them together at London, where,

by concert of action, they succeeded in getting it accepted by the most powerful organized body in international affairs.

Do these things reveal the character of the man as he really is? Actions reveal character. So do words when the word constitutes an action. And words spoken in such assemblies, with a view to influencing the action of nations, do constitute an action.

Many of us remember the visit which David B. Hill paid Mr. Bryan in 1900, on his way to the Democratic National Convention. Many of us hoped the silver issue would be left out of consideration, so that the campaign could be fought on Imperialism and Trusts, with the never-dying tariff issue in the background. Mr. Hill was very anxious for this, and unless I am much mistaken this is about what passed between these men. Mr. Hill gave good reasons why Bryan would be defeated if the silver issue was raised and elected if it was not raised—ignored for the time. Mr. Bryan feared that it would lose its place if ignored. Right or wrong, he believed in it. He could not let himself be used as an undertaker to bury what he considered a true idea, necessary for the people's salvation from political ills. So he told Mr. Hill that he would rather be right than President. And that if the party declared for ideas which he was devoted to, he could be its leader. If it failed to declare for the ideas which he regarded as the necessary issues of the day, then some other man who

was more perfectly in accord with the party would necessarily be the logical leader. Being at the time the representative of this silver idea, he could only accept leadership of the party if the party was for that idea.

Many Democrats believe that Mr. Bryan's fidelity to his idea of right lost him the Presidency in 1900. Those who saw his action in this light esteemed him more highly than if he had been elected by infidelity to his convictions.

When Roosevelt sent his Railway Rebate Message to Congress, Democrats were compelled to choose between infidelity to principles which they had espoused and supporting Mr. Roosevelt in this fight. Mr. Bryan had shaken the country in his powerful advocacy of these and related ideas. Now some of the principles he advocated stood a chance of winning, provided a Republican was permitted to lead in the battle. Mr. Bryan immediately declared that any Democrat who failed to support Mr. Roosevelt with all his power was unfit for a seat in Congress.

To me these things make it plain that in Mr. Bryan we have a man who can stand for what is revealed to him as true, who has an uncommon capacity to see the true principles, great power of advocacy, not only among all the common people, but among uncommon people. He can stand steadfastly for what he believes to be right, regardless of the consequences, and can persist in this during

long years of misrepresentation and misconception, without being touched by illwill or bitterness.

Of course, you cannot compress a man into a mere skeleton like this. And I am not even trying to picture Mr. Bryan, only to bring out some facts which clear the sky for his own words and actions to be more truly seen and more justly estimated by those whom party politics has removed far from him. For his admirers any words of praise, not to speak of description, will seem cold and useless. And no man has secured such a hold upon the masses of the American people since I have been watching events. He seems to be like the early statesmen in his character and in its effect upon his fellow countrymen. And by his recent actions he has become one of the world's peacemakers, and he is not the least esteemed among that honorable company of great and noble men.

The Interparliamentary Union*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

I N 1885 there was no Interparliamentary Union. Up to that time members of even two National Parliaments had never assembled together. In that year a man named William Randal Cremer took a seat in the British House of Commons. When only twenty-five years of age he went thru a nine months' industrial war as one of the labor leaders. This war was one of the severest ever waged in England, and it extended to business which required the services of 100,000 working men. In England four persons, on the average, depend on every workman, so that about half a million people were affected by this lockout. Its fires burned into the mind of Mr. Cremer this idea—"Warfare between those who are dependent on each other is madness." He came out of that struggle with the light of this idea brightly burning in his mind, and ever since then it has been the guiding light of all his actions. As soon as he took his seat in Parliament, this light began to shine on the political problems in front of him. As a member of Parliament, he was compelled to pass judgment on questions which concerned the people of other nations as well as of Great Britain, and he found the Government perpetually engaged in prep-

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aration for war and periodically engaged in war itself. He saw that the right way out of this wrong condition was to introduce the principle of arbitration into international affairs. His clear discernment of this fact constituted him the inevitable instrument for its realization. Within two years after his entry into Parliament, nearly every member of the House of Commons was compelled to choose between signing and refusing to sign the following document, which Mr. Cremer drafted before he disclosed to a single person the thought that had come to him, when reflecting, alone and devoutly, upon the best way of abolishing this plague of war from the affairs of men:

“To the President and Congress of the United States:

“The undersigned members of the British Parliament learn with the utmost satisfaction that various proposals have been introduced into Congress, urging the Government of the United States to take the necessary steps for concluding with Great Britain a treaty, which shall stipulate that any differences or disputes 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. The conclusion of such a treaty would be a splendid example to those nations who are wasting their resources in war-provoking institutions, and might induce other governments to join the peaceful compact.”

Mr. Cremer told me some interesting incidents connected with securing signatures to this document. John Bright was then in Parliament, and when Mr. Cremer presented the memorial to him, Mr. Bright inquired whether there was any precedent for the memorializing of the members of one Parliament by

the members of another. That is always an Englishman's first question. Immediately Mr. Cremer made a reply which has flashed out from Englishmen in so many crises and changed the course of history: "There is no precedent, but this is the thing to do. So we will make a precedent."

Mr. Bright then scrutinized the memorial sentence by sentence, and finally ended by saying: "I could not have drawn it better myself," as he affixed his signature.

Mr. Cremer appeared at Washington on October 31st, 1887, armed with this document, subscribed by 234 members of Parliament, and asked for an interview with Grover Cleveland, who was then President of the United States. Andrew Carnegie arranged the interview, and Mr. Cleveland was gracious to the British delegation which accompanied Mr. Cremer and to the idea on whose behalf they had come. Tho a treaty of arbitration has not yet been concluded between England and the United States, a much more important result has come from this visit to America than was then in the thought of these bold brothers from the British Isles.

Undaunted by apparent failure, this indomitable arbitrator appeared at Paris the 1st of August, 1888, and on the 6th of that month a small company of statesmen were assembled at the home of Jules Gailard to meet him. He was taken to call upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and succeeded in inspiring the Frenchmen to act as leaders in what he

declared was a great and world-wide movement, and which was sure to succeed.

The result was a circular letter addressed to the 234 signers of the American memorial, and to members of the French Parliament, requesting their presence at a joint conference of British and French Parliamentarians to discuss a treaty of arbitration between France, England and the United States. This circular was signed by Frederic Passy, Jules Gaillard, Gaillard, Lolande, Barodet, Jules Siegfried, Montant, Sobotier, Lyonnais, Yves Guyot, Ferdinand Faure *et als.*

Exactly one year from the day on which Mr. Cremer was received by Grover Cleveland, he and eight other members of the British Parliament were received at the Grand Hotel, Paris, by twenty-five members of the French Parliament, to discuss a treaty of arbitration between England, France and the United States.

As the memorial to the United States Congress was the first of its kind, so this meeting created a still more important precedent. The thirty-four members of two parliaments assembled on that memorable occasion decided that a second meeting should be called for a day during the Paris Exposition (1889) and that members of other Parliaments should be invited to attend.

On the day appointed, June 29th, about 100 members of various parliaments appeared, not only France and England being represented, but also Belgium, Hungary, Italy, Norway and the United

States. On the 30th day of June, 1889, Mr. Justin R. Whiting, of St. Clair, Mich., the sole representative from the United States Congress at this memorable gathering, was presiding over its deliberations, when the following resolution was unanimously adopted, on motion of Marquis Pandolfi, of Italy :

“Further Interparliamentary reunions shall take place each year in one of the cities of the various countries represented at the Conference. The next meeting shall be at London.”

Several of the men who took part in this memorable conference are still active in the public affairs of England and France.

Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Burt and several more of the nine Englishmen are in Parliament. Jules Simon, who concluded peace between France and Germany, was among the French contingent. So were Frederic Passy and M. Bourgeois, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris.

The resolution to hold periodical conferences was the vital act of that assembly. It gave birth to the Interparliamentary Union; that Union has begotten The Hague Court as its first born, and is to bring forth an International Congress as its second child.

The Continental Hotel, where this Union was born, has been the scene of many memorable events. Situated opposite the Tuileries and between the Louvre and the Champs Elysees, it has been a witness to those things which have made France notorious the world over. Mr. Cremer is responsible for the selection of this famous hotel as the birth-

place for the Union, as well as for the creation of the Union itself.

After it had been decided to hold the conference at Paris, a committee of arrangements was named. Mr. Cremer was on this committee for England, and was active in the discharge of all his duties. He saw that invitations were received by all the 234 members of Parliament, in whose name he had made his move on Washington. He showed me some of the responses. Even then men with the prophetic sense could see that this was no mere dream of an enthusiast. One of the declinations read as follows:

“HAWARDEN, October 5, 1888.

“DEAR MR. CREMER—I have several political engagements at the end of this month, before Parliament meets, and I much regret that it is out of my power to be present at the interesting, and what may be historic, gathering in Paris, on the 31st inst. Yours faithfully,

“HERBERT GLADSTONE.”

Having attended to all the duties assigned to him, Mr. Cremer was prompted to run over to Paris some days in advance and make sure that everything was in readiness. He was conducted by the French members of the committee to an out of the way and dingy hall as the place of meeting, and was assured that it was the only place that could be secured in Paris at the appointed time. He had been during all his life a plain man, from the common people, whose expenses were then and still are paid by his constituency, and nothing is further from him than useless display. But he instinctively felt that the place was unworthy of the event, and he told his friends on the committee that he would find a more

suitable place. He looked far and wide for a place that seemed suitable, and ended by engaging the famous "Salle des Fêtes" of the Continental Hotel, the choice conference hall of all Paris. He did not let the question of money stand in the way. That seemed to him the proper place for the Conference, so there was where it should take place. He occupied himself day and night sending out notices to those who had signified their intention to be present, advising them of the change of place.

As soon as the delegates from the British Parliament arrived, he explained to them what he had done and why; instantly they subscribed the money necessary to meet the requirements of the situation.

Mr. Cremer has watched this child of his grow, in stature, and in favor with the people, and in power. He has attended all of its twelve sessions, held at the principal capitals of Europe, and also the one which was held at St. Louis in 1904. He showed me mementos of its sessions at Paris, Rome, Budapest, Vienna, Brussels, The Hague, Christiania, Berne, etc. At each of these cities he observed new faces, representing new parliaments, in such numbers and with such rapidity, that what was once merely an idea in his mind is now a great organized power, containing over 2,000 members, and fast becoming an irresistible force in world politics. It is really an unofficial International House of Representatives. A seat in it can be secured only by inducing the people of your vicinity to elect you to their national Parliament.

Unless I read very erroneously the signs of these times, the parliamentary idea is sovereign in the political world. Those monarchs who bow to this sovereign can remain, for a season at least, upon their ancestral thrones. Those who dare to make a stand against the parliamentary idea will dig their own graves, and must sooner or later descend into them.

When Mr. Cremer conceived this Interparliamentary Union he was regarded by many as under a delusion, and he had to endure much ridicule, meeting even with insult at the hands of a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations at Washington. That was less than twenty years ago.

Now the world is applauding the men who stand for early realization of things which are beyond Mr. Cremer's dream of ten years ago.

In the light of these facts it would not require unusual courage to declare one's faith in the early constitution of an International Congress having jurisdiction, in a clearly defined sphere, and co-operating with the half-hundred national Parliaments, as harmoniously as the United States Congress co-operates with the State Legislatures on which it reposes. The Interparliamentary Union is the body which will see that this is done and without any great delay.

Arbitration Commission*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

Great Conference to Be Held at St. Louis Next Week.
Richard Bartholdt Tells All About It—Peace
Leaders Have Big Projects to Be Dis-
cussed—Want to Supplement the
Hague Tribunal.

SOME OF THEIR AIMS ARE TO DETERMINE THE RIGHTS
OF NEUTRALS, REDUCE ARMAMENTS AND CREATE A
PERMANENT WORLD'S CONGRESS WHICH WILL IN-
FLUENCE THE CONDUCT OF NATIONS.

Special to Commercial Appeal, New York, September 3d.

IT was a great pleasure for me to be the first to interview the Hon. Richard Bartholdt, chairman of the American delegation to the Parliamentary Congress to be held in St. Louis.

Mr. Bartholdt said:

“On October 31st, 1888, twenty-five members of the French and nine of the English Parliament met in Paris at the Grand Hotel to discuss the execution of arbitration treaties between England, France and the United States. The immediate outcome of that conference was the Interparliamentary Union, a body composed of all members of national legislatures who choose to become members of this Union. Once formed, it began to draw members into itself from various national legislatures. Seven years ago

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Mr. Samuel J. Barrows, of Massachusetts, then a member of the United States Congress, joined the Union; a year later I joined it; and until this year Mr. Barrows and I were the only American members of this body. I joined it because my abhorrence for war has grown in proportion to the growth of my intelligence, and I recognized this body as an effective instrument for the ultimate substitution of judicial proceedings for war between nations.

“The meeting of the Union last year was held at Vienna. This was the second meeting I had been able to attend. It seemed to me that nothing could be more appropriate than that its meeting this year should be held at St. Louis, where all the nations would be assembled from their commercial side, exhibiting to one another all the useful things which they have to offer each other, in mutual service. I was inspired by the occasion to invite the conference to hold its next meeting at St. Louis, and to promise them an official invitation from the United States and an appropriation by our Congress for their entertainment, trusting that my country would make good a thing which seemed so right to me. I was the only member of our Congress present, and our Ambassador to Austria-Hungary was absent at the time. The delegates from Denmark had an official invitation from their Government and a guarantee of an appropriation for the entertainment of the conference. After discussing the matter with the executive committee, I addressed the meeting in full conference.

"As soon as I finished my address a member of the delegation from Denmark withdrew the invitation of Denmark in favor of my invitation on behalf of the United States, and the Conference voted to hold its next session at St. Louis.

"I returned to the United States, explained my action to the President and Congress, and my country justified my conduct by officially inviting the Conference to hold its next session here, and by making a suitable appropriation for the entertainment of its members. They are arriving daily and nearly every Parliament of the world will be represented. The party will leave New York on two special trains as guests of the nation on Wednesday, the 7th, and will proceed by the way of Philadelphia and Pittsburg to St. Louis, where the meeting will be held September 12th-14th."

"What will the Conference do?" Mr. Bartholdt was asked.

"It will consider in a practical, not in a visionary way, many questions of mutual interest to all nations. And while its discussions are necessarily academic, because it has no authority, still what is said in these meetings has great influence upon the members in attendance, and, thru them, upon their nations. The call for The Hague Conference was an outcome of the previous numerous meetings of this union, and even greater consequences may be expected to follow from its meetings in the future. The question of bringing to an end the horrible war

in the East will be one of the matters discussed at the meeting in St. Louis.

“On behalf of the American delegation, the Conference will be asked to pass a resolution requesting the President of the United States to call on all the other nations of the world to send delegates to a conference which shall consider, among other things, the following questions :

“First—Those questions raised at The Hague Conference, and for the discussion of which future conferences were called for by resolution of The Hague Conference. There were several of these—rights and duties of neutrals, for instance, which are not clearly understood, as has been shown by the events of the present war in the East.

“Second—The execution of arbitration treaties between all nations.

“Third—Reduction of armaments.

“Fourth—The creation of a permanent World’s Congress to supplement The Hague Court.

“Being practical men, the members of this Conference do not expect to abolish war at once, or at any time in an impractical way. But they do intend to take at suitable times the steps which will tend to abolish war. War between individuals was abolished by the development of states. War between states was abolished by the formation and development of a union of states. Just so, war between nations will be abolished by the formation and development of a union of nations. American States would be armed against each other today if they had

not been organized into the United States. Nations will arm against each other until they are all organized into a union of nations, rightly formed and rightly operated, with suitable legislative, judicial and executive departments. A union of nations is already in existence, The Hague Court being its judicial department. This union can be perfected by the addition of a legislative department, limited in its authority to international questions, just as the authority of the United States Congress is limited to interstate questions, without a single change in a single constitution of a single nation. Some day such a world's congress will be organized, and after its organization it will in due time acquire proper jurisdiction, and every nation will have due representation in it. The people of the United States are ready to join in its formation now, and some of their Representatives in Congress will take occasion at the meeting in St. Louis to propose its creation.

“Whether such a congress is born as a direct result of the meeting in St. Louis or not, it may be safely prophesied that some day it will come into being. There was a day when the English Parliament came into existence, there was a day that gave birth to the Congress of the United States, there will be a day for the birth of the Congress of United Nations. Such a world's congress with proper authority will naturally be evolved from the Interparliamentary Union. All that is necessary is to properly limit the number of members from each nation and to have them named by their nation, instead of

self-elected as now, and then properly define and limit the subjects they may discuss and authoritatively act upon, instead of their remaining free as now to discuss anything they like.”

The Historic Resolution of St. Louis*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

SEVENTEEN years ago a man appeared at Washington to present to the President of the United States a paper, bearing the signature of 234 members of the British Parliament. It requested the United States to open negotiations with the British Government, for the execution of a treaty of arbitration. Until that time a treaty of arbitration was unheard of in practical politics. His mission was without visible results, and he returned to England. On Friday, September 23d, the same man appeared again at Washington, with a paper bearing the signatures of two men, the president and secretary of an organized body, composed of 2,000 members of National Parliaments, every important Parliament of Europe being represented in it. This paper called upon the United States to invite every nation of the world to send delegates to a conference, so that the delegates from each nation may (1) enter into negotiation with the delegates from every other nation, for the execution of a treaty of arbitration; (2) may consider certain questions of common concern to all nations which at the moment are paramount; (3) may discuss the advisability of arranging for the periodical assembling of such a body for the discussion of international questions, as current

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events may make particular questions paramount: in other words, to constitute a working political union co-extensive with our widest commercial activity. The President received the delegates of the Interparliamentary Union at 2.30 P. M. on the following day, September 24th.

Richard Bartholdt, president, and Albert Gobat, secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, on behalf of its 2,000 members, presented to the President the Resolution of St. Louis, as I shall call it. When the President said, "Gentlemen of the Interparliamentary Union, I greet you with profound pleasure," there was a slight relief of the tension of feeling. When he said, "At an early day I shall issue the call for the conference you request," there was a burst of prolonged applause. Those who were present knew that these were the first official words in the most vital chapter of the political history of the human race. They brought the paramount political problem of the twentieth century—international political organization—out of the field of academic discussion into that of authoritative action.

The President's invitation means the assembling of the first constitutional convention of the world.

William Randal Cremer is the man who has led in this International Revolution; but, as he says:

"The persistent efforts of the pioneers of arbitration would have been in vain if the great forces which are moving men in all parts of the world had not prepared the 2,000 members of the national parliaments to rally around the idea they represented and form the Interparliamentary Union; nor would this organization have caused the execution of one arbitration treaty if the political forces of the

nineteenth century had not been preparing the world for this and for the Resolution of St. Louis. Individuals may further or impede the movement which has now become official, but no man or combination of men can arrest it."

William Randal Cremer is a carpenter and labor unionist who has become a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, and was recipient in 1903 of the Nobel Peace Prize of \$35,000, all of which he has devoted to the cause of peace.

Nineteen years ago Mr. Cremer entered the British Parliament by election of his neighbors, and immediately constituted himself the instrument for inducing nations to enter into treaties of arbitration. He organized the Interparliamentary Union for accomplishing this. It has caused the execution of a dozen such treaties; the opening of negotiations for countless others; the creation of The Hague Court. Its Resolution of St. Louis is designed to fix that Court permanently in its proper place as an integral part of the world's judicial machinery, by giving it jurisdiction over controversies included in treaties of arbitration, and by supplementing it with a Congress of Nations, to discover the principles of law, which the Court must apply to particular controversies.

Having been privileged to be an eye witness of the closing scenes of this most wonderful political drama, largely through the advanced thought of *The Independent* in bringing out certain articles of mine on this subject during the past eighteen months, I gladly furnish its readers with the following account of the passage of the Resolution of St. Louis

at 12.30 P. M. on the 13th day of September—the first complete account that has appeared.

Mr. Cremer is without doubt the one man in the world most responsible for the existence of the Interparliamentary Union. And it has been gratifying to see the spontaneous delight with which every one has acknowledged this, and rejoiced in his presence at the memorable session at St. Louis, and the historic presentation scene at Washington.

Richard Bartholdt, on the other hand, is the one man in the world most responsible for its action at St. Louis. It was he who caused the Interparliamentary Union to convene this year in the United States; he who drafted the resolution of St. Louis, who presided at that memorable session. Other men organized and developed the Interparliamentary Union, he lead it to the execution of this its greatest work.

Since 1893, when the Swiss Republic took official notice of the Interparliamentary Union by tendering its Parliament House for the session at Berne, this Union has held all its sessions in a national Parliament House, by invitation of the Government, and under an appropriation for defraying the expense of the session.

At the session of 1903, held at Vienna, the delegates from Denmark were bearers of an official invitation and a guaranty of an appropriation for entertainment of the delegates.

