

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

ON EARTH PEACE, ... NATION SHALL NOT LIFT UP SWORD AGAINST NATION, NEITHER SHALL THEY LEARN WAR ANY MORE

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UNE, 1837. }

BOSTON, JAN. and FEB., 1884.

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The Advocate of Peace.

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Editor, Howard C. Dunham.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS:

Wm. G. Hubbard, New Vienna, Ohio.

Abel Stevens, LL. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Julia Ward Howe, Boston, Mass.

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We have on our books a large list of names, as members or directors, in our old and honored Society, who have paid in full, and some, for their love of the holy cause, have paid many times over; while many others—some two hundred scattered over the land, have, by instalments, paid only in part, purposing to complete their payments. Some are doing this with commendable promptness, while others are delaying to pay. Let all such remit in part or in full, as soon as possible, to our office in Boston. There are also many in arrears for THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE who are earnestly invited to make prompt payment, and to inform us if they wish its discontinuance. We invite correspondence from all friends of peace and shall be most happy to aid you and to have your co-operation in this great cause of God and humanity.

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{ NEW SERIES.
{ VOL. XV, No. 1

AN EXHORTATION.

To the Working Classes of all Nations to Unite and Co-operate for the abolition of International War.

Brethren, workmen, sons of labor!
Come ye, make effectual stand
'Gainst the custom of dread warfare,
Earnestly join hand in hand.
Form a league, both firm and holy.
'Gainst the horrid demon, War—
Th' Christian Juggernaut, which crushes
You, the workers, 'neath its car.

Tell your rulers that the time past
Doth suffice, and more, by far,
To have wrought the monster folly
Of the savage custom, war;
Tell them that six million soldiers
Quartered on your industry
Are a load of grievous bearing,
Needless to sound policy.

Tell them workmen now see plainly
That their true real interests
Are opposed to brutal warfare,
As are, too, God's high behests;
And that prayers to the Great Father
For His help to kill one's kind,
In His nostrils are a stench, and
Shocking to the thoughtful mind.

Tell them war is anti-Christian—
Wasteful—diabolic—fell;
Has no reason—mocketh justice—
And has horrors none can tell;
That its miseries afflict those
Who are guiltless of its cause—
Inhuman, also, only fitting
Brutes which use their teeth and claws.

When disputes arise 'twixt nations,
Tell them gravely you insist
Arbitration shall adjust them,
As a plan that's always best;
That it's Christian, safe, and easy,
Just and wise, and cheap withal;
And that war bears, placed beside it,
No comparison at all.

Tell them that the human frame was
Not so wonderfully made,
To be shattered, torn, and hacked by
Cannon balls and the sword's blade;
Tell them workmen, of whom armies
Are composed, mean hence to cease
From destroying one another,
And to live as friends, in peace.

Brace your courage, then, my brethren,
For this glorious enterprise;
If war countless wealth and lives costs,
Peace deserves some sacrifice.
Forward, brethren! here's your warrant:
"Christ, the Great Light of the world,
Has pronounced peacemakers blessed,
They God's children shall be called.

—Lloyd's Weekly.

ARBITRATION CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA.

An important convention was held Nov. 27 and 28, in this city, for the promotion of international arbitration. In spite of brief notice, and some misunderstanding as to the time, a large and influential assembly was called together, and remained in session two entire days. Bishop Simpson presided, being relieved of that duty part of the time by the Hon. John Welsh. Many persons were able to come together on the platform of this convention who cannot unite with the Peace Society in its opposition to war under any circumstances, and to capital punishment. Resolutions were adopted by the convention requesting the ministers of the gospel throughout the country to urge the substitution of amicable negotiations for war, in the settlement of international difficulties, "as a step towards the universal triumph of the Prince of Peace;" requesting the editors of the land to keep the principles of arbitration before the people; urging the formation, as early as practicable, of a code of international tribunal; suggesting to the International League of Europe and America, where differences tending to war may arise between nations, to urge upon their respective governments to inquire of the governments of the differing nations the cause of the differences, for their information and for the information of the people, or, in lieu of that, that the National League be urged to make such inquiry themselves for the information of the people of their respective lands; expressing appreciation of the action of the United States Government with reference to arbitration, especially during the four successive administrations of Presidents Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur; urging upon the Government the expediency of early negotiating for a congress of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, with a view to providing for the settlement of all differences among American nations by judicial means; petitioning the Government to invite a congress for the same object with such nations of Europe and other continents as may entertain the proposal, wherever practicable, and that a committee of five be appointed by the Convention for the presentation of the project named at Washington; petitioning that a commission be appointed by the President to negotiate with

such governments as may be induced to unite therewith, in order to secure the practical adoption of international arbitration, and that Congress be requested to make an appropriation for this purpose.

The Public Ledger, of this city, remarked respecting it, "It is a movement that commends itself to the good sense of all people as well as to the enlightened humanity of our age."

"It is no new or untried thing, either in private policy, in the proceedings of law courts, or in intercourse among nations. In most instances where it has been tried in good faith, it has been successful; and wherever it has been successful, its operation has been productive of the best results—beneficent in all ways."

"No more impressive spectacle was ever presented to the world than when two such nations as Great Britain and the United States agreed to submit the war-threatening dispute over the Alabama Claims to the tribunal at Geneva. That arbitration not only elicited the admiration of the civilized world, but excited the hopes of the people of all Christian countries that the time had come when good sense, regard for the lives and fortunes of their citizens and subjects, and the claims of universal humanity, would displace war, with its privations, its devastation, its sacrifices, its unspeakable miseries and afflictions. That was more than ten years ago, but the fruition of that grand example has not yet appeared. It is the business of the Convention today to renew the impulse then given to international arbitration as a means of preventing some wars, an impulse that should never have been permitted to halt.

The convention was called by the National Arbitration League of the United States. Delegates were present at it, from peace associations in Great Britain, Geneva, and this country, from some of the Western Yearly Meetings, and some ministerial associations of different religious bodies. A letter from General Grant, excusing himself from being present, says, "My views on the subject of peace arbitration, in the settlement of international differences, instead of the sword, have not changed."

Several essays were read and discussed, and a number of resolutions adopted as to the best methods of spreading correct views on peace and arbitration among the people and governments. One of these states, "That the methods of teaching history which dwell on the details of war, rather than on the inner life of nations, foster an erroneous impression as to the relations of war to humanity, and favor a belief in the error that international disputes cannot be settled except by a resort to arms."—*Christian Statesman, Philadelphia*.

The good fruits of this Convention are already appearing. On the 12th of December, Senator Sherman introduced the following bill, which, if adopted, will place it in the power of the President to send notes to all the independent governments of North and South America inviting them to appoint delegates to a continental peace and commercial convention, to meet in Washington during the coming year. Senator Sherman is one of the country's most practical legislators; and this plan, which has seemed fanciful when suggested by others, gains an air of usefulness from the fact that it is presented by him.

By Mr. Sherman—To provide for the encouragement of closer commercial relationships, and in the interest of the perpetuation of peace between the United States and the republic of Mexico, Central and South America, and the empire of Brazil. It provides that the President be authorized and requested to invite the republics of Mexico, Central America, South America, and the empire of Brazil, to send delegates to meet in Washington on such days as he may appoint during the year 1884, to consider the best mode of establishing upon a firm and lasting basis, peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations, and to adopt such measures as may be considered most practical to promote the construction of an international railroad to connect the countries named with the United States. Fifty thousand dollars is appropriated to defray the expenses of the convention.

The friends of peace throughout the country should bestir themselves and forward petitions to Congress in support of this important bill. It looks to the consecration of this Western Hemisphere to freedom from war, and to the pursuits of peace, and consequent prosperity. Such an example could not fail to react on the Eastern World, now burdened with a militarism most crushing to the millions.

REVIEW OF 1893.

The Temple of Janus would have been virtually closed, but for the restless and wicked greed of France to conceal or compensate for her declining power by encroachments in Africa and Asia. She has pushed her brigandage into Tunis, Madagascar, South Africa, Cochin China, and up the Congo. She seems now to be pulling the whole Chinese Empire upon her head in persistent advance through Tonquin, with a view to open up the province of Yunnan to European trade. At home the feebleness of the government has been shown by the frequent changes of administration, the measures proposed for banishing the Orleans Princes, and by the hysterical panic over the bill-sticking of Jerome Bonaparte.

HOW HE CAME TO BE LOST.

Outside an eating-house, on a cold, drizzling morning in November, stood a ragged, dirty young fellow. He shivered as the raw, damp wind moaned around him, finding out every hole in his scanty clothes. Let us scan his face. Dirty it is, pale and pinched; but it tells a sad and eloquent tale to him who will read it aright. That high, broad forehead, sunken eye, finely cut nose, and thick, coarse lip and jaw, tell of intellect degraded and clouded by dissipation.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOSTON, JAN. AND FEB., 1884.



INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

More progress seems to be made abroad by the advocates of international arbitration than in this country. It is not very creditable to Englishmen that they should be outstripped by other nations in

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postponed. The work has been delayed by the short-sighted opposition of the English merchants to Mr. Gladstone's treaty with M. de Lesseps, but will doubtless be built, and be virtually an English Channel.

Chili has at last made a treaty of peace with Peru,—the lamb lying down inside of the lion.—
The Christian Intelligencer.

I know a little girl who heard some Irish workmen beginning to fight. She flew to her organ and began singing an Irish song, and the men stopped and joined in the song. It was not hard work, but it stopped a fight. Can't you sometimes sing a quarrel away?

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E ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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The good fruits of this Convention are already appearing. On the 12th of December, Senator Sherman introduced the following bill, which, if adopted, will place it in the power of the President to send notes to all the independent governments of North and South America inviting them to appoint

[Such is war as seen by an eye witness. The "better way" referred to has been found and applied in numerous cases, some of them of grave difficulty,—in international arbitration. This method, based on justice and reason, we are most happy to say, is becoming the *rule*, while war is the *exception* among civilized and Christian nations. To stop the effusion of human blood and promote harmony among the nations of the earth is the sublime work of peace societies. This good work will not must not cease, until the now jarring nations "learn war no more."—ED.]

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

More progress seems to be made abroad by the advocates of international arbitration than in this country. It is not very creditable to Englishmen that they should be outstripped by other nations in such an important matter as this, and more particularly as Great Britain was the first to set an example on a really large scale, by the Geneva arbitration. The death of Gambetta was unfortunate in many senses, and perhaps in none more than this—that his influence would have been strong on the side of referring international quarrels to the council-table instead of to the battlefield. The frightful burdens which their immense armies inflict on the various continental nations are acting as a stimulus to the adoption of international law and international jurisdiction as the direct forerunners of wider peace principles. I am not sanguine enough to expect any general European disarmament just at present, but public opinion is so rapidly tending that way that the question is already well within the range of immediate politics. The settlement of international quarrels and misunderstandings by the mere power of brute force is never satisfactory; for, whichever side is victorious, retaliation is only a matter of time and opportunity. War is as abhorrent to common sense as it is to Christianity, and the millions annually spent on large standing armies are absolute waste of the most useless kind. —*London Weekly Times.*

The *Wesleyan Christian Advocate* copies the above and appends an accordant paragraph of good length, from which we extract a few sentences:

"It would be difficult to compute in figures the saving of money that would follow upon the adoption of any tolerably satisfactory method of settling, by arbitration, international disputes. The disarmament of Europe alone would lessen the expense of those governments to the amount of almost countless millions of dollars. The very thought almost makes one's head dizzy; and yet this consummation in the near future is indicated more distinctly by the drift of thought than were some of the most prevalent ideas of to-day foreshadowed by the literature of only one hundred years ago. . . . If the King of Peace shall be allowed to reign in these governments, there will be good will among men."

The annual Peace Conference of the Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends was held at Albion, twelfth month 1883. A good meeting. The next conference will be held at Mt. Vernon, Ia. Josiah Dillon of Albion is agent of the American Peace Society for that State. A more extended notice was crowded out.

HISTORICAL BOOKS.

In the International Arbitration Convention, held in Philadelphia, Mr. James MacAlister said that the very perfection and costliness of war was a certain indication that its doom is near at hand. There is no better way in which a patriotic sentiment can be infused into the minds of our children than by education with due regard to the study of history. It is strange that a republic, which implies peace, should have given such a large place in its annals to the matter of national struggles. The general character of text-books on the subject of history deals largely with the description of battles. We find in historical literature a tendency to put to the front the warlike tendencies of men rather than the glorious achievements of peace. The wars in which our country has been engaged do not by any means make up the whole of our history. We have had moral heroes whose fame is world-wide. The whole character of our American history is one of peace. It appears that there is no study in the school-rooms that is so distasteful to the scholars. The reason of this is that in place of learning the moral and intellectual achievements of their countrymen, their whole time is occupied in learning the names and dates of great wars and minute descriptions of minor contests. We are rich in great men, eminent in all walks of life. If the history of these men was made a course of lectures, and the committing to memory of pages of less important matters be done away with, how much would be gained. Although some of our school-boys are destined some day to enjoy the privileges of citizenship, how few of the graduates of our high schools go forth into the world with an adequate idea of the principles of civil government. He said he knew of no way in which the principles of the association could be better spread than through the means of education.

A TRUE HERO.

MRS. W. H. MASON, SAN DIEGO.

My hero was a poor boy who came with his parents to Michigan over forty years ago. His father and mother were poor, but honest, intelligent people. Their ancestors were the highest in the land. With ill health and a family of twelve children, and being on a new farm which had to be cleared of heavy timber before a crop could be raised, they suffered for the most common comforts of life. Their eldest child, a son, was a bright, handsome boy. Blessed with a high ambition, a keen, blue eye, and an active body, he toiled early and late to help make a home for those dear to him. At the age of fourteen he

met with an accident which crippled his right hand. Still he toiled on, never flinching, never faltering when duty called. At the age of eighteen he saved the life of a man from a watery grave, at great peril to himself. He then began to think of getting an education. He left home without money and walked a distance of sixty miles, and entered a seminary of learning and asked for work. He paid his first tuition by sweeping the building and making the fires. He cooked his own board, which was very poor indeed. Vacations he would enter the harvest-field, and none could reap the grain faster than he. Thus he labored on until he was able to teach. While teaching, he often walked ten miles and taught a singing class, and returned the same night. At the age of twenty-eight he married and moved to a western State, where he and his wife were employed as teachers, and in the meantime he studied law by sitting up late at night and rising very early in the morning. He was admitted to the Supreme Court of that State; and then as ill health came, he concluded to go to California, and through that means they lost their home and all of their hard earnings,—not by stock speculation, but by trusting to dishonest men. My hero never drank a glass of liquor or smoked a cigar in his life. He has aided a number to get a good education, who were poor, by teaching them free of charge. He helped the widow of a poor soldier to get her bounty and pension, free of charge. He paid the expenses for the funeral of a poor widow's child. He pleaded the case of a poor man who was unable to hire a lawyer, and saved him his home; and yet this man has never had a dollar's worth of help from any one without toiling hard for it. He is now past fifty years of age; hair nearly white, face wrinkled and care-worn; with an invalid wife to care for, up at five o'clock in the morning and late at night; with but a small salary for the labor performed, no wonder that he thinks justly that life for him has been a disappointment. The incense is being gathered to pour over his coffin, and many lips will then speak his praise; but now, in the great whirl of ambitious wealth, he is forgotten. He shall yet walk in green fields and by still waters; God will find his own jewels. O God, why are you hidden away from many who could be a Garfield or a Lincoln if they were only lifted on to the first stepping-stone of a successful life? God will bless the cheerful giver.

We are sending out thousands of the good *Angel of Peace* each month. Friends, please give this inexpensive paper your patronage. "Blessed are they that sow beside all waters."

THE UNITED STATES MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Oct. 10, 1883.

"Gentlemen,—I desire to acknowledge your letter of the 15th ult., and to thank you for the copy, which you forward to me, of the verbatim report of the International Conference held at Brussels in October last, under the auspices of the International Arbitration and Peace Association of Great Britain and Ireland.

"The subject of the settlement of disputes between foreign governments by international arbitration has long been one which has attracted the attention and occupied the intellect of many of the most advanced thinkers of the world; and the publication which I have the pleasure now to acknowledge is a gratifying proof that this humane design is still receiving the consideration of many of the most distinguished minds of Europe and America.

"I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

FREDK. T. FRELINGHUYSEN,

"To Messrs. Hodgson Pratt, chairman of committee; William Phillips, honorary secretary; Aubrey B. L. St. John, treasurer, and Lewis Appleton, secretary of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, 38 Parliament Street, London, England."

NATIONAL ARBITRATION.

The Executive Committee on Arbitration, of the Friends' Philanthropic Union, prepared and presented a Memorial to President Arthur, 17th of twelfth month, 1883, encouraging him to use his influence to avert the impending war between France and China, and to advance national arbitration when opportunity offers.

We felt it right to commend his former official utterances favoring the peaceable mode of settling national differences, and were gratified to know that our suggestions were recognized.

Secretary F. J. Phillips expressed to me that the policy of the President is, not to offer mediation without being requested by belligerent parties. But as I came home I saw a notice that Minister Tseng, of China, was very desirous that some friendly power who was entitled to, would ask of France and China to make such concessions as neither was willing to make to the other. To which the President's attention was drawn by letter, and we received answer that he referred it to the Secretary of State for his information.

DARLINGTON HOOPES,
Chairman of above Com. on Arbitration.

THE STAR OF EMPIRE.

When the star of empire bundles up its skirts and hurries on the course we indicate, its fiery tail will scorch the primeval forests of Oregon and Washington Territory, and those rich regions will be filled with industry. The victories of peace will put money in the pockets of Russian Nihilists; and American Dynamiters will help them in more profitable pastimes than plotting to murder monarchs,—in leveling mountains and making crooked places straight. The French may find amusement in their very old-fashioned raids against Madagascar and Tonquin. We shall find profit in the invasion of Russia and Corea and China. Our troops will, like theirs, be headed by drummers; but the brass of the French snare-drum will be beaten, and the brass of our drummers never can be beaten. Its spontaneous brilliance will carry our forces to lightsome victory, while miasma and lurking foes will harass the martial sons of Gaul. Prosperity will mark our tracks from Petropaulovski to the Kremlin, and grass and grain will grow again under the American plough where Cossack horses trod, disproving the time-worn proverb. The peaceful methods of the founder of Pennsylvania, and the American unsealers of long-secluded Japan, will again prove that the pen is mightier than the sword; and, in the solidarity of nations, resulting from the great American Industrial Invasion of Trans-Pacific States, war may hide its savage eyes in tattered, gory robes, and, aged, unregretted, out of fashion, retire to hades in disgrace.—*Exporter.*

LUCRETIA MOTT'S BIRTHDAY.

The Pennsylvania Peace Society celebrated the anniversary of the ninety-first birthday of Lucretia Mott last night in the Jewish Synagogue of Rodef Shalom, at Broad and Mount Vernon streets. According to the system of the society, of holding the celebration in different places each year, the unique spectacle was presented of an association, composed mostly of Christians, assembled in a Hebrew house of worship. Addresses commemorative of the life of Lucretia Mott and of her services in securing peace among nations were delivered by Alfred H. Love, Rev. Charles G. Ames, Rabbi Jastrow, E. T. Coates, Mrs. Sarah T. Rogers, M. D., Rabbi S. Morais, Bishop Campbell, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Georgia, and Richard P. Westbrook.

WHAT A RUMSELLER CONTRIBUTES TO SOCIETY.

Every individual in society is expected to contribute something to its advancement and interest. We remember to have read, years ago, of a company of tradesmen who had united themselves together in a mutual benefit society, and each one had to relate what he could contribute to its support. First the blacksmith came forward and said:

"Gentlemen, I wish to become a member of your association."

"Well, what can you do?"

"Oh, I can iron your carriages, shoe your horses, and make all kinds of implements."

"Very well, come in, Mr. Blacksmith."

The mason applied for admission to the society.

"And what can you do, sir?"

"I can build your barns and houses, stables and bridges."

"Very well, come in; we cannot do without you."

Along came the shoemaker, and says, "I wish to become a member of your society."

"Well, what can you do?"

"I can make boots and shoes for you."

"Come in, Mr. Shoemaker, we must have you."

In turn, all different trades and professions applied, till lastly, an individual came in who wanted to become a member.

"And what are you?"

"I am a rumseller."

"A rumseller! And what can you do?"

"I can build jails and prisons and poor-houses."

"And is that all?"

"No, I can fill them; I can fill your jails with criminals, your prisons with convicts, and your poor-houses with paupers."

"And what else can you do?"

"I can bring the gray hairs of the aged to the grave with sorrow. I can break the heart of the wife, and blast the prospects of the friends of talent, and fill the land with more than the plagues of Egypt."

"Is that all you can do?"

"Is that not enough?" cried the rumseller in astonishment.

Mr. JOHN BRIGHT is responsible for the statement, that the drinking habits of the people of Saxony have changed so much for the better that, whereas it used to be a common thing in Germany to say of a drunken man that he was "as drunk as a Saxon," now the proverb runs, "as sober as a Saxon."

DISARMAMENT OF EUROPE.

For the members of the Universal Peace Society that was very cheerful news that came over the cable the other day to the effect that the governments of Germany and Austria are seriously considering the propriety of disbanding their immense standing armies. Aside from the encouragement to the philanthropic dreamers of the near approach of the time when wars shall cease, it would afford great relief to the toiling millions of Europe if the armies of soldiers that prey on their substance were disbanded and restored to the industrial pursuits of life.

If the armies of Europe are disbanded, the work will begin and end with the people, and not with the governments that are over them. The movement for disarmaments may begin with the armies themselves. While standing armies are the familiar agents of despotism, instances are not wanting in which they have been on the side of the people. In Spain, for example, more than one government has been overthrown by the army acting in sympathy with the popular demands. The great virtue of an army is unthinking obedience; but when it begins to think, in such governments as Russia, Germany and Austria, it will become as formidable as it is now necessary to absolute power. There is not a government on the Continent of Europe, including that of France, that its army could not overturn in a day's notice. When disbandment of armies begins in Europe, it will be by more or less violent upheaval from below, not by voluntary action from above.—*Statesman*.

A good story is told in a late issue of the *New York Tribune*. A feeble old lady, poorly clad, got into a street-car and let a nickel drop, which she had just received from the conductor in change. The piece fell between the gratings on the floor, and after a short search was given up as lost, the old lady being too feeble to make the extra exertion necessary to recover it. As she settled back in her seat with a sigh of regret, a gentleman opposite stooped down, and, affecting to pick up the coin, reached over and placed something in her lap. He then pulled the bell and stepped out. As the lady discovered the presence of a gold coin left by the stranger, a gentleman sitting near whispered to her the name of the donor. He is one of the best-known philanthropists in New York, and the member of a family noted for its countless good deeds.

INDIANS IN SCHOOL.

Captain Pratt, head of the Indian school at Carlisle, Penn., in which the children of chiefs of almost all the tribes are being educated, lately told the following story of his method of dealing with them:

Four or five Navajoes were brought to the school, some of them young men of eighteen. The day after they arrived they were placed in classes and taken to the shops where the Indian boys are taught trades. But the Navajoes haughtily refused to learn or to work. The aristocratic spirit was strong in them, and there is no aristocrat so confident of his impregnable position as an Indian. The teachers came with their complaints to Captain Pratt.

"They are stubborn and we cannot punish them. What shall we do?"

"Nothing. Let them alone. Let them eat and sleep and be as idle as they choose."

At first this treatment appeared to agree excellently with them. They loafed about the buildings, or lay in the sun, terribly homesick for their own woods. At last they began to take note of the stir and cheerful life in the busy hive about them, and wistfully watched their comrades at work. On the first of the month the boys came up in line to be paid their wages for the work they had done.

"What is that? Why do they have money?" eagerly inquired the Navajoes.

"They are paid for work," was the reply.

The idea was a new one; these men had never in their lives had the opportunity of earning money, or of seeing men earn it. It worked like heaven in their minds. For several days they were quiet and thoughtful. Then one after another they came and asked for a place in the shops and in classes.

"The Indian," says Captain Pratt, "is taught to think he is degraded by work. I would teach him that work is respectable."

It is difficult for any man to learn a lesson which is never taught to him by precept or example. The Indian on a reservation is as secluded as in a prison. He lives upon rations which he feels are his due, being given him usually in payment for immense bodies of land which he has sold to the government. He is never brought in contact with the great busy market of the world. He has no share in its industries or its wages; he has no protection under its laws. It is a fact that the Santee Sioux, the Omahas, Poncas, Cherokees, and every other tribe to whom the chance has fairly been given, have eagerly accepted civilization. They have farms, school-houses, and churches. They have learned not only that work is respectable, but that there is nothing more respectable or happier than the man, be he white, black, or red, who does good work in the world and is well paid for it. If every white boy and girl who reads this learns the same truth and acts on it, the effect upon the next generation would be a beneficent and marked one.



Vol. XIV.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY, 1884.

No. 2

A SONG OF HOPE.

Oh, what should we do in the winter
If a little bird did not sing,
Deep in the heart, low in the heart,—
"After the winter comes spring"?

Oh, what should we do in the darkness
If a little bird did not say,
Soft in the heart, sweet in the heart,—
"After the darkness comes day"?

Oh, what should we do in the tempest,
If the little bird should cease
Singing deep in the heart, low in the heart,—
"After the storm comes peace"?

THE ADVANTAGE OF THOROUGHNESS.

Twenty-nine years ago, when David Maydole was a roadside blacksmith at Norwich, New York, six carpenters came to the village from the next county to work upon a new church, one of whom, having left his hammer behind, came to the blacksmith's to get one made, there being none in the village store.

"Make me a good one," said the carpenter—"as good a one as you know how."

"But," said the young blacksmith, who had already considered hammers, and had arrived at some notion of what a hammer ought to be, and had a proper contempt for cheapness in all its forms, "perhaps you don't want to pay for as good a hammer as I can make."

"Yes, I do; I want a good hammer."

And so David Maydole made a good hammer, that perfectly satisfied the carpenter. The next day the man's five companions came, each of them wanting just such a hammer, and when they were done, the employer came and ordered two more. Next the storekeeper of the village ordered two dozen, which were bought by a New York tool-merchant, who left standing orders for as many such hammers as David Maydole could make. And from that day to this he has gone on making hammers, until now he has 115 men at work. He has never pushed, he has never borrowed, he has never tried to compete with others in price, because other men have done so. His only care has been to make a perfect hammer, to make as many such as people wanted and no more, and to sell them at a fair price.

Every-day heroism consists in being brave in little things. For instance, in not crying when hurt or scratched; in being patient when sick; in going without candy, toys, or new clothes; in stopping to put things in their right places; in studying with all one's might; in looking out for others' pleasure; in being glad that others have a better time than you have; in being willing to be useful in little bits of ways, and not waiting for great opportunities; and in minding all the little pricks of conscience.

Send for specimen numbers of the ANGEL OF PEACE. No better or cheaper paper can be introduced into Sunday schools. Back numbers at the rate of fifty cents per hundred.

Peace Department.

LOVING WORDS.

Loving words will cost but little,
 Journeying up the hill of life;
 But they make the weak and weary
 Stronger, braver for the strife.
 Do you count them only trifles?
 What to earth are sun and rain?
 Never was a kind word wasted,
 Never was one said in vain.
 When the cares of life are many,
 And its burdens heavy grow
 For the ones who walk beside you,
 If you love them tell them so.
 What you count of little value
 Has an almost magic power,
 And beneath their cheering sunshine
 Hearts will blossom like a flower.

PEACEFUL WORDS.

The things which show what our thoughts and feelings are, are called words. You cannot tell what I think, or how I feel, till I begin to speak. If you see a building which has its doors and windows all closed, you cannot tell what is in that building. But, if the windows are open, you can *look* in; or if the door is open, you can *go* in; and then you know what is in the building. Our hearts are like such a building. The thoughts and feelings of our hearts are the things in this building. But our words are the only windows or doors by which any one can tell what is in our hearts. And if there are peaceful thoughts and feelings in our hearts, we must use peaceful words to let it be known that they are there. Kind, loving, gentle words have much to do with spreading "peace on earth." Let us look at some illustrations of the way in which this may be done.

One day, in suddenly turning the corner of a street, a young lady ran, with great force, against a little ragged boy, and almost knocked him down. Stopping as soon as she could, she turned, and said very kindly to the boy: "I beg your pardon, my little fellow; I am sorry that I ran against you."

The poor boy was astonished. He looked at her for a moment with surprise; and then taking off about three-quarters of a cap, he bowed very low, and said, while a broad smile spread itself all over his face: "You can hev my parding, and welcome, Miss; and the next time you may run agin me, and knock me clean down, an' I won't say a word." After the lady had passed on, he turned to his companion, and said: "I say, Jim, it's the first time I ever had any one ask my parding, and it kind o' took me off my feet." That poor boy could never forget those gentle, loving, peaceful words.

Lily was a bright girl, about thirteen years old. One day she was playing that she was a milliner. She had made a nice lot of bonnets out of leaves, with tiny flowers stuck in them; she had arranged to have a bonnet shop, under the fine old maple tree in their garden. To help her in hanging up her bonnets she had taken a box of fish-hooks belonging to her brother Rob. She ought not to have taken them without his leave; but she forgot this, in her eagerness to get her shop all fixed. When this was done, she was busy handling her goods and presenting them to customers, that she pretended were coming in to look at them.

"This," she said, taking down a calla-leaf, trimmed with rose-buds and ribbon-grass, "this is perfectly beautiful; and so very cheap! Why, its only——"

Just then she was startled by hearing a step. She turned, and there was her brother Rob at her side.

"Lily," he said, "I can't find my fish-hooks. Have you taken them?"

Lily did not speak a word; but her looks told the story. And on looking about, Rob saw his hooks all around. This made him angry.

"There, you've gone and bent and spoiled them, when you had no right to touch them. I'll tear all your bonnets up," he said, stamping with his foot.

This threat excited Lily very much. Her face grew red. Her eyes flashed, and she began to cry.

"You are a——." But suddenly she stopped. She remembered the verse she had read in her Bible that morning. It was this: "A soft answer turneth away wrath; but grievous words stir up anger."

In a moment her anger passed away, and in a gentle, loving voice she said: "Dear Rob, I know I had no right to take your fish-hooks. I did it without thinking. But I'm very sorry. Won't you forgive me, Rob?"

And then there was a change in Rob, too. The frown passed away from his brow. His sister's loving words had touched his heart, and, with tears in his eyes, he said:

"You are a dear, good girl, Lily. I ought to be ashamed to get angry about such a little thing. But I'm sorry; and I hope you'll forgive me."

When she told her mother about it, at the close of the day, she said: "I am so glad that God helped me to remember that verse; and I'll pray for grace that I may always give soft answers; then I shall be helping to make peace on earth."

Please renew your subscription for the ANGEL OF PEACE promptly. This excellent paper needs, and is worthy of, a much larger patronage. Let 1884 be its golden year.

Illustrated Department.



THE WOODCUTTER'S DAUGHTER.

Greta's father was a woodcutter in the forest of Germany; the great Black Forest that reaches for miles and miles. It was her duty every day to carry her father's dinner to him. Her home was upon the edge of the forest, and in summer time Greta dearly loved to follow the path. And she never had any difficulty in finding the way in the winter time. Father had always had his warm dinner until one piercing cold day, just after a heavy snow storm; when she suddenly found herself bewildered and could not tell which way to go.

She was driven on, until she found herself upon the mountain top, for the Black Forest is but mountain range, one hundred miles long and from eighteen to thirty miles in breadth, the slope of which is woody, but the summit is bare and with but little vegetation.

Greta wandered on until she was so exhausted that she could go no further. She felt so sleepy and was so benumbed by the cold, that she prayed to God to take care of her, and laid down upon a bundle of fagots. She remembered nothing more until she found herself in her own little bed with father and mother sitting beside her.

When her father reached home and found that Greta had not returned, he gathered his neighbors together, and taking his faithful St. Bernard dog with him, started out to seek for the lost one. It was a weary search, which would have been much longer had it not been for the keen scent of the dog who first found her buried in the snow. They feared at first that she was dead, but after a long time, she revived and fell into a sound slumber, from which she did not awaken for many hours.

Greta firmly believes that God took care of her in answer to her prayer, and who shall dare say that He did not?

Do you pray to Him, my reader, not only in time of trouble, but at all other times?

THE LITTLE BENEFACTRESS.

It was a very cold winter, and the birds found it hard picking. Little Minna every morning swept up the crumbs which were left on the table, and saved them for the birds. Twice a day she went out in the yard and scattered the crumbs about. The birds flew down and picked them up.

Her father and mother were glad to see how kind little Minna was to the hungry birds.

"Why do you do that?" they asked one day.

"Everything is covered with snow and ice," said Minna, "so that the little things can pick up nothing, and they are hungry and helpless; so I feed them as rich people help the poor."

"But you cannot care for all the birds," said her father.

"But," answered Minna, "all other children can certainly do as I do, and so all the birds will be supplied."

Then the father and mother kissed their child and said, "You are our good little Minna; be always kind to all people, and animals too." — *Translated from the German by Lucy Wheelock.*

DID BOB THINK?

Bob was an old horse on my great grandfather's farm. He was a very clever horse; but it is not so much for his cleverness as for one thoughtful thing which he did, that his name has been handed down to us who live so long after him, and who never saw him.

He was very fond of children; the boys who lived near used to have many a pleasant game with Bob on sunny afternoons when he was grazing in the fields or by the roadside. Sometimes they chased Bob, and sometimes he chased them; and it was a funny sight to see the old horse running after a troop of boys uttering a peculiar whinny, which said as plain as words could say it, "Isn't this real fun, boys?"

One day Bob was coming slowly through the one long street of the village, dragging a loaded cart behind him. There, right in the middle of the street, a little child was sprawling in the dust. No one noticed it until Bob and the cart were close upon it. Was the child to be trodden beneath the horse's feet, or crushed beneath the broad wheel of the cart? No; just as the mother rushed out of a doorway with a shriek, Bob stooped down, seized the child's clothing with his teeth, and laid the little one on the foot-path out of harm's way. It was done tenderly, quietly, and it was over in a moment. Then the wise horse went on as if he had done nothing surprising.

Do you wonder that we keep Bob's memory green? And isn't his thoughtfulness a lesson for the little boys and girls whose common excuse for carelessness which injures others is, "I didn't think"? Bob thought; and his thinking saved a child's life.

Temperance Department

THE TWO GIANTS.

A Dialogue for Four Girls: Annie, Grace, Florence and Lucy.

BY A. W. O.

Annie—Come round, girls, and I'll tell you a little story.

Grace—Yes, but let it be a nice one.

Florence—All about little fairies, you know, Annie.

Lucy—I'd rather have a nice one all about giants.

Annie—Well, as you are the youngest, I think I ought to oblige you; so I'll tell you a story about two giants who were terribly tall and terribly powerful.

Lucy (*claps her hands*)—Oh! thank you; that's the sort!

Annie—Well, once upon a time there dwelt in a far-off land two giants, who were called Crystal and Swilltub.

Grace—Why, what very funny names those are, to be sure.

Annie—They used to employ their time in various ways. Crystal used to call at every house and give them some good advice. A good many followed it, and a good many more didn't. He would tell all the little boys that it was healthy to drink nothing but water, and upon this they would grow to be sober, steady men, obedient to their parents, and affectionate to everybody. Then he possessed the power of making a drunken man sober, and of creating out of this human wreck a noble and a beautiful being.

Florence—What a nice giant he must have been! I am sure I should have loved him!

Annie—He never harmed anybody. Though he was so big and so powerful, he was alike kind to all and only wished to do good to his fellow creatures, one and all.

Lucy—And was he ever so big?

Annie—So big that nobody could measure him, Lucy! Well, the other giant, Swilltub, used to go about to do as much injury as he could; he delighted in it. He has made murderers and thieves out of decent, honest people. He used to get hold of all the people he could and put them in jails, work-houses and lunatic asylums. He was never tired of doing these naughty, wicked deeds. He has separated mother and daughter, father and son, sister and brother.

Lucy—Oh! the wicked wretch. Why don't the magistrates catch hold of him, then, and put him to death?

Annie—On the contrary, my dear, they give him a license to commit all the wickedness he likes.

Florence—Then why don't the government take the magistrates to task about that giant's wickedness, I should like to know?

Annie—You may well ask that! Perhaps they will some of these days. At present they let the magistrates and the giant do just as they like.

Grace—Well, ain't it a great shame, Annie?

Annie—I think so; so do many thousands of people.

Lucy—What else does this wicked giant do, Annie?

Annie—He jumps down people's throats, and gets into their brains, so that they don't know what they're doing! He kills thousands of people every year; and he has brought ruin to many a home where peace and happiness formerly reigned.

Florence—I should like to kill him, that I should!

Annie—So would a good many of us, Florry; and we are endeavoring to do it every day. We shall catch him napping some of these days, and then we shall kill him.

Grace—And where does he live?

Annie—Everywhere; for the giant Swilltub is Alcohol, and Alcohol has done all I have told you of, and a great deal more. He is always at work making mischief; he is Satan's right-hand man!

Florence—He won't touch me, for I have signed the pledge!

Grace—So have I!

Lucy—And me!

Annie—Then our friend Crystal, the other giant, has been in your company. His other name is Temperance; and he it is who is trying to do all the good he can—to stop the other giant's progress, and to get rid of Alcohol altogether.

A YOUTH KILLER.

The cigarette is such. It is made generally of refuse tobacco, rolled in a prepared paper. The paper is injurious, if not poisonous; and the smoke, of a large quantity of it, would produce dangerous, if not fatal, illness.

The paper is filled with tobacco made from the odds and ends of the cigar manufacturers, the stumps of cigars picked up on the street, and fished out of the sewers, old quids, and the dried leaves with which cigars are more or less compounded.

The other day we saw a very dirty, ragged old man, with hat half full of the stumps of cigars and half-chewed quids of tobacco, which he had picked up in the halls, bar-rooms, and on the sidewalks, and out of the gutters. In reply to our question, what he intended doing with these loathsome things, 'Sell 'em, sir. They make cigarettes of them things.' These cigarettes are sold at very low prices, and are bought mostly by boys.