Richard Bartholdt was the only member of the United States Congress who was a member of this

Interparliamentary Union. Samuel J. Barrows had joined the Union a year before Mr. Bartholdt did, but his term had expired, and he was not re-elected to Congress.

Realizing that St. Louis was the place for its session this year, Mr. Bartholdt rose to the occasion, and, by the exhibition of rare courage and power, secured unanimous acceptance of his invitation to convene this year in the United States, and it is just to say that in order to accomplish this he had to overcome objections raised by Mr. Cremer himself. It was suspected and suggested that St. Louis, in true American style, was trying to make a show of this august body of national lawmakers. Mr. Bartholdt asked what place in the world was more suitable for the twelfth session of this Union, born at the Paris Exposition, than St. Louis, where the greatest International Exposition ever held would be in progress, upon the centennial of one of the greatest international events—the transfer of the heart of America to the United States.

It was objected that there was no official invitation and no certainty of an appropriation for the expense of the session. To all these objections Mr. Bartholdt replied: "Say that you will come and leave the rest to me." Called upon to address the Conference in full session on the subject, Mr. Bartholdt faced the 600 national lawmakers present and presented the reasons why St. Louis was the place for the session this year, speaking first in French, the official language of that session of the Union;

next in English, the language of the nation he represented; next in German, the language of the people among whom the Conference was being held. As he argued eloquently the whole house rose and gave him a great ovation. The president of the delegation from Denmark ascended the rostrum, withdrew the invitation of Denmark in favor of the invitation of Mr. Bartholdt, and the Conference unanimously voted to convene this year at St. Louis. That was a historic resolution. It was the preliminary step to what took place on Saturday at Washington. If Mr. Bartholdt had not, single handed, brought this organization to the United States at this time, the United States would not now be preparing to convene the nations in a second General Assembly, which will constitute a working political union, to include Central and South America as well as the rest of the world.

Having secured the consent of the Interparliamentary Union to come, Mr. Bartholdt went direct to the President of the United States and was commended for his action, and the President called on Congress to appropriate \$50,000 for entertainment of the Union. This was done, and the President issued the official invitation promised by Mr. Bartholdt. Then Mr. Bartholdt organized in the United States Congress an arbitration group, composed of members who will enter the Interparliamentary Union and who will work for the substitution of judicial proceedings for war.

He was elected President of this group (now

about 100), Chairman of the Committee of Congress to receive the delegates from abroad, and to conduct their tour of the country as guests of the nation.

Before the party left New York it was my privilege to give out for Mr. Bartholdt through the Hearst Syndicate, of which Mr. C. J. Mar is manager, an outline of this Resolution of St. Louis which the Conference would be called upon to consider. The metropolitan papers were asleep, as usual. The wakeful papers of the West and South spread this interview broadcast.

When the Conference convened at St. Louis, Mr. Bartholdt was elected President. It was he who drafted, with his own hand, the memorable resolution unanimously passed at the session over which he presided.

In that session were all sorts of men, representing every important nation of Europe except Russia and Spain. Russia has no Parliament, and as only members of national Parliaments can be members of the Interparliamentary Union, Russia cannot now be represented in it.

When the roll was called at the opening session, to see what nations were present, response was heard from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States of America.

These representatives of fifteen nations included among their number noblemen according to the ancient standard of inheritance, noblemen according to

the modern standard of power and character, lords and the sons of lords, workingmen, so called, and labor unionists, socialists, economists, educators, men eminent in art, science and all walks of life as well as in politics.

Few visionary, impractical or incompetent men get into the Interparliamentary Union by way of election to some national parliament. The dreamers who can win in elections are men who can make realities of their ideals.

Convening for its twelfth annual session in the heart of the United States, the whole world being assembled outside the Hall of Congresses demonstrating how indispensable the nations are to each other's well being, while the people at home were groaning under the cost of past wars and the preparations for those that are expected to come, this body was called upon to consider the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, Enlightened public opinion and the spirit of modern civilization alike demand that differences between nations should be adjudicated and settled in the same manner as disputes between individuals are adjudicated—namely, by the arbitrament of courts in accordance with recognized principles of law;

"The Conference requests the several governments of the world to send representatives to an international conference, to be held at a time and place to be agreed upon by them for the purpose of considering:

"First, the questions for the consideration of which the Conference at The Hague expressed a wish that a future conference be called;

"Second, the negotiation of arbitration treaties between the nations represented at the Conference to be convened;

"Third, the advisability of establishing an International Congress to convene periodically for the discussion of international questions.

“And this Conference respectfully and cordially requests the President of the United States to invite all the nations to send representatives to such a conference.”

Because Mr. Bartholdt was the presiding officer at this session, the privilege of presenting this resolution to the body fell to Mr. T. E. Burton, a member of the United States Congress from Ohio.

In presenting this epoch-making proposal to the representatives of the nations, Mr. Burton declared that the movement for the substitution of judicial proceedings for war is in harmony with the trend of events, and sure, therefore, of ultimate success. Holding in his hand the recent treaty between Denmark and Holland, by which those nations agree for *all time*, to refer *all* disputes between them to arbitration, Mr. Burton said that is the ideal treaty of arbitration toward which all nations are tending, even tho all may not now be prepared to take so radical a step.

After pointing out the need of a Conference of Nations to consider and dispose of those perplexing questions which were raised at The Hague, and for consideration of which The Hague Conference expressed the wish that a future conference be called, Mr. Burton came to the establishment of an International Congress, to convene periodically for discussion of such international questions as current events make paramount. He said these questions are assuming such great importance that a full and free discussion of them and of the means of securing amity among nations is essential to the welfare of every nation. And an International Congress in

which every nation has representatives is the only way of securing such a discussion.

After the applause of Mr. Burton's very able presentation of this resolution had subsided, there was a considerable pause before any delegate addressed himself to the grave questions contained in the resolution. Then Count Apponyi rose. In a few remarks, as notable for their simplicity as their power, he took exception to one remark made by Mr. Burton—namely, that all consideration as to particular nations should be put out of sight and only the general welfare of all nations be kept in view. He said he was heartily in favor of everything else Mr. Burton had said, and of that idea also as a general proposition. But that there were good reasons why the United States should be specially kept in mind in the movement for international justice, contemplated in this resolution; special reasons why the President of the United States should be the one to call the Conference to carry on the work begun at The Hague Conference. Because the United States was the first to prove its confidence in that Court as a needful and useful part of the world's political machinery by resorting to it for settlement of the long-standing controversy with its neighbor, Mexico; and because the President, to his own personal honor and the great glory of this nation, had induced the nations of the world to refer the controversy with Venezuela to The Hague Court, even after hostilities had actually begun; because, also, the United States is the great representa-

tive of democracy in the world, and democracy is peace, being government by the people, and the people having no greater interest than peace; and because this resolution calls for the application of the fundamental idea of democracy to international affairs by the constitution of a Congress of the Nations in which every nation shall have representatives; for discussion of those interests which are common to all nations.

When Count Apponyi took his seat it was evident that this resolution would be carried. There was a hush in the Hall of Congresses such as comes over an assembly when on the verge of a great action.

Then Dr. Gobat, of Switzerland, rose and pointed out that this motion was the heart of all their plans, because it led on to international organization similar to national organization, such as was seen in this nation, in Switzerland, in all the nations created during the nineteenth century. The political process of that century was the union of contiguous States so as to form one body with many members fitly joined together. The discoverers in the scientific world had learned how to bring these federated States into closer touch with each other at the beginning of this century than the constituent States were when they were drawn into union with each other during the nineteenth. Therefore it is not Utopian to say that similar political organizations, on a larger scale, can be created: for instance, a United States of Europe, or a United Nations of the

World. As a Court for applying principles of law to controversies between nations issued out of The Hague Conference, so a Congress or Parliament for discovering those principles of law can issue out of such a conference as is contemplated by this resolution, thus making more perfect the international organization constituted by the treaty of The Hague.

Such a general Conference or Congress of the nations would begin by meeting periodically. It should appoint a committee of its members to be continually in session, in order to see to the execution of its resolutions, to overlook the observance of arbitration treaties, to use its influence to cause the reference to arbitration of such controversies as may arise which were not foreseen or provided for by the treaties, etc. If the conference contemplated by this resolution can accomplish these things, our Union will indeed have initiated the movement for proper political organization of the whole world.

Dr. G. B. Clarke, of the British delegation, suggested the withdrawal of Sections 2 and 3, not because he was opposed to them, but because he thought the settlement of the questions raised at The Hague was all the conference to be convened would find time to accomplish, and the other two works could be undertaken by other conferences. He said The Hague Conference had adjourned without acting on the questions because there was not time for it.

His suggestion, however, was overruled by a few words from the Marquis di San Giuliano, of Italy,

and Mr. Stanhope, of England, both of whom remarked that this resolution had been carefully considered by the executive council, and been still further considered by a sub-committee composed of Mr. Burton, of the United States delegation; M. Houzeau de Lehaie, of Belgium, and Mr. Stanhope, of Great Britain, and that it was believed to be acceptable in substance to every member of the conference. They both emphasized the thought that if this were true, it should be adopted unanimously and without amendment, because in this way the main purpose of this body would most surely be effectuated.

The resolution was then adopted unanimously half an hour after noon September 13th, 1904. When the next question on the program was brought up for discussion, Capt. Duncan V. Pirie, of the British Parliament, moved that, in view of the importance of the resolution just adopted, the Conference adjourn. Count Apponyi withdrew his motion, which was under discussion, and Captain Pirie's motion was then unanimously adopted. Thus the most important and far-reaching political movement ever attempted was brought out of the field of discussion and into that of action. This resolution is designed to bring Central and South America into the defective union created by the treaty of The Hague, and to take great strides forward in more perfectly constituting this union of nations. It is analogous to those crises in national life when nations were constituted, or when constitutional provi-

sions of prime importance were added to existing national organizations. They affected directly a part of the world. This affects directly the people of the whole world.

The Man and the Movement*

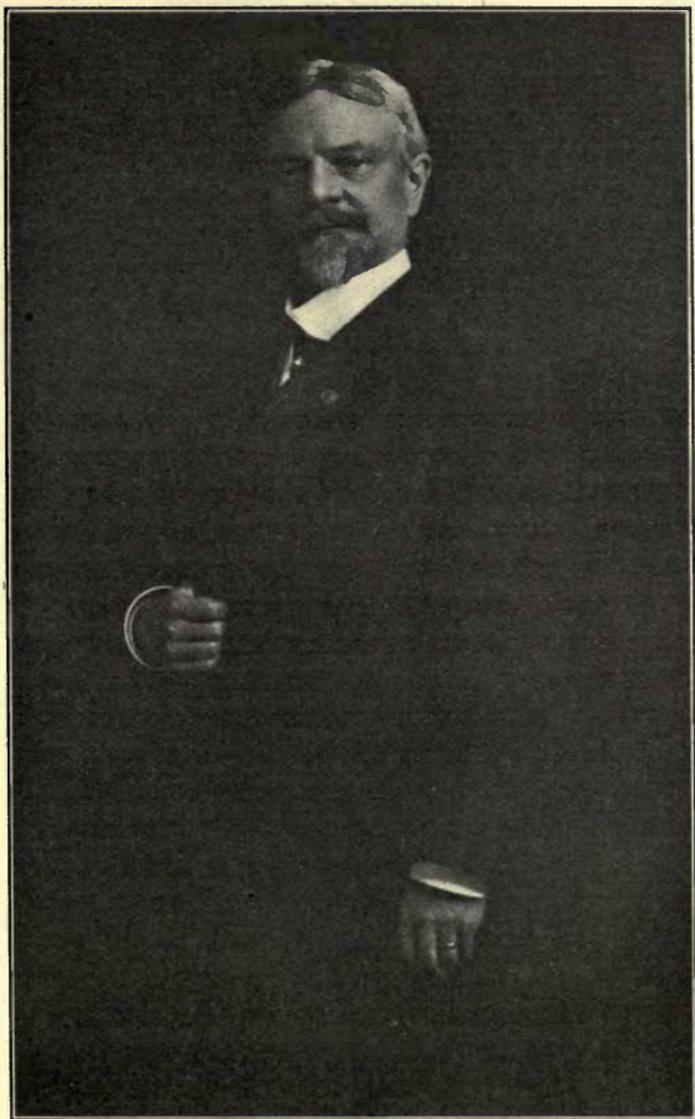
BY HAYNE DAVIS

[The great political movement of the world is for the perfecting of a system of international arbitration so that judicial decisions may be substituted for war between nations. Having given our readers some prophetic articles on the coming events in this movement, we wish now to give an appreciation of the man who has led in the accomplishment of the anticipated results. On the wide horizon of world politics we can see no man who has done more during the past year to promote the cause of peace and narrow the area of war than Richard Bartholdt. He has determined the conduct of nations, he has profoundly influenced public sentiment, and has brought into practical politics the idea that will ultimately do away with war.—EDITOR.]

ONE night during the year 1874 two young men were occupants of a front third-story room on Noble street, Philadelphia. Henry Hildebrand had retired before his companion came in and was half asleep when he heard the words, "See this!" It was the last five cents which Richard Bartholdt, aged nineteen years, possessed. And having shown it to his companion, he threw it out of the window and went to bed.

While he is asleep we can go back to Schleiz, in Germany, the capital of Reus, a principality of Thuringia, which lies just west of Saxony. Here on November 2d, 1855, Richard Bartholdt was born. His father, Gottlob A. Bartholdt, was involved in the Revolution of 1848, which endeavored to establish American political principles in Germany. He fled to the United States in 1849, but returned in

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HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT,
President of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

1851 and made peace with the Government. Four years later Richard was born. He was given the usual German education, and as soon as he was thru college he came to America, for the ambition of his youth was to become "an American citizen."

On the house in which he was born there is now a tablet, placed there by order of the City Council of Schleiz, which bears this inscription: "House in which Richard Bartholdt, American Parliamentarian, was born."

He is more than an *American* Parliamentarian, however deserving of this recognition by the place of his birth. For, since the events of 1904, he was elected President of the *International* Parliament, composed of members of the national legislatures of the world, and has caused that body to declare for the convening of a conference of nations to consider the creation of a permanent Parliament of Nations, for the preservation of peace and the establishment of justice among nations.

He is a man of quick decision and action, with great power of penetration and of clear and convincing statement of the truth. He is hopeful, generous, large-minded in all his dealings and rises high above party politics. He imparts good feeling wherever he goes and is noted for his willingness at all times to serve others. He is a man of faith in the right, courageous, cannot be driven forward nor held back by others, but moves and acts freely as prompted from within. And for these reasons his career has been a continually advancing one. For

years he was the only Republican Congressman from Missouri. His first entry into politics was in 1887, when he was defeated for the Republican nomination by two votes in the convention. He was immediately afterward elected a member of the School Board of St. Louis, the fourth city in the United States. In 1889 he was again defeated for the nomination by only one vote and was at once elected President of the School Board. The third time he won the nomination by a two-thirds majority and appeared at Washington for the first time in 1892, just twenty years after his arrival in America. He has just entered upon his seventh term. His nomination has been by acclamation and he has won at the polls by an increased majority at every intervening election. This year his majority was unprecedented, being 2,000 in excess of the vote cast for Roosevelt, and he is the only Congressman who received more votes than were given to Roosevelt in his district. And yet while other Congressmen were fighting for their seats, ignorant of the great event about to occur or indifferent to it, Mr. Bartholdt was spending one of the two months just before the election in this work for the world's welfare, and went to his constituency fresh from the performance of the greatest piece of political work ever done in one year by one man in promoting the peace of the world.

Between this achievement and the penniless night in Philadelphia there were thirty years of continual victory over obstacles. In addition to what has

been said it ought to be mentioned that he began the exercise of his American citizenship as a type-setter for the Brooklyn *Free Press*. And his rise was thru all the stages of newspaper work to editor-in-chief.

One event in this ascent deserves a passing notice. In 1883 the hour came for connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by rail. The tracks of the Northern Pacific Railroad were creeping toward each other, one advancing from the East; the other from the West. So the great Villard excursion was prepared in order that a party of distinguished men could be present to see the golden nail driven which would bind the Eastern and Western sections together. Mr. Ottendorfer, editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, was invited to go. He sent Mr. Bartholdt in his place. So that it was the privilege of this German "American citizen" to report to the world from the heights of the Rocky Mountains that this continent was spanned and the two oceans united by steam. He came down from this material mountain to conceive the idea which would inspire him to do and dare that the nations may rise, as he expressed it in Congress on the 19th day of January last, "to the intellectual height of the twentieth century, where the imperative demand is justice and good will among men," and may institute the political machinery necessary. While foreign editor of the *Staats-Zeitung*, with his eyes on the events in all parts of the world, the idea came to him that peace between *all* nations is essential to the welfare of

every nation. This idea, coupled with his experience in practical politics, prepared him for leadership in the Peace movement at the critical moment. In the year that Mr. Bartholdt entered American politics Mr. William Randal Cremer began his agitation in world politics for treaties of arbitration. The men were acting in ignorance of each other, but were preparing to be of supreme value to the same cause.

By 1889 many members of European Parliaments had rallied around the idea suggested by Mr. Cremer and formed the Interparliamentary Union, which now contains more than two thousand members, all of whom have won seats in a National Parliament. While this organization was growing to a position of power in world politics Mr. Bartholdt was being prepared in the school of practical politics to take command of it, and through it to point the nations to the way that leads to Peace.

In 1899 when the Interparliamentary Union met at Christiania Mr. Bartholdt was present, because his abhorrence of war has grown in proportion to the growth of his intelligence, because this has enabled him to recognize in the Interparliamentary Union an effectual instrument for waging a victorious war on war.

It was in this year (1899) that The Hague Court had come into being. As constituted, however, that Court was without authority, every nation remaining free to fight out every controversy if it should prefer war to trial by this Court. And there being

no Congress to declare the law which The Hague Court must apply, Mr. Bartholdt was quick to see the next step forward—namely, a Congress to supplement this Court.

At this meeting in Christiania he was impressed also with the fact that nations were unrepresented in the Interparliamentary Union if they have no Parliament for their national affairs. He realized then that Peace can come only after the creation of a Parliament for International Affairs in which all nations have representatives irrespective of the form of their Government.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition having been organized at his suggestion, Mr. Bartholdt determined to make the decisive move in international politics. He was the only American Congressman in the Interparliamentary Union at that time. Having held all its sessions in Europe, the Union was practically unknown on this side of the Atlantic. The idea which he desired to have it stand for was far above the ordinary vision of the ordinary politician. But undaunted, he proceeded to Vienna, where the 1903 session was to be held. The United States Ambassador was absent, so he was absolutely alone. For some years the Union has met only at a National Capital and under an appropriation for defraying the costs of the meeting. The delegates from Denmark were bearers of an official invitation and a guarantee of an appropriation. By the exhibition of a courage worthy of the representative of a great nation, Mr. Bartholdt stood

valiantly and successfully for the United States as the proper place for the next session. After his eloquent address, delivered in French, English and German, the delegation from Denmark withdrew their invitation, and the invitation of Mr. Bartholdt was unanimously accepted by the Eminent European Lawmakers assembled at this memorable session of the Union.

The same thing which made the boy lie down and sleep in peace, with no provision for the coming day, enabled the man to bring this body of national lawmakers to the United States without provision for their entertainment. Having taken this bold stand for the good of humanity, he returned to the United States, secured an appropriation for the entertainment of the Union more royally than they had ever been entertained before, and gathered around him a group of Congressmen to stand for arbitration and to become members of the Interparliamentary Union. This group contains now about one hundred members, both political parties being represented.

These things were not accomplished, however, without courage and effort. There were voices within and without whispering that it was too much to expect, but to all these suggestions Mr. Bartholdt gave a prompt reply that Congress was bound to make the appropriation and aid in this great move; that the United States and its legislators could not be so small as to shrink from the steps which must now be taken by the United States in fulfilling its

twentieth century mission in the great political movement of the times. When his bill for \$50,000 to entertain the Union came up not one voice was raised against it.

This being accomplished, he appeared at the Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference in June, 1904. This Conference was presided over by Hon. George Gray, one of the American members of The Hague Court. It was attended by over 300 persons, among whom were a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, a number of jurists and lawmakers of high repute, Federal and State; eminent professional and business men, educators and ministers. Mr. Bartholdt was one of those who decided the action of this body, and it declared, without a dissenting voice, for the creation of a Permanent Congress of Nations.

When the Parliamentarians from Europe reached New York in September Mr. Bartholdt was ready to receive them and to conduct them to the great work to be done at St. Louis and Washington.

On the night of September 12th Mr. Francis, President of the Exposition, entertained the Inter-parliamentary party at dinner. Rising after dinner to address his guests, Mr. Francis alluded to their aim—the substitution of judicial decisions for war, to the vast territory of Louisiana, in which they were assembled to discuss practical plans for furthering this aim, to the cost of Louisiana a century ago, no more than had been spent for the Exposition. He then declared that, if nothing else were

accomplished by the Exposition than to render them substantial assistance in this great movement for the peace of the world, this vast expenditure of treasure and toil would have been well made.

On the following day, at 12.30, in the Hall of Congresses, the now famous Resolution of St. Louis, drawn by Mr. Bartholdt, was unanimously adopted by this World's Parliament, of which he had been chosen President.

Declaring as it did for the convening of a conference of nations to consider the universal execution of treaties of arbitration and the creation of a Congress of Nations in which every nation shall have representatives, this resolution is now, and will some day be universally recognized as, the greatest international instrument yet brought forth. In addressing the United States Congress on January 19th, 1905, Mr. Bartholdt called it the Magna Charta of Nations.

Was Mr. Bartholdt's connection with this event accidental or superficial? There is no accident. Leadership in such a movement cannot be accidental.

Why was it that Mr. Bartholdt should be the *first to see and to stand in a National Parliament for the idea that will perpetuate peace, which alone can accomplish this?* Why was it that he drafted the resolution which was unanimously adopted by this great body of ideal national lawmakers, thus bringing into our national politics and into world politics, in a practical way, the idea which in time will substitute for war a duly constituted International Con-

gress, with suitable courts and other governmental machinery for the administration of justice among nations? Mr. Bartholdt was ready and able to stand for this, to lead the thought of national lawmakers to this high.

Much is said for peace and against war, but seldom does any idea come forth that has not been as well or better expressed before. But Mr. Bartholdt has contributed to the literature of the Peace Movement as well as led in the conduct of action. I can cite only one instance in the limits of an article like this.

At St. Louis he said :

"We meet here today, not as individuals riding a hobby to please our fancy, but as lawmakers clothed with authority by the votes of the people, and while we have not been expressly delegated by the people to serve the specific purpose which has brought us together, we feel that no grander service could be rendered any constituency, anywhere under the sun, than the service which would result in lessening the possibilities of war. We are pledged to render such service by creating a public sentiment and by using whatever influence we may possess in the several legislative bodies to which we have been elected in favor of law and justice in international relations as against brute force; in favor of right as against might. In other words, we ask—aye, we demand—that differences between nations shall be adjudicated in the same manner as differences between individuals are adjudicated—namely, by arbitration, by the arbitrament of courts in accordance with recognized principles of law, rather than by war. Are we right?"

"Our skeptical friends know we are right—enlightened public opinion admits it—the cause of humanity is outraged by another view. The goal of good government, after all, is the welfare and prosperity of the people, and it is because we know that peace surely promotes, and war surely destroys, that which statesmanship is supposed to strive for, the friends of international arbitration, it seems to me, are furthering the very objects of efficient statecraft."

The thing which Abraham Lincoln held up as the ideal of statesmanship was striving to "achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Mr. Bartholdt has done more during the past year toward the accomplishment of this than any other man in the United States, both by creating public sentiment and by causing nations to take a forward step in the path that leads to Peace.

Mr. Bartholdt has been equal to initiating this movement in its practical form as a part of American, of world, politics. Will he be able to lead the Peace Forces to final triumph by actual execution of the plan proposed by the Resolution of St. Louis, so as to bring all nations into one political body, with many members fitly joined together? Time alone can answer the question.

The Mohonk Lake Arbitration Conference*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

WHILE the greatest naval battle of history was being fought in the East a large company of men from all parts of the United States were on their way to Mohonk Lake, in the Shawangunk Mountains. They were coming upon invitation and as guests of Mr. Albert K. Smiley, who for twelve years has been interested in gathering together the friends of Peace and Justice to plan the campaign in our war on war. More than 350 people were under his hospitable roof from May 31 to June 3 this year. Representatives were there from The Hague Court, from the Congress, the Supreme, Circuit and District courts of the United States, from the Supreme Courts of nine States; there were two generals of the United States army, and representatives from thirty-two chambers of commerce. Among the cities sending representatives were New York, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Baltimore. More than twenty colleges were represented by their presidents or professors of law, political science or history; fourteen papers or periodicals sent

* Reprinted, with corrections, from *Harper's Weekly* of September 9th, 1905.

representatives. The president of this conference was the Hon. George Gray, an American member of the Supreme Court of the Nations at The Hague, a circuit judge of the United States, and one of the arbitrators of the great coal strike.

In his opening address at this memorable conference, Judge Gray said we would be unworthy of the cause we represent if we were discouraged. From the moment that The Hague Court was established no backward step was possible. The time has come for realizing things which wise men and poets could only dream of in past times.

Mr. Justice Brewer spoke impressively of the "Power of the People of America," to which the State of North Carolina bowed recently. Turning from this American incident to the arena of world politics, he congratulated mankind upon the fact that every decision by international courts and tribunals has been obeyed without any international armed force for compelling obedience. Nevertheless, he declared himself in favor of the plan for enforcing international law proposed by the Hon. Richard Bartholdt. He proposed, however, another plan, in case this one should not meet with universal approval: Complete business isolation of any nation that will not resort to and abide by arbitration. The eminent jurist thought that this might prove a practical plan for forcing nations to abide by arbitral decisions without actual conflict.

Hon. George W. Taylor, Member of Congress from Alabama, was then called upon. Being unex-

pectedly invited to address the conference, Mr. Taylor was compelled to speak from the inspiration of the moment. His words are full of significance, because they reflect the spontaneous sentiment of America in the face of the actual international conditions. Taking up a word which Justice Brewer had let fall, he asked: "Why did the sovereign State of North Carolina obey the wave of a woman's wand at Washington city? Because that woman represented a Congress and courts which have the power of the American people behind them." Then he declared that the establishment of Justice and the maintenance of Peace among the nations depends upon the organization of an International Congress empowered by the people of the whole world to supply those principles of law which the International Court at The Hague must administer. He expressed his confidence in the power of civilization to accomplish this, and declared that the American people believe in these principles without any argument to persuade them, and that this nation will accept and fulfill its mission of leading in the world wide acceptance of these practical plans for Peace. He defended the United States Senate against the accusations which are launched against it, and said that august body can be counted on to promote this great movement in the proper way at the proper time. His words were loudly applauded.

The Interparliamentary Union came into being before Mr. Smiley began to hold the arbitration conferences at Lake Mohonk. During its seventeen

years of existence it has grown to a membership of over 2,000, every member having won a seat in some national parliament. This fact makes that union a unique and powerful body.

The council of this union, composed of the leading advocates of arbitration in every European parliament, convened at Brussels, May 15, and adopted the program proposed by the American members thru Mr. Bartholdt, their president, namely: (1) The issue of invitations to Central and South American parliamentarians to attend the session arranged to be held at Brussels, August 28, 1905; (2) the granting of jurisdiction to The Hague Court thru treaties of arbitration; and (3) a discussion of the basis of representation in an international legislature to supplement The Hague Court. When a letter from Mr. Bartholdt was read by me, announcing that a committee, composed of himself, the Hon. Beernaert, ex-Prime Minister of Belgium, his Excellency von Plener, formerly a member of the Austrian Cabinet, and Dr. Gobat, of the Swiss Parliament, were actually at work drafting such a treaty, and that Mr. Bartholdt had been requested to present to the Union in full session a basis for representation in an international congress, the conference sent the following cablegram to Mr. Bartholdt, as President of the arbitration group in the United States Congress and of the delegation from the group to the Brussels session of the Union:

"Hon. Richard Bartholdt, President American Group, Interparliamentary Union, Schleiz, Germany:

"The Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, now in session, sends its appreciation of your services

to the cause of international peace and justice, and congratulates all concerned upon its prospective promotion by the establishment of The Hague Court and the expected international parliament proposed by you.

[Signed]

GEORGE GRAY, President.

Dr. Daniel Coit Gilman, ex-president of the Carnegie Institution, then moved the appointment of a committee to arrange for agitation in favor of arbitration at all the institutions of learning in the United States. The idea was unanimously approved, and a committee was appointed composed of Seth Low, Andrew D. White (both of whom were delegates from the United States to the first Hague conference), Dr. Gilman, Arthur T. Hadley (president of Yale), Charles W. Eliot (president of Harvard), L. Clarke Seelye (president of Smith College), and Edwin A. Alderman (president of the University of Virginia).

Dr. Henry M. McCracken, chancellor of New York University, was then called upon. Taking up the constitution for an international congress, as proposed by Mr. Bartholdt, he said the only objection to it was that in using the word "Congress" some doubt might be left as to the nature of the body; that he was in favor of making it plain that "world government according to law" was the aim to be kept in view, and that clubs in the colleges, such as Dr. Gilman's resolution contemplated, should be called "world government clubs."

Dr. McCracken then proposed an improvement on the Rhodes foundation, which brings together at Oxford, for the study of ordinary courses, one hun-

dred or more undergraduate students from all English-speaking states. His plan is to have a "course in international studies provided for at some university, which would include a study of the political principles on which existing governments are founded, and particularly the formation and development of federal governments. The students of this course, drawn from all parts of the world, and required to pursue in their own home institutions a carefully selected course in political history and international law, would inevitably discover how a union of nations might be brought about. An international faculty, at some great center of learning, an international course of studies, and an international student body of select men from all the colleges of the world would certainly do much toward bringing about a federalization of all the empires and kingdoms of the world in the interest of peace and the highest welfare of mankind."

When the time came for final action, the conference adopted a resolution containing, among other things, the following: "We have a confident assurance that the tribunal which it has established [at The Hague] will become of increasing importance in maintaining the peace of the world. * * * We view the treaty now in force between the kingdoms of Denmark and The Netherlands as representing the ideal toward which we are tending. The evolution of the movement for universal peace clearly points to the early establishment of an international parliament, with at least advisory powers, as a

necessary agency in its fulfillment. We heartily commend the work of the Interparliamentary Union, and rejoice in the zeal and efficiency of the American group of its membership."

A cablegram such as was sent to Mr. Bartholdt, as president of the American group, followed by such a resolution, is full of significance, emanating, as it did, from a conference composed of men who represent the Federal and State judiciary, the Congress, the institutions of learning, the press and pulpit, the professions and the business organizations of America. Where these leaders go the mass of Americans are ready to follow.

A Signal Service to Peace*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

MR. CLARENCE W. BOWEN, proprietor of *The Independent*, has rendered the cause of peace a real service by the banquet he gave in honor of Hon. Richard Bartholdt, president of the Interparliamentary Union. The cause of peace is making progress when the proprietor of a periodical not only publishes the most progressive ideas of the peace propaganda, but invites the leading editors of the second greatest city of the world to meet together in order to honor and sustain the man who stands for these ideas in one of the greatest parliaments of the world. The distinguished editors present responded heartily to the sentiments expressed by Mr. Bartholdt. As these editors represent the American press, this fact gives great significance to Mr. Bartholdt's utterances. The people and press of America are back of them. And this dinner marks, therefore, the beginning of co-operation between the American Congress and press in advocacy of the plan that really makes permanent peace a possibility. Mr. Bartholdt said, among other things:

"In approaching this subject every speaker finds himself in the presence of what Elihu Burritt termed 'A sacred principle worthy of the veneration of the human race.'

* Reprinted from the *New York American*, May 21st, 1905.
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"When I say that individual writers and publications are in advance of what has been done toward establishing peace conditions, it is literally true, but the press generally has not led this movement for a peaceful settlement of all international controversies. And it is possibly due to this fact that no greater progress has been made since Elihu Burritt, more than fifty years ago, advocated in eloquent speeches at European peace conferences the establishment of a permanent Congress of Nations.

"The greatest achievement of modern times, the one which sheds luster upon the closing days of the nineteenth century, was made a reality almost without the aid of the press; indeed, despite its latent and in part active opposition I refer to the establishment of an international Supreme Court, The Hague Tribunal.

"This opposition manifested itself in the expression of doubts, in the questioning of motives, in the ridiculing of what were called theorists and dreamers, and but for the stout hearts of many of the delegates the first Hague Conference, called for the purpose of devising a method of gradual disarmament, would have been a lamentable failure. Instead it created The Hague Court, and this is proof of the irresistible force of the sacred principle, and which is bound ultimately to succeed because it is inherently right and is supported by every instinct of humanity and by the very conscience of civilization. Nevertheless; the friends of peace and arbitration, tho they firmly believe in the final realization of their hopes, crave the support of the press, periodical, weekly and daily, because they know that this powerful influence will surely hasten the ultimate triumph of their cause.

"Do not let us underrate the forces at work in this great movement. There are thousands of peace societies whose delegates meet in annual congresses; every church of every denomination is in hearty sympathy, if not in active co-operation, with the standing army of men engaged in waging this war upon war. At the forefront of the firing line is the Interparliamentary Union, which comprises now more than two thousand members. Each one of these members is pledged to use and is using his influence, in his respective circle, in favor of the idea that machinery should be created by which differences between nations can be arbitrated instead of fought out with the sword.

"In 1899 I had the honor to attend the annual conference of the Union at Christiania, Norway. I found that the members were not dreamers, but practical men of affairs,

who were striving for practical and attainable results. Here I conceived the idea of bringing the American Congress into this great Union, and of organizing a Congress of Nations by its activities. The easiest way to arouse sufficient public interest in the United States seemed to be to have the Union hold one of its meetings on American soil. In 1903 I went to Vienna, where the conference of that year was being held, but without authority from any one, and relying upon the proverbial hospitality of the American people, I extended an invitation to the members of the Union to hold their 1904 meeting at St. Louis, in connection with the great World's Fair. There were obstacles, but I succeeded. What followed is all a matter of history.

"I secured an appropriation from Congress large enough to royally entertain the visitors, the official invitation which they had asked for and I had promised was forwarded, bearing the signatures of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay. In September of last year about 200 members of European Parliaments were received by me and others in New York and conducted to St. Louis and the Rocky Mountains, and back to Washington and New York. In the meantime I had written what is now known as the 'Resolution of St. Louis,' which called upon President Roosevelt to convene another Congress of Nations for the purpose of negotiating arbitration treaties and of establishing a permanent International Legislature. This resolution was unanimously adopted, and when it was read to our wideawake President he readily assented to its terms, and, as you know, has already called this second Conference of Nations to meet at The Hague at the termination of the Japanese-Russian war.

"My hope of bringing the American Congress into the Union has, of course, been realized, and tonight I am happy to state that more than two hundred of its members have joined the Interparliamentary Union, forming what is known as the Arbitration Group.

"This is the story of the Interparliamentary Union. It inspired the Czar of Russia to call the first Conference of Nations, thus linking together and influencing alike and in the same direction, the Representatives of European Autocracy and the noblest champion of Democracy.

"From this brief statement of facts you will see that the present is a most important and propitious moment. We are on the eve of a Conference of Nations; now is the time to speak out distinctly for a change in the method of settling international difficulties, and to evolve a method

which is in accordance with the requirements of civilization. The American delegates to the next conference of the Interparliamentary Union to be held at Brussels, in August, and which will largely devote itself to the task of preparing a program for the second Hague Conference, will present three propositions.

"The first is to bring the Central and South American republics officially into the peace movement, and this merely requires the sending of an invitation, because these countries have really set the world an example in advanced action along these lines.

"The second proposition is to formulate a model arbitration treaty, in which the subjects to be arbitrated shall be specified, and by which jurisdiction to try the questions included shall be granted to The Hague Court.

"The third proposition is to fix the basis of representation in the Permanent Congress of Nations. The main thing is the establishment of an International Legislative body. At present there is no such thing as a code of International Law which is binding upon nations. What passes under the name of international law is merely a compilation of precedents, opinions, maxims and arguments. It is the work, not of legislators, but of scholars. The nations are at liberty, except from force of custom and public opinion, to adopt or reject it as they please. A real code of International Law cannot be secured without an International Legislature, a Congress of Nations, in which each shall be equitably represented. This, therefore, is the first and most important step to be taken toward permanent peace; wherefore I hope you will agree with the American delegates in their determination to lay special stress upon this part of their program. In my humble judgment it is the first necessary step toward substitution for the present state of anarchy in international society, a system of law and order such as we have and must maintain in our national society.

"We do not for the present advocate disarmament, because we propose our reform to reach from the ground up rather than from the top down, being absolutely certain that a Permanent Congress of Nations and the general adoption of the principle of arbitration by the leading nations of the world, will be followed by disarmament as surely as the dawn of morning will follow the darkness of night."

The rest of the evening was spent in responses by the invited guests. And with the assurances of

their sustaining influence, Mr. Bartholdt departed on his memorable mission.

We will hear from him later, and when the call comes, the people and press of the whole United States will respond as the welfare of humanity requires.

The International Parliament*

BY COUNT ALBERT APPONYI.

Member of The Hague Court and Leader of the Hungarian Parliament.

A FEW years ago the people of the United States lived in tranquil self-contentment, far away from the contests and complications of world politics. They had none the less a strong influence on the destiny of mankind by the moral force of their liberal and democratic institutions, which excited admiration and envy among less happily situated nations, notwithstanding the malignant watch which the spirit of reaction kept on every unpleasant feature in their practical working. This moral influence paved the way for a more direct participation of America in the common life of all civilized nations. When the moment for such participation arrived, then the powerful organ of the United States began to be heard in that discordant tumult of voices which is euphemistically called a "concert." It was hailed by all friends of liberty and of fraternity among nations with an unanimous outburst of confidence and of sympathy. We all felt

* When I learned what Hon. Richard Bartholdt intended to propose at the Brussels session (1905) of the Interparliamentary Union, I wrote to several eminent Europeans advising them of the fact and asking them to send an advance word on the subject for publication in America. All replied courteously. Count Apponyi was the only one who sent any definite comments on the proposed plan. *The Independent* published this article on August 24th, 1905. The Brussels Conference took place on August 28th, 1905.

assured that America, tho keenly watching her own interests, would upon the whole throw her weight into the scale of international justice and of peace. Nor were our hopes deceived. The representative man of that new evolution in American politics, the President who has been elected in the sign of this new departure, whose unparalleled victory may be called a plebiscite in its favor, has held such language, and, what is more, has lived up to it, as to give the lie to skeptics and high hopes to right believers. When President Roosevelt said, in the magnificent speech delivered after his election, that there is no Power so strong as to make America afraid of it, and no nation so weak as to have any reason to fear her, he laid down in a few words the program of a great nation which will neither suffer nor do injustice. And when he was the first one to bring an international contest before The Hague Court, when he took the initiative for a peace congress, when he keenly watched and resolutely grasped the first opportunity for a successful intervention on behalf of peace between Russia and Japan, he gave us to understand, thru these facts, what humanity has to expect from a more frequent participation of America in her general affairs.

Democracy can have but one sort of foreign policy: Boldly to uphold the banner of international justice and fraternity. She may make ready for self-defense; this is a tribute she must pay to an unsatisfactory state of things which cannot be put away with a wave even of her powerful hand; but

the spirit of aggression is in contradiction with her very nature, while the love of peace and justice are essential ingredients of her mental complexion. The Star-Spangled Banner then, in its present powerful display, symbolizes better days for mankind.

American activity, whether in private enterprise or in public business, is characterized by a bold energy, by a go-aheadness, which sometimes takes the breath away from us more easy-going and more circumspect Europeans. It is a ferment of acceleration everywhere, and it is most beneficially felt as such in the case of the peace movement. Since America participates in that movement, we Europeans feel, as it were, emboldened to stride with larger steps toward our ultimate aim.

The meeting of the Interparliamentary Union for arbitration held last year at St. Louis marks a date in the history of that institution. At this meeting our American friends moved a direct appeal to the first magistrate of their country on behalf of a new Peace Congress; and never shall I forget the impression which President Roosevelt's clear and straightforward answer to that appeal made on us European delegates when we heard it from his own lips in the White House. Accustomed as we are to the circuitous and oracular language which even the smallest agent of public power is wont to use in our countries lest he should commit himself to any decided course of action, taught to consider such affectation of cautiousness as an essential attribute of statesmanship, and to listen to such official stuff with

a reverential awe, proportioned to its degree of unintelligibility, we felt something like a breeze of fresh air when the first magistrate of a powerful nation, on being asked by a society of idealists to take a delicate and bold initiative, answered, "Yes, I shall do it," in language of quite biblical simplicity. The sweet feelings of success, success clear and undeniable, not vaguely to be constructed by artifice of interpretation, which may prove misleading after all, but granted to us in plain, unmistakable words, filled our breasts with new hope and with a firmer belief in our cause. Those three weeks spent in the United States and that hour spent at the White House had a most invigorating effect on our souls. We had breathed American air, our lungs became dilated by it for the steep ascent still expanding before us.

But now our American friends are urging us on at a pace which it will be hard for some of us to keep. The American Group of the Interparliamentary Union proposes a motion for this year's meeting to be held at Brussels in August to the effect that all civilized nations should send delegates to a permanent International Congress—mind, a Congress—not a private meeting of men, holding a public position, indeed, but unprovided with an official mandate and wielding therefore no power but the moral force of their conviction and of their influence, but a body of official delegates, sent by the popular branch of their respective public Powers, invested with a mandate which gives legal force to their decisions.