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A BEAUTIFUL WOMAN.

THEODORE L. CUYLER.

ohn Randolph, of Roanoke, said that "the greatest wonder to him in London, beyond even the Tower and Westminster Abbey, was to hear Elizabeth Fry preach to the depraved women in Newgate prison. Oh, it was a sight worthy the attention of angels!"

It was that extraordinary work which has made the name of Elizabeth Fry immortal. In undertaking it, she was a pioneer; no lady had ever ventured in among the horrible crowd of three hundred ragged, swearing, drunken thieves and prostitutes who made the female wards of "Newgate" a living hell. The beautiful Quakeress was about thirty-three years of age, and the mother of several children, when the idea first aroused in her loving heart to go and "preach to the spirits in prison." It was a hazardous undertaking. The governor of the prison told her to leave her watch behind her, and everything else that could be stolen. Taking her friend, Anna Buxton, with her, she entered the loathsome room—clothed on with purity. Holding up her Bible, she told them that she had come to read it to them, and to do them good. Her saintly countenance charmed them, instantly; and they flocked around her, and listened as quietly as lambs. She dropped her handkerchief and some other articles, but they were picked up by the prisoners at once and handed to her. That day's work wrought the victory, and pioneered a movement of gospel love which soon spread into other jails and penitentiaries, and which has altered the whole character of female prisons to this day.

Those who wish to read the wonderful story of Newgate, and its transformation of fiends into Christians, should procure the new "Life and Labors of Elizabeth Fry," by Edward Ryder, of Brewster, Putnam Co., N. Y. It has given me a new inspiration. As I followed the career of this beautiful creature,—taming the wild beasts of the jail, teaching the gospel of Jesus to kings and to lords and ladies, organizing societies of prison reform, distributing Bibles and tracts by the thousands, and living out the beauty of holiness, I said to myself: Well, many women have done virtuously, but this Quakeress excelleth them all.

ELIZABETH FRY.

FROM THE JOURNAL.

We have received from our friend, Edward Ryder, of Brewster, N. Y., a copy of the volume which he has compiled on the life and labors of the distinguished philanthropist, Elizabeth Fry.

A very handsome engraving of Elizabeth Fry is prefixed to the volume, and the following text from the 26th chapter of Matthew is aptly chosen for the motto on the title-page. "Verily, I say unto you whosoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this which this woman hath done be told for a memorial of her."

We learn from Edward Ryder that the first edition of this volume has already been sold privately. A writer says of E. Ryder: "He sends it forth, not to make money, but to do good, as may be seen from the price of the book, which is to all appearance of print, binding, etc., one that would sell readily at two dollars and a-half, but is offered by this benevolent writer and publisher at the low price of a dollar."

This sum also covers postage; and, on receipt of the same, it will be forwarded by Edward Ryder, Brewster, Putnam County, N. Y.

TO OUR KIND PATRONS.

It has been a source of sincere regret to us that, from financial considerations, THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE has appeared less frequently than in former years. Only four numbers a year have been issued the past three years. We have endeavored to fill its columns with interesting and important matters pertaining to peace and kindred reforms. We are happy to be able to say that, under better auspices, the ADVOCATE will be issued once in two months for the present, and we hope at no distant time will go forth each month, as it did years ago. Our friends have been patient while we have done the best we could. We desire your co-operation, and invoke upon our noble cause the divine blessing. D.

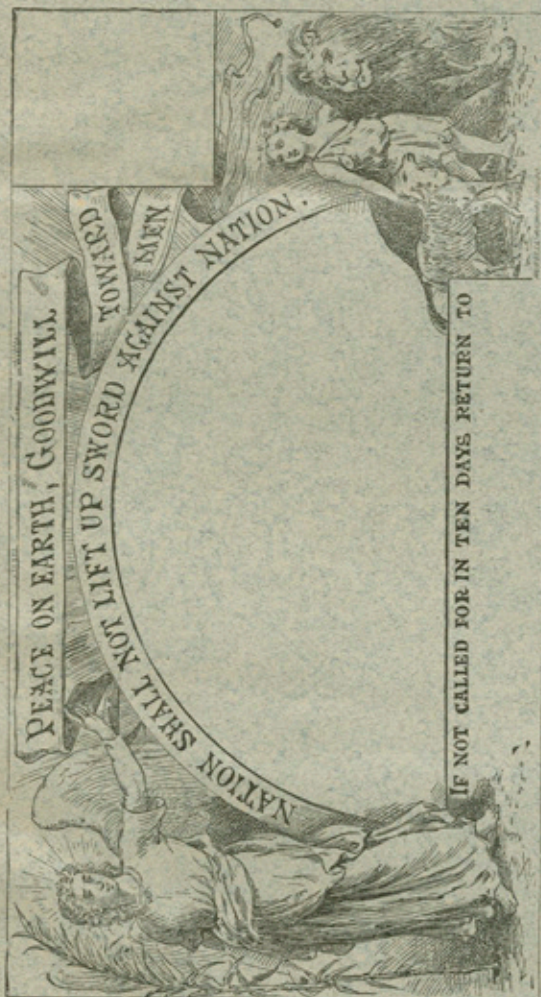
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Address American Peace Society, Boston, sent by mail 25 for 15 cents, 100 for 50 cents, 250 for \$1.00, 1000 for \$3.00. Use them.

We present above a specimen of a pictorial envelope, which we are sure will be regarded as beautiful and expressive. The Society has four kinds of envelopes, three pictorial and one containing brief paragraphs in relation to war and the object of Peace Societies. They are not only envelopes, but peace tracts in miniature, and their use will promote the Cause perhaps a hundred or a thousand miles away. The price of these envelopes has been reduced to 15 cents a package, 50 cents a hundred, \$1.00 for two hundred and fifty, and \$3.00 per thousand. We are selling thousands every week, and those who buy them are sending these messages of Peace all over the Continent.

THE MESSENGER OF PEACE.

is published monthly by the Secretary of the "Peace Association of Friends in America." It is filled with facts and arguments to prove that war is unchristian, inhuman and unnecessary. That if men and women of intelligence were as anxious to find a remedy as they are to find an apology for war, this self-imposed scourge of our race would soon be banished from the civilized world. It advocates the brotherhood of mankind, and that we cannot injure another without injuring ourselves. Terms, 50 cents per annum, in advance, or 5 copies sent to one address for \$2. Free to ministers of the Gospel of all denominations who will read it and recommend it to their congregations. Also, a well-selected stock of peace publications, both for adults and children.

Address,
DANIEL HILL,
New Vienna, Clinton County, Ohio.

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

Article I. This Society shall be designated the "American Peace Society."

Art. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

Art. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

Art. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars, and every donor of five dollars, shall be a member of this Society.

Art. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time, shall constitute any person a life-member, and fifty dollars, a life-director.

Art. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

Art. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

Art. VIII. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, Directors, Secretaries, Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of not less than five, with power to fill their own vacancies, and to transact the general business of the Society. The Board of Directors shall consist of not less than twenty, who shall have power to supply vacancies in any office are chosen. The Vice-Presidents shall be ex-officio Directors, and the President, Secretaries and Treasurer ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

Art. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

Art. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present, at any regular meeting.

RESOLVES EXPLANATORY OF THE SECOND ARTICLE:

First. That we do not think it necessary or expedient to make any verbal alteration in said article.

Second. That we consider it as designed to assert that all national wars are inconsistent with Christianity, including those supposed or alleged to be defensive.

Third. That the article has no reference to the right of private or individual self-defence, to a denial of which the Society is not committed.

Fourth. That the article does not require a pledge, expressed or implied, on any of the points in dispute among the friends of peace, but is merely declarative of its general object and course.

Fifth. That we invite the co-operation of all persons who seriously desire the extinction of war, whether they agree with the principle of the article as thus explained, or not.

Notice.

We call special attention at this time to the *Angel of Peace*. This excellent paper is issued in the interests of peace and temperance. Will our friends order this paper largely on the low terms we make for it?

THE PARIS PEACE CONGRESS.

THE MARITIME CONGRESS. THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN NATIONS. THE CREED OF BROTHERHOOD. THE EXHIBITION AND PEACE CONGRESS OF 1892.

RESPONSE OF AMERICA TO THE WORLD'S DEMAND FOR LEADERSHIP.

ADDRESSES BY

HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, CHAIRMAN,

REV. ROWLAND B. HOWARD,

REV. A. A. MINER, D. D.,

MR. FRANCIS B. GILMAN,

DELEGATES RETURNED FROM PARIS.

At Columbus Avenue Church, Boston,
October 6, 1889.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
NO. 1 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON.
1889.

TO A PEACE CONGRESS.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

O faithful few,
Who dare to hold God's word and witness true,
Whose clear-eyed faith transcends our evil time,
And o'er the present wilderness of crime
Sees the calm future, with its robes of green,
Its fleece-flecked mountains, and soft streams between,
Still keep the path which duty bids ye tread,
Though worldly wisdom shake the cautious head;
No truth from Heaven descends upon our sphere,
Without the greeting of the sceptic's sneer;
Denied and mocked at till its blessings fall,
Common as dew and sunshine, over all.

Through the mad discord send that calming word
Which wind and wave on wild Genesareth heard,
Lift in Christ's name his Cross against the Sword!
Not vain the vision which the prophet saw,
Skirting with green the fiery waste of war,
Through the hot sand gleam, looming soft and calm
On the sky's rim, the fountain-shading palm.
Still lives for earth, which friends so long have trod,
The great hope resting on the truth of God,—
Evil shall cease and violence pass away,
And the tired world breathe free through a long Sabbath day.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS.

"For the sake of the perishing realms
Which dire passion overwhelms;
For the sake of their outraged laws,
And of Liberty's holy cause,
Send us, oh! send us Peace!
Let all guilty carnage cease.
Oh, stay the avenging rod—
Peace! Peace! O Lord, our God!"

THE beautiful and spacious audience-room of the Boston Columbus-avenue (Universalist) Church, of which Rev. Dr. Miner is pastor, was well filled by an attentive audience, drawn from all religious denominations, Oct. 6, 1889.

The special occasion was to listen to the reports of the delegates of the American Peace Society on their return from the World's Peace Congress at Paris.

After a choice and inspiring choir service, the Scripture was read. It consisted of the familiar but always uplifting passage, Isaiah ii., 1-5. Attention was called to the fact that the prophet Micah (fourth chapter) repeated the same glorious promise, using almost the same words, as

if the Holy Spirit would emphasize by the mouth of two prophets the coming reign of Peace. "*Let us walk in the light of the Lord*" fitly introduced the words of the Lord Jesus Christ (Matt. v., 38-48) on the love of enemies. "*Be ye perfect as I am perfect*" is a command so difficult to obey that to pray for divine help seems the only thing to do. The pastor, Dr. Miner, then led the congregation in an earnest prayer, that God would give the promised blessings of Peace in our time. The Secretary read the following note from the President, Hon. Edward S. Tobey, whose absence was universally regretted.

BOSTON, Oct. 4, 1889.

REV. R. B. HOWARD, Secretary:

Rev. and dear Sir:—I most sincerely regret that the condition of my health will preclude me from being present at the meeting of the American Peace Society, to be held on Sunday evening next at the church of the Rev. Dr. Miner, to hear the reports of the delegates to the International Peace Congress held in Paris in June last.

The subject of International Arbitration as a preventive of war, is now receiving the favorable consideration of our nation, and is no longer regarded as utopian by the ablest statesmen. It is a significant and encouraging fact that at the "International Conference of American Nations," convened in Washington in response to the invitation of the President of the United States as authorized by a law of Congress, the consideration of the question of International Arbitration will hold a place of no secondary importance.

Very respectfully yours,

EDWARD S. TOBEY,

President American Peace Society.

Hon. Robert Treat Paine, one of the vice-presidents of the American Peace Society, took the chair, and with great earnestness delivered the following address.

ADDRESS OF HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

Peace be to all the world! We meet to-night in the interest of Peace. Now that slavery has passed away from our fair land, and its horrors are almost limited to the dark interior of Africa, what other great cause remains to arouse the interest of the whole world and of all nations of the earth, which surpasses in importance the cause of Peace? This is no vain dream! Nor are we wasting time and strength in gathering here to-night to counsel wisely and resolve bravely to help this cause forward.

In the swift march of time, the day has come when the powers that work for Peace are growing strong, and only need to take open counsel together to grow stronger. Courage, wisdom and faith are all on our side. If the friends of International Peace are brave, wise and full of faith, we can advance the cause by a great stride.

PARIS UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

Who has not heard and read this year of the great World's Fair in Paris, with its 169 Congresses in as many departments of thought? Which of them all, on the whole, surpasses in interest the Universal Peace Con-

gress opened in the Palace of the Trocadero, June 23d, of this year? The Congress was attended by delegates from the nations of Europe and America, men and women of influence and distinction in their respective countries, and bringing weight to its counsels.

The United States were represented by wise and able men, who went as delegates of our honored and influential American Peace Society, which has its central office in Boston, and has for over sixty years exerted its influence in behalf of Peace, the oldest Peace Society in America, and the oldest *national* Peace Society in the world.

It is my grateful duty to welcome home again you, our delegates to the Congress, who have done strenuous work in the cause abroad;—and whose interesting reports we are gathered here to-night to hear. Profoundly grateful must your task have been to carry the potent influence of our continental country, where, in genuine sincerity, everything now makes for peace, into a congress gathered at Paris, where though Peace has countless able and strong friends, war throughout Europe is yet the daily dread of all, and the study of the great leaders in courts and camps, and the enforced occupation of millions of subjects.

No easy task is it for us blessed with the enjoyment of peace, now that the last embers of war are smouldering away, now that the abolition of slavery has removed forever the last and only cause of internal war among us, no easy task for us to imagine the condition of European nations, staggering under the crushing burden of great

standing armies, which draft yearly the best young blood into their ranks, and which impose a weight of taxation under which the fate of the masses of the people is cruel and hopeless.

So marvellous and so rapid has been the growth of this our great country, in population and wealth and power and influence, that we do not yet appreciate our commanding position before the eyes of the world.

We in middle life, who still recall the not infrequent sneers, or slurs, or contemptuous sympathy of foreigners for our youth and poverty not half a century ago, are perhaps now, even more frequently surprised at expressions of men like Gladstone, full of friendly recognition of the transcendent growth and power of the United States as a leading nation of the world. Not yet have I recovered from my thrill of surprise when you, sir [addressing the Secretary], described to me the other day how the delegates you met at Paris, showed that they looked to this country as the one which should take the lead in the example and championship of Peace.

God grant that the whole influence of our great and beloved country may be exerted on the side of right, and upon this subject which fills our hearts this evening, may be powerfully exerted in favor of Peace. May our *example* also be found always to back up our influence. Inconceivable indeed is it that for a few fish or seals we can be embroiled in war with a race of our own blood and kin.

Oh, that the press which wields so wide an influence

for good or ill, might rise to the height of their opportunity and beware of inflaming easily excited passions of war over such trivial causes of offence.

We meet then, first of all, to rejoice that the cause of Universal Peace is gaining strength and friends throughout the world.

What better evidence of it than to see a Congress of its friends meet in large numbers and full of hope, in a city like Paris, which more than any other city of the modern world may be thought to have found delight in war. Paris, the seat of empire of the two Napoleons. Paris, which less than a century ago gave its devoted admiration to the first Napoleon, whose selfish ambition had raised him to the topmost pinnacle of glory in war in the history of the world, if it be glory to have sent anguish into more households by the butcheries of his battles than any other destroyer of mankind. Paris, which hounded on the third Napoleon to avenge an imaginary insult to his ambassador by a war so disastrous that at last at Sedan he lost himself, his throne and his army, and more than all, he lost for France the honor and self-respect which it had taken ten centuries to achieve. Yet Paris gave warm welcome to a Peace Congress, and so the world moves bravely on.

Now, my friends, the turn comes to America to help the cause of peace. Cordial invitation to this meeting has been extended to the delegates of the Pan-American Congress, now fortunately in Boston, in their journey, amid the hospitable welcomes which will be cordially extended to them all over the United States.

Great, indeed, is the opportunity offered to this Western Hemisphere of the world by this Congress of delegates from twenty-six American countries. Let wise and far-seeing statesmen knit all these countries here and now represented into closer commercial relations, out of which common interests may grow and closer ties and warmer friendships.

But above all let Christian statesmen tie these countries so firmly in the bonds of peace that war may be if possible, nay, I will not say if possible, for surely it is possible, that war may be forever banished from all the Americas.

TRY ARBITRATION FIRST.

Or, if this hope be deemed too sanguine, this great step forward at least should be firmly made. The agreement should be solemnly entered into by one and all of the nations, that no matter what the controversy, war shall never be declared till arbitration shall first have been tried.

Gladly would I have been a listener, if one of the most honored Vice-Presidents of our American Peace Society, Robert C. Winthrop, had been able to preside in my stead. For who of our living American statesmen did earlier service to the cause of arbitration as a substitute for war than Mr. Winthrop, who, in 1845 when the Oregon question threatened to embroil us with England, offered in the House of Representatives the resolve, "That it is due to the principles of civilization and Christianity that a resort to arbitration should be had and that this government

cannot relieve itself from all responsibility which may follow the failure to settle the controversy while this resort is still untried."

Here we come squarely upon the living issue which Christian common sense only needs to fully understand in order to settle forever upon earth.

Arbitration before war. Arbitration as a substitute for war. Peace by Arbitration.

No weak, vain dream! No need to wait for Christian perfection, or a remote millennium. Anglo-Saxon common sense only needs to squarely face the truth that the world is ready to take this forward step whenever public officials are convinced that the people wish it.

PRIVATE WAR ABANDONED.

Barbarous customs have long been abandoned here in private affairs. How long shall we let them rule in public affairs? Horrible, indeed, would be the revolution in life, if here in Boston to-morrow the principle of peaceable arbitration were abandoned for the ancient practices of war.

The contract to build this church no doubt contained the usual provision for arbitration in case of disagreement. So do almost all important contracts. Failing such agreement to arbitrate, the law provides peaceable remedies, so well known that we cannot easily conceive of life going on, as it once did, upon the effete and brutal principles of private war.

The single supreme exception no doubt exists. Self-

defence may admit of no delay and compel to instant action. Such seemed our emergency in our late war. Self-defence permitted no other course than defence by war. The cause of slavery made a deadly attack which war alone could meet and slavery perished in its assault;—the last enemy to our internal peace, let us believe, in our land for all time.

Why should not our country make a brief treaty with every other country binding both to submit any controversy to *arbitration, before going to war?* Why should not every right-minded citizen urge upon our own Government to take this course? We confidently count upon the *public press*, as well as the platform and the pulpit, to assist in this as in all other great reforms?

Remember that in recent years arbitration has been resorted to with complete success in scores of cases between great countries of the world, preserving peace and saving them from war. Our own Alabama arbitration with England is a recent and striking illustration.

This then is the aim before us:

1. To become conscious ourselves of the vast power this country may exert now and hereafter in the affairs of the world, in favor of peace.