The boldness, the magnificent radicalism, of that idea fills our souls with an admiration from which, alas! skepticism is not absent; it wholly depends on the particulars of the scheme which of the two feelings shall ultimately prevail. I suppose that International Congress is meant to be a sort of legislative assembly for questions of international law, a popular complement to the present organization of diplomatic congresses which decide on these matters. This new organ is intended to do business, not occasionally as diplomatic congresses are now wont to meet for the readjustment of things after some catastrophe, but periodically, for the laying down of permanent general rules of international law, the application of which would belong in the executive sphere to diplomacy and in the judicial sphere to international tribunals of arbitration. In its broad outlines I can see before me the matters to which the Congress might extend, and I fully appreciate the utility of its introduction into the machinery of international legislation. Its periodicity would mean legal prevention of conflicts instead of a mere legalization of their consequences; its popular character would go very far to make principles of universal justice prevail over combinations of temporary expediency. Upon the whole, its realization would mean an immense step in advance toward the ultimate goal of general brotherhood.

What I see less clearly and where the big difficulty lies is to define the amount of legal force which the decisions of such a congress shall be possessed of

and the means of practically enforcing them. And here I warn our American friends of being misled by a fancied analogy between such an association of nations and the union of States in their great Republic. These States were never sovereign Powers till the movement which gave birth to their union at the same time and through the same instrument which proclaimed their emancipation; they have not behind them a history of feuds and antagonisms centuries old; their interests do in the main coincide, their particular mentality is immersed into a stronger feeling of broad American patriotism; their constitution makes the popular assemblies paramount in legislative power, and the agents of executive power, up to the highest one, entirely dependent on the people's will. In Europe you have to reckon with conflicting national histories and mentalities, and with constitutions widely different between themselves and almost all of them much less democratic than the Constitution of the United States. The International Congress as proposed by the American Interparliamentary Group will have to reckon, in Europe, with a double difficulty, a vertically and a horizontally laid one, if I may so express myself, the former arising from the strength of monarchical prerogative in most European constitutions; the second from an energetic consciousness of independent sovereignty pervading all European nations. Neither will the monarchs be found willing to abdicate their privileges in foreign affairs, considered as their own domain through centuries, or even to

share them to any large extent with a newly created International Parliament, nor will the national legislatures be inclined to fetter the absolute independence of their decisions by conferring on an international assembly the power to overrule and to control them in certain questions. I very much doubt whether even the United States, as a nation, would feel inclined to admit such a Power, placed in some respects above them, setting up limits to their national sovereignty.

Now I don't mean to say that these difficulties are not to be surmounted; what I intend to state is only this, that no scheme has any chance of practical realization which does not solve them one way or other. For this purpose you must either be content to give to the resolution of that congress moral weight only, or you must be ready to meet some arduous preliminary questions, which I shall try to indicate directly. In the former case the motion means practically a more elaborate and effective organization of the Interparliamentary Union for international arbitration. I should consider even this as a great step onward, since it is self-evident that a body of delegates, with a mandate from their respective Parliaments, will carry greater moral weight and will have more influence at home than a gathering of men with nothing to lean upon but their individual good will. In the second case, if jurisdiction of some sort is to be vested in that International Parliament, you must begin by examining and defining:

1st. The relation in which it is to stand to the heads of States and their diplomatic representation, as acting individually or jointly as a congress;

2d. The questions which shall fall within its competence;

3d. The mode of its composition—namely, whether all nations shall send an equal number of representatives as (follows from the principle of sovereignty) or whether their representatives shall be proportioned to the population of each;

4th. The mode of passing resolutions; will unanimous consent be required or will the minority be expected to submit?

5th. The juridical value of these resolutions: will the nations represented bind themselves by a foregoing treaty to accept them as binding or will they reserve the ultimate decision to their own several legislatures?

Several other questions will certainly arise in the course of further discussion, but I think the aforementioned may sum up tolerably well the chief difficulties of the problem. If our American friends with whom that bold move originated have a solution ready for them, a solution which takes into account the history of Europe, the constitution and the psychology of European nations, their motion will be found ripe for immediate acceptance and for vigorous activity on behalf of its prompt realization. But if they are not yet so prepared their magnificent scheme will have to ripen in further discussions and preparatory committees, just as the idea

of a permanent court for international arbitration ripened for several years in the discussions of the Interparliamentary Union, till it took shape in 1895, when an elaborate project of such a court was accepted by the Union and presented to the Powers, a project on which The Hague Tribunal is based in the main outlines of its organization.

At all events, you will have the hearty support of the Hungarian Interparliamentary Group. The crisis which weighs upon us at the present moment, and which in its essence means simply a conflict between pretensions to arbitrary power and people's right, in no way affects our capacities for embracing higher ideals; it rather inspires us with a stronger enthusiasm on their behalf. Nor are our national energies broken by its trying conflicts; on the contrary, we feel rather invigorated than weakened by the struggle for national independence and constitutional liberty which is again forced upon us. We had to fight for the preservation of these moral treasures through many eventful centuries; we could never enjoy them in peace and safety, because the spirit of conquest, of oppression and of arbitrary power prevailed in our vicinity. Experience has taught us, then, what a safeguard our neighbor's liberty is to our own and how the highest interests of each nation are dependent on the security of all. Even apart from the mere ideal feelings of universal brotherhood, toward which our souls naturally incline, national egoism is enlightened enough among us to seek for guarantees of its own welfare in the concord and solidarity of mankind.

The American Victory at Waterloo*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

Secretary of the American Delegation of the Interparliamentary Union.

AT the same moment when Roosevelt's efforts ended in the Peace of Portsmouth, Richard Bartholdt, of St. Louis, won at Brussels a great victory for peace thruout the world. About 300 members of various Parliaments (nineteen in all) were assembled there for the Thirteenth Session of the Interparliamentary Union. Among them were many of the great men of Europe, notably Cremer, of England, the creator of this International Congress, composed of those national lawmakers who are resolved to substitute arbitration for war. It consisted of Mr. Cremer alone eighteen years ago; now it contains 2,500 of the 18,000 national lawmakers.

Mr. Bartholdt proposed:

1st.—Granting to The Hague Court the right to try and determine questions of the kind included in treaties of arbitration, so that this International Court can act, within its proper sphere, however, limited, as any other court does.

2d.—That the several governments of the world agree to choose men who shall be charged with the

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duty of considering at all times what amendments ought to be made to the law of nations, and of assembling periodically to confer together in order to make such suggestions to the nations as meet with the approval of their own body in conference assembled.

Mr. Bartholdt pointed out that granting jurisdiction to the Court of the Nations at The Hague necessitates providing a body of law which this court can apply to the cases which come before it. He called the body that ought to be created for this purpose a Congress. Others preferred to call it a Conference, as the American word sounds too much like giving it power to lay down law for the nations. Mr. Bartholdt wants it to have power as soon as European nations can get their consent to this, because this is the only thing that can lift the burden of war expenses from these oppressed people, or that can prevent this same burden from being laid on the American people. But he gladly let them name the baby, as they agree with him to let it be born. Once born, he is sure it will grow and acquire in due time the power it must have in order to fill its proper place in the world's legal machinery.

Count Apponyi, of Hungary, one of the greatest statesmen of the times, rose in the conference to such height that the skeptical and reactionary thought could not assert itself at all. When he had replied to the able presentation of the American plan, accepting the principles underlying the plan, and moving the creation of two Commissions, one to consider

each of its branches in all its details, a great victory for the American idea was won. Not a voice was raised against Apponyi's motion, the Commissions were appointed and all the members required to pledge themselves to report their conclusions within three months.

The eminent men who are to pass upon all the details of this great proposition are :

For the treaty of arbitration :

Von Plener, formerly a member of the Austrian Cabinet, and one of the great statesmen of the Austrian Empire, as President of this Commission, and Bartholdt (United States), Descamps (Belgium), Brunialti (Italy), Von Krabbe (Denmark), Gobat (Switzerland), and the seventh member to be named later by France.

The Committee on the International Congress is headed by the eminent Englishman, Stanhope, and is composed of Count Apponyi (Hungary), Marquis Pandolfi (Italy), Bartholdt (United States), Horst (Norway), La Fontaine (Belgium), and the seventh to be named from France.

All these men have made their way through the warfare of politics to places of eminence in their own nation and are worthy to consider the basis of which their several nations, and all other nations, may become possessors, in their relations to each other, of these principles of political liberty which they have each won at great cost for themselves individually.

Seventeen American Congressmen supported Mr.

Bartholdt in making this memorable stand for principle, and as the delegation was leaving the Belgian Parliament House, where this victory was won, they were greeted with the glad tidings that peace between Russia and Japan was secured. So great was the joy of the American delegates on account of these two great achievements, accomplished by America at the same moment, that they gave a great banquet at the principal hotel of Brussels—the Bellevue. The victory here was no smaller than the one at Portsmouth, but better eyes are needed fully to understand this. The victory here was due principally to Mr. Bartholdt's bold and wise action, just as the Peace of Portsmouth was to President Roosevelt's. So the banquet was given in Mr. Bartholdt's honor.

In his opening address on this memorable occasion, Mr. Moon (Member of Congress from Pennsylvania) declared that it would be unworthy of themselves and of the truth if the other delegates from the United States failed to acknowledge that they had assisted at the finish in winning this victory, and that they were grateful for the opportunity to do so, but that Mr. Bartholdt had put forward the plan, conducted the campaign, stood strong against the adverse and skeptical thought which it had encountered at the beginning, and was entitled to the glory of this great victory for American principles won in the very heart of Europe.

He said furthermore that Mr. Bartholdt had done more than any man living to carry into the practical

politics of the nations a plan which can establish law and order where war and carnage now reign, and that for this he is entitled to the gratitude of the people, not only of America, the nation that he serves in Congress, but of Germany, where he was born, and also of all nations, for all will some day inherit benefits from the ideas which, during this Conference, he has forced into the European mind.

The other delegates heartily endorsed the words of Mr. Moon, and when Mr. Bartholdt rose to reply a great demonstration was made.

He said it was true that a great victory had been won for the political principles on which the American Union is founded; that undoubtedly direction, right direction, had been given to the thought of Europe; that it was a great privilege to have had part in such a work destined to bear good fruit, and at no distant day; and that he had been enabled to stand firm by reason of the presence and supporting influence of the other delegates.

Moon, of Philadelphia; Sladen, of Texas; Norris, of Nebraska; Waldo and Goldfogle, of New York, supported ably different parts of the plan proposed by Mr. Bartholdt.

Mr. Bartholdt and the other seventeen delegates worthily represented the United States, worthily represented this cause which is greater than any country.

The power of the principles they stood for made them irresistible. But it would not be right to ig-

nore certain influences which made themselves felt from America.

During the session of the Conference, cablegrams were read endorsing the plan, notably one from the great Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, signed "George Gray, President." George Gray is a member of The Hague Court. This Mohonk Conference of which he was president contained members of the Supreme, Circuit, and District Courts of the United States, of the Supreme Court of nine States, Members of Congress, representatives from thirty-two Chambers of Commerce and fourteen periodicals or papers, of twenty universities or other institutions of learning; also representatives of the Bar and of the religious organizations of America.

Cablegrams from the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange and from the Colorado Springs Chamber of Commerce, endorsing this message from Mohonk, were received and read to the Conference; others were received, but could not be read.

The fact was stated in Conference that, since January 1st of this year, through the activity of one man well known in America and not unknown to Europe, 122 audiences, composed of representative Americans, assembled in that number of cities, situated in twenty States and two Territories, and averaging about 1,000 persons, had enthusiastically voted for this plan and instructed the Mayor of the city to appoint a committee to send the resolution to the Representative of the District in Congress, to the

Senators of the State, and to the President of the United States.

It is Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson who has made this movement so well known among the American people since the session of the Interparliamentary Union at St. Louis, last September.

These unmistakable manifestations of approval by the masses of the people and by representatives of the judiciary, the Bar, the press, the churches and the business organizations of America, not only strengthened the American delegates, but profoundly impressed the European delegates.

When the council of war was held here before the fall of Napoleon at Waterloo, the city was in a turmoil of excitement.

Today the streets are streaming with people who have no idea of the true significance of what has happened.

But some day Brussels will be more famous for this Conference than Waterloo has been able to make it.

BRUSSELS.

Baron D'Estournelles de Constant*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

[Benjamin D'Estournelles de Constant is the leading authority in the world on arbitration. He was a member of the First Hague Conference, and is now one of the French Members of the Hague Court. He is organizing the representative men of every nation into an International Federation, whose motto is, "My Country's Good Thru the Peace of the World," "*Pro Patria per orbis Concordiam.*" The Arbitration Group in the French Parliament, organized by him, has enabled France to conclude many treaties of arbitration, thru the exchange of visits by delegations from the French and various other European parliaments. Baron D'Estournelles has invited a delegation of one hundred from the United States Congress to visit Paris and make a tour of France as guests of his group. We have not heard of their either accepting or returning this courtesy.—EDITOR.]

AFTER the Interparliamentary Union, at its thirteenth session, had accepted the principle of the American proposals made at Brussels, namely (1st) an International Congress or Council to convene periodically for discussion of such international questions as current events make paramount, and (2d) jurisdiction for The Hague Court over questions included in treaties of arbitration, I felt constrained to see Baron d'Estournelles, the great international Senator of France, who has been preparing Europe for the acceptance of those ideas. He had been prevented from attending this memorable session of the Union, which took place in the same city in which the council of war that resulted in the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo was held only ninety years ago.

I left Brussels on the 13th day of September, the

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anniversary of the passage of the "Resolution of St. Louis" by the Interparliamentary Union, which called for the second Hague Conference, to consider, among other things, the advisability of establishing an International Congress to convene periodically. Upon my arrival at La Flèche, the railroad station half an hour from Baron d'Estournelles' home at Creans, I was surprised to find that the district represented by the International Senator of France is intimately associated with the International King of France in Shakespeare's time, the King who created modern France, and who conceived and elaborated all the details of a world wide political organism which the twentieth century is to form and then perfect.

Here, in the center of the main square of the city, is a statue of Henry the Great. One block away is a fine building, now used as a school for sons of army officers, but originally built by Henry, and part of it being the home in which his mother lived.

On the way to the Château of Clermont-Creans—D'Estournelles' country home—we passed a place that once belonged to the Duke of Sully, the Prime Minister of Henry the Great, and the only member of his cabinet to whom he dared disclose all parts of this grand design.

For some time Baron d'Estournelles had been putting forward the idea of a Union of Europe, somewhat vaguely, and had been taking practical steps along definite lines for drawing France and particular nations closer together, with the result that there

are now several general arbitration treaties between France and other European nations, and that an opposition to his Internationalism began to make itself heard. This was while he was a member of the lower House of the French Parliament. The seat for his district in the Senate becoming vacant, he made a campaign for it last year on the issue of sound internationalism and narrow nationalism, and was elevated from the House of Deputies to the Senate of France by the people of this district, because he has had the wisdom and the courage to take an advanced stand in the direction of realizing the grand design of France's greatest king. A century ago France and the United States, born of the same movement of ideas, co-operated together for establishing political liberty for individuals, in North America, in South America, and then France became the St. Paul of this new dispensation in government, preaching and practicing its principles in the very precincts of the proudest monarchies. Having maintained herself against the conspiracy of all Europe to stamp out these principles by force of arms, France was now honoring and strengthening the man who is to take a leading part in the realization of political liberty for nations, by executing the grand design of her greatest king. The essential idea of this grand design had just been made a part of practical world politics by members of the United States Congress and of eighteen other national parliaments. And on the very scene where Henry the Great and Sully the faithful worked out all its de-

tails a century ago, I found this great International Senator of France forging the tools for its actual execution. His workshop is full of historic interest.

In the front yard, and only a few feet away from the château, I found an ancient fort in a perfect state of preservation, and separated from the road by the moat, in which the water from the Loire is still seen. It was here that the desperate, prolonged and victorious stand against the English was made, which saved France from English dominion and England from the almost inconceivable difficulties involved in trying to govern France from beyond her own borders.

On the other side of the château, and only about fifty or one hundred steps from it, runs the Loire, which divides Northern from Southern France, and has been the scene of many events full of deep, of romantic interest.

This retreat on the Loire gives Baron d'Estournelles a refuge from the political turmoil of Paris and also access to sources of wisdom and strength for fulfilling his part in the world's political work.

He admitted me into his sanctuary, and showed me the weapons he has been forging and laying aside for use at the proper moment—all weapons of the mind, clearly discerned political and economic truths, ready for placing in the hands of an organized army of fine intellects, when the moment for action comes.

Henry the Great proposed to execute the Grand

Design by "Force of Arms." Baron d'Estournelles proposes to rely on the force of principles, faithfully presented to the people of his age and country. And he is planning and organizing his army—the Arbitration Group, the Committee of International Conciliation, composed of the representative men in every walk of life in every nation, the International Review, etc.

The night before I left the chateau at Clermont-Creans I asked Baron d'Estournelles the following questions, and have his permission to publish his replies, which were given over his signature :

Question. Is it desirable, in the interest of justice and of peace founded on justice, that a body of men be continually studying questions of common concern to all nations, and that they be freed from all other business cares?

Answer. Yes, greatly desirable, and more and more urgent.

Question. How often should they assemble together to discuss and agree upon improvements that are ready for realization in the body of international law and in the method of its administration?

Answer. This is a detail.

Question. Should they assemble at one place always, or would it be better that they meet in the various capitals of the world in succession?

Answer. In various capitals; that would be the best way to advertise and acclimatize the institution.

Question. If their resolutions are limited to declarations of general principles for the conduct of international intercourse, would it not be desirable to have them acknowledged as binding rules of the law of nations, unless they are vetoed by some nation affected, thus putting national inertia on the side of international progress.

Answer. Certainly, if possible.

Question. Is there any better way of selecting such a body of men than for each nation to select its own members in the way it may chose, and to pay them for their services?

Answer. Yes, each nation ought to choose her way of selecting them.

Question. How many members would you consider desirable from each nation?

Answer. This is a detail.

Question. Would it be well to create such a council as soon as nations doing one-half of the world's international trade agree to appoint and pay representatives in it?

Answer. This may be a good idea. Never wait too long for the others when you want to start a new idea.

Question. Will France join the United States in such a Council, regardless of what other nations may do in regard to the same?

Answer. I wish they would follow, and I would certainly advise it. I suppose all foreign countries, and especially France, would be rather embarrassed to refuse if the United States proposed to appoint such an International Council. This council, of course, being for study and not for execution. In any case, the United States Government would have, once more, all the moral benefit of such an initiative, and possibly public opinion would press upon the other governments and oblige them to follow. I would certainly advise the French Government that way.

BARON D'ESTOURNELLES.

He says Roosevelt is afraid of nothing on account of its magnitude and shrinks from nothing on account of its difficulties; and that such an Executive is needed for the initiation and effectual performance of this necessary work in world politics.

He thinks the German Emperor is another man worthy of carrying this idea into actual effect. This is the political work that belongs to the most daring Executive of our day. The Czar has the honor of having taken the initiative for creating The Hague Court. Roosevelt started its wheels going and called the second Hague Conference. Japan is covered with glory, France and England have centuries of achievement which History will weary herself telling about. The new German Empire has but

just come on the scene, and one great act of the world's political drama is yet to be played in the organizing of all the nations into one body on a proper basis. Napoleon wanted to do this, but could not do it one hundred years ago. The German Emperor could do it now, but not by force, and Roosevelt could do it. The world will watch them as this movement passes from judges and lawmakers to the executives of the world.

With such men as D'Estournelles in French, Apponyi in Hungarian, LaFontaine in Belgian, Stanhope and Cremer in English, Horst and Lund in the Norwegian, Beckman in the Swedish Parliaments, and others of the same character in every national Parliament, waiting anxiously for some Executive to declare for this plan, in order to begin a war, with him as leader, on its behalf; with a Russian National Parliament in process of formation, and a Chinese commission in Europe and America studying ways and means of adapting European and American constitutional government and Western organizations to Chinese needs; with all the world in a disturbed formative state of mind, this seems the psychological moment for some Executive to declare for a plan, which when fully executed will do away with the European menace to Asia and the Yellow Peril to Europe.

The Baron is a small man, probably not more than 5 feet 5 inches in height, but you do not think of size when talking with him, but of high aspirations, of world-wide interests, of profound and practical ways

of advancing toward their realization. With him, as with all wise men, you cannot escape from facing the practical way of attaining anything which you hold up as an ideal. His life is a remarkable instance of seeing a great light and persistently pursuing the road that leads to it.

Standing on the summit of aspiration for all men's good, he saw what must be done, and instead of remaining in the clouds of contemplation he came down into the midst of men, faithfully to fashion a structure "according to the pattern shown to him on the Mount."

It was when he was Ambassador of France at London, the seething center of the world's political conflicts, that he saw the necessity of substituting law for war, before permanent prosperity could take the place of periodical devastation. He renounced the brilliant diplomatic possibilities opening before him, made his way into the French Parliament, and began the ascent to a place of power at Paris, in order that he might become the maker of his nation's laws and policies, instead of the executor of laws and policies made by others.

His home is itself a miniature of what he hopes to see accomplished on a world-wide scale. Accord, concord, co-operation between all nations, and particularly between the great nations is foreshadowed at Clermont-Creans. His secretary is Miss Jones, of England. His two-year old and therefore best beloved child is in the care of a German lady. Clearly there is no bitterness at Clermont-Creans toward either the ancient or the modern enemy of France.

He looks to America for the solution of life's problems. It is quite natural, therefore, that the mistress of Clermont-Creans (Madame d'Estournelles) should be an American.

While I was there a communication came from the great French Socialist, Jean Jaures, who can carry a French Assembly as Mirabeau used to do. In it he suggested this idea of America's taking the lead in a world-wide effectual plan for substituting law in the place of war. This was not accidental or trivial. It proves that the same spirit which sent these American Congressmen to Brussels to make this proposition is working in France, everywhere, to ensure its acceptance. A Revolution or an Evolution is preparing to sweep the whole world in its grand movement.

There is bound to arise an International Congress whose jurisdiction extends to the furthest limits of human intercourse—the outward symbol and effectual arm of a political body, composed of all nations, perfectly preserved as individuals, but fitly joined together as members of one world-wide organism.

This is what the International Senator of France is preparing the way for. It is this light to which he is looking, thru the gloom which still hangs over beautiful France, after so many centuries of striving to realize the highest idea in all things. Thru world-wide political organization in the right form France and all nations will enter upon the era of individual security and world-wide peace and plenty. Baron d'Estournelles will be rightly recorded as one of the great factors in the realization of this great work.

Washington and the World's Peace*

GEORGE WASHINGTON was the leading man in that grand and successful stand, made by progressive Americans of the past century for liberating the people of the present from domination by the people of the past. This domination took several forms:

1. Hereditary office holding.
2. An established Church, which was only another way of perpetuating the thought which had gotten possession in the past.
3. Perpetuities in property arrangements.

Having made good their claim of right to be independent of England, these grand men constructed a ship of state which was designed especially to free the present from the past. To ensure this they put in one plank called "No perpetuity in property arrangements"; another on which this was written: "The United States shall not establish any Church or pass any law to prevent a Church from forming and developing itself"; and another which said: "There shall be no hereditary officers on board this boat." They launched their ship on the stormy waters of the world just as the century was closing, confident that their boat would outsail those which were manned by men hereditarily chosen, and which

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were constructed of established Churches, suppression of speech, perpetuities in property, etc. The century has justified their hopes. Nearly every other ship of state has been constantly substituting officers chosen by their fellow passengers for the hereditary officers; and many nations are now trying to pull out the rotten established Church planks and to put in good substantial ones made of freedom of thought and speech in religion and everything else.

The success of the ideas which Washington espoused has indeed been amazing. And yet the main thing he stood for is not fully realized. He wanted due voice for the people of the present in all their affairs. This has been achieved here in America in so far as domination by the past is concerned; but the people of today in every nation are deprived of due representation in their international affairs by the people of the other nations simply because each nation claims the right to dictate to all the others in the interests which are common to all. Americans elect Representatives to the Congress at Washington; the French to the Parliament at Paris; the Germans to the Parliament at Berlin; the English to the Parliament at London, and so on. Each of these Parliaments passes finally on matters which concern the people of all other nations. And their acts necessitate an occasional war as the only means whereby our people can express their wishes, or make the right prevail, in such matters.

Up to the present time we have to ballot on our

international matters with bullets. But on this anniversary of Washington's birthday we are happy to present to our readers the proposition by Baron d'Estournelles for an International Council of State, to be organized as soon as France and the United States will agree to it, and the proposition by Mr. Bartholdt, in the form of a joint resolution of our House and Senate, instructing the American delegates to the second Hague Conference to stand for transforming that Conference into "a permanent body to meet automatically and periodically for the purpose of codifying international law, and bringing it up to date, and for discussion of questions which may be of common concern to all said nations." These two propositions are really a declaration in favor of liberating the people of the present from domination by people now living in other parts of the world, by providing a council in which they may discuss and vote upon the questions of common concern. One requires the assent of all nations, the other proposes going ahead, along these lines, as soon as two nations agree. Both are in fulfilment of the work begun by Washington, and look to the full realization of the principle of due representation in all our affairs.

The United States would do well to carry out the suggestion made by Baron d'Estournelles, in this way: Let a Council of State for Foreign Affairs be created, composed of our ex-Presidents, for life, and of six members for a term of years, two to be named by the President, two by the Senate and two by the

House. This would give each of the great parties one member on the council from each department of our life. Pending similar action by other Governments, this council could act (along with such men as might be specially named at the time) as American delegates to future conferences at The Hague. They could visit South America, also Asia and other parts of the world at suitable times; and by doing so they could see things not now seen either by our ministers abroad or by our State officials at home. The increasing complexity and importance of our foreign affairs call for such a body as soon as it can be created.

And we venture to suggest to our arbitration group in Congress that this is an auspicious moment for creating it. A Democrat would become first president of this council created by a Republican majority. Roosevelt would become a member *ex officio* (upon the expiration of his term of office) and its second president.

Really, this is the place for our ex-Presidents, and now is the time to prepare this place for them to continue their services to their country and the world.

The advantage of proceeding along this line is that it meets our need at the moment, and provides for *individual action by each nation in taking the steps that lead forward.*

The Honorable Philip Stanhope

(Lord Weardale.)

BY HAYNE DAVIS

WHO is Philip Stanhope? He is a man who is continually using his head as a battering ram to break down skeptical and reactionary thought, and who at times can jump in front of a political party that is running away with a nation. Consequently he is himself a little disfigured now and then, but he is still in the ring, ready for the next opportunity to render a similar service to mankind in general and to his own country in particular.

His first appearance in the British House of Commons was in 1886, as a supporter of Mr. Gladstone, with whom he was intimately associated. When the Jameson raid occurred, it was Mr. Stanhope who introduced the resolution in the House of Commons which brought Cecil Rhodes and Mr. Chamberlain before its bar to give an explanation of their relations prior to that raid. And when war broke out in South Africa, and Parliament was summoned to vote supplies, Mr. Stanhope introduced the resolution censuring the Chamberlain policy. The war party was running away with the country and consequently Mr. Stanhope found, after the next election, that his constituency at Burnley was no longer in need of his services, or, at least, that the constituency had reached this conclusion.

But the country was clothed and in its right mind again in 1904, and Mr. Stanhope was sent back to the House, this time for the Market Harbor Divi-

sion, and he can be counted on to throw himself in the lead of all really forward movements, and against all backward or downward tendencies, regardless of the names they give themselves, or of the parties who become their sponsors. Such a man was bound to have a place in the movement for arbitration as a substitute for war. And it is not a surprise therefore to find that he was one of that handful of brave Englishmen who appeared at Paris in 1889, along with the indomitable William Randal Cremer, and assisted at the birth of the Interparliamentary Union, of which Mr. Cremer was the father and Mr. Passy the mother. Mr. Stanhope is one of the few men who have been present at every subsequent meeting of this unofficial World's Parliament. He has acted on its Executive Council ever since its organization, having been during this whole time president of the British group of its membership, which now numbers several hundred.

In 1889, men who dared to advocate general treaties of arbitration were ridiculed in private and patronized in public, by men wise in their own conceit, and in the so-called ways of the world. But time changes many things when brave men dare to propose forward movements, and today this Interparliamentary Union is recognized as the greatest single factor in swinging the world into an orbit of law and order.

When this Union assembled at St. Louis for its twelfth session, Mr. Stanhope was one of the subcommittee of three which drew up the resolutions. It was my privilege to hand to him and Senator Houzeau de LeHaie, of Belgium, and Hon. T. E. Burton, of Ohio, the now famous "Resolution of St. Louis," as proposed by Hon. Richard Bartholdt.

Thru some error, the resolution, as proposed in

the full session of the Executive Council, was improperly worded. During its translation into French I discovered the error. Mr. Bartholdt redrafted it in his own hand and gave it to me for typewriting. It was then submitted to this subcommittee. I had never met Mr. Stanhope till then, and I recall now that he altered the form of that resolution. It was drawn in American style to start with—*i. e.*, "Whereas, etc., therefore, be it resolved, so and so." At the moment I did not regard the alteration as amounting to much. But familiarity with it since has shown me that Mr. Stanhope's modification left all the force in it and took out a little something which presupposed an opposition.

It did for the resolution what some one might do for Roosevelt, by fixing him so that he would create no opposition which does not already exist, by his determination to go ahead at whatever cost.

When the thirteenth session of the Union had heard Mr. Bartholdt's argument for the formulation of a plan for an International Parliament to convene periodically, and had decided to refer the plan to a commission of seven eminent men, Mr. Stanhope was made chairman of the commission. Considering the importance of the proposition, the power of the Interparliamentary Union, the speed with which all wheels are now turning, it is not oversanguine to prophesy that before many years students of history will be hunting up data about the men who proposed the plan on which the World's Parliament was constituted.

Tho Mr. Stanhope has been identified with the advanced wing of the English Liberal party, and is a close friend of Mr. Cremer, one of the labor union members, and is always on the forward move, yet he is in an atmosphere where any for-

- ward move creates a breeze, because the wind does not blow in that direction. And he will prove to be one of the most conservative of the seven men on this great commission.

Mr. Stanhope, Count Apponyi and Baron d'Estournelles are the sons of noblemen who prove themselves noble by "the might they show among the people," after good old Hebrew Royal habits. Mr. Stanhope's family has known about itself for a long time, and is now the possessor of three Earldoms—Chesterfield, Stanhope and Harrington—all descended from Sir Michael Stanhope, brother-in-law of the Protector Somerset by whom Somerset House was built. One of his descendants, James, the first Earl Stanhope, became Prime Minister in 1719. Charles, the third Earl Stanhope, was an eminent scientist, and an ardent sympathizer with the American and French Revolutionists. He was a warm friend of Benjamin Franklin, and was associated with Robert Fulton in the construction of the first steamboat. This Charles Stanhope married a daughter of the great Lord Chatham, and was brother-in-law to the younger Pitt.

Mr. Stanhope's father, the Earl of Stanhope, a well known historian, was the biographer of Pitt.

Consequently Mr. Stanhope has two forces at work in himself as well as around him. One demanding and commanding "Forward!" The other whispering "Let well enough alone." One tempts him to enjoy in comfort and with the praise of men his own spacious halls and the high ceilings of his lordly kinsmen and acquaintances. The other sends him out among the people to plead the cause of right, and to endure the censure which every brave and honest spirit encounters in the struggle to persuade, or to compel, men to abandon unjust ad-

vantages and to make provision for equal and exact justice.

Mr. Stanhope's character must be inferred from the part he has decided to play. But one thing must not be forgotten: He is always merry, and it must be a very dark day, a very prolonged dark set of days, in which he finds no laughing time. This habit of taking even serious things with a happy heart was illustrated during the Interparliamentary tour of America last year. While traveling thru Nebraska I had a long interview with Mr. Stanhope, in which he gave out some very profound reflections on the outcome of the action taken by the Union in calling for a second Hague Conference. Among other things he said that every member of the Interparliamentary Union was a member of a National Parliament, elected by the people. "In consequence every member of the Union is a representative of the idea that when laws are being enacted all the people who are to be affected by them are entitled to a voice in the body enacting them. And as members of National Parliaments they are continually called upon to make decisions, in matters which concern the people of other nations as well as their own, without any consultation even with people of the other nations. This is contrary to the political principle of which every representative in Parliament is an exponent, and results in war among nations. This has created the Interparliamentary Union, as a means by which men, dissatisfied with this situation, can consult together with a view to changing it. And every member of this Union must advocate creating an International Parliament, or must renounce the principle on which the Interparliamentary Union, and on which his own nation, is founded." Then he commented on the fact that in the United States all

nations are represented. "Here," he said, "each member of our party finds his own countrymen, and our party contains members of almost every European Parliament. Still we all feel at home on American soil and among American people."

At this moment we arrived at Omaha, Neb., and while there some one got a copy of the *Omaha Bee*. A great peal of laughter went up when it was discovered that this paper was amusing its readers that Sunday with "How John Bull Runs an Election." Ignorant that Philip Stanhope was to pass that way, or that he was in America at all, this wide awake *Bee* was telling about his recent election to Parliament, and saying, among other things, that he had no political ideas worth speaking of, but managed to satisfy his constituency by coming down from London and driving his four white horses around every sharp corner, at a break-neck speed, highly delighted himself and to the great exhilaration of the country round about. No one laughed more heartily than Mr. Stanhope, and he keeps that *Bee* preserved as a souvenir, in testimony that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country."

His character, the connection of events, the pressing needs of mankind have placed him at the head of a commission appointed by a body composed of over 2,500 national lawmakers, to pass upon a practical plan for establishing justice among nations and for doing away, in due time, with the vast and oppressive military and naval burdens which weigh upon the world.

He can be counted on to advocate the plan in its perfection and for taking the earliest and longest steps in that direction which are possible. Perhaps no European realizes, however, the mighty power in America waiting to rush to the support

of those who will propose to go the full length of demanding a true Parliament in modern and effective form. And yet, standing on the spot where the three men resolved to free Switzerland, Houzeau de LeHaie and Frederic Passy recently declared that a similar oath, taken by a few men, would soon create the World's Congress and bring the War Era to an end.



Lord Weardale.

Henri La Fontaine

BY HAYNE DAVIS

HENRI LA FONTAINE maintains the same mental attitude to a king as to a working-man. He is, therefore, a very valuable man to Europe, to America also. He does not respect persons, but ideas. He always demands and can always give a reason for any position assumed. He walks freely about among men and institutions, looks into whatever any man can suggest, forms his opinion, expresses it, sticks to it, thru thick and thin, and while other men are coming on to that mental attitude, he himself has gone up higher. Always going forward, always going up, always bold and outspoken, incessantly, vigorously, effectively working, and for the welfare of others.

He never staggers at any proposition, however immense, nor shuns any duty however difficult, or however small. From the Belgian Senate he goes over to the model House of Documentation, his ten-year-old and best beloved work. There he is demonstrating, at an almost inconceivable cost of energy, how track can be kept of everything that is now said in writing anywhere in the world, or that ever has been recorded and the record preserved. His aim is to turn this institution into a World's Office of Documentation, which will supply to any one on demand the title, place and date of publication, and present location of everything that is in print. And, to as great a degree as possible, have all these things in this same office. Sub-

centers in America, North and South, in Africa, in Europe at various places, and in Asia are contemplated, being miniature reflections of the parent office.

In the prosecution of this work he has made use of a system invented by Mr. Melvil Dewey, librarian of the Albany State Library, which he says furnishes the solution for the library and documentation problem.

His miniature "World's Office of Documentation," at Brussels, occupies very imposing quarters. And the book which gives a classified account of its contents has 2,300 pages and an index of 40,000 headings. This was prepared by La Fontaine, and his friend, Mr. Paul Otlet, who has been his co-worker in this great enterprise. And it represents ten years of devoted and incessant labor.

From the World's Office of Documentation he will go to the University Extension, or to the popular University, or the Working Men's Section of Art and Literature, either for ordinary executive work or to give a lecture on music, with productions by the great masters given in illustration, or on his trip to America, or to France, or on what he has learned from books, poetry, literature, anything men want to hear about *that is good*. He tells me that his lectures on music to the masses of the people are a great delight. Illustrated by rendition of pieces from the works of the men discussed, he finds the people more appreciative and better able to comprehend than the so-called better classes, who too often have simply had all their genuine interests washed out, without any better thing supplied; not that he undervalues polish which appears on the exterior, and which is very good indeed, when it is on substance of the right kind within.

Then he is secretary since 1878 of a Technical School for Young Women, founded in 1865, and to which a new department was added in 1888. The two have been taken as models in the establishment of hundreds of similar schools in Belgium and in other countries.

He took part, in 1894, in the founding of a new University and School of High Studies, and was chosen by his colleagues for the chair of International Law, which he has occupied since then.

His first appearance in the Belgian Parliament was in 1895, when he was elected to the Senate as a Social Democrat. And with the exception of one intermission, of two years, he has been a member of that High Assembly ever since. In the same year, Mr. Jules Bara and Mr. Edmond Picard were elected Senators. Mr. Bara is the eminent lawyer in whose office La Fontaine finished his studies by some practical experience, a thing required by the law of Belgium.

For two years he was secretary to Mr. Picard, who is one of the most eminent men of Belgium. His advance to a seat in the Senate as a Socialist was along this line. He first wrote a work, now much used in Belgium, on "The Rights and Duties of Contractors on Public Works." Then in 1888 he collaborated with Mr. Xavier Olin, former Minister of Railways, in preparing a work on counterfeiting.

When appointed by the Belgium Bar to make a report on a Bar association and on women as members of the Bar, he took very advanced positions, and subsequently he caused a movement to be inaugurated by the Bar for needed changes in the laws of the profession.

In 1889 he became secretary to the Society of Social and Political Studies, and assisted Mr. August Couvreur, former Vice President of the House

of Representatives, in bringing forward for discussion some important social and economic questions, and by some remarkable debates prepared the way for the revision of the Belgian Electoral Law in 1893.

It was during this time that he became an advocate of the principles of Social Democracy, and in 1891 he presided at the first Conference of Students and Ancient Students, adherents to Socialism. In 1893 he became one of the founders of a Democratic paper—*La Justice*—which up to 1895 advocated very vigorously the ideas of Social Democracy. Most of the collaborators have become representatives of Social Democracy in Belgium.

In the Senate he has been very active, particularly on economic and international questions, and has published a mass of articles in *La Justice*, *Le Peuple* and elsewhere, all pleading for forward movement. A double brochure on Collectivism, a lecture given before the School of High Social Studies at Paris on "Socialism and Solidarity," extracts and a résumé of the celebrated "Collectiviste Hertzka, Freiland," are only a few of the publications which have been streaming from his pen like the water from the mountains. The moment he gets anything he wants to give it to others, and no amount of trouble seems to stop him till he has given it to all who will receive it.

Among the many lectures given by him on international questions it is necessary to mention one at Paris in December, 1902, on "The International Budget," and one at St. Louis, September 22, 1904, before the Congress of Arts and Sciences, on "The Present and Future of International Law."

He has published the following works on Peace and Arbitration:

1894.—"Code of International Arbitration."

1902.—“*Pasicrisie Internationale. Histoire documentaire des Arbitrages Internationaux.*” A very large work of 700 pages. He is now at work bringing this down to 1905.

1902.—“*Chronological History of Arbitration Since 1794 Down to 1900.*”

1904.—“*Bibliography of Peace and Arbitration.*” Only the first volume has appeared, and it contains 2222 classified titles.

Meanwhile he has been advancing to the head of the Belgian Bar and making himself a power to be reckoned with in the Belgian Senate, and also in all the International Congresses on Arbitration and Peace. He has been a delegate to every one of these since 1889, except those held at London, Glasgow and Chicago. He organized the one held at Antwerp, and prepared the report of its proceedings. In these international congresses he has advocated their organization in such form as to make the discussions fruitful. He participated in founding the permanent Bureau of Peace at Berne. Placed on the legislative committee, he became one of the most active members, and was one of the reporters of this committee at Berne, Budapesth, Rouen, Antwerp. The Code of Arbitration adopted at the Antwerp Conference was his individual production.

When Mr. Hodgson Pratt came to Belgium to organize a Branch of the International Federation of Peace and Arbitration, La Fontaine enabled the thing to be done, and became secretary of the Belgian branch. Its presidents have been, in succession, Mr. Emile Levilye, the celebrated economist; the eminent Mr. August Couvreur alluded to above, and Mr. Houzeau de LeHaie, a distinguished member of the Belgian Senate, and of the Interparliamentary Union. He was one of the special committee of the Peace Bureau which prepared,

in 1895, a plan for a Permanent Court of Arbitration, on which The Hague Court was afterwards founded.

As soon as La Fontaine took his seat in the Belgian Senate he became entitled to a seat in the conferences of the Interparliamentary Union, and he has never been absent from one of its sessions since he had a right to attend. Indeed, even before his election to the Senate, he had been sent to the sessions as a reporter for leading newspapers. All these things seem more than the work of one man, but in addition, La Fontaine finds time to run away from all these works of the more or less discordant world, and to strike the strings by which music is drawn from the universal mind and made audible to human understanding. He was one of the most active men in getting the Wagnerian movement started, at a time when the promoters were ridiculed and even abused in Belgium. He was among the first auditors of the "Nibelungen" at Baireuth, in 1876. He made at that time a metric translation of this work. His translation of the first act of the "Walkyrie" was published in 1889, and his manuscript is now in the hands of very well known publishers, ready for publication as soon as the copyright expires. I am told it is a great improvement on that now in vogue.