2. To arouse our Government to the immediate duty of incorporating a provision for arbitration into a treaty with every other land.

3. To exert all our influence in favor of a simultaneous reduction of the great armaments of armies and navies in the military countries.

Surely no one can weigh four great events taking place in these years without waking up to conviction that the cause of International Peace gains strength.

1. The Peace Congress of this year in Paris.
2. The Pan-American Conference now meeting in the United States.
3. The International Marine Conference, soon to be held in Washington, the objects of which are purely humanitarian. Invitations have been sent to the important maritime powers, and most of them have been accepted.
4. The World's Peace Congress to be held in this country in 1892 as part of the proposed exhibition.

Two great causes commend the attention of all good people in the world :

First, to improve the condition of the masses of the people in comfort, culture and character. This is a private, internal, domestic struggle within the borders of each country for itself.

Second, to establish Peace between the nations of the earth, by recognized agreements to arbitrate before war. This is the greatest international reform which the world can make.

May the whole power and influence of this country be exerted now and always in behalf of Arbitration and Peace.

At the close of his address the President introduced Rev. Rowland B. Howard as "one of our delegates to the World's Peace Congress."

ADDRESS OF REV. ROWLAND B. HOWARD.

Ladies and Gentlemen :

The impulse that made me a secretary of the American Peace Society, and made the conservation of peace my life-work, and which sent me across the sea to the World's Peace Congress at Paris, and has placed me upon this platform to-night, was received at the battlefield of Gettysburg, one of the most bloody and confessedly the best commemorated battlefields of our civil war, or, perhaps, of any war. Military musters and parades were the delight of my boyhood. I was stirred with enthusiasm for every question involved in the great civil conflict. Arguments for war seemed conclusive. But the parade and the argument for fighting is one thing ; the battle quite another.

" I tell you to see the man at your side
Sink down as you hear that sickening thud—
To look in his face and see the blood
Slow oozing from lips that have lost their pride ;
I tell you to see his brimming eyes swim,
I tell you to see him clutch at the mould,
And grasp at the grass as if to hold
The earth from passing away from him—"

that, as Joaquin Miller truly and graphically depicts it, is not parade ; that is war. It is only a hint of what poets have so often attempted to describe, and what the soldier sees and feels. This puts a new meaning into the old proverb : "*Dulce est pro patria mori.*" One does not feel to honor self-sacrifice less, but to ask if there is not a more excellent way of dying for a good cause.

We must not stop to describe or moralize upon the steamship that takes us to Paris, but Prof. Bryce, in his work entitled "The American Commonwealth," which every intelligent man should read, says: "Not only because England has become more democratized, and not only because the nations of this world are drawn nearer together by their popular institutions, but the very existence of the steamer" (which in a brief period will probably be more swiftly propelled by electricity) "has introduced mankind to each other," and, he might have added, made more possible such gatherings as that at Paris to-day than in any previous period of time. That great Exposition to which the government of France gave thirty millions of francs, and for which it abundantly provided in thousands of ways, had no characteristic more vital or more influential than its 169 congresses, representing the intellect, the inquiry, the conviction and the special investigations of the world. Among these the general Peace Congress occupied the front rank. When we met on the 23d of June in that spacious hall of the beautiful building which introduced us to that vast Exposition, still in progress, I was impressed, as I am to-night, that we were at a great centre of moral influence. I think that you, Mr. Chairman, were not mistaken in urging that the consideration of international laws, and the principles by which obstacles to fraternity can be removed and concord established; by which the nations of this world shall stand together as men united, not only in interest, and may I not

say in affection, so that the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man shall be more widely recognized, are objects worthy any man, however gifted, and any occasion, however grand.

Well, we went up the stairs and looked upon a lovely scene. There were over a hundred Peace Societies of the various nations of the world represented. Three men were on the platform, one its president, M. Frederick Passy, a member of the French Institute, honored throughout his own country for learning and eloquence and philanthropy,—a man of influence in the French parliament; and two older men, who had spent their lives laboring for the cause of peace, M. Lemonier, editor, orator and publicist, and M. Franck, a Jew in extraction and conviction, who, at fourscore, delivered a vigorous address. There were men of different languages, men of all sorts of religious belief, and of no avowed religious belief, who met together in the common love and service of humanity, all sharing the one belief that in the settlement of international difficulties men had killed each other long enough. There were also representative women—authors and editors of various books and periodicals; ladies from our own country representing the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia; English men and women to the number of fifty from various parts of Great Britain. On the platform was one man from South America. I wish that representative of the South American States were here to-night, that you could contrast his elegant dress and the decorations that almost covered his breast with William R. Cremer of the British Parliament, a workingman, in

clothes becoming the workingman—clean and neat, of course, but without decoration. The swiftness and volubility with which our French, Italian and Spanish friends spoke their mother tongues led me to appreciate as never before the weight of that penalty the Bible declares to have fallen on the ambitious world at the Tower of Babel. Well, we heard admirable addresses, on which I must not dwell; we introduced ourselves to each other; we organized the Congress for future work; we continued four days in session; we were met under the patronage of the French government; we were also the guests, in one sense, of the city of Paris; we assembled after the first session in one of the municipal halls. In the forenoon we sat as “commissioners” (or committees) at separate tables, taking into consideration the questions of arbitration, how it should be applied to difficulties between States; how it is possible that disarmament may become mutual, gradual and effective; considering the neutralization of States, so that the strong may protect the weak if neutrality is not observed; the laws among civilized nations of the world which have grown up in accordance with the necessity and experience of each, many of which are in direct conflict with those of other nations. It is necessary, if you would remove the causes of war, not only to provide some remedy for the trouble after it has arisen, but to harmonize, if possible, these laws pertaining to both the land and the sea which conflict with each other. [The Maritime Congress which has met at Washington is for the purpose of recommending such regulations for ocean traffic as the na-

tions will agree upon.] Such were some of the topics considered. The morning sessions were the more private, the afternoon sessions, public. Conversation was carried on and addresses made in various languages. They were usually translated into English or French. Reports were made for the London, Milan and Paris press, but such is the expense of telegraphing that hardly any reports reached this country until the delegates returned.

The Congress of 1889 did not contain, perhaps, so many distinguished men as that which met at Brussels in 1850, when Victor Hugo was president, Richard Cobden, vice-president, and the honored Dr. Chapin electrified the whole audience of three thousand with those inspiring and eloquent utterances which those who listened to them have never forgotten. Let us remember that these congresses have been held occasionally for forty years, and they are, therefore, no longer a novelty. Those who attend are not by that fact made conspicuous. You stated a truth, Mr. President, when you said, on another occasion, that the general mass of men in our age and time have so risen that there are fewer in our day than formerly who are noted as great leaders—philosophers, poets, statesmen, or even soldiers. But this Congress was great in this: it marked an era; “marked time;” voiced the convictions of the educated young men of our generation. The education and the training of the young men and the young women of all civilized nations tends in this direction. It seeks to substitute law for force, puts love in place of hate, incorporates that idea into constitutions, teaches it in universities and schools, as well as preaches

forty years before at Paris when
Victor Hugo was
President, or that at
Frankfort

and
a
municipal
hall

free
country

Frankfort

it from the pulpits of every land. It is something, then, when the time has come and the clock of the ages strikes, to stand, however obscurely, as some of us must stand, and simply record changes of public opinion and the onward march of events. Our sentiments were expressed in addresses and incorporated in resolutions, which were discussed and passed, and sent forth to inform and influence the world.

AN ENTIRELY NEW MOVEMENT.

At the close of our session of four days, the day after we adjourned—on Saturday afternoon—a new movement commenced, the first in the history of the world, and one which, in my judgment, belongs most especially to our time, and marks a decided advance—a Convention of Members of Parliaments of various nations at the Continental Hotel, composed of thirty Englishmen, twenty-five Frenchmen, ten Italians, and men of other nations, selected by their fellow-men as representatives to national congresses or parliaments. They came together for the purpose of consulting with each other, and agreeing upon such legislation as might be commended to their respective governments, which would serve to substitute arbitration, or some method which is the product of reason and common sense, in place of the old brutality and wickedness of war. That Convention was a success. It continued for two days, and adjourned to meet in London on the 30th of July, 1890, for the expense of which meeting it is proposed to raise £10,000. It is hoped that our own country will be more fully represented in 1890. There was but one active representative of our

National Congress at this Parliamentary Conference in Paris.

You should have heard an intelligent working Englishman speak at this Conference. He said: "The eyes of the world are upon America. We look to her for leadership." I thought of those words of Professor Bryce: "It is the conviction of some of the most intelligent men of the world that the path which America is taking is the path which the world is to follow." Removed from the complications which exist between older nations, not cursed by great standing armies, nor taxed to impoverishment and almost pauperism, as are Italy and other nations of Europe; a free country, with popular institutions and universal suffrage, the United States of America to-day ought to lead the world in every real reform, but for no leadership is she more providentially fitted than that in the paths of Peace.

In accordance with the thousands of petitions which have gone up to our Congress, a law has been proposed, and a "concurrent resolution" having passed the Senate, now awaits final adoption, inviting the President of the United States to ask Great Britain and France to enter upon permanent treaties of arbitration with this country.

Do the people of this country desire this? Sixty cases of arbitration, many of which have prevented threatened war, since 1816! Shall arbitral policy become permanent? Shall it be a part of the constitution of every civilized country? Shall it be taught in universities? Shall it enter specifically into the church creeds, as the spirit of it does into Christianity?

BLAINE'S NEW AMERICAN CREED.

By the way, I noticed a "creed" the other day, and I wonder if you agree in it. I don't know what kind of a creed you have in this church—perhaps none. This might be called the New American Creed, and was put forth in the address of the President of the International Conference of American Nations, Hon. James G. Blaine, Secretary of the United States:

I. "We believe that we should be drawn together more closely by the highways of the sea, and that at no distant day the railway systems of the North and South will meet upon the isthmus and connect by land routes the political and commercial capitals of all America.

II. "We believe that hearty co-operation, based on hearty confidence, will save all American States from the burdens and evils which have long and cruelly afflicted the older nations of the world.

III. "We believe that a spirit of justice, of common and equal interest between the American States, will leave no room for an artificial balance of power like unto that which has led to wars abroad and drenched Europe in blood.

IV. "We believe that friendship, avowed with candor and maintained with good faith, will remove from American States the necessity of guarding boundary lines between themselves with fortifications and military force.

V. "We believe that standing armies, beyond those which are needful for public order and the safety of internal administration, should be unknown on both American continents.

VI. "We believe that friendship and not force, the spirit of just law, and not the violence of the mob, should be the recognized rule of administration between American nations and in American nations."

THE VOICE OF COMMERCE.

I was very glad that the merchants of Boston, by one of their representative bodies, this very last week, made a request to the above-named conference just in this line. Referring especially to Article VII. of the call under which they are convened, and which is as follows:

"Seventh.—An agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented." The following are the significant words of these intelligent men of commerce:

"No intercourse, whether of business or diplomacy, can be satisfactory or permanent unless held with a desire for the mutual benefit of all those engaged therein. But differences are inevitable. It is therefore only common wisdom to provide means for settling difficulties and for procuring that continuity of harmonious relationship, without which the conditions of friendship are as unstable as when guided by the momentary caprices of the savage. We believe that peace and the welfare of all nations can be advanced in no more effectual way than by the establishment of a tribunal for the adjustment, through

arbitration, of every difference that may exist between the several States of the American continent."

This was sent as a Memorial by the Merchants' Association of this city to the International Conference of American States, visiting in Boston to-night, and soon to resume its sessions at Washington.

Now, if by some decree of Providence, and by the manifested wish of great masses of his fellow-citizens, the President of that Conference stands to-day representing America—representing you and me—and avows such sentiments as those quoted as "The New American Creed;" if the merchants of Boston and our other great cities, or those who fairly represent them, have such convictions as are expressed in the above memorial, why should not the United States take the place which the suffrages of the world assign us, and assume the leadership of this reform? When America abolished slavery the *world* became free; when America abolishes the sale of rum the world will be temperate; when America frowned upon duelling it became extinct, except in a few sporadic cases among the fiery people of the South; when America shall decree no longer to seek justice by great armies and navies, but by courts of arbitration, international tribunals, neutralization and arbitral treaties, the world will follow it in the paths of peace.

THE GREATNESS OF IDEAS.

The Congress which we report to-night was greater in its idea than in all the men who composed it! You cannot approach such an idea as this without the feeling that God conceived it, and is behind it, and

will propagate it until the beautiful prophecy of Isaiah is fulfilled, and "*the light of the Lord*"—Jesus Christ (Isaiah ii., 5)—leads us into the time, so near at hand, when "*the nations shall learn war no more.*"

I meant to dwell further upon certain matters which interested us when we were abroad,—two peace conferences in the city of London, and some weeks spent by us in various travels and in consultations with public men. I would like to take you as we went on the fourth of July out to the grave of Lafayette, in an obscure corner of Paris, where his grandson Edmond, a member of the French Senate, standing on his grandfather's grave, spoke to us assembled Americans of the friendship of France for America. The principal thing of common interest before France and our country to-day is whether we will have such a treaty as will provide for the settlement by arbitration of any difficulties which may arise between the two leading republics of the world.

A NEW DISCOVERY.

A question which is agitating many Americans to-day is, "Shall we have an exhibition which will represent the wealth and prosperity, the commerce and manufactures, the political character and the educational progress of our United States and the world in the year 1892?" Ah, brethren, let us move forward to that time, if God spare our lives, and let us make a discovery brighter and far richer in its promise than that which Christopher Columbus made after his toilsome voyage over the western seas. Let us find and establish a method of settling international disputes and securing peace more in accordance with

common sense, common reason and common justice than the old method of fighting and killing. It was the custom of what may be called the age of persecution to burn its ideas into men, torture them until they were forced to acknowledge a thing true which they did not believe. Faith in physical force as the supreme force of the world, dominating human thought and conviction and enslaving human souls, have been dethroned. Let us establish in its place something better between nations as well as individuals; something more in accordance with the spirit of our time, as evinced in the peace congresses of former years and this of 1889.

The American Peace Society has asked the New York Committee on the Exhibition of 1892, of which Hon. Chauncey Depew is chairman, to inaugurate, in connection with the Government of the United States, such a movement on the American continent; to cordially invite together for consultation the representative men of the world, the men of thought and of conviction; statesmen and philanthropists, who believe in the principles that have here been enunciated. Eighteen hundred and ninety-two will be a most opportune season for the first Peace Congress ever held in the Western Hemisphere. Let us give a hearty welcome to these men who visit us for the first time, and together with them inaugurate and ever after perpetuate on these newer shores a more excellent way of settling international difficulties than by an appeal to arms. Such an act is worthy of our nation, our times, our civilization, our religion! It is inspired by a love as large as humanity and deep as the purposes of God.

ADDRESS OF REV. A. A. MINER, D. D.

After the account so eloquently presented to you of the gathering of distinguished men from the various nations of the world, concerning which I believe there was very little to be regretted beyond the absence of Russia, Austria and Germany in the council,—you will naturally inquire how the French people received the members of this Congress. Outside of various personal hospitalities extended by the French members of the Congress to individuals from other countries, particularly from our own, there were public receptions given, at which also very many distinguished ladies and gentlemen, and ladies and gentlemen of fashion, were congregated. Such was the reception given by the Minister of Public Works and his lady, Monsieur and Madame Yves Guyot. Later the President of the Republic, Monsieur Carnot, welcomed the Congress, as also the Parliamentary Congress which held its sessions two days later; and there was manifested in every way the most profound interest in the gathering of the men who had come to study this great problem.

What was it that was deeply moving the minds, the hearts, the philanthropy, the humanity, of these representative men from all the leading nations of the world? It was the burden under which these various nations groan. What is the condition of things with them? The United States are bearing to-day a debt, about one-quarter of what it was originally, of \$1,500,000,000; but that is a bagatelle compared to what is borne by other nations. Great Britain has a war debt of \$3,800,000,000. With a

population about half as large as ours, her debt is two and a half times larger; and measured by the population it is five times larger than ours. France has a debt, her Extraordinary Budget included, of \$6,000,000,000, not of francs, but dollars; eight times, measured by her population, larger than our own. These vast sums represent what? They represent the blood shed on many and many a battlefield; they represent sorrow-stricken homes, wasted energies, tax upon tax upon the toiling millions of those nations. Are these things to go on forever? Every element of Christianity and common sense cries out against it; every element of humanity and statesmanship and national welfare cries out against it. But how are these woes to be terminated? By the rigid demand that this whole business shall cease. Consider a moment. To-day the armaments of the Old World are immense. Why do they not disarm? The nations are afraid of each other; and our own Congress is moving into line with them—moving to build navies to take care of the seals up in Behring Straits. It is preposterous that a nation of sixty-five millions of people, shut off from any nation that dares attack us, if there were any such, by three thousand miles of ocean, should go on making preparations for war, wasting money that is needed for so many nobler purposes, following in the pathway of older nations! As was said on the floor of this Peace Congress, "Nobody thinks of attacking the United States. Why should the United States make preparations to attack anybody? There is danger in every war-ship you construct." I am safe without a weapon; but let it be known that I carry a

revolver, and every man that I meet is imagining that I am on the eve of shooting him, and so I should be shot myself. Take your newspapers and read the crimes of those who carry private weapons. Murder and death come of it.

The same thing happens to the nations. They hold each other in servitude by their vast standing armies. These nations do not seem to know that if one of them should decrease its armament others would be encouraged to do the same thing. Men do not like the slaying of their fellow men; it is not a matter of fun with them. Great leaders, kings, emperors, warriors, look forward to the glory which will come to them from successful conflict; but those men are few; and if their own nations would speak out distinctly and loudly against this mode of settling difficulties, such barbarism would cease and we should no longer prepare to make war on each other. I have been told that since 1816 more than sixty cases of international controversy have been settled by arbitration. In more than half of those cases the United States was a party; in nearly one-third of them Great Britain was a party. At the termination of our Rebellion we promptly disbanded our army. Had we no quarrel? Yes, a magnificent quarrel with Great Britain for the Alabama criminality. Did we rely on our armies to settle that matter? Not for a moment; we sent home our armies, every soldier to his wife and children, to his sweetheart and parents. What then did we do? We just said to Great Britain, "You must pay that bill!"—and she paid it. What if

trouble arises in Behring Strait! Send word to the responsible parties, "Pay that bill!" and they will pay it.

It was well said in the foreign Peace Congress that this country is circumstanced more favorably to lead the way in this reform than any other. Under other circumstances, considering our youth, to claim to lead in such a revolution of methods might seem presumptuous; but we have the advantage in numbers and natural wealth. The older nations have no such treasures, no such resources, no such hillsides and valleys unoccupied. How they look upon our country is seen in the hundreds of thousands annually flocking to our shores. I hope the time will come when this torrent will cease; when in great disinterestedness, great Christian statesmanship, the nation will arouse herself, cease to overload her political stomach, and put an end to those enterprises that are corrupting mankind and lowering the tone of our social and national life. We make politics a sham. Our pretensions of humanity should lead us to blush. If we would assimilate to ourselves the millions coming from the Old World we must maintain a higher standard of individual and public morality. Doing this we may defy the world. No, not defy the world, but go on about our business, discharging our duty, being just to everybody, keeping faith with every nation with whom we make a treaty, even with the Indian tribes,—a degree of patriotic integrity to which we have not yet attained.