And, besides all this, he runs away frequently and scales the heights of the Alps, loving their loftiness and the wide world, as seen from so great an elevation. But he no sooner reaches their heights than he feels for other Alpine climbers, and then endeavors to touch with the inspiration received on their summits the people who have remained in the valleys below.

So we have "Au Hoernli," "Autour du Tiltis," "De Suse à Liverogne," "Un Ouragan au Mont

Rose," "Du Brouillard," "Rhin et Rhone." Also two studies upon a project for a Bibliography of Alpine Climbers, which was adopted by the International Congress of Alpine Clubs at Paris, in 1900. He has long been interested in America, and last year attended the session of the Interparliamentary Union at St. Louis. His eyes, ears, mind and heart were open to many things, and as soon as he landed on European soil he began to spread abroad his impressions, in the papers, periodicals, and in innumerable lectures. Among which may be mentioned, particularly, one on "American Women," and another on "American Libraries." In both these and in all the others he testified to great faith in and love for his brethren across the sea.

Such is the man who must now take a place among the seven, specially chosen by the Interparliamentary Union to pass upon the plan for an International Parliament, and a model Treaty of Arbitration, for La Fontaine has been asked to sit on both commissions.

When Mr. Bartholdt laid on the table at Brussels, before the assembled members of the Interparliamentary Union, a proposed International Parliament, the effect on various men was very different. Some smiled a knowing smile. Some a sickly one. They shrank from the necessity of saying at home they had seriously considered the idea. Some said, Why, this is revolution. La Fontaine simply looked it over, from top to bottom, and then said: "This is a remarkable document. It does not contain a single point to which any nation can reasonably object; and, with a few additions, it is the thing most needed for solving the most pressing political problem of the world. It contains provisions which remove all question as to its prac-

ticability for immediate acceptance; for instance, that any nation, upon becoming dissatisfied, may withdraw upon giving reasonable notice of desire to do so.

"The most remarkable provisions, however, are the foundation stones on which it is proposed to construct this Congress:

"a. A guarantee by all nations represented in it that they will hereafter respect the territory and the autonomy of the others, and

"b. That trade between each of the nations represented in it and all other nations shall be on the same or at least on reciprocal terms.

"Or, in other words, 'home rule' and 'the open door' for all, and, in addition, a voice for each nation in making the rules under which international commerce is to be conducted, proportionate to its interest in this commerce, instead of proportionate to its military and naval strength, as is now the case.

"Giving the force of law to the resolutions, unless vetoed by one or more nations, puts national inertia on the side of international progress, and at the same time provides a safety valve thru which violent national feeling can discharge itself without doing serious damage. In this way an effectual barrier will be erected against going too fast for the active sentiment of the times, and suitable provision made to prevent going too slow from mere inertia.

"Mr. Bartholdt has earned the gratitude of the people of all nations for making this plan a part of practical politics. Its introduction will give new life to our Interparliamentary Union, which now contains over 2,500 members of National Parliaments—a force not to be ignored in the political world. It will rally behind this body the workingmen and the workingmen's organizations in all nations, a force which cannot be resisted when proper-

ly guided, as it certainly will be under this plan of campaign.

“On the whole, I would say that the introduction of this resolution into our Union is an event of no small moment in history.”

Space forbids further development of Mr. La Fontaine's comments on the plan for a Permanent World's Parliament. The fact that he formulated and was ready to publish these decided views almost before other men had recovered from their astonishment, indicates what may be expected of him when the Commission meets, and when the report of the Commission puts this plan up to the governments themselves with the power of the Interparliamentary Union behind it.

The idea has found advocates in Europe whose voices are strong, and who have had the power to make their ideas prevail. With Russia and China constructing National Parliaments, and with this Commission at work on such a plan for an International Parliament, what may we not expect at an early day? Will Roosevelt pass from the Presidency into the International Parliament as one of the first representatives from the United States in the Parliament of Nations? Why not?

Count Albert Apponyi

BY HAYNE DAVIS

COUNT APPONYI is one of those dangerous men who desire to keep out of politics, who love the shady walks of their ancestral estates, and who can be called forth only when some blow is to be struck for principles which must not be allowed to perish. Such men are dangerous indeed to establish wrongs, for they enter the field without fear and without favor, resolved to do the necessary thing to set things right and then retire to the contemplation of the things they love. But the imperative need of the world gives them no respite. Washington very often expressed this wish for retirement. So have most of the great men without whom the world could not make its necessary progress. Even from their retreats they send out ideas with which the active politicians must wrestle, and when conditions call them to the field of action they sweep down the barriers which seemed to others irresistible.

The home of Count Apponyi is full of peculiar temptation to such a man as he. The castle was built in the Middle Ages, and has long been an inheritance in his family. In his grandfather's time (shortly after the construction of our National Government) it was reconstructed as it stands today. It is built on all four sides of an open court, which is about 100 feet square; all the rooms open outside, and around the inside wall is a hallway, filled with pictures, signifying something either in the life of

the former occupants, his ancestors, or illustrating that part of history in which they took an interest.

I was particularly impressed by two engravings hanging side by side—the Declaration of Independence being signed at Philadelphia and the Holy Alliance being formed at Vienna. The former brought into the practical politics of the nations those principles which can remedy the wrongs of the past. The latter was a desperate and ostensibly a holy effort of the rulers of a century ago to fix forever on humanity the errors of established institutions. Looking at the representation of these two scenes, Count Apponyi called my attention to the cynical aspect of the diplomats composing the Congress of Vienna in comparison with the grand appearance of the men who resolved at Philadelphia to right the wrongs of which they were conscious, and who jeopardized all they treasured rather than shrink from the performance of this noble task.

Coming from a long line of these hereditary rulers, all Count Apponyi's heart is given to the principles for which America stands.

It is in the contemplation of these principles that he is inspired to abandon his retirement and to fight against every condition which does not accommodate itself to them.

In addition to his own noble ancestry he has married a daughter of the proud Mensdorf family, of Austria, Countess Clothilde Mensdorf. When he married her he told her that his political career was over, and that they would only have to enjoy the beauties of the world from his father's estate. Conditions in Hungary have become such that he has never been so overwhelmed in politics as since his marriage. He told me laughingly that, under the circumstances, Countess Apponyi could almost de-

mand a divorce on the ground of marriage under false pretense. This is one of the happiest families imaginable. One of Countess Apponyi's brothers stands next to the Emperor-King, and another is now Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to Great Britain. Nevertheless, Countess Apponyi understands, approves and assists her husband in his political struggle, because she sees he is right on principle, and despite the fact that it arrays the entire Austrian court against him.

Count Albert Apponyi is a liberated man. He is free from many things which hold other men in bondage. For instance, he is free from reserve. He dares to open the doors of his mind and heart so that whoever will may enter and see what is going on within. Not that there are no sacred places within; but he does not make secrets of his sacred sentiments. Every really great man has this quality. Indeed, it is only by the revelation of high ideas and noble feelings that men become real factors in the lives of others. Who ever became an inspiration to others by burying his vitalest feelings in the tomb of personal and private considerations? The man who opens his doors and comes abroad with the best that he has within is the man who is worthy of a place and power in human affairs. And when men arrive at a certain height of excellence they are forced to do this. And if we stop to think we will realize that the great writers whom we never saw, but who dared to trust the whole world with their sacredest sentiments, have done more to stir within us really higher aspirations than the people whose hands we touch.

They look into our face and fear that we will not understand; so they bury the best thing within them far out of sight. But men always honor an honest draft made on their capacity to respond to

a noble sentiment. It is this which gives poets a clientele and all true men a following, whatever be their aim.

Count Apponyi is such a man. He is always at ease and puts others at ease. He lives in the present moment, thinks, feels, speaks, simply sincerely; trusts himself and those around him. So constituted, he has a correlated quality—Hospitality to the thoughts of others. In the play of real life there is always this give and take. Whoever is giving is also ready to receive.

As his doors are open for others to enter and see his secret and sacred places, so they are open for him to come out. And he rushes out to meet new and noble ideas, instead of being driven out of his own backdoor by their force, before conceding the truth that is in them.

A man having these qualities is on the way to high places, and in Count Apponyi's case they have put him in the Hungarian Parliament, kept him there for over a quarter of a century, and made him one of the leaders in Hungary's political affairs when they have come to a climax, after centuries of vicissitudes.

It happened this way. About thirty years ago a deputation from a distant part of Hungary came to him and said, "The ideas which you have expressed appeal to us, and we want you to represent us in Parliament." By inheritance he is entitled to a seat in the Hungarian House of Lords. He came down from his hereditary seat, became a candidate before the people, among whom he feels always at home, and then ascended again into Parliament by election of his cotemporaries. And ever since then he has been an advocate of laws which are calculated to benefit the masses of the people. This has resulted in his being opposed to the party in power,

which was more on the side of the privileged classes, of which the nobility in Hungary is still a powerful exponent. Tho Count Apponyi is a member of this class, his thought is for the people. He is a real nobleman in this, that his sympathies include all the people and his work is to promote their real welfare.

His being in the opposition has deprived the people of his constituency of many, more or less valuable, gifts that are continually being distributed by the Government; not only in the form of patronage, but of various conveniences, which improve the conditions of life.

A few years ago the decree was entered in the councils of the Government party that Apponyi must be beaten. A campaign was begun against him, a large sum of money was prepared and was spent in an effort to unseat him, by fair or foul means. He went down among the people, who had re-elected him for twenty-five years, and said, in substance: "You have suffered many inconveniences, you have been patient and hopeful during a quarter of a century, in standing for true and noble ideas, which in the end must triumph, if their representatives remain faithful. During all this time that I have gone in and out among you I have been conscious that I was better for my relation to you and you were better for your relation to me, and both of us better for our advocacy of true ideas. In no respect are we worse for our having worked together. We will continue on this line, and will not barter, for a trifle, the priceless political treasures for which our nation has made so many sacrifices, and we ourselves have labored long and faithfully."

He spent no money to keep his seat, but when

the next Parliament opened he was in his customary place and stronger than ever.

He is free to a remarkable degree from fear of evil, from belief in its power to prevail; and it is faith in good and in the power of principle to prevail in all emergencies which thus liberates him.

Soon after his return to Parliament, despite the desperate effort to defeat him, a more trying situation arose, in which the whole nation became involved. And it was well for Hungary that the people of his district had been faithful in "the few things," for such men as he were needed in the hour of danger which came without warning.

The Government party called on the Parliament to supply annually 22,000 more recruits for the army, together with an appropriation to meet the necessary expenses. This meant over 60,000 more Hungarians to be kept under arms in time of peace, as each man serves three years in the army. And Hungary already has soldiers in time of peace to the number of several hundred thousand.

Nevertheless there is no real Hungarian army, and for these reasons: Several centuries ago, when the Crown was not hereditary in Hungary, but was worn by a person elected for life by the Hungarian nation, the man was elected King of Hungary who was at that time ruler of Austria, not called Emperor, but Arch Duke, for Austria was then only a small part of what is now called by that name. The idea in doing this was to gain for Hungary the power of this man and his family for protecting Hungary against foreign foes. As the Turks had just vanquished the Hungarian army and the King had expired on the field of battle, and Ferdinand of Austria was brother of the Roman Emperor, this seemed a sensible thing to do.

The condition attached to this election was that the independence and constitution of Hungary should be preserved unimpaired.

Today, after several eventful centuries, Hungary finds the flags of the Hapsburgs, not the flags of Hungary, flying over her regiments, the commands are given in the language of Austria, not in the language of Hungary, and in some cases Austrian officers are actually in command of Hungarian regiments, tho this has long been an admitted violation of Hungarian law.

When the call for more soldiers was made, the party to which Count Apponyi belongs replied that it would not be granted unless Hungary's right was admitted to have Hungarian emblems and the Hungarian language used in the Hungarian regiments. Considerable confusion and even violence occurred in the Parliament, and then an election took place. The Government party was overwhelmingly defeated, and Count Apponyi and his associates came back into Parliament with an endorsement from the people which made them feel that it was impossible to abandon the claim for present recognition of Hungary's right to her own emblems and language in her regiments of the army. This may not seem on the surface to be a very important matter, but there are very deep things under it, as can be gathered from the subsequent course of events. The King absolutely refused to name one of the coalition as Prime Minister, unless he would bind himself to leave this army plank out of the program. Not one of them could be induced to do this, so the King named another man as Prime Minister, who is opposed to this army plan.

Then he notified the Parliament to adjourn, resolved to run the Government contrary to the wishes of the people, expressed at the last election. With-

out a dissenting voice the Hungarian Parliament voted a strong protest against this as being contrary to the Constitution. Then they returned to their homes to begin a campaign unprecedented in Hungary for the demands laid upon politicians and people to sink personal and party considerations, and to stand for great principles regardless of consequences.

Count Apponyi is resolved to stand steadfastly for the people's rights. His word is: "There must be no farthing's worth of the King's lawful prerogatives taken away, nor one iota of the people's rights suppressed." He says there must be no violence, but that the struggle must be kept strictly within lawful and constitutional limits, and that there is no need to fear the outcome.

Looking at the situation from an exalted point of view, even tho he is himself a part of it, he can see the ultimate outcome, however various the phases thru which the crisis may pass. He says when one sees the great principles involved he knows what the result will be—victory for them, when faithfully represented.

His readiness to receive and advocate new and noble ideas has raised him to a place of eminence in the Interparliamentary Union, organized for the purpose of promoting peace among nations.

The resolution adopted by this Union at St. Louis, upon which the Second Hague Conference was called, contained a suggestion that such a conference ought to consider the advisability of creating an International Congress, to convene periodically. Learning that the president of the United States' membership in the Interparliamentary Union intended to present a plan for such a Congress to the 1905 session of the Union, I wrote to a number of European members, who had taken an

active part in the St. Louis session, asking them to send me some ideas on this subject for publication in the American papers. Count Apponyi was the only one who did more than send a general acknowledgment of receipt of the letter. At that time he was involved in a more trying national situation than any of the others, except the members for Norway and Sweden. But he found time to consider the idea and to send to America some words which will be hunted for and made a part of history after this International Congress is created and has become a fixed institution in human affairs.

I can here cite only a few sentences from the article published in *The Independent*: "Democracy can have but one sort of foreign policy: Boldly to uphold the banner of international justice and fraternity. She may make ready for self-defense; that is the tribute she must pay to an unsatisfactory state of things, which cannot be put away with a wave even of her powerful hand. . . . The crisis which weighs upon us . . . in no way affects our capacities for embracing higher ideals; it rather inspires us with stronger enthusiasm on their behalf. . . . Experience has taught us what a safeguard our neighbors' liberty is to our own, and how the highest interests of each nation are dependent on the security of all. . . . Apart from the feelings of universal brotherhood, to which our souls naturally incline, national egoism is enlightened enough among us to seek for guarantees of its own welfare in the concord and solidarity of mankind."

It was not an accident, therefore, that Count Apponyi was chosen by the Executive Council of the Interparliamentary Union to reply to the proposition made by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, of the United States Congress, that this Union should lead

the way in formulating a basis on which an International body can be founded, capable of bringing the law of nations out of the uncertainties of arbitrary interpretation into the clearness of a system sanctioned by the nations and kept up to date by modern legislative methods.

Count Apponyi's native tongue is Magyar, the national language of Hungary. But he can come abroad and speak to other nations in their tongue. In any company of Englishmen or Germans or Frenchmen he can express, in their language, as lofty ideas as any there assembled, and more eloquently than any save the very greatest of the orators in these countries.

Rising, at Brussels, on August 29th, 1905, and speaking eloquently, first in English and then in French, he declared, before the face of all nations, that the idea of an international deliberative body to substitute the reign of law for war between nations, having been put forward by members of the American Congress, would knock at the doors of Europe till it was admitted. Appointed on the commission composed of seven eminent statesmen, who are now considering the form such a body ought to have, he can pause in the struggle for the perfection of Hungary's national body, in order to give thought to the perfecting of Hungary's relations to all other national bodies. The national crisis in Hungary really clarifies his vision and inspires the acceptance of high ideals. And it is not too much to hope that Count Apponyi will pass from the leadership in Hungary's national affairs, which he has done so much to rectify, into a seat in an International Congress which he has helped to create.

He courts the retirement offered by his ancestral estate. He is enticed by those intellectual walks

which are found in the literary works of the great men of all nations. He loves the joys of home and family. But such men as he cannot be spared from the field where the world's work must be done.

When an international organization is created to do for all nations what has been accomplished thru so much toil for each nation individually, a day of unprecedented progress will have dawned. The swing of the world upward and forward will amaze even the most hopeful. And Count Apponyi's voice is sure to be heard in the halls of this World's Legislature.



Count Albert Apponyi.

In the Ranks of the Peace Army

AS the members of the Interparliamentary Union have seats in some national parliaments they are especially well placed for promoting the cause of Peace. They can rise in their seats and call on their respective governments to take the steps that will carry the world forward toward peace. They have constant access also to the Chief Executive of their country. Whereas, when other men become possessed of an idea which they think will promote the Peace of the world, if approved by the various governments, they are compelled to seek an advocate of their idea who does have some official position in their own or some other government.

The Interparliamentary Union can be truthfully called the General Staff of the Peace Army. Its conferences are the official councils of war in the campaign for Peace. The army of which it is the semi-official head is composed of a host of aspiring people, all of whom are actuated by that pure sentiment for Peace which has flashed out in noble souls in every country and in every age. Many of them have also that wisdom which must ever be the guiding star of sentiment before it can become effective.

Any work on the Peace Workers of the world which failed to give place to representatives from this host would be glaringly defective.

As representatives of this host I have selected three persons, with all of whom I have come in personal contact, and whom I know to be devoted and effective advocates of those ideas which alone can give effect, in due time, to the ardent desire of the great mass of mankind for permanent Peace and real Justice.

There are many men occupying places of great importance in the political world, but who are not connected with the Interparliamentary Union. Nevertheless, they will be powerful factors in the final realization of the plans of this Union, because they, too, are subject to the sentiments which inspire its members, are in positions of power, and can be counted on to use this power in the proper way at the proper time. As a representative of this class, I feel that I make no mistake in giving some idea of Francis Kossuth as he appears to me.

Then there is the noble army of great women, inspired by the purest sentiments and becoming an inspiration to others, keeping the light of hope brightly burning, during every hour of the darkest night of the darkest centuries of human existence.

As a representative of these I venture to include the Baroness Bertha von Suttner, and to accompany this mere outline of her character with an article written by her own hand and published in *The Independent*.

Then there is the great army of armed men, who are regarded with horror in times of peace and with honor in times of war, particularly when they return

home after having courageously and victoriously faced the dangers of war, into which they were sent by others, a war neither made nor desired by them, as a rule. It may not be true in other countries, but it is true in ours, that the sentiment for Peace is strong in the hearts of our armed men.

Washington set the example. Like David of old he longed for Peace, but was compelled to make war, and he made the enemy to beware of him. Truly we miss the full meaning of this man's life if we turn a deaf ear to the pleas he made for Peace, or a blind eye to the power with which he waged war when conditions demanded this.

Mr. Bartholdt, the leader in America of the Interparliamentary Peace forces, has pointed out that there is no necessary conflict between the advocates of Peace and of proper preparation for war, and has called upon the advocates of heavy armament to aid in promoting this practical plan which will in time do away with any necessity for great armaments, even if that necessity does now exist.

Capt. Richmond Pearson Hobson, who has seen some service on the firing line, and who is a conspicuous advocate of heavy armament, has justified Mr. Bartholdt's declaration by becoming an ardent advocate of the Interparliamentary plan for Peace. His actions have given his name a place in the records of this movement, and in giving him a place in this little work on the Peace workers, I feel that I am at least endeavoring to do justice by recognizing his work in the cause of Peace, without

regard to whether his views on preparation for war are shared by the other Peace Workers. He agrees with them on the path that leads to Peace and is doing much to aid them in creating sentiment in favor of a speedy journey on that path. Personally I believe that the Peace Workers can count upon the entire army and navy of the United States to favor this plan for Peace.

They have a right, if this be true, to some recognition in a work on the Peace Workers, and who is more worthy to represent them than one of their number who has worked for this plan, and who has been elected to the United States Congress on a platform which declared for its earliest possible adoption by the United States Government.

Francis Kossuth, the Hungarian

BY HAYNE DAVIS

ON the eastern confines of Europe lies a section of the world called Hungary, peopled by a conglomeration of nationalities, among whom the Magyar is the master. The country is larger than the British Isles and has half as many people, but there is no English Channel to separate it from danger, so it has hit upon the expedient of electing the ruler of a neighboring nation to be its King, thus combining the power of the two nations for mutual defense against foreign foes, without, *in theory*, causing the loss of the political integrity of either nation. This political Siamese twin, each part of which was born at a different time, has occasioned some political storms, instead of becoming a perpetual guarantee of peace and liberty for its doubled self.

When the arrangement was made men were unaware that the world was round, and during the intervening centuries the country has seen many vicissitudes. But in 1867 it began a new era by the re-establishment of a Hungarian Parliament, with a House composed of noblemen, entitled to seats by inheritance, and a House composed of men elected by their cotemporaries. This Parliament became at once a more or less stormy political sea, disturbed by various parties, and four decades have witnessed a steady growth in a party known as the Party of Independence. Its policy is not separation from Austria by having a person for Hungary's chief executive different from the Emperor of Austria, but com-

plete individuality for Hungary in all parts and powers of national government, the head of Hungary remaining the head of Austria. In this way they hope to realize the original aim of the union in preservation of both nations from foreign foes, without impairing in any way the parts or powers of either.

During the first three decades of this last forty years Francis Kossuth was becoming a scientist, musician, artist, man of the world in a high sense. England, France, Italy, the Continent, was his abiding place. Besides scaling the heights of mathematics he has gone into the depths of civil engineering, mastered other branches of exact sciences, and has taken refuge from their cold calculations in the warm but harmonious world of music and art. He can touch the strings and make music yield him her treasures. He can touch the canvas and leave there the image of what was in his own thought. He can touch the clay, and it bears his mark for all who afterward behold it.

Loving the certitude of science, the harmony of music and art, what draws the man to launch his boat, after fifty years of peaceful life, upon the troubled waves of Hungarian political waters? What but uncertainties and discords can there be found? Does the real man wish to make peace before he rejoices in it, to calm the storm before he can rest in its quiet wake? Whatever the cause, after fifty years of most active and successful life, thruout all Europe, Francis Kossuth appears at Budapesth. It was here, in 1848, that "Louis Kossuth liberated the serfs, and proclaimed in the teeth of his colleagues the principle of perfect political equality for all men."

It was from this place that Louis Kossuth fled to America, when the Revolution of 1848 was shattered, and, instead of liberty, a period of more arbitrary

rule than ever was inaugurated for Hungary. It was from Budapesth that the Turk had been forced to depart after a century and a half of oppressive occupation, leaving the ancient royal palace of Hungary a ruin.

The palace had been rebuilt on the hights above the Danube. The new Parliament, one of the finest structures in the world, was rising on the other side of the stream, when Kossuth walked up to the great hill which overlooks the city and gazed at the peaceful flow of the river which has witnessed so many changes. He felt the inspiration which memory and imagination awake in a heart that loves his country, loves the hopes it has sacrificed so much for without ever realizing them, loves the great principles which have triumphed in nearly every nation, and for which Hungary must struggle till they are established there also, to endure as long as human government endures.

It is not strange that he took a seat in the Hungarian Parliament, by election of the people, soon after he set his foot on Hungarian soil. It is not strange that he took his place at the head of the Party of Independence soon after he entered Parliament, nor that his rise to power has strengthened that party, and will soon give it control of Hungary. The time for Hungary's renewed struggle had come and Kossuth was the man for the occasion.

He brought into Hungarian politics a pure patriotism, based solely on the love of Hungary, and mixt with no hatred of other nations. On the contrary, his love of Hungary is hightened by a real devotion to other lands, where many happy scenes have brought him on his way. Count Apponyi said to me that Kossuth brought a patriotic Hungarian heart and a broad cosmopolitan mind into Hungarian political activity, and that in consequence the Party of

Independence has made progress both in altitude and in latitude; in altitude, because Kossuth has changed its policy by taking his stand for the next step toward its absolute principle, without abandoning the principle and without insisting upon its present acceptance by others.

In latitude, because this has enabled others to join forces with it, who are not prepared to go the full length, but are in favor of the step proposed for the present taking. After the present step is taken will be time enough to raise the question "What next?"

Has Francis Kossuth returned to Hungary to accomplish the hope of Louis Kossuth—separation from Austria?

Before I met him I would have answered, Yes. After I met him I must answer, No. If Hungary separates from Austria now it will be the work of the King's party, not the work of Kossuth and his party.

Before I considered the question on the ground I thought Hungary ought to separate from Austria. Actual observation of present conditions and the arguments of Kossuth, Apponyi and others persuaded me that Hungary's interest is to preserve the union at the same time that she perfects the form and operation of her own national machinery. And so far are they from desiring separation that they are steadfastly resolved to preserve the union, to prevent violence, to secure by peaceful means the concession of all the legitimate demands which Hungary can make. Two cardinal reasons can be given for explanation of this policy. First, Hungary is in the midst of nations still adhering to the idea of a hereditary head and an elective legislature for the government of a nation. Even England still clings to this. Second, Hungary is in the midst of political dangers, and needs Austria's help. Hungary

has 20,000,000 people, Austria has 25,000,000. Forty million people are more than four times as strong as 20,000,000.

So Francis Kossuth says Hungary's interest is to acquire political liberty by perfecting a parliamentary system on the English plan, with the Emperor of Austria as King of Hungary. This will give the nation the benefit of every political liberty, except such incidental disadvantages as necessarily go with having a king whose affections are divided with another nation. They are counterbalanced, the Hungarian leaders think, by the greater power of defence which comes from the union.

This being Kossuth's purpose, he has become the leader of the Hungarian leaders in a remarkable political war, one of whose strangest phases is that the King's party hopes to remain in power by adopting universal suffrage as a plank of their platform, when Kossuth's party has been advocating that policy for nearly forty years. The King's party is playing with dangerous weapons, and, having antagonists who understand political warfare, and who love the people, who have made sacrifices for the people, they will find their boat on a very rough sea before they finish this campaign. If their volley of "universal suffrage" fired against the Magyars in Hungary does not leave the Magyars in control of Hungary, and simply end in multiplying their own difficulties in Austria, I have been deceived in my diagnosis of this political disease. The "divine right" in Austria will not escape unsinged after the furnace of universal suffrage has been fired in Austria for a season.

Tho Hungary has many races and the Magyar is dominant, that race has as its dominant politicians very large men—men who are resolved to unify their nation, not by stamping on the minority races

but by conceding their legitimate demands. The King's party has been able, to a large degree, to hold the other nationalities on its side, against the Magyars, in their struggle for Hungarian national rights. But Kossuth says that every political right the Magyars have been able to conquer from the monarchical party they have shared with the other nationalities, even with those who took sides against them.

In this way Kossuth and his coworkers hope to work unity out of the medley of races which compose the Hungarian nation. What can do it, if a just policy proves inadequate, a policy designed for the welfare of the whole nation, and so administered as to benefit all who bestir themselves as good and active citizens, regardless of nationality?

On the other hand, Kossuth says the race problem is more difficult in Austria than in Hungary. There is no one nation with a clear numerical and mental predominance, as is the case in Hungary. In the second place, there is no permanent inherited national structure. Austria is a patchwork of races and a patchwork of political structure. The different parts have come from different quarters and at different times, like streams of liquids that do not mix, emptying into one vessel, which is not whole in itself but is patched up.

The German has been the dominant race in Austria, and is very loath to part with the political power. The Slavonic element is acquiring great strength, and Kossuth says the time will come when the Emperor of Austria must face this fact, that German dominance or parliamentary government must go in Austria. Kossuth says the solution lies in establishing real national structures for the Poles, the Germans, the Slavs, etc., and federating all in a real empire, with Vienna as the capital.

He says the Hapsburgh dynasty can solve these

difficult Austrian problems more easily if they satisfy Hungary's legitimate demands and turn that part of the dual monarchy into a perfectly organized and autonomous nation, satisfied, unified, strong, loyal.

And it is an indication of Kossuth's character that in ten years, despite the natural inference from his relation to Louis Kossuth, he has won the confidence of the King to a greater degree than many men who are among the nobility of Hungary and have spent many years in Hungarian politics.

These things he told me on the way to Szabadka the first Sunday after the King had unconstitutionally prorogued the Parliament. It was strange to be witnessing a political meeting on Sunday. But when I had witnessed it to the end I was persuaded that it was as really a religious service as one can find without great searching. Ten thousand people resolved to stand by this man and his associates with their lives. He resolved that no violence should occur, that no weakening on principle should take place, that the rights of Hungary must be conceded by the King of Hungary, and that Christianity demanded the settlement of the question in the arena of conscience and reason, not on the field of violence.

Then a miniature of Hungary streamed thru the streets of Szabadka, singing the national hymn, with Kossuth and Apponyi in the lead, both devoted to and capable of achieving the welfare of Hungary. There were landlords, peasants, college professors, workingmen, all classes of society. Both the leaders and the people had risen to a determination to do a dangerous duty regardless of consequences, and they had done it in a religious spirit. Can the King's party overthrow such men before an aroused nation?

Count Apponyi told me that what I saw at Szabadka I could see all over Hungary, and I have

a presentiment that this is perfectly true. And it may be confidently expected that the fires of this political furnace will fuse the coalition into one party, with Francis Kossuth, the Hungarian, as its recognized leader. Hungary has 20,000,000 people. The nation will have been awakened and elevated to a high national sentiment. This will put Kossuth at the head of one of the largest, best disciplined, most patriotic and united political forces in Europe. With what outcome? An outcome good for Hungary; good also for Austria and the Hapsburgh dynasty if they learn to read political handwriting on the wall without a Daniel to interpret it and consent to hearken to it. I believe also that it will be good for Europe and America and Asia. And I can give a few reasons. The others are beyond the limits of an article like this.

During a long talk with Kossuth, at a time when he was in the midst of the endless mass of work coming upon the leader of such a movement as now sweeps over Hungary, I found him ready to discuss the problems of world politics and to take positions which leading men in America are not yet up to. He said he agreed with an English mathematician and philosopher who had worked out the orbit of civilization as being a movement forward and upward, then down and backward, then forward and upward again.

I asked him where we are now. He said, "Going down." "Why do you think so?" He then gave me several reasons, basing them on distinctly European manifestations, among which are the following:

He said in some parts of Europe a movement against religion is noticeable. "Now, belief in God

moralizes man, and, besides, in the vicissitudes of life, faith comforts man. And man needs both comforting and to be moralized." Then he said there is a movement against the family, undertaking to magnify the state's relation to a child and to minimize the parents' relation. Then he spoke of a labor conflict, in which the disturbed and distraught people had destroyed the works and attempted to blot out the technical knowledge on which the operation of the business, and therefore their own welfare, depended. This he referred to in connection with the receipt of threats against life by men who are working for the welfare of the very people who threaten them.

I asked him if all these were not blind attempts to right wrongs, the delusion of the mass by false suppositions, and consequently, if the thing that gives the forward and upward swing is not the discovery and application of the true idea by the best men in many places, thus providing a real remedy for the wrong. He said yes, he thought that was the reason for the upward swing. And he is making a mighty and devout effort to cause the upward swing in Hungary.

As I was leaving he said: "There is great confusion in what is called International Law, because each nation interprets that law for itself. It should be brought into one clearly defined and understood code of law, and a suitable method for keeping it up to date should be provided. Say in America for me that the United States Government should propose this, if it wants to do something of great present and permanent value to the whole world. If they propose it, I am sure it can be carried thru."

I had handed him a copy of *Harper's Monthly*, containing an account, by Prof. John B. Moore, of

his father's interview with Henry Clay. And as I went away, that scene came vividly to my mind. Hungary's forces having been crushed by Austria because Russia came to the aid of the oppressors, Kossuth fled to America, invited by Act of Congress to come, with the other Hungarian patriots, and make their home among us. He came, however, with the hope of our returning with him to drive oppression out of his native land and to re-establish the liberty of the people.

Being on fire with devotion to the cause for which he fought, he set fire to the American people, and his journey from New York to Washington was like an ovation. At Washington the Congress began to come under the spell of his hopes and enthusiasm. Henry Clay was still the power there, and a day came when he and Kossuth confronted each other. That was an interview indeed! Clay's eyes were still shining with that strange light, seen always in the faces of those who devote a lifetime to the performance of dangerous and difficult duties. He protested against Kossuth's effort to bring America into the European struggle. He declared his devotion to the great principles of political liberty, his determination to be faithful to them, and his knowledge that this compelled America to keep her light brightly burning, in order that its rays might shine thruout the world, to inspire in every people the will to achieve their liberty; then he said that our light would go out when we sent our armed forces across the sea to take a hand in even the battles for

liberty; thus destroying ourselves, by unwise action in the cause we love, instead of remaining the saviors of others by fidelity to the principles involved. When that interview was over Kossuth's hope of American intervention was gone, but his hope, his knowledge, that right would prevail never died, never even darkened, but shone ever brightly, even in exile. Since then America's light has crossed the continent, and is now seen on both the ocean fronts and on three thousand miles of inland frontier. Kossuth's son has risen to the seat of power in Hungary. And in the hands of a son of Gottlieb Bartholdt, a fellow sufferer with Kossuth in the storm of 1848, the American light has crossed the Atlantic and been raised on high at Brussels, in the form of a demand for the application of the great principles of political liberty to man's widest interests—the interests common to the people of all nations. It was Kossuth's associate, Count Apponyi, who aided most effectually in this great achievement. Two days before Kossuth sent this message to us, pointing out how we can make more luminous the light which Clay knew how to keep burning half a century ago, Count Apponyi handed to the President of the Interparliamentary Commission his views on the proper basis for an International Congress.

Thus America is coming to the aid of Hungary, and of all other nations, prepared to receive and to apply the fundamental principles of political liberty, not with an armed hand, but with an illumined

mind and a firm resolve. And, as Count Apponyi declared, on the day the Peace of Portsmouth was announced in Europe, the Idea embodied in the American proposal will knock at Europe's doors till it is admitted. After it is admitted and accepted as the guiding principle of Europe's politics, the hopes of true patriots in every country will be realized.

It is good for Hungary, also for the world, that Kossuth and Apponyi are in control of Hungary. They see the errors committed by her patriots in the past. They are resolved and they have the power to steer Hungary past these dangers into the haven of Constitutional Parliamentary Government for herself, and they are awake to the necessity of making national existence and prosperity more secure, by the application of the same principle to Hungary's relations with other nations.

Richard Bartholdt and Francis Kossuth are privileged to lead in the accomplishment of what their fathers could only labor and hope for, to some extent in vain, to some extent unwisely.

Writing to the *Figaro* recently Kossuth said: "We love our country, our Hungary, as much as the French people love France. Why should we love our Hungary less? Because she has suffered more than France. * * * The struggle is liberty against autocracy, lawful against unlawful operation of government, order against anarchy in a nation which would risk its life for truth."

Do these things shed any light on the return of Kossuth to Hungary, after fifty years have handed him their treasures of wisdom, in a wise and well

ordered life in other lands? Besides all these things there are doubtless mighty forces which operate to govern unconsciously the movements of men and masses. When the world is trembling in revolution, evolution, devolution, Kossuth returns to Hungary for a sufficient reason.



FRANCIS KOSSUTH.

The Baroness Von Suttner*

BY HAYNE DAVIS

A COMMITTEE of the Norwegian Parliament is compelled every year to scan the world's sky of peace workers for that particular star which has shed the brightest light upon the night of our war era, in order to award justly the peace prize of \$40,000 provided by the will of Alfred Nobel, the Swede.

The first year it went to that venerable and wonderful representative of France, Frederick Passy, who, with William Randal Cremer, of England, organized the Interparliamentary Union. Last year it went to Mr. Cremer. This year, when the Norwegians saw the light of Baroness Suttner's incessant activity for the world's peace, they ceased from their labors and awarded it to her. It was she who inspired Alfred Nobel to make this remarkable bequest, and Frederick Passy has called her the General-in-Chief of the World's Peace Army.

No award of this prize has given more delight to those who know what Baroness Suttner has done and endured. Inspiring Mr. Nobel to make this bequest was in itself a great service to the cause, and yet it was small when compared to what she has done by her own actions. For nearly twenty

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years she has never ceased to cry out in passionate appeals for peace, and in a world where women are not accorded that welcome on the stage of public effort which greets them in America. Her voice has gone into the depths of many hearts in many lands, and the response which it awoke has greatly increased the world-wide and world-old desire for peace. "Lay Down Your Arms" is the English title of her most widely read work. It has been translated into all the principal languages and has touched a vast audience. When I saw her at Vienna, in October, she was just starting into Germany, in continuation of her habit, on an extended tour to speak for peace.

She told me that many people had declared to her that America was abandoned to pursuit of material wealth and power, and, as many published things made our sky look dark when viewed from Europe, she could not know what to believe of us, but that two weeks after she set foot on American soil and felt the spirit of our people she knew that in America is the hope of mankind. She expressed great gladness for her power to judge justly of this matter, and said that now she could carry on her campaign conscious of a great army in America supporting her of which she was before unconscious, and which she now knows will insure the final victory for peace.

It was at the fourteenth International Peace Congress at Lucerne that I first had the pleasure of meeting her. The session was over; the clouds

hung heavily over the Alps. I found Baroness Suttner somewhat depressed with the partings and with the inevitable suggestions which come after every forward move, and which attempt to rob us of our well-earned victory. She had heard, but only in a vague way, of the Brussels session of the Interparliamentary Union, for European papers are not American papers. When it was clearly developed to her how a delegation from the United States Congress, headed by the Hon. Richard Bartholdt, had proposed to delegations from eighteen other national parliaments the creation of an International Congress, so as to provide a system of law for the conduct of international intercourse; how Count Albert Apponyi had declared in the Conference that this grand idea would knock at the world's official doors till it was admitted; how it had been accepted in principle by the Conference, and a commission, composed of seven eminent members of Parliament, appointed to work out the details for its practical realization, and how one hundred and twenty-five audiences, aggregating one hundred thousand people, on motion of Captain Hobson, had enthusiastically indorsed this idea between January and August, 1905, and how the great Mohonk Conference had cabled its approval and an expression of gratitude to Mr. Bartholdt, she looked long and silently at the colorless clouds hovering over Lake Lucerne. Mr. Felix Moscheles, of London, the eminent artist, was in the company, and he broke the silence by asking, "What are you seeing?" The

Baroness replied, "The clouds which this light from America makes radiant."

For many years she had held steadfastly to the premonition that somehow and in some way peace must come. The night was never dark enough to extinguish her hope, nor the discouragements heavy enough to stop her labors. Now the way was made plain, and powerful allies were revealed across the ocean, in the land to which she had begun to look for light and strength. She told me afterward, at Vienna, that this had begun a new era for her, the light now shining on the path ahead, and with the goal in sight.

She has been long among those who are not responsive to her thoughts and purposes. At the very outset she had to go against the current of opinion. Austria is one of those states which are still vainly endeavoring to limit nobility and power to the privileged few. When the heir to the throne was seized, five years ago, with love for a remarkable Countess, whose family has been illustrious for centuries, it created consternation at Court. For a Countess is not royal, only noble. It was finally agreed, however, that he might marry her, provided he would renounce forever all claim to the throne for his children; and he solemnly made this renunciation in the presence of a great company of important persons—for instance, the Emperor, the Ministers of State, the high dignitaries of the Roman Church, who sanction the idea of the divine right of kings. The account of this scene in the

papers sounded like an echo from some far-away sepulcher instead of a twentieth-century fact. Well, Baroness Suttner had to go thru a similar ordeal. Simple Americans are apt to suppose that a Baron is somebody. So he is when a Count is not present. Now all the Austrian Counts seemed to the Countess Bertha von Kinsky of small worth compared to Baron von Suttner. And consequently she broke all court considerations, abandoned her place and position and people, and ran away even from her nation to marry the man who seemed to her a man indeed. She endured many hardships in consequence, besides the loss of comfort and position. The timely acceptance of articles by a magazine helped to make a dinner of herbs, where love was, better than a banquet in gilded halls without it. But times change even in Austria. A long life of noble effort finds Baroness Suttner again in her place at the Austrian Court. A Prince can be Vice-President of a Peace Society of which she is President. Austrian members of the Hague Court, Ministers of State, Admirals of the Navy, Chancellors of the Universities, Ambassadors from other lands, now feel honored to attend her when her doors are opened. Who in America can fail to rejoice in the triumph of Baroness Suttner, because she is a woman, because she has worked so wisely and well in a cause which Americans are now determined to push to final victory, and at no distant day?

How I Wrote, "Lay Down Your Arms"

BY BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

I T was toward the end of the year 1880, when I had already reached a mature age and was in the midst of zealous studies in science, philosophy and history, that the idea dawned on me and soon became a deep-set conviction, that war was an institution handed down to us by the barbarians, and to be removed by civilization. At this same moment I learned by accident that a society existed in England based on this same idea and aiming to influence public opinion in favor of the creation of a court of arbitration. So I hastened to write to this "Peace and Arbitration Association" and asked for information. The now venerable Hodgson Pratt, who is the founder and president of that organization, forthwith sent me the bylaws and publications of the society, and thenceforth kept up an active correspondence with me. Thus it was that I learned all that had been done and all that remained to be done in this important field of work.