It is character that can save us, and if we have not character nothing under heaven can save us. By the same laws of God that plough deep under any foundations

we may lay, without character we go to the wall. I do not know the meaning of Divine Providence in pouring in upon us such hordes of paupers and criminals from the Old World; but I do know that if there is any salvation for us it will be found in righting up; standing on our feet like honest men; and when we make a law, in the name of God and humanity, executing that law. What a mighty revolution there must be before this can be said of us!

Your attention has been properly called to the opportunities you have enjoyed to further this great subject of arbitration.

It is a very simple thing. Since there have been so many cases successfully settled in this manner, you may say, isn't the matter doing well enough? There is a little fact for us to consider that has not been stated. Since 1816 there have been sixty successful settlements of controversies by arbitration; yet from 1852 to 1877, the London *Economist* tells us, the expenses of wars carried on by the leading nations of Christendom, including the Franco-German war and our late civil strife, amount to \$12,500,000,000; and this at the very moment the halo of successful arbitration is surrounding the heads of the nations. What is the ground of this besottedness? Why can we not get out of the ruts of war, and act upon the principles of ordinary humanity? Nothing is wanting but right thinking; that the people of the United States, with one voice, shall send up their demands to Congress to put us in line to settle difficulties without the sword. Command it and it will be done! It is just possible our Con-

gressmen have not the courage to do it without your command. It will be easy when Congress so minds, or the nation so minds, to make a treaty with France; when all the American States shall have concurred to make treaties each with all; and then with Switzerland, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and so on, one country following another, until the leading nations of the earth shall be bound together by treaty bonds, agreeing to submit any controversy that may arise, diplomacy having failed, to arbitration directly, and let the arbitrators settle the difficulty. Then observe, when some progress has been made in this line, how easy it will be to select a statesman from each country to compose a body which shall constitute a High Court of Nations, before whom any difficulty not settled at home shall be carried, and under whose decision, as with the decisions of our Supreme Court, the matter shall be put at rest. Don't say that justice will not be done. Who is able to guarantee that the sword will give justice in any case? Always we may count on better justice, in fuller measure, from such a tribunal than the sword, as a rule, can give, where the decision is by the greater number of men or by the longer purse. Here it will be by reason and justice. The other may gratify unrighteous ambition if powerfully sustained; the latter gratifies the sense of humanity and the obligations of men towards their fellow men. I don't need to add anything touching the outlook from the employment of such means. You will feel assured that the best men of all lands wish these measures abundant success.

ADDRESS OF MR. FRANCIS B. GILMAN.

I shall say but a word. I am not a public speaker, and I do not desire to occupy many minutes; but as a spectator and listener at the Peace Congress, I wish to testify that the delegates from the American Peace Society—those who took public part in it—upheld the high character of the Society, as you may well believe from what you have heard to-night. I hope it is not out of place to say to this congregation that I esteem greatly the honor and pleasure I had in being, for a time, a fellow-traveller and sojourner with the Rev. Dr. Miner. I also want to say what the others did not say, that when the meetings of the Congress were called—the first one on Sunday afternoon—there was no attempt at asking the Divine blessing on the proceedings of the Congress; and I think no prayer was heard in the Congress during its session. This was not because your delegates did not feel the necessity of doing so, and did not long for the privilege of doing it, but they were guided by what was courteous to the French brethren of the committee. But it gives me pleasure to state that on the morning of that Sunday, before the Congress opened, an earnest, full, warm-hearted prayer-meeting was held in the room occupied by the Quakers in Paris. There were there Friends eminent for wealth and learning from England, and Congregation-
alists, Episcopalians, and many others of different forms of worship united in earnest prayer for the blessing of God upon the Congress. Every morning the same per-

sons met in an anteroom of the Congress and held a prayer-meeting.

Now, it may seem to many that the meeting of a few people at such a time, in the midst of the excitement and the crowd in Paris this year, was almost an idle effort, and it is useless to attempt to endeavor to influence the great governments of Europe in the matter of Peace, while preparation for war is their chief occupation, if not their amusement. In one sense it was absurd, but most of the delegates founded their hope of exerting the influence they aim to have in this matter upon the fact that Christ Jesus our Lord had said that Peace should reign on earth, that men should bow before Him, and to accomplish anything in this direction we should work in His name, and that we should not fail if we grounded our work and belief, as our Society has always done, on that beautiful, assured and everlasting promise of God.

I am sure it is not uninteresting to you to know that so far as our delegates and other delegates were concerned, public acknowledgment of their dependence upon God was had before every meeting of the Congress.

An offering was made for the work of the American Peace Society. Another hymn was spiritedly sung. The President uttered a few earnest and graceful words of thanks to the speakers and also to the congregation for the free use of their noble church edifice. The meeting closed with the Benediction.

PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF PEACE.

THE UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESSES
AT PARIS, LONDON, ROME AND CHICAGO.

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR 1889-90.

BY REV. R. B. HOWARD, SECRETARY.

HON. EDWARD S. TOBEY, PRESIDENT.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

JOHN G. WHITTIER,

HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE,

REV. DAVID GREGG, D.D.,

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

F. M. PATTEN, TREASURER.

D. C. HEATH, AUDITOR.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
NO. 1 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON.
1890.

ANNUAL REPORT.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY:

IN MEMORIAM.

We have been called to part with an unusual number of our associates during the past year. Among these were Rev. Theodore Dwight Woolsey, LL. D., Ex-President of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.; Rev. G. W. Thompson of Stratham, N. H.; Francis B. Gilman of Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. D. D. Tappan, Topsfield, Mass.; George H. Stuart of Philadelphia and John B. Crenshaw of Richmond, Va. Among our faithful co-laborers, who have died, are also Sarah B. Hallock of Connecticut, Nancy E. Brooks of Massachusetts and Mary Whicher of New Hampshire. All of these had come to a ripe old age, except Mr. Gilman, an active member of the Executive Committee, the efficient auditor of our accounts and our delegate to the Universal Peace Congress at Paris. Benjamin F. Knowles of Providence, R. I., an honored member of the Society of Friends, a faithful and wise member of the Executive Committee, almost never absent from his post, manifesting a constant and controlling devotion to the cause of Peace, died Sunday, May 18, 1890. This is not the place for extended eulogy; but it is due to each and all of our departed fellow-laborers that we here record our appreciation of

their characters and work and express our sense of bereavement and loss.

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

The last annual meeting was held the first instead of the last week of May, in order that it might be attended by those of our number designated as delegates to the Universal Peace Congress in Paris, a portion of whom sailed from Boston May 11, 1889. After various journeys and meetings in the interest of our work in Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England, our delegation met in Paris for the Congress June 23-28. It consisted of Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., Mr. Francis B. Gilman, Rev. R. B. Howard and Mr. Edward Cummings of Massachusetts, Hon. J. B. Chamberlain of Colorado and Dr. R. H. Thomas, M. D., of Maryland. At the religious meetings which were adjuncts to the Congress and at the morning sessions of the various committees as well as the general sessions of the Congress, your delegates actively participated. Our constitution, organization and a brief history of our Society were translated into French and handed not only to the members of the Congress but distributed freely in the great Exposition. Dr. Miner prepared and presented a paper entitled "*A Step towards Disarmament*," in both the English and French language. The Secretary also contributed a paper on "*The New Sympathy of Nations*," in both French and English versions. He also made an address, which was repeated on the spot in the French language by M. Eschenauer of Paris, a leading member of the Congress. The delegates participated from time to time

in the general discussions and in the farewell exercises. They attended by invitation of M. Carnot, President of the French Republic, and M. Guyot, the Minister of Public Works, receptions given at their palaces; also one tendered by the American Minister, Hon. Whitelaw Reid and one on the Fourth of July by the city of Paris at the Isle of Swans, and subsequently at the Hotel de Ville. A formal visit to the grave of Lafayette led to an interesting conversation on the subject of a French-American treaty of Arbitration with Edmond Lafayette, member of the Senate of France and grandson of the early friend of the United States.

We cannot resist the conclusion that the visit of this delegation to Paris during the great Exposition and its participation in the work of the Congress and its adjuncts, was directly promotive of international concord not only with France but with the entire civilized world as there represented. The official doings of the Congress itself were fully published in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and need not be recounted in this report. The Paris Congress was followed by interesting meetings with the friends of Peace in Great Britain, and, after the return of the delegation to America, a large and representative meeting in Boston addressed by the delegates, of which a full report has been published in pamphlet by the Society. The expense of representation at the Paris Congress was borne either by the individual delegates or by a special contribution of the friends of Peace made for that purpose. Such was the success of the Paris Congress that provision was made for another to meet in London,

July 14-19 of the present year, at which it is proposed to take measures to hold a similar meeting at Rome in 1891 and in the United States in 1892-3. We recommend that the American Peace Society send a delegation to the London Peace Congress and empower it to invite a similar gathering in our country in connection with the Columbian Exhibition to be held in Chicago.

THE LEADERSHIP OF AMERICA.

Nothing impressed your representatives more seriously than the sentiment which they frequently heard from representatives of various European countries that it is the duty of the Great Republic of the West not only to keep abreast with the world's endeavor to abolish war, but to lead the nations in the better way of Universal Peace.

It seems to us an answer to this often expressed wish and hope that in accordance with the petitions of thousands of our countrymen, many of them sent to Congress at the solicitation of this Society, our Government invited a conference of delegates of the independent nations of America at Washington. They responded and have spent the past winter deliberating on the common interests of the Western Continent and, towards the close of the session, adopting and publishing a well digested plan of general arbitration, with the avowed purpose of preventing future wars, in harmony with a memorial sent them by this Society.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The official President of that Conference, Hon. James G. Blaine, who is the United States Secretary of State

and the representative of our Government in its foreign policy, gave utterance to sentiments in his farewell address as noble in their aspirations as any which have emanated from the able and eloquent men who for over sixty years have spoken upon the platform of the American Peace Society: "*If, in this closing hour, the conference had but one deed to celebrate, we should dare call the world's attention to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of two great continents to peace, and to the prosperity which has peace for its foundation. We hold up this new Magna Charta, which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American Republics, as the first and great fruit of the International American Conference.*" Nor has utterance stood alone. Action has been taken. The representatives of nine nations of this continent had on the first day of May signed the Arbitration Scheme.

ACTION OF CONGRESS.

Nor is this all that encourages our hearts. A concurrent resolution, originating with peace loving people of America and the British Peace Deputation of 1887, led by W. R. Cremer, M. P., has been unanimously passed by both Houses of Congress. It is as follows:

"To invite International Arbitration as to differences between Nations.

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President be, and is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any Government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between

the two Governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration, and be peaceably adjusted by such means."

his resolution makes a most important suggestion and imposes upon the President a grave responsibility. It announces the moral attitude of our National Congress and expresses the wise conviction of the best citizens of the Republic. It seeks to extend to "*any government*" the principles that have been adopted by the International Conference as applicable to *American* nations.

ANNUAL PROGRESS.

Other incidents of this most remarkable year bearing on our work, and may we not justly claim as in some degree the fruit of previous years of labor, put forth by this and similar societies, are:

1—A protracted maritime Conference at Washington, the outcome of which points to more harmonious laws for the government of ships and commerce upon the high seas.

2—Several cases of successful international arbitration and not one failure. Among these may be mentioned one by the Chickasaw Indian nation and the settlement by the nations involved of the Samoa difficulty.

3—Treaties or parliamentary action in favor of Arbitration by Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Spain and Italy, and a declaration of Chinese opinion and policy in the same line by Li Hung Chung the celebrated *Viceroy of China*.

4—A so called labor conference at Berlin which was the

occasion of remarkable protestations of peaceful intentions by the German Emperor, who invited Jules Simon, one of the French labor delegates and the President of the Parliamentary Peace Congress in Paris July 29-30, to his table and amicably conferred with him on the peace of Europe, saying to him according to report, in answer to some suggestion of the neutralization of Alsace-Lorraine: "Nothing can be regarded as premature which serves to promote peace between France and Germany." On the same occasion the Pope wrote the Emperor in favor of disarmament and pronounced enormous military preparations unchristian.

ARMAMENT OR DISARMAMENT.

But Germany and France and all other nations go on arming. Our own country is, in spite of our position, our conferences and our recent official utterance, urged to do the same. The malignant spirit of war breathes in the speech of the aged Von Moltke at Berlin pleading for more troops, more guns, more conscription, more debt, more oppression in the name of peace! The inaugural of the German prime minister, Caprivi, successor of Bismarck to the Reichstag, announces the German policy in eastern Africa to be "Bible and Bullets." The next day Henry M. Stanley in London gave in his adhesion to the German policy and berates England for paying attention to Peace Societies! England may deserve criticism for her treatment of uncivilized people among whom she has established colonies, but she has never been obsequious or obedient to Peace Societies.

The American Peace Society has one and but one plank in its platform of principles. It is that war is not in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel. The combination of "Bible and bullets" in Africa seems to us inconsistent with that principle. The sufficiency of the Gospel, in its teachings, its spirit, and its methods to abolish the slave-trade and effect other social reforms, without an appeal to the sword, is our cherished belief. Put Christian principle into law, give it the force of public opinion and public conscience. Try it, even as it never has been tried, and Christian civilization will become more than a name.

FINANCIAL.

The Treasurer's report will show the financial transactions of the past year and the present state of the treasury. While there was a small balance in the treasury at the close of the year April 30, 1890, the printers' bills of the present month will much more than absorb it and no provision whatever has been made for current expenses, including about two hundred and fifty dollars required to send an official delegate to the London Congress. No legacies have been received during the year.

Owing to the extraordinary expenses made necessary by repairs on real estate and the shifting of leases, all of which it is hoped will add to its resources in the future, the net income of the Permanent Peace Fund was somewhat reduced.. We have received from that source \$2992.20 and from donations and publications, including balance on hand at the beginning of the year,

\$1873.70, making our entire resources \$4865.90, of which there has been expended on our work at home and abroad \$4772, leaving a balance of \$93.90.

THE LIBRARY.

Some useful reference books have been added to our library and we have purchased the publications of other societies and those of general literature as we had need. Both our home and foreign correspondence has largely increased. Our periodicals have been circulated more widely than ever, and ought to be sent gratuitously to every reading room in the United States. We receive more commendations than pecuniary returns for our papers and other publications, for which there is an increasing demand, which, if we had the means, we would gladly supply. The records of the Society for the last thirty-five years have been neatly transcribed into a new book for preservation among our archives.

HONORING OUR FOUNDER.

The venerable author of the life of William Ladd, John Hemmenway, is enjoying a green old age, residing in Minnesota. He has with commendable patience and research compiled a new and enlarged manuscript edition of that interesting and historically invaluable memoir which he has placed in our hands with an earnest request for publication. It is due to the memory of the founder of this Society, one of the most unique and remarkable characters of the first quarter of the century and who is called without exaggeration "the Apostle of Peace," that an adequate and well edited "life" should be pub-

lished. It will cost for 2000 copies about \$1000. Are there not friends of peace—heirs of his principles and his work—who will contribute the necessary funds? It should be sent for notice to every respectable periodical in the country and be placed in every public library. Cannot the book be published this year while the indispensable aid of the venerable author is available for editing it?

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Our thanks are due to the Executive Committee of this Society who have met stately, punctually and in good numbers during the year. It has memorialized Congress; corresponded on international complications with Peace Societies abroad and at home; circulated petitions to Congress among the people; sent a delegate to Washington to confer with the International Conference and the Government of the United States; and entered into correspondence with the authorities as to a Peace Congress, in connection with the World's Exhibition of 1892-3.

It is the opinion of the Directors that the United States Government should be asked by this Society to call the above mentioned Congress, and invite foreign governments to send representatives, who shall sit either separately or in conjunction with the delegates from the Peace Societies of the world, to confer on vital questions of international law, and the immediate causes of war, to the end that the obstacles to perpetual peace may, so far as practicable, be pointed out and removed.

THE PARLIAMENTARY CONGRESS.

A large number of French and English members of national parliaments met in convention with others from the United States and Italy and other European governments at Paris at the close of the Peace Congress. A conference was organized and entered into earnest deliberations. It has perpetuated itself by a permanent committee of organization, which has called a Parliamentary Peace Conference in London July 21, 1890. It comprises some of the leading statesmen of Great Britain and France, and the United States ought to be represented by men of similar character and position.

TREATIES AND A TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION.

This new and remarkable body is committed to the advocacy of arbitral treaties as we are. It also contemplates with us some high Tribunal with power to adjudicate on international affairs. America and France, America and England are the nations to which the world looks for leadership in such treaties and such a Tribunal. The elaborate project for such a Tribunal by the late Leone Levi which is endorsed by our countryman Dr. Edward Everett Hale, will be one of the subjects discussed at the coming Peace Congress in London. It is an attempt to put in practical form suited to the present time the ideas which were largely embodied in the six prize essays on a Congress of Nations published by this Society and donated to the many governments in 1840, just half a century ago. Our Executive Committee considered and approved the Leone Levi project in 1888.

Anything like a general system of arbitration among the nations such as is coming implies so many questions of international law, as to demand an international code and a Tribunal adequate in its constitution and powers for its administration. Hence our sympathy with the effort for an International Code in which Hon. David Dudley Field of New York holds a most influential position, and similar efforts for an International Tribunal or High Court of Arbitration as advocated by Dr. E. E. Hale of Boston.

THE PEACE WORK OF WOMEN.

At its last annual meeting for the first time four women, representing Massachusetts, Maine and Ohio, were placed upon this board. The activities of women in the cause of peace have been most apparent in the Peace Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of which Hannah J. Bailey of Maine, one of this board, is head. That department has published valuable tracts and periodicals, sustained lecturers in the field and made its voice influentially heard upon the platforms of the original Society or Union. It is doing a noble work which commands our sympathy and gratitude. This organization furnishes the peace cause with auxiliary societies in every community where the world-wide temperance reform is prosecuted by women. It is invaluable as a means of circulating petitions and otherwise reaching localities where no exclusively Peace Society exists.

OTHER HELPERS.

We would gratefully recognize the friendly attitude of the various religious bodies in the United States, and the

fraternal relations which exist between ourselves and other more recent peace organizations, among which the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia and the Christian Peace and Arbitration Society of the same city are the most noteworthy. Our Rhode Island auxiliary is very helpful in its own State as well as in the more general work. The trustees of the Lindley Murray Fund of New York and of Obadiah Brown Fund of Providence, R. I., also deserve grateful mention for the timely and substantial assistance which they have rendered.

Our acknowledgments are due to the Lombardy Union of Milan, Italy, of which M. Moneta is Secretary, for publications, correspondence and other marked courtesies; also to the London Peace Society, of which Rev. W. E. Darby is Secretary, for its valuable publications, co-operation and generous hospitalities during the stay of our delegation in London. To the International Arbitration and Peace Society of London, of which Mr. Hodgson Pratt is President, we are also greatly indebted for social attentions and cheerful co-operation.

THE YEAR NOW CLOSED.