The more I looked into the question the more I became absorbed by it, and the more eager I was to do what little I could to advance the cause of peace. As I had had some experience in authorship, I felt that it was in the department of literature that I could do the most good. My idea was,

at first, to write a little story in which I would describe a young woman who had lost her beloved husband on the battlefield, and who then, as it had happened to me, suddenly awoke to the condemnation of war. In my own case, however, my convictions were based only on theories, whereas my heroine was to be converted thru dire experience.

While I was engaged in gathering materials for my little tale, so much accumulated on my hands and my mind was so teeming with my subject, that from a novelette my plan grew into a two-volume novel. Not satisfied with superficial information, I now began to consult recognized authorities, to study the campaigns of 1859, 1864, 1866 and 1870-71, to read the memoirs of different generals, to examine the reports of army surgeons and the Red Cross Society, to rummage in libraries and archives, among the diplomatic dispatches exchanged during these periods and among the orders given the various armies. Provided with this data, I set to work on the historical scaffolding of my book and the development of my plot, whose foundation was, of course, the ardent condemnation of war; and when I could write on the last page of my manuscript "The End," and put at the head of the first page, "Lay Down Your Arms," I felt that now I really was in a position to do something for the cause so near my heart. I was armed!

Full of confidence, I sent my manuscript to the Stuttgart editor who had always heretofore accepted what I offered him and who had recently asked

me for a fresh one. But it was promptly returned to me with this message: "We regret it, but this novel we cannot use." So I tried other editors, but all declined it with the remark: "This does not interest our public," or "It would offend many of our readers," or "It is impossible to publish this in the present military state of affairs." Such were the opinions of the leading editors of German periodicals.

I next turned toward the publishers, and first sent the manuscript to my habitual publisher, Pierson, of Dresden. He kept it a long time and then advised me to change the title, which he found too aggressive, and to submit the manuscript to a competent public man for revision, who would suppress or modify the passages which could give offense in military and political circles. This I, of course, utterly refused to permit. The title of the book expressed clearly the purpose I had in writing it, and told the reader, without any subterfuge, just what he was to expect between the covers, while the passages which it was proposed to cut out because they would excite disapproval in certain quarters were the very essence of the book, what gave it its *raison d'être*. So I would consent to no change, either in title or text.

As I afterward took part in the peace movement, it has been thought in some quarters that I wrote this book as a consequence of that movement. But the facts are exactly the contrary. My book made me a peace advocate, but it did not spring from my

participation in that reform. This is how it happened:

In the spring of 1891, about fifteen months after the publication of "Lay Down Your Arms," I and my husband were stopping in Venice. One afternoon somebody knocked at the door, and, the servant being absent, my husband himself opened it. An elderly, well-dressed gentleman was standing on the landing.

"Does the Baroness von Suttner live here?" he asked.

"Yes; she is my wife," was the answer.

"What! you are the husband of Madame von Suttner—Bertha von Suttner?"

"I certainly am."

"You are not dead, then?"

"With your permission, I am still living."

"But were you not shot in Paris?"

"It seems not."

In the meantime I stepped forward and led our guest into the drawing-room, when he presented himself to us and told us the object of his visit. We soon learned that we had before us Mr. Felix Moscheles, son of the celebrated composer, Ignaz Moscheles, and godson of Felix Mendelssohn, he himself a painter, an earnest peace advocate and vice-president of the London Peace and Arbitration Association. He told us he had been ill during a pleasure trip in Egypt, and his wife, to amuse him, had given him a copy of "Lay Down Your Arms" to read. He began the book rather against his will, he

went on to tell us, for he does not care for fiction. But when he saw the nature of the volume he hurried thru to the end with feverish interest, because here were all his own views against war condensed in a living and possible story. "I must make the acquaintance of the author of this volume," he then and there said, and forthwith decided to journey home via Vienna. He had intended simply to pass thru Venice, but while telling one of his friends why he was going to Vienna, learned that the person sought for was at that moment in Venice, and that she even lived in the Pleazzo Dario, just opposite his lodgings. So he started out immediately to make the personal acquaintance of the unhappy widow, the expounder of all his cherished ideas, when lo! her lawful husband himself opens the door. Thus the widowhood was found to be fiction, while the communion of ideas is still a living thing; and, during that first hour was formed a friendship between us three which has lasted without a cloud from that time to this, and whose first act, on the evening of that same day, was the laying the foundations of a new work which was to have an important influence on the peace movement.

At that time there lived in Venice, where he kept open house, Marquis Beniamino Pandolfi and his wife, who had been a friend of my childhood. I knew that Pandolfi, who was a member of the Italian Parliament, was a supporter of peace ideas, and, as he was giving a reception that evening, I suggested to Mr. Moscheles that he seize the occa-

sion to speak with him about the movement in England, and that he urge him to secure, among his colleagues in the Italian Parliament, adherents to the Interparliamentary Union, which was at that time a very small body. It was especially important to strengthen this organization at that moment, for in November of that year the Union was to meet at Rome. This association had been founded in 1888 by Wm. R. Cremer, M. P., of London, and Frederic Passy, of Paris, then member of the Chamber of Deputies, and it was at the French capital, during the International Exhibition of 1889, that the first Interparliamentary Conference was held, France and England alone being represented. The second meeting was held in London, with a few more parliaments represented, and now the third meeting was to take place in Rome.

The result of the advent of Mr. Felix Moscheles at the Palazzo Bianca Capello, Pandolfi's home, was that, while the elegant society of Venice and its gay youth were dancing and eating in the big dining-room, a long conversation took place in the host's study, in which the Marquis, Mr. Moscheles and we two participated. The upshot of it all was that not only did Pandolfi promise to aid in the organization of the approaching conference, but invitations and circulars were prepared on the spot looking to the foundation in Venice of a peace society. The plan succeeded, and some of the most prominent men of the town came into the movement. Shortly after this social meeting at Pandolfi's he returned to

Rome, Mr. Moscheles to London and my husband and myself to Vienna.

In the course of a few weeks I learned from Pandolfi that he was having marked success in securing collaboration in Rome, and at the same time we began working up a favorable sentiment in Vienna. We talked to our Parliament friends of the newly established peace society of Venice and of the coming meeting in Rome, and in the end I had the great pleasure of being instrumental in bringing about the formation of a Parliamentary group at the Austrian capital. I addressed myself personally or by letter to one after another of the members of Parliament, sent them the Pandolfi circulars, and used every possible means to secure an Austrian delegation for the Rome conference. In this ungrateful preliminary labor I was especially aided by two Deputies, Barons Pisquet and Kübek. I still have in my possession letters from different prominent members of that time which dwell on the inopportuneness of the proposal and the practical difficulties in the way of its realization. But we succeeded, nevertheless, in getting a delegation sent to Rome, with Dr. Russ at its head. This was an important step. Another was to follow.

It was a fancy of mine that, at the same time with the holding of the Interparliamentary Conference, it would be a good idea if an international congress of peace societies were also assembled in the Eternal City. But as there was no such society in Vienna, I seemed thus called upon to create one there. In

undertakings born to succeed, there generally lies an ingenuous ignorance of the risks, an incomprehension of the obstacles and a happy unconsciousness of one's own arrogance. So, on September 1st, 1891, I sent out a call for the founding of an Austrian peace society, and great was my astonishment, two days later, to see it given a conspicuous place on the first page of a leading Vienna daily, the *New Free Press*, with these words from the editor accompanying it: "On this question no authority is higher than that of the author of 'Lay Down Your Arms.'" Then followed this editorial comment on the idea set forth in the call:

"Because of the new instruments of destruction and the increased armed forces, war has been changed into a thing that ought to be described by another name. Because of the continuous development of warlike preparations, armies are now quite different from what they were when we last saw them brought face to face. Let me illustrate my meaning. If you keep on warming a bath till the water boils, so that the person who steps, rather falls, into the tub is scalded to death, can you still call this a bath?"

Since the above lines were written, fifteen years ago, things have gone from bad to worse, and this will go on. The great book of the late Jean de Bloch, "The Future War," proves this. From all sides pour in the accusations against the wholesale murder of modern warfare. The god of war, who has silently grown into a race-devouring Moloch, has been brought before the awakened conscience of the world. He is summoned to defend himself, or, if he fails to do so, to accept the death warrant which sooner or later must be his lot.

The response to my call astonished me much more than its prompt publication in the Vienna daily. Immediately hundreds of enthusiastic letters came pouring in upon me from all classes of society, and prominent persons offered to aid in founding the proposed organization. So thus was the Austrian Peace Society established, of which I am still president. I was sent as its delegate to the Rome Peace Congress, and there, in the Capitol, I made my first public appearance in the peace movement. So I repeat, that the writing of the novel, "Lay Down Your Arms," cannot be regarded as a result of my public career, but, on the contrary, my career sprang from the novel.

All this is now very far off. Then, novels and the forming of peace societies were important factors toward the advancement of the movement. But today it has reached such a point and is associated with such high and decisive political problems, that the acts of the individual, in letters or societies, have been pushed into the background. It has become the question of the hour, and neither the energy of its originators nor the pleadings of its followers are now essential to its final triumph.

What we must do now is to develop the existing organizations, such as the Interparliamentary Union, The Hague Tribunal, etc., and create an international political system that will give a legal basis to universal peace. Practical work toward an ideal end is peculiarly the part of America and Americans. It is quite natural, therefore, that it should

be the United States branch of the Interparliamentary Union that has formulated a plan for the accomplishment of this grand result. At the next Conference of The Hague, whose convocation we owe to President Theodore Roosevelt, the proposal of the American body and its chairman, Mr. Bartholdt, Member of Congress, will be laid before the world. Then will the peace movement take another grand step forward.



FREDERIC PASSY.

ELI DU COMMON.

BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

Three Recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Captain Richmond Pearson Hobson *

BY HAYNE DAVIS

TWENTY years ago a boy from Greensboro, Ala., entered the United States Naval Academy. Tho only fourteen years old when he took his place among the hundreds of embryo naval officers assembled at Annapolis from every Congressional district in the Union, he had won his appointment, not thru political influence, wealth or position, but because of demonstrated merit. He had received the highest mark in a difficult competitive examination such as guards the doors to our national academies, when the members of Congress decide to let competence instead of favoritism determine their appointments.

This boy was Richmond Pearson Hobson, son of Judge James Marcellus Hobson, of Alabama; grandson of Chief Justice Richmond M. Pearson, of North Carolina, and great nephew of John Motley Morehead, one of the greatest Governors of North Carolina.

Thus descended, and educated entirely in the schools of his native State, Hobson was a real representative of the South of our day.

Graduating at the head of his class entitled Hob-

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son to go abroad to take courses in naval construction more advanced than any at that time offered in the United States.

At the Paris Naval School Hobson again proved his devotion to duty. Instead of squandering time, money and energy in the gaieties of the world's capital, as many are tempted to do, Hobson sent part of his meager pay, each month, to his mother in Alabama, and devoted night as well as day to his prescribed studies. His summer vacations were utilized in visiting other countries and observing their social, economic and political conditions with especial regard to their bearing upon naval affairs.

Twice he went to England to see Gladstone pass along the street, so sincere was his youthful admiration for this great nineteenth century statesman.

When the war between China and Japan broke out, Hon. Hilary A. Herbert, then Secretary of the Navy, decided to send Hobson to witness the war, in order that the United States might benefit by his observations of this conflict. Men much older in the service made such objections that the Secretary finally declared he would send no one, since he found difficulty in sending the man he considered the most competent.

When the Cuban horizon grew dark with the clouds of threatened war between the United States and Spain, Hobson realized that the navy was likely to see heavy service and that our officers should know Spanish. He immediately began to study, and two months later his knowledge of the language

stood him in good stead, enabling him to call out in Spanish, as soon as discovered, that he wished to surrender himself and his men as prisoners of war.

It had previously occurred to Hobson that the advanced courses of study, which American officers were forced to take in foreign countries, ought to be given, and even improved upon, at Annapolis. The plan for such a course, which he presented to the Navy Department, was adopted, and Hobson himself was appointed to take charge of it.

The plan of his course was to take the students on the sea with the squadron, after completing their theoretical studies. When the war broke out, Hobson decided that the students ought to see warships in action during war and complete their theoretical studies later. He went to Washington and asked the Secretary of the Navy to send him and his pupils with the squadron.

This was approved and Hobson and his class were detailed to the "New York," Admiral Sampson's flagship.

When Admiral Sampson decided to block the harbor of Santiago by sinking the "Merrimac," Hobson's plans for this difficult experiment were approved.

The commander of the "Merrimac" was loth to give up his ship in the face of danger, desiring greatly to take her in himself. But the admiral felt compelled to banish all personal considerations, and to consider only the success of the plan, which had

all been worked out to every detail by Lieutenant Hobson, before the "Merrimac" joined the fleet.

The world knows well the pyrotechnic part of this daring deed, but is ignorant of the details which revealed so plainly the striking traits in Hobson's character.

In "The Sinking of the 'Merrimac,'" written by Hobson at the request of *The Century Magazine*, and afterward published in book form by The Century Company, he gives a simple, soldierly account of this event.

No one can read of the dangers which he and his men courageously faced during their experiences among the enemy, without feeling a new stir of patriotism in his heart and a conviction that our nation can never take a backward step while such men respond to the country's call when danger arises.

As soon as Hobson was free from prison and other necessary duties, he laid before the Navy Department a plan for saving the Spanish ships sunk at Santiago. The difficulties seemed insurmountable, but it was decided to make the attempt. The expert wreckers placed in charge of the work despaired of success, and after spending some time at Santiago, were ready to abandon the work when Hobson arrived.

He secured the recall of the men who opposed prosecuting his plans, and set to work with the remainder of the crew.

Undaunted by the many difficulties which arose,

and undisturbed by the doubts expressed by all the parties concerned, both at Washington and at Santiago, he persevered, and finally fixed the day on which the "Maria Theresa" ought to arise from the depths and again take her place on the surface of the sea.

The American fleet came to the scene to witness, as was supposed, the failure of Hobson's plan.

At the hour named by Hobson, the final order was given which he had said would float the great hulk of the battle-scarred ship. To the surprise of all present except Hobson himself, the "Maria Theresa" trembled, shook, then rose to the surface and the flag of the United States was hoisted above her by the young naval constructor.

This historic vessel was lost during the voyage to Norfolk. Having encountered a storm, the captain in charge of the boat which was towing her deemed it necessary to abandon her, but she weathered the storm alone and did not sink until she struck the island of San Salvador, the place at which Columbus had first set foot on the soil of the western world.

Tho this ship was not saved for the United States, the incident is worth mentioning because it revealed the indomitable spirit of the young man, who had succeeded in raising her despite so many obstacles and such great opposition. Hobson was then sent to rebuild the Spanish vessels captured by Dewey in the East. These were then incorporated into our navy.

From this mission he returned with the conviction that impaired eyesight demanded his ceasing to do the difficult detail work involved in examining plans and specifications for battleship construction. His request for retirement was refused by the Navy Department and Congress, and he sent in his resignation, which contains an offer to serve in actual war whenever the country may need him.

He threw himself into the work of preparing the American people for the adoption of what he considers a proper naval program.

During the intervening four years he has addressed audiences aggregating over a million people, in every State of the Union, on this and other questions affecting the political and moral welfare of the nation.

He spoke with a conviction born of experience and his word had power with the people. The result is that Captain Hobson stands near, if not actually at, the head of the able men of our times, who are endeavoring to cause the adoption of a progressive naval policy by the United States, altho this company includes such men as Admirals Dewey and Schley and William Randolph Hearst among Democrats, and Roosevelt, ex-Secretary of the Navy Morton, and the present Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Bonaparte, among Republicans.

When it was announced that the conference of lawmakers from fifteen nations in session at St. Louis had declared for an International Congress, Hobson was quick to see that this opened a new

way for preserving peace and establishing justice, and he immediately began to spread this practical plan for peace broadcast among the American people.

The following is a quotation from letters exchanged between Hon. Richard Bartholdt and Captain Hobson:

"August 10, 1905.

"Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Brussels, Belgium:

"MY DEAR SIR—Since January 1st I have dwelt more and more upon the importance of our work to establish a Peace Union and to evolve the governmental machinery needed for the administration of justice among the nations, and particularly by pushing to fruition the Resolution of St. Louis, calling for the founding of an International Parliament.

"It would be gratifying to you and all other lovers of peace to look upon these audiences and see how ready and eager are the American people of all sections for prosecuting the necessary work in this noble cause.

"This unmistakable evidence of the sympathetic attitude of the American people toward the great work which the Interparliamentary Union has in hand ought to be interesting and useful, in view of the resolutions you will introduce at Brussels.

"With assurances of my highest personal respect and my delight at the great work which the Interparliamentary Union is so wisely doing, for the welfare of mankind, and wishing you Godspeed, I beg to remain,

"Very sincerely yours,

"RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON."

"BRUSSELS, BELGIUM,

"September 2, 1905.

"Capt. R. P. Hobson, Greensboro, Ala.:

"DEAR SIR—I wish to thank you sincerely for sending me an extract from the resolutions you have caused the adoption of by so many great audiences. . . . This unmistakable evidence of American sentiment came at an opportune moment. We were presenting to the representa-

tives of the people, having seats in every Parliament in Europe, a resolution which called for the creation of a Permanent Parliament of Nations. The principle was accepted . . . and a committee of eminent men will agree upon the details. Please accept my grateful acknowledgment on behalf of the American delegation for your services to the cause . . . and a return of the Godspeed which you sent us, as we went into this memorable battle for peace and justice. I beg to remain,

“Very sincerely yours,

“RICHARD BARTHOLDT,

“President American Delegation Interparliamentary Union.”

This is the comment made by Frederick Passy upon Captain Hobson's addresses in all parts of the United States in favor of an International Congress as the practical plan for Peace:

“I rejoice greatly to know that an officer of the United States Navy has undertaken such a remarkable campaign in favor of Peace and for the establishment of an international organization, such as I have so long advocated. Captain Hobson has certainly given a good example to those members of the American Congress who remain indifferent to our movement for peace and who have abstained from joining the Interparliamentary Union. I shall not fail to speak of this remarkable campaign in the French press.

“But there is one thing that must not be lost sight of in Captain Hobson's proposal for an increase in America's naval strength. Nations under existing conditions must make preparation for self-defense, but under the pretext of preserving peace by armed forces a strong nation may set up to be the arbiter of the world, and may become its arbitrary oppressor.”

Hobson's position is this:

“Prevent war if you can. Prepare to win any war you can't prevent. Do right always, so you won't get into any wrong war. Do all you can to hasten the day of permanent peace. Be prepared for what may happen in the meantime.”

Hamilton Holt, Peace editor of *The Independent*,

who knows what people are doing for Peace in all parts of the world, said :

“A record of 1,000 speeches in favor of a strong navy and resolutions in 246 cities for an International Congress give Captain Hobson a place in the great movement for the world's peace, as well as in the one for American naval expansion.”

This is an extract from the resolution approved by a host of our people on motion of Captain Hobson :

In the interest of peace and justice . . .

Be it resolved by this gathering of representative citizens That general treaties of arbitration should be negotiated by the United States with all nations.

That the United States should continue to urge the convening of the second Hague Conference, and should urge the establishment of an International Parliament, and the other machinery necessary to perfect an international organization for the administration of justice among nations, as justice is now administered among the States of the American Union.

Be it further resolved, That the mayor is requested to name a Committee of Three to notify the Representative of this District, the Senators of this State, and the President of the United States of the passing of these resolutions.

“Mr. Hamilton Holt was the first Editor, Hon. Richard Bartholdt, the first Lawmaker, and Captain Hobson the first Naval Officer, in the world, to begin a determined campaign for the abolition of war by the creation of a perfect system of political machinery for the proper administration of justice among Nations.” This account of the World's Peace workers would, therefore, be incomplete without the acknowledgment of this fact.

In his recent campaign for Congress Captain

Hobson announced as one of his planks the following proposition:

“As a Member of Congress, I would stand steadfastly for just action by the United States in all its dealings with every nation, so that we may give no ground for war. I would persistently work for:

1. Treaties of arbitration.
2. A Peace League among nations.
3. International machinery, so that justice can be administered among nations as justice is administered among our States, and thus abolish the necessity of recourse to war.

Until all nations agree to these things, the United States Navy is the only instrument we have for ensuring justice in our international affairs. Therefore, I will stand for a strong navy. Justice will be done and peace preserved and these things agreed to more surely and quickly if the United States has a strong navy.”

Thus Hobson has played a part in the Peace movement, proving that Mr. Bartholdt was right when he declared there could be co-operation between the peacemakers and the advocates of national defense.

Having demonstrated this even before taking his seat in Congress, Hobson's appearance at the Inter-parliamentary Conferences may aid in uniting these several elements upon the American plan.