Ladies and gentlemen of the American Peace Society: It is with sincere gratitude to our Heavenly Father, that we close this review of a year's labor, in the cause to which this Society has now for sixty-two years been devoted. Surely we have abundant reason for congratulation for the past and courage for the future. Our field is the world, our sympathies as broad as humanity. That this Society has a place and a duty in establishing

the kingdom of God on earth—a kingdom which is righteousness and peace—that it exists for the fulfilment of prophecy and as an answer to prayer, is to us as evident as that God is love and Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace.

Let us gird ourselves anew for spiritual conflicts with unswerving faith that the time is drawing nearer when the nations will learn war no more and the will of God will be done on earth even as it is in Heaven.

American Peace Society.

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EDWARD S. TOBEY.

Vice-Presidents:

ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

JOHN G. WHITTIER,
and others.

ROBERT T. PAINE

Treasurer:

F. M. PATTEN,
93 Federal Street.

Secretary:

ROWLAND B. HOWARD,
1 Somerset Street.

BOSTON, March 1, 1890.

The American Peace Society, organized in 1828, has never been in a position so favorable as it is today to prosecute its work of removing the causes of war and promoting arbitration as a preventive of national hostilities. It puts forth every possible effort to promote the adoption of international arbitration measures by the United States Congress and Government, both by direct application at Washington and by arousing and instructing the people as to cost, the cruelty, and other characteristics of the great war-systems of the nations. To efficiently prosecute its work by means of the pen, the press, and the platform, it must have both an enlarged membership and increased pecuniary means.

A series of four World's Peace Congresses is in progress. The first, in Paris, 1889, was attended by an able delegation of this Society; the second is appointed in London for 1890; the third in Rome, 1891; the fourth in the United States in connection with the exhibition of 1892. To stand in our place, and, so far as possible, secure the coöperation of the United States in these and all proper methods to promote peace at home and abroad, is our object. Will you aid such a work by joining us? Our life membership has recently been greatly reduced by the death of old members. The present is the first systematic effort made for some years to increase the annual membership. Our publications ought to be an equivalent for the small contribution which we solicit. The Secretary will be glad to receive the names of new members. The annual meeting, of which due notice will be given, will be held in Pilgrim Hall, Boston, the last week in May. It would greatly encourage the Executive Committee and officers to have a large attendance of members, both old and new.

For the Executive Committee,

ROWLAND B. HOWARD,

Corresponding Secretary.

(OVER)

Endorsement by Distinguished Men.

"The cause of peace we regard as an eminently philanthropic and Christian enterprise of great importance, and worthy of sympathy and support. It has already accomplished much good, and would doubtless accomplish vastly more, if it possessed adequate means. We think it deserves, as it certainly needs, a large increase of funds. The American Peace Society, charged with the care of this cause in our own country, and whose management has deservedly secured very general approbation, we cordially commend to the liberal patronage of the benevolent."

The above was signed by sixty-one persons among the most distinguished in the country, of whom eleven were Governors of States. The number could be indefinitely extended if necessary. Indeed, we deem it safe to say that hardly a public man now prominent as a clergyman or citizen would decline to sign if solicited. We have room for the following names only :

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CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth, and good-will towards men, may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars, and every donor of five dollars, shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time, shall constitute any person a Life-member, and fifty dollars, a Life-director.

ART. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

ART. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

ART. VIII. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, Directors, Secretaries, Treasurer and an Executive Committee of not less than five, with power to fill their own vacancies, and transact the general business of the Society. The Board of Directors shall consist of not less than twenty, who shall have power to supply vacancies in any office of the Society, and direct all its operations till successors are chosen. The Vice-Presidents shall be ex-officio Directors, and the President, Secretaries and Treasurer ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

ART. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

ART. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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NO. 1 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

SIXTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

PUBLIC MEETING AT PARK ST. CHURCH,

SUNDAY EVENING, JUNE 1, 1890.

ADDRESSES BY MRS. LAURA ORMISTON CHANT, OF
ENGLAND, AND MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE, OF AMERICA.

It was estimated that more than one thousand people could not find entrance to the Park Street Church which was completely filled half an hour before the time appointed for the meeting. The pastor, Dr. Gregg, put heart into all the services and the fine choir added much to the remarkable success of the meeting. The second hymn was that broad and sweet song of Faber's:

There's a wideness in God's mercy
Like the wideness of the sea.

The meeting commenced with devotional exercises, which were conducted by Rev. David Gregg, D.D., pastor of the church, after which the Hon. Robert Treat Paine, third Vice-President, took the chair and spoke as follows:

Less than a year ago the American Peace Society welcomed home its delegates from the International Congress which had met at Paris to further the cause of Peace throughout the world. I could wish that to-night President Tobey had been here to preside; but, as we learn by a note, circumstances prevent him from being with us. It would have been a great pleasure if the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, our first Vice-President, had been able to preside over this meeting. It is my pleasant duty first to introduce our chief executive officer, Rev. R. B. Howard, who has done so much to make the American Peace Society a power in this country and also in Europe.

REMARKS OF REV. R. B. HOWARD, SECRETARY.

I have no report to make, lest I should detain you from something which you would enjoy better. The annual report has been distributed throughout the house. There were orders to place three copies in each pew, and if you will take it home and do us the honor to read it, we shall be abundantly repaid. [It will be found on page 107.] It came from the press last night, and it shows what we have done during the year past, especially in connection with the Peace Congress at Paris, which adjourned to meet in London on the 14th of July next, and which expects to adjourn to meet at Rome the following year, and which hopes to meet in America in connection with the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago or Washington, 1892-3. It is to keep in line with this world-wide movement of love and peace that we are here to-night; and, sir, in the absence of Mr. Winthrop, and also of our second Vice-President, John G. Whittier,—who was characterized the other day by the Secretary of State in his farewell address to the Pan-American Congress as "that noblest of Americans,"—I will read a brief note from Mr. Whittier:

AMESBURY, May 28, 1890.

My dear Friend—I regret that I am not able to be at the meeting of the Peace Society on the first day of next month. We have every reason to be encouraged in view of the progress of our cause. I hope there will be a good delegation to the London Peace Congress. There has never been a time when so much public interest has been felt on the subject. Every blow aimed at the monstrous evil of war now tells. Let us hope that the time is not very far distant when the example of the Pan-American Congress will be followed by Europe in conjunction with our own country. I am truly thy friend, J. G. WHITTIER.

We have also a note from another of our officers who served the Society officially as Secretary during a number of years, and gradually lost the use of his eyes in its work, and who writes a postal card by the hand of his dear wife, as follows:

WINTHROP, MASS., May 31, 1890.

Dear Brother Howard—I was not able to be at the annual meeting. My brother reports much enthusiasm. I wish the public meeting at Park Street Church great success. You will bear to Europe good tidings of peace from these Western shores, and I hope you will be able to impress the lesson—"go and do likewise." You have much encouragement in many respects. *I feel that the millennium of peace has about come.* May you have a pleasant journey and a safe return. H. C. DUNHAM.

I have a note from another gentleman not unknown in Boston, who is at present Minister to that not very peaceful island called Hayti:

UNITED STATES LEGATION,
PORT AU PRINCE, HAYTI, May 17, 1890.

REV. R. B. HOWARD:

Dear Sir—To meet the friends of peace from all parts of the civilized world, and deliberate with them as to the best means of promoting that sublime and glorious cause, is a thing greatly to be desired, and I sincerely regret that owing to my duties here, where peace principles are much needed, I am compelled to deny myself the pleasure and privilege of attending the Peace Congress to be held in London from the 14th to the 19th of July next.

Though I am neither rich nor young, I would gladly incur the expense and hardship needed to attend this World's Congress in the interest of peace. But when we are here we cannot be there, except in spirit, and in this sense I shall be with this London Congress. I have much patience with those who look upon such efforts as you are making in the cause of peace as delusive and fruitless. They are generally those who have never done anything to leave the world better than they found it and have been content with things as they are. It has been my good fortune to view the world from a different point. My experience in the anti-slavery cause has given me faith in the ultimate triumph of righteousness and peace in the world. When I see as I do see what has been done, I cannot doubt, that more and greater things will yet be done.

The time has already come when negro slavery is looked upon as an affront to civilization, a system of human woes and horrors only to be thought of with a shudder—and why not war, the parent of slavery, be thought of in the same way? There is not an element of reason or humanity that war does not violate. It is not only a crime but an absurdity; for it settles no question in accordance with reason or humanity, but simply in accordance with brute force. I have no doubt that the Peace Congress in London will make itself felt in promoting human love instead of human hate and in setting many to thinking there is a better way to settle differences among men and nations than shedding each other's blood.

Yours truly,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

From President Tobey.

BOSTON, May 29, 1890.

REV. R. B. HOWARD, Secretary of American Peace Society:

Rev. and Dear Sir—I greatly regret that circumstances will deprive me of the privilege of being present at the meeting of the "American Peace Society" to be held in Park Street Church on Sunday evening next.

The events of the last year as proposed and promoted by this and kindred Societies clearly indicate marked progress in the great object for which they exist. It is especially gratifying to notice that many of the ablest statesmen and philanthropists of all civilized nations have cordially given their support and influence to such measures as tend to secure international arbitration instead of war as the true and permanent policy. The value and importance of this to the welfare of mankind we may not presume adequately to measure.

Very respectfully yours, EDWARD S. TOBEY.

From the Governor of Massachusetts.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
BOSTON, May 21, 1890.

REV. R. B. HOWARD:

My Dear Sir—I am in receipt of your letter inviting me to preside at the public meeting to be held in Park Street Church

June 1, in favor of International Arbitration. In reply I write to say that I should be glad to render this service, but my engagements at that time are such as to prevent. Regretting this, with my best wishes for the cause in behalf of which the meeting is to be held, I am,

Very truly yours,

J. Q. A. BRACKETT.

From the New England delegate to the International Conference of American States.

BOSTON, MASS., May 21, 1890.

REV. ROWLAND B. HOWARD:

Dear Sir—I regret extremely that absence from town will prevent my being present at your interesting meeting in the Park Street Church, June the 1st.

With my best wishes for your success, I am very truly yours,

T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE.

The CHAIRMAN—We who live in Boston love our old city. We rejoice at every influence which she can exert to promote the welfare of mankind; and therefore it is with peculiar pleasure that I see this crowded house to give welcome to a noble English woman who has gone through the world preaching the gospel of peace, and comes now to us to speak in its behalf. She will tell us to-night what the relations of woman are to this great cause, which we have so much at heart. It is with great pleasure I introduce to you now Mrs. Chant of England.

ADDRESS OF MRS. LAURA ORMISTON CHANT.

Dear friends: After the magnificent meetings of the past week, and looking upon this meeting to-night as perhaps the farewell meeting, although there are a few others to come in other places, it seems a fit thing that like a benediction after a season of inspiration and joy the subject of to-night's farewell address should be that of Peace. Let us not be one of the voices that cry, "Peace! peace! when there is no peace;" but one of the pleading voices that asks that there shall be peace in the name of the King of all peace, amongst all nations of the earth. It is no new cry, though voiced to-day for the first time by means of powerful societies. As far back as we can go in the history of mankind there have been men who preached higher methods than the rule of brute force, and there has been an ever increasing movement of humanity against the cruel, wicked and illogical way of settling differences by violence. It is left for the nineteenth century, and this portion of it, to feel the great power of co-operation in this as in other matters. We are beginning to find out that it is not enough to have an individual conscience; we want a public conscience, a national conscience, a world-wide conscience, on this subject of peace and of war.

Long, long ago, all civilized men and women left behind the idea that a difference could be settled by personal combat, and duelling is looked upon as it deserves to be, as one of the last remnants of decaying barbarism. But what is all this fighting between nations, what are all these trained armies, all these war-ships, all

the patents of nobility given in the old world for the perfecting of bullets, for the invention of smokeless powder, and other numberless devices and inventions for destruction of life, that shall make the battle-field of the future more deadly than anything the past has known, but evidence that out of the councils of rations there has not come peace, that as yet there does not prevail the spirit that makes for peace? And the appeal to-day is not so much to those in power as to those who have the power to place them in power. We feel that the churches are consecrated to their highest use, in the name of the Prince of Peace, in the name of the Master who taught us that the peacemakers are blessed, when they take their stand unflinchingly on the side of peace and gentleness and meekness that inherits the earth, instead of that of the strife and violence which would destroy it.

Of course I come from a country that has a large standing army, and whose record is not clear from cruel wars of aggrandizement. But that is no reason why I should not speak to the men and women who are so justly proud of their great country, as to what their duty and privilege and opportunities are among the nations of the world. It is a grand day,—I am glad that I live in it,—when men and women are realizing that Christianity is not to be a failure; that we dare put it into practice, and carry its governing principle to the extreme of its possibility. It is a grand day. It means life; it means eternal life and eternal honor for the men and women and for the nations that carry it out. It is not too much to ask that all of you who are priding yourselves, and justly, upon your culture, who are priding yourselves, and justly, as to the efforts that Boston is putting forth in behalf of humanity,—it is not too much to ask that Boston shall stand out to-day, a city that sends such a trumpet blast to the far corners of the earth that the earth shall wake at the sound of that trumpet.

There have been chosen to-night those who are to go as delegates to the Peace Congress in London to co-operate with that body in seeking to make peace universal. Your best men will be invited to go, those who feel most deeply on this matter, who care most for the accomplishment of this object. It is a grand delegation,—these white-robed ambassadors of peace, sent to carry their olive-branch from this country to London, to help us in the effort we are making there to promote in England this great movement.

WHAT WAR SETTLES.

It takes two to make a quarrel, and when it comes to fighting one will be victorious and the other will be defeated. This is as true of nations as of individuals. It matters not which of the two is defeated or victorious, the quarrel is not settled by the death or the life of either; but when these two strong, violent men have met and fought out their quarrel and one lays the other dead at

his feet, the question is no more settled than before; but violence and destruction have been added to the original difficulty. Other elements of disturbance have come in. But we have grown beyond that method of attempting to settle personal quarrels by a combat; two men are not allowed to fight, and if they do, are punished. But it is not so with nations. You cannot think of a single war in the history of Europe that did not breed more wars in its train. Like makes like. Alas! we do many things in our homes which train and educate there the violent spirit; we govern by force, and thus we are making men and women who will be apostles of violence. There is such an open door for the women of to-day if they could see it. The women say, "What can we do? We have no influence." Yes, you have, on the upbringing and training of the ministers who fill the pulpits and the men who sit in your legislatures, who hold in their hands the power to adjust international difficulties with skill and kindness, or bring irritation by the reverse. We women are the ones who bring up men who will do the future fighting, or who will fight the fighting spirit to the death. We have a great door open before us, if we could only see that right is right, and wrong is wrong, that when physical force dominates moral force it is sure to be on the wrong side of things.

WOMEN AND PEACE.

We have been told that women ought to be full of compassion and mercy and pity; and so they are; but unless women are trained to understand what a public conscience means, their individual conscience will not lead them to go beyond their own circle. The woman who sits at her evening dinner table and discusses politics with her next neighbor, may be laughingly chatting away that man's scruples about war, and drawing him to the side of war and from peace. Women should be able to speak in society, with no uncertain voice, that war is wrong, and that peace is Christian. And more than that, we women are good apostles when we become apostles, and we understand how to creep through smaller gaps than men do. And when we hear the apostolic call we shrink at no difficulties. And therefore, if this question of peace is to become a national, an international, a world-wide one, it must be by men and women each bearing their due share of the burden. It is a glorious dream that floats white-robed in front of us, a golden age which the prophets have foretold, and of which the poets have always sung, when men shall be brothers, and they shall dwell happily together in the holy mountain God has made for them; and there never came a divine dream into the brain of man that is not capable of realization, for God is behind the dream, standing there in the shadow of it, keeping watch above his own.

I want you to feel what a disgrace it is to us to cling to the old methods of settling differences, and how out-

rageous are the principles of war; that while in our social life and in our civil life we have got on so far that we do not allow men and women to fight their own battles in order to settle their quarrels in that way, but compel them to submit their disputes to courts of law and arbitration, yet we adhere to this barbarous idea of settling disputes between nations by violence, as if we had got the idea into our heads that we can conduct the life of the individual, the family and the town on other lines than we can conduct the life of the nation. Why should there be a different law for settling international difficulties? What is true of a single individual can be true of an army of individuals, of a nation of them. If it is difficult when you have in view a great scheme like instilling into the world the principles of peace, I want the people to look upon nothing as too small to take into consideration in this great work.

THE CHILDREN AND PEACE.

We need to cultivate the principles of peace in our schools and among our children. I trust you will pardon me for saying that I deplore this military drill given our children in the schools, when we have all the appliances of Swedish gymnastics and calisthenics for developing their bodies, and also the various industrial arts; and for the purpose of physical development there is no necessity to teach the boy the use of the musket and soldierly duties, and I cannot but deprecate it. And it grieves me that in England they supply the dummy muskets to our boys. The military spirits in power saw what an admirable opportunity there was for recruiting the militia from the young men thus instructed in England. But our people have grown wiser in this matter and see deeper than before, and they are beginning to understand that for a man to slay his fellow-man is murder. And that is what our children should be made to understand. In the schools, of course, you want to develop the physique of your children; but what is morally wrong is not physically right. In drilling your children by military discipline you are implanting in them the spirit of the soldier, who is trained to kill, and developing in them the war spirit, and that is what we want to get rid of. I hope the day will come when there will be no soldiers in the land, just as the time will surely come when there will be no slaves anywhere on God's earth. Why? Because we are becoming civilized.

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY.

If I were America, if I were this great country, with the opportunity before it such as no other country has ever had, a country that has dared to try so audacious and magnificent an experiment before the world as to whether a democratic government can be a success, with the most tremendous international difficulties of race and climate, of a new and such an old country,—if I were

that country, I would teach an object lesson to the rest of the world, by showing it that the old world method of carrying on the government of the country and of adjusting international differences, and of keeping the balance of commerce, by the aid of an immense standing army, form no part of the problem in this great country. It would be a splendid object lesson for Russia to see the great forces of peace at work, striving to overcome the old spirit of strife and violence, to eradicate the old feeling of hostility, "Man's inhumanity to man," which "makes countless thousands mourn." The same force is at work in Germany and Italy, and even in Turkey the anti-war spirit is beginning to spring up—even in the heart of the "unspeakable Turk!" This is evidence of an advance to-day. It is a wonderful comfort that the words spoken two thousand years ago are beginning to take visible form in the councils of men.

KILLING ONE MAN OR MORE THAN ONE.

I think it must be so puzzling to that poor scoundrel who is waiting there in that prison cell to be hanged for killing a fellow being to know that he is to be hanged for murdering one, while another, a successful general, is feted and decorated and ennobled and honored in society for murdering thousands. I want to ask you a plain question: If you or I quarrel with our neighbor and strike a blow that kills, isn't that murder? If we are in a position of power, and quarrel with other men in power, and if other people strike other blows to support the quarrel on one side and the other, what do you call that? I hope a spirit will be fanned into a white-heat flame in America that will enforce this idea:

Let them who make quarrels be the only ones to fight.

When that result is reached there will be no more fighting. I have said again and again that, if, when there was an international difference, Bismarck and Lord Salisbury had been called out to do the fighting themselves, we should have had politeness instead of discourtesy, diplomacy instead of guns and warfare.

WHAT WILL YOU DO?

Now, as to carrying our ideas into an actual practical form. I am so weary of this endless sitting down in pews and assenting to beautiful sentiments, and going out of the church and acting in diametric opposition to them; to hear the same voice that on Sunday has said, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they are the children of God!" and has spoken of the inhumanity of war, set forth the necessity of setting apart a certain number of human beings to fight battles; and to see one of our great British generals devoutly kneeling in his pew on Sunday reciting from the Litany, "We pray thee Good Lord, deliver us from battle, murder and all disasters!" and the next day going into ecstasies of joy over the story of the bravery of one of his soldiers in the slaughter

of his fellow-men. What I think I have a right to ask is that women and men shall be true, that they shall not blow hot and cold, that they shall not become that impossible thing that St. James described, "A fountain that sends forth sweet and bitter water."

TEXT BOOKS IN SCHOOLS.

How are we going to make this reform actual? Our great hope lies in the children. We shall have to write many of our school books over again, for, as in temperance, purity and morality, and many practical things, our great hope lies in the education of the children in our schools. In England how often I have lamented that what has been considered to be the most important thing to impress upon the minds of the children is a knowledge of the great battles in human history, the battles of Waterloo, of the Nile, of Trafalgar and others, and of the men who fought them, who are regarded as of more importance than the men who invented or improved the spinning-machine or created the printing-press. We shall have to transform the teaching of our history, and give the battles a very back seat in the instruction of the children, and the men who fought those battles a much lower seat than the men who have been philanthropists and prominent in the arts of peace, or the men who have passed good laws and produced new inventions for the good of their country and the instruction of the world.

THE SCHOOL OF HOME.

Then comes in the women's part. I think we do not realize now how we can bring our children up in the peace or war spirit at home. If we encourage our children to be always looking out for insults, and to magnify every slight difficulty, we are bringing them up to be irritable and cultivating a hostile spirit which will require little to fan it into a quarrel. Do you know that when we are unable to fight, when we have not the resources of bayonets and great guns, we shall ask, as humanity always has done, if there is not some better way to settle differences than this? It is the same in the bringing up of children; we are leaving the bad way behind us when we looked upon the children as such impossible problems that they could be managed by nothing but force and only driven into anything like a manifestation of outward good conduct. We are leaving that wretched day behind, and what is the result? We are bringing up better children, more intelligent, more manly, inspiring them with the love of all things beautiful and true.

You remember that miserable Alabama question, which not one of you have yet forgotten, and some of us have not forgotten in England, which was settled without a gun being fired, and it was well that it was; and if the delinquents had to pay a pretty round sum, it is a good object lesson for the future that the nations who injure each other have to fork over the difference of damage in cash in settlement. And when we have learned to settle

our differences in that way we shall not so often create them. If the men who sent out the Alabama had themselves been made to pay the sum that was paid for them, it would have had a good effect.

What do we want,—peace? Yes. But we want a peace which shall be an active and not a passive peace. It is all well enough to talk about the beauty of peace when there are no differences to settle; that is hardly peace, it is circumstance. We want an active peace when there are differences and complications, a peace that lives through those and settles them kindly.

A LUNATIC ASYLUM.

Think what a change has come in the management of lunatics, from the old, bad, wicked, violent way in which the lunatic was treated, with every species of torture and violence which you can imagine. Then there started up a noble doctor in England, who said to himself, "It cannot be. This goes against the best side of my heart to see these poor creatures chained and tortured in this cruel fashion. There must be some more excellent way." So he started a lunatic asylum of his own, took the worst cases in, and treated them on principles of humanity. He remembered that a lunatic is a lunatic from want of intelligence, and if he is treated unintelligently he is not any better but worse. So he got a higher intelligence to help him to furnish superfluous intelligence to the poor lunatic who is deficient in that quality. So we are to-day managing our worst lunatics with very little physical force and much moral force. I speak from experience in this matter, for one year of my life was spent in helping manage a lunatic asylum. With but a small amount of bodily presence, I found out that there is something stronger than force,—human intelligence and a deep knowledge of human nature.

I believe that if the educated men who make our laws and who make international treaties had a little more knowledge of human nature and a little less selfishness, we should not need any other resource than that. There is an awful want of knowledge of human nature in ordinary men and women. Take a committee of ten people, and nine of them will be sorely wanting in the understanding of human nature and how to get it up to its best state rather than its worst. And when you come to a larger committee of a hundred or more legislators you will find a most dreadful scarcity of men deeply intelligent and experienced in knowledge of how to deal with human nature. You will see that those men who have learned most about the Indians and how to manage them are those whose best characteristic is a knowledge of human nature.

OBSTACLES TO PEACE IN AMERICA.

Now let me remind you of what in your own country renders it especially necessary that you should cultivate peace. You have difficulties that we have not to deal with in England. We have no large shiploads of European

failures, of the lame, the halt, the blind and the ignorant poured out upon our shores as you have in America, of diverse languages and nationalities, which complicate the problems with which you have to deal. One thing I want to bring out of the peace movement is that there should be a deeper respect for other races than our own; for the more deeply we care for their interests, their history, their customs and ways of doing things, the more shall we promote that universal peace at which we aim. And I cannot refrain from referring to the beautiful and noble woman who in Boston is doing so much to bring within your reach a larger knowledge of those things.

Dear men and women, remember that in our own life these peace principles will give us much more happiness at home; for if we believe in the peace and righteousness in people outside of the house, we shall leave off fighting in the household, where we want more of the peace spirit, less of fault-finding, of the everlasting "Don't!" of the true home life which will be the outcome of education like this, and of that kindly spirit that admits of every variety of individuality which goes to make the strength of the nation and of the world, and is consistent with the utmost harmony. We have gone away from the idea that there should be a desire that we be all alike. It is no doubt true that we have a great deal of unnecessary dullness in our midst to-day from that idea of attempting to reduce everybody to a dead level of flat monotony. I consider dullness unpardonable. Don't be dull! Pray God for an imagination vivid enough to understand what the horrors of the battle-field are.

I should like every man and woman in this great congregation who is still uncertain whether war is wrong or right to go home, and, instead of sleeping calmly, just try to imagine yourself in a trench, shot through, or stabbed, lonely, hungry, cold, disheartened, sending a pitiful wail over miles and miles to those whom you love best, whom you never again will see; and if you can fancy yourself in this position, with no help at hand, when the blessed morning light comes, and you find yourself safe in your own bed, unwounded, and with everything comfortable and pleasant about you, put up a prayer to God,— "Whatever I would that men should do unto me, that may I do to the utmost for every other man in the world." I could not look at my son or my husband and dare to think of their being murdered; or to think of their being able to do a deed of violence to a man who never did them any harm. When I think of the dreadful news that came from the land of the Zulus, of the barbarous exultation of the people at the "Glorious victory! 250,000(?) wretches slain!" I think to myself, what would the blessed Master say could he walk with living presence over these battle-fields of the slain? If he bent over his Zulu brother, and heard him sigh his last sigh, would he turn round to the man who had stabbed him to death and say, "Come, my blessed, inherit the kingdom pre-

pared for you"? No! The kingdom of God is within us, and if we commit or counsel bloodshed the kingdom of God is outside of us.

BANDS OF PEACE.

I want the women to start in this great movement, to help Mr. Howard and make it a practical thing in America; to start bands of peace in the schools for the children, to link them with humanity. Do what you will, only see that you are not teaching the children with one hand what you are unteaching with the other. Say to yourself, "I will be one of the prophets of peace before my country." There lies not far off the realization of the dream of Isaiah, when men shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. I want the women to see that this is not an idle dream, that it must become a reality. It was not an idle dream when men who were fighting each other were told that if they had a quarrel they would not be allowed to fight over it but would have to go before a court of arbitration to settle their difficulties.

AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.

Why may not the time come when there will be formed a great international court of arbitration to adjust international difficulties, as now we have courts to settle individual differences; so that when nations quarrel there will be a court for national disputes, each nation choosing its own men, to meet and settle these great questions by arbitration. I am certain that the time it will take to settle the quarrels in that way will be so much less, and the cost will be so much less than now, and the method so much more kindly than trying to settle them by war, that the men and women of that day will look back on the nineteenth century as a semi-barbarous age.

NIHILIST, SOCIALIST, ANARCHIST.

I have one more word to say: Do you know that that despised body of men in Europe whom some of you hold in so much contempt because you do not understand all they are fighting against, the Nihilists of Russia, the Anarchists of Germany and the Socialists of London, are singing the hymns of the Prince of Peace that the Christian churches are singing to-day. I don't want the Nihilists and the Anarchists and the Socialists to be the ones to teach the duty that the Christian churches ought to teach. Don't you imagine that the ministers of your churches are the only ones on whom you are to rely; it is the people who make up the churches. The ministers are the little boys who have been put in those positions, and you cannot lay the duty upon them. You women must preach the sermon of peace to the children before they become ministers. Let each one of us do our duty in this regard, so that the teachings of Jesus Christ shall no longer be as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

"For lo! the days are hastening on,
By prophet bards foretold,
When with the ever-circling years
Comes round the age of gold!
When peace shall over all the earth
Its final splendors fling,
And the whole world send back the song
Which now the angels sing."

Dr. GREGG—Before Mrs. Howe speaks I will say that I have been requested to make an announcement. If I should make it according to the old order of things, I should ask you to give us "the sinews of war;" but speaking after the latest idea I will ask you to "make a peace offering;" and I request you to make it large enough to carry our American Peace Society through the next year.

Mr. Howard presented the following names for delegates from Boston to the International Peace Congress, to be held at London on the 14th of July next: President W. F. Warren, of Boston University, Judge Charles Devens, Rev. Philip S. Moxom, Rev. Brooke Herford, Gov. J. Q. A. Brackett and Hon. Robert Treat Paine; and these gentlemen were duly elected by the audience.

The CHAIRMAN—We are delighted that Mrs. Julia Ward Howe has consented to speak a few words before we close.

ADDRESS OF MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

My friends, I am entirely taken by surprise in being asked to speak to you. I came here, as you all came, to hear our dear visitor and guest, Mrs. Chant. But the words she has said are extremely sympathetic, and they do awaken in my mind trains of thought which have been very dear to me. They took me back to the time of the dreadful Franco-Prussian war in 1870. I remember that that cause came very near to us, because we knew those two nations so well, and we were under great obligations, both intellectual and social, to both of them, and when we saw them close in a death struggle, and come out of it as they must have come out, badly wounded, and France as it seemed with a mortal wound, I think the women of the civilized world seemed to send out a great cry of anguish; and some of the older people among you may remember that various manifestoes were issued by women, for the first time in the world's history, protesting against war, by Madame Gasparin in Switzerland and some others whose names I forget. I myself was so transported with the horror of this thing, that I wrote and sent abroad an appeal to the women throughout the world. My thought was, it is the women, who are the mothers of men, the women who know the cost and value of human life, and all that is suffered to bring these men into the world, with the immense pains that are necessary to build up the little helpless baby into a strong, erect, stalwart man. And after this noble work is accomplished, will the women, who have had so great a part in it, stand still and see it brought to nothing?

I remember going to Europe in those days and talking with some French people who had seen the horrors of that war, and one said to me, "Oh, madam, when I saw the pavement of Paris piled with the corpses of beautiful young men, in the bloom and pride and glory of life, my thought was with the mothers, whose work for the world of humanity was now brought to nothing." And then I thought, why, how can the mothers sit still and endure it? Why don't they join hands throughout Christendom, and insist that these horrors shall take place no more? I remember that I myself went to England, as Mrs. Chant has now come to America, I went to that country, which is a very great country intellectually, though geographically it may not be considered as very large, to preach this doctrine, that the mass of women must rise up in their might, in the might of sentiment, in the might of parental authority, and of the religious faith which is so deep in woman and so dear to her, they must rise up and make this protest.

But when we came to present this subject of peace, we found this limited idea running through society. There were two sorts of actions in society; one, that sort in which people ask, "What is right and just?" and the other in which they said, "Which is the stronger party, and how much can the stronger party get the better of the weaker?" I found there were conflicts between capital and labor; found that even in the household,—in which there can be a sort of covert war carried on at the fireside, when the parents and children have not been educated up to the standard of the ideal right and just,—there was this mean side; for that side of human nature is mean which promotes the idea that the physically strong are to crush or oppress the weak and take away from them the power of right they had; and I am exceedingly glad that this fresh young voice has arisen in this cause. I feel revived in the hope of a score of years ago, that the women of Christendom would make themselves a unit in this cause.

Now it is one thing to see such a thing as that in a dream, as long ago the inspired apostle saw the New Jerusalem coming down from heaven nearly two thousand years ago, but it has not come yet; but it is coming all the time, we say. And this dream of mine has not come yet, but it is coming. Here is evidence that it is coming. Underlying this movement of which Mrs. Chant has said something there is this deep feeling of the rights of humanity, that human beings are not to be ground down and kept down by the arm of military power and oppression. I believe that Christianity pledges itself to the compatibility of all their interests; it does not pledge itself to protect fraud, violence or wickedness in high places, though I am sorry to say that this name is sometimes made to cover those bad things. But if this gospel is true, all that any of us have a right to can be enjoyed by all, it can be secured to all; and that can never be

done by the partial, bloody and wicked method of war. So I say to women also, dear sisters, this great cause is largely in your hands; advance it as you can; it underlies the principles of social movement. Don't be carried away by superficial things. I love the flags; I love the flag of my country; but I don't want to see it again ever waved over a battle-field. May it be a symbol of heavenly peace, the peace that the dear Lord Jesus came to bring on earth!

The CHAIRMAN—I have letters from Hon. Edward S. Tobey, our President, and Hon. T. Jefferson Coolidge, the New England delegate to the Pan-American Conference, and from other gentlemen, expressing their great regret that they cannot be with us this evening. I will not detain you to read them. [The letters are inserted where they would have appeared if read—see page 96.] I will, if you will allow me, express the heartfelt satisfaction of this audience for the delightful and moving address which Mrs. Chant has given us, and also to Mrs. Howe for the encouraging words which she has spoken.

The meeting closed with the hearty singing by the choir and congregation of "Missionary Chant" closing with the stanza rolled out in a wonderful volume of song,

Let every creature rise and bring
Peculiar honors to our King:
Angels descend with song again,
And earth repeat the loud Amen!

and the Benediction.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

Canons Westcott and Freemantle led in a movement at the last Canterbury Diocesan Conference "to provide that an annual day be appointed for special prayer that it may please God to give all nations unity, peace and concord." Although the archbishop has not yet acceded to this request, the appointment of Canon Westcott to the Bishopric of Durham gives evidence that the able advocacy of peace principles is no bar to promotion in English Church.

The attitude of the Free Churches on the subject of Peace has long been, as a rule, favorable, and many of their ministers have been among its most faithful and able advocates. As might have been expected, therefore, their response to Dr. Westcott's appeal last year was prompt and earnest, spontaneous and general. The Society of Friends, at an interesting session of its Yearly Meeting last May, re-affirmed its position and urged renewed fidelity to the peace principles which had been so long held by it as a body.

Other sections of Nonconformity have followed a similar course. Deliverances in favor of Peace have been made by the Congregational and Baptist Unions, the Three Denominations, the Congregational Board, the Wesleyan Methodists, the United Methodist Free Church, the New Church, the Scotch General Assembly, the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, and of the United Presbyterian Church, the Evangelical Union, the Scottish Congregational Union, and the Free Churches generally.

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

Hon. Whitelaw Reid, minister to France, transmitted the resolutions passed and some general account of the Peace Congress at Paris. The following is the response of the United States Government.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, April 1, 1890.

Sir—Mr Reid's dispatch No. 50, of August 17, 1889, in relation to the peace congress of that year, at Paris, and transmitting a petition to the President, together with other papers, has been received with its inclosures.

It seems hardly necessary to revert at length to the position of the United States upon the general subject of international arbitration, this Government having consistently had recourse to that method of settling disputes for a long period in particular cases as they arose, and still adhering to that view of the question.

With reference, however, to the special recommendation of the petition that an arbitration treaty between the Government of the United States and that of the French Republic be negotiated as the first step, and of as great weight in turning the tide of European governmental opinion into a direction favorable to the general adoption of such a mode of settling international differences and difficulties, so far as it may be applicable to them, I may say that it would be the inclination of this Government on the general principle and as in line with its established practice, to entertain with favor any proposal from a friendly Government looking towards such a convention. At the same time I should add that effective consideration of the question would doubtless be deferred until after disposition of the subject by the conference of American nations now here in session, and which is engaged, as one of the principal objects of its meeting, in considering a practicable and acceptable plan of international arbitration for submission to the interested powers.

Copy of dispatch No. 50 and copies of its inclosures in English have been sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations for its information.

I am, sir, etc., JAMES G. BLAINE.
HENRY VIGNAUD, Paris.

SIGNING THE TREATY.

Representatives of nine of the South American republics signed the formal treaty of arbitration in Secretary Blaine's office at the Department of State on the 28th ult., namely; The United States, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Salvador, Honduras, Bolivia, Ecuador, Hayti, and the United States of Brazil. It is expected that three more signatures and seals will be added soon, and it is hoped that the signatures of all the powers will be secured in the course of the summer and autumn.

This action must be confirmed as we understand it by each of the Governments whom these delegates represent before the treaty is binding.

Stanley is not a Livingstone. Livingstone was a man who risked his life, and ultimately laid down his life in Central Africa out of pure love to God and humanity. Stanley has gone there again and again in pursuit of fame and fortune, and has secured both.—*The Arbitrator*.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE AND ARBITRATION.

BOSTON, JUNE—JULY, 1890.

R. B. HOWARD,

EDITOR.

—Rev. R. B. Howard and Rev. C. B. Smith will sail from New York for Liverpool, July 1st, at 3.30 p. m. on steamer "Nevada" of the Guion line. Other delegates of the American Peace Society to the Universal Peace Congress at London July 14-19, sail by other steamers, some from New York and some from Boston.

—The Secretary preached a peace sermon at the Centre Church in his native town of Leeds, Me., Sunday morning, June 15, and in the afternoon on behalf of himself and his two brothers presented a flag to the school district where they commenced going to school and where two of them had been teachers. He dwelt upon the significance of the flag as commemorative of the triumphs of peace as well as those of war.

Yes, surely as God lives the day
Of peace, He promised, shall be ours.
To fold the flags of war and lay
Its sword and spear to rust away,
And sow its ghastly fields with flowers.

—John B. Wood, Secretary of the Christian Arbitration Society of Philadelphia, visited Richmond, Va., secured a "call" and a full house at Dr. Hoge's church on Sunday, May 12, at 5 p. m. Bishop Whipple of the Episcopal church presided. A delegation to London was chosen.

—Hon. R. C. Winthrop wrote the Secretary a very kind letter of sympathy and approval of the London Peace Congress and God-speed for the delegates.

—The women's auxiliary of the London Peace Society consists of 130 branches and 15,000,000 members in various parts of Great Britain,

—We learn from J. B. Wood, Secretary of the Christian Arbitration and Peace Society of Philadelphia, that he secured a large and representative meeting of the Christian churches in Baltimore, Md., and it appointed an able delegation to the London Congress.

—The report of Rev. W. E. Darby of the London Peace Society is comprehensive, instructive and inspiring. The new Secretary has proved himself not only a man of affairs, but a knight of the pen.

—The United States has been honored in the selection of the preacher before the Universal Peace Congress. Rev. Reuben Thomas, D.D., of Brookline, Mass., has responded by cable favorably to an invitation telegraphed from London, and will deliver the sermon at Westminster Chapel, July 16. All Americans then in London will be delighted to hear our favorite preacher on his native soil and on an international subject of such absorbing interest.

—The New England Yearly Meeting of Friends has appointed James H. Chace and Lucretia G. Chace of Providence, R. I., delegates to the Universal Peace Congress at London.

PEACE MEETINGS.

Our own meetings occupy so much space in this paper that we can only mention those of other Societies which seem to have been the best attended and most interesting for years.

The Universal Peace Union held meetings May 24th at the Friends' Meeting-house in Baltimore, Md., and on the 25th at Dr. Sunderland's Presbyterian church, Washington, D.C. President Harrison gave the Society a cordial reception at the Executive Mansion.

We regretted that duties at home prevented the kind invitations to attend these delightful gatherings of the friends of Peace.

ITALY'S BLIGHT.

Italy is not a prosperous country and her trials instead of diminishing seem rather to grow heavier every year. The tremendous army and navy which the present administration seems bound to keep up are a dead weight on a country already struggling with an enormous debt, and taxation is continually on the increase. Everything is taxed, food, clothing and drink. The very signs on the streets must have a government stamp on them, and, worse than all, almost one-fifth of the population are kept in enforced idleness. The National government has almost reached its limit and now is trying to raise money indirectly through the city governments. The city council of Rome all resigned the other day rather than impose a tax for the general government on the already over-taxed people.—*O. McG. H. in Farm, Field and Stockman.*

THE PEOPLE SPEAK.

S. L. Hartman of Lancaster, Penn., has had a pleasant reception from the people of that region and has secured 276 signatures to the petition to Congress against arming the United States as the European nations are armed. The petition is as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

Inasmuch as an unprecedented and extraordinary expenditure of public money for merely military purposes in a time of profound peace is seriously proposed by the Naval Committee of the United States Senate and by other persons, to fortify the coast, create a vast navy and make a standing army of 100,000 necessary; the undersigned citizens of the State of....., respectfully but earnestly entreat your honorable bodies to reject the recommendations of the Naval Committee and other measures of similar character, which propose to devote such a large amount of the public money needed to foster material development and national education, to that which we believe will provoke unfriendliness abroad and menace peace and security at home.

Among these are Presidents, Professors in colleges and Ministers of the Gospel, to the number of seventy-four, and the leading men of every profession and occupation in that garden of the Eastern States from which have come forth many men prominent in the politics of the United States. The petition was forwarded to the members of Congress for the ninth district of Pennsylvania and doubtless had weight in causing the halt which politicians have ordered in great military armaments.

PEACE IN SCANDINAVIA.

We have received an interesting account of recent Peace efforts in Norway and Sweden, by M. K. P. Arnoldson, of Stockholm, late a member of the Swedish Parliament. He has, for months past, been holding meetings and delivering lectures in various parts of the great Scandinavian Peninsula, where he has been exposing the evils of militarism and the advantages of Peace and Arbitration. He has addressed gatherings in thirteen towns of north and central Sweden, and eighteen in Norway. His journeys and labor have also included the important towns of Bergen and Gothenburg. In the former alone he gave fourteen addresses.—*London Herald of Peace.*

A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT HARRISON.

The President sent a message to Congress June 2, covering a letter of Secretary Blaine which endorses the recommendations of the Pan-American Congress. In addition to other matters, the Secretary recommends the erection by the nation of a hall at Washington in which future congresses like the "Maritime" and "American" may hold their sessions. We trust it will be completed in season for the World's Peace and Arbitration Congress of 1893. The Washington dispatch is as follows:

"The conference also at its final session decided to establish in the city of Washington as a fitting memorial of its meeting a Latin-American library, to be formed by contributions from the several nations, of historical, geographical and literary works, maps, manuscripts and official documents relating to the history and civilization of America, and expressed a desire that the Government of the United States should provide a suitable building for the shelter of such a library, to be solemnly dedicated upon the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. 'The importance of these suggestions,' says the President, 'is fully set forth in the letter of the Secretary of State.' Secretary Blaine, in his letter, recommends that Congress appropriate \$250,000 to provide a safe and suitable building to receive and protect the proposed collection, which building may also be used for the offices of the proposed bureau of information, and contain a hall or assembly room for the accommodation of such international bodies as the two conferences that have just adjourned."

As the Maritime Conference was European as well as American, the hall will be open to properly called conferences of all nations.

THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT.

BERLIN, June 9. The committee of the Reichstag on the Army bill held another session to-day. Chancellor Von Caprivi appeared before the committee and expressed his concurrence in the statement made by General Verdy du Vernois, Minister of War, that it would be impossible to reduce the term of compulsory military service.

The Chancellor alluded to the resignation of Prince Bismarck, and said that though his withdrawal from the Chancellorship had rendered the conduct of business difficult, it had made no change whatever in Germany's relations with other Governments. Dr. Windthorst, the leader of the Clerical party, and Herren Richten and Rickert, leaders of the Freisinnige party, declared that the bill would not be acceptable to their parties unless the term of service was shortened. The prospects of an agreement between the Government and the Opposition on the bill is therefore remote.

THE CONDITIONS OF DISARMAMENT.

The question of disarmament is one of difficulty even to those who believe armaments provocative of war. Germany proposes to increase her standing army so that it will amount to 500,000 active and effective troops, not counting the volunteers for a year. The Emperor recommends this on the ground that France has done as much. This is "tit for tat"—the opposite of the Golden Rule,—force not love. Such is to-day the attitude of great nations. So long as governments deny the obligation and practicability of Christianity, I do not see but they are logical in appealing to the *lex talionis*—law and penalty—the Old Testament ethics, which Christ came to supersede by a higher law. Disarmament, if practicable at all, must take place upon these principles:

1. It must be *gradual*. This to save the sudden shock of the dismissal to civil life of millions of men now under discipline untrained to labor, and thus unprepared for citizenship. There is danger that sudden disarmament would at once augment the idlers, the strikers and the mobs. Only one country, our own, could have absorbed at once into civil life the vast armies of the civil war. It put the United States to a tremendous strain, though its soldiers were originally citizens—never "professionals"—and readily took up business occupations. Sudden emancipation of slaves is to be deprecated, and soldiers have some disabilities common to slaves. Let disarmament then be gradual.

2. It ought to be *simultaneous*. As nations are now constituted it *must* be. One nation will not lead another, if both are equally armed, in disarming. France and Germany must agree, first, how many troops to disarm; secondly, at what time. Russia will be harder to win to disarmament, for her statesmen will allege the greater difficulties which she has to encounter in the vastness of her territory and the increased obstacles thus put in the way of raising and massing of troops. Germany and France may each dismiss 100,000 men to-day, and call them together within a short time as did Napoleon after Elba in France. Great Britain would allege the world-wide character of her dominions—the need of military supervision in Africa, Asia, and at her distant islands—and the difficulty of a recall if once she dismisses her present force or any considerable part of it. The United States is not "armed." The question for it to solve, is, "Does any necessity exist here for great armaments?" Any general argument in favor of disarmament in Europe should tell against armament in America. Simultaneousness could then be secured only with two, possibly three, leading powers; in this they must themselves take the initiative.

3. It must be *mutual*. Neither France nor Germany would consider disarmament except as a mutual act. The lesser powers might easily follow their example, especially Italy, if freed from the obligations of the triple alliance. Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, would gladly lessen their armies and their expenditures. As soon as a mutual agreement could be made a general disarmament would follow.

4. The disarmament must be *proportional*. This in the interest of equity and the balance of forces.

It seems to me that a gradual, simultaneous, mutual and proportional disarmament is practicable. Interest, economy, morality, safety and peace call for it. The Pope has addressed the Emperor of Germany, characterizing the numerous Peace military establishments as

unchristian. He represents the Catholic Church, and also the sentiment of the people in all Christian countries.

Religious opinions have been fruitful sources of persecution and bloodshed and it is worth something to the cause of Peace that one so eminent and wise as the present Pope, discerns the oppressiveness of the armies, and the threat they contain to the peace of the world.

The Emperor of Germany has lately said many kind and conciliatory things to his peaceful, laborious and suffering subjects. But we can only know him by his fruits. A proposition to arm has just come from him to the German nation, and this in a time of profound peace, with no recent or provoking question in debate. This means war. He is in a position to say to France, "Let us have peace by beginning to dismiss our soldiers."

A single regiment dismissed from the service of each of those countries would mark the turn of the tide, and do more for peace than all the protestations possible.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST AND THE WAR SYSTEM OF CHRISTENDOM.

No believer in Christianity can fail to see the opposite and antagonistic spirit between the war system, as it is legalized and administered by the nations, called Christian, and the teachings and example of Jesus Christ.

If war is a necessity to the world it must be shown to be so from considerations not found in the New Testament. If the precepts of military law are good, their goodness cannot be founded on those of Jesus Christ. To deny these propositions is to confess either a want of knowledge of Christianity as taught by its founder, or a want of knowledge of war in its organization, method, spirit and practice, or a prejudice so invincible as not to be vanquished by reason.

No Christian contends that Christ propagated religion by force of arms. That is confessed to be the chief heresy and fatal error of Mahomet. The contention of those who think the church should tolerate wars waged by the nations of which Christianity is the principal religion, is that Christ and his apostles tolerated it. They did not denounce the profession of a soldier. They did not argue against the military arm of governments. They accepted its protection. They commended some of its officers. They illustrated doctrines and duties by military practices. This is not the place to consider individual texts. But a somewhat prolonged investigation on my part has failed to discover one word or act of Jesus Christ breathing the spirit of emperors, kings, conquerors, or their military servants.

John the Baptist gave directions to soldiers how to live as he did to other men, and in terms that strike at the root of their conduct and their profession. Do violence to no man. Do not seize by force another's property, even to compensate yourself for service to the State. Be content with the wages you have.

The centurions Christ commended were not commended for any distinct military quality. Our Lord commended the faith of one man who was a Roman captain. He accepted the praise of another who had charitably aided in building Jewish churches. But he never said soldiering is fulfilling my commands. Fighting is a method of my kingdom. I approve of armies and all they stand for except excess. On the other hand he said to his followers, "Love your enemies." Pray for them that misuse you

—turn your cheek to the smiter. The Beatitudes are Christ's enunciation of things fundamental and peculiar to the Christian character. Not one of them commends self-assertion, physical courage, military ambition, pride of strength or even heroism—if by heroism is meant the courage to attack an enemy, wound or kill him.

The apostle Paul compared Christians to soldiers, who were as common and as near to him as the sparrows and grass of Galilee was to Jesus. Their manly and noble qualities were worthy of imitation. The organization of an army, its unity, its harmony of action, its common object, the subordination of its parts, its discipline, are all commendable, might all be imitated with advantage by those who seek to combine great bodies of men to exert a moral influence or effect a reform. Therefore not only in figures of speech and by illustration, drawn from the war system, has Christianity been taught from the first centuries till now, but the Salvation Army as constituted and the Industrial Army as proposed, exemplify some of the best forms of combined effort for good ends.

LOSSES IN THE CIVIL WAR.

Investigations recently made in the War Department at Washington show that the late Civil War was relatively the most sanguinary on record. Though the Union and Confederate returns are not altogether exact, the War Office is able to give a close approximate estimate of the killed, wounded, and missing in the Union forces. According to the statistics, 297,825 Union soldiers lie buried in the various national cemeteries. Including losses of which no account can be taken, the war cost the North 320,000 lives, or more than one in nine of all those who entered the service. The two opposing armies met in over 2000 skirmishes and battles. In 148 of these conflicts the loss on the Union side was upwards of 500 men, and in at least ten battles more than 10,000 men were reported lost on each side. The combined losses of the Union and Confederate forces in killed, wounded and missing in the following engagements were:—Shiloh, 24,000; Antietam, 38,000; Stone River, 37,000; Chancellorsville, 28,000; Gettysburg, 54,000; Chickamauga, 33,000; McClellan's peninsula campaign, 50,000; Grant's peninsula campaign, 180,000; and Sherman's campaign, 125,000. Waterloo was one of the most desperate and bloody fields chronicled in European history, yet Wellington's casualties were less than 12 per cent., while, during the Civil War, the loss at Murfreesborough, Atlanta, Chickamauga, Gettysburg, and other places, frequently reached and sometimes exceeded 40 per cent., and the average of killed and wounded on one side or the other was 30 per cent. If the figures of the Confederate losses could be accurately ascertained, the total deaths in the late war would probably surpass 500,000.

The Milan *Secolo* says:—"Italy spends on its military expenses more than *ten times* the amount which it spends on public instruction, and more than *twenty times* what it spends on agriculture. But while it has the disgrace of being among the nations who have the greatest number of illiterate persons, while an extensive area of her lands lie uncultivated and barren, are not these figures shameful and humiliating?"

PER PACEM AD LUCEM.

I do not ask, O Lord, that life may be
A pleasant road;
I do not ask that thou wouldst take from me
Aught of its load;

I do not ask that flowers should always spring
Beneath my feet;
I know too well the poison and the sting
Of things too sweet.

For one thing only, Lord, dear Lord, I plead;
Lead me aright—
Though strength should falter and though heart should bleed—
Through Peace to Light.

I do not ask, O Lord, that thou shouldst shed
Full radiance here;
Give but a ray of peace, that I may tread
Without a fear.

I do not ask my cross to understand,
My way to see;
Better in darkness just to feel thy hand,
And follow Thee.

Joy is like restless day; but peace divine
Like quiet night;
Lead me, O Lord, till perfect day shall shine—
Through Peace to Light.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.

REV. CHARLES B. SMITH.

The existence of a Supreme Being is a self-evident fact to all rational creatures. The fact of supremacy involves the obligation of obedience to supreme authority by all the subjects of such authority. As the creatures of a common Creator, all men are subject to His control. The right of the Creator to give law, and exact obedience exists in the fact that He is the Creator and that He requires only what is right. When the command is given, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself," the force of the command is not only in the fact that it is given by supreme authority, but also in the fact that it is seen to be reasonable and right. Love to God begets love to man, as a necessary result. The one cannot exist without the other. Love and obedience are inseparable. He who loveth God, loveth his brother also.

Love, or benevolence, in its broadest sense, must seek the greatest good of the greatest number. It is the same in essence, whether exercised by God, angels or men. It cannot be circumscribed, and fenced in by any conventional arrangements or human enactments. Like the living fountain, it will always rise until it finds an outlet; and then will flow down to the lowest level, and seek for all others the same blessing it seeks for itself. Like the sunshine and the rain, it seeks to bless the "just and the unjust, the evil and the good," of every condition, color and clime. This result is as certain and necessary as that an effect will follow its legitimate cause. But how will love to God develop itself towards man?

First, by leading its possessor to acknowledge and respect the natural rights and privileges among the whole brotherhood of man. Equality of natural rights and privileges does not involve equality of natural capacity or social position. The Bible, as well as reason, teaches

that "there is one God, and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all." The Prophet says (Malachi ii. 10), "Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?" The reasoning of the Prophet is to the effect, that since we are all the children of one Father, as all have a common origin, and are made of one blood, we are brethren of the same family, and must acknowledge an equality of natural rights and privileges among the brotherhood; and as we belong to the same brotherhood, we should not deal treacherously and cruelly with each other, but kindly and mercifully. Love to God and his brother, therefore, will constrain those who possess it to acknowledge and respect the rights and privileges of the whole brotherhood; among which, "are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" all of which war destroys.

Secondly, love to God will develop itself towards man, by restraining its possessor from doing anything to his brother man that he would not have done to himself under similar circumstances. This result is so plain and necessary that it seems impossible that any one should fail to perceive it. And yet great numbers, who profess to love God and their brother man, do not hesitate to do to others what they would not for the world have others do to them. Who is willing to be robbed of his money, to have his buildings fired, or to be mangled and murdered? And yet those who go to war, or sanction war, do the very things, or approve the doing of them, which they would not on any account have done to themselves. If I assail with deadly weapons, and kill or mangle my brother, or if I encourage others to do the same, I am a monster, and not a brother. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law, and an important evidence of such love is in the fact that its possessor is restrained from those dispositions and that conduct towards his brother that he would not have exercised towards himself under similar circumstances.

Thirdly, love to God will develop itself towards man, by constraining its possessor to actively oppose all others who would do him injury. I have a number of brothers whom I respect and love. The attempt is made in various ways to do them injury. If I love those brothers I shall not only be restrained from injuring them myself but shall oppose every attempt of others to do them injury. One man tries by lies and slander to destroy their character; I shall oppose him. Another tries by fraud to get away their property; I shall oppose him. Another tries to make them drunkards; I shall oppose him. Others are seeking to kill them; I shall oppose every such attempt or, if they are already suffering injury, I shall do my utmost to relieve them. It is the inherent nature of love to do this. If I love those brothers, as I must if I love God, I cannot do otherwise than oppose everything that would injure all, or any one of them. I cannot be opposed to the injury of one, and indifferent to the injury of another, nor can I be opposed to one evil that would injure them, and indifferent or favorable to any other evil that would do them equal or greater harm. If I am indifferent to their welfare, or fail to oppose to the extent of my ability everything that would injure all, or any one of them, I have not the instincts of a brother's heart. As children of the same Father, and brethren of the same family, men cannot fight and kill each other without rebellion against supreme authority and the violation of the fundamental principle of brotherhood.

TINY TOKENS.

FRANCES RIDLEY HAVERGAL.

The murmur of a waterfall
 A mile away,
 The rustle when a robin lights
 Upon a spray,
 The lapping of a lowland stream
 On dripping boughs,
 The sound of grazing from a herd
 Of gentle cows,
 The echo from wooded hill
 Of cuckoo's call,
 The quiver through the meadow grass
 At evening fall:—
 Too subtle are these harmonies
 For pen and rule;
 Such music is not understood
 By any school;
 But when the brain is overwrought
 It hath a spell,
 Beyond all human skill and power,
 To make it well.

The memory of a kindly word
 For long gone by,
 The fragrance of a fading flower
 Sent lovingly,
 The gleaming of a sudden smile
 Or sudden tear,
 The warmer pressure of the hand,
 The tone of cheer,
 The hush that means "I cannot speak,
 But I have heard!"
 The note that only bears a verse
 From God's own Word:—
 Such tiny things we hardly count
 As ministry;
 The givers deeming they have shown
 Scant sympathy;
 But, when the heart is overwrought,
 Oh, who can tell
 The power of such tiny things
 To make it well?

HISTORY OF "THE CONCURRENT
RESOLUTION."

July 8, 1873, saw Richard's motion in the House of Commons carried, although Gladstone voted against it. Nine days after Queen Victoria responded favorably and grandly. Italy, Sweden and other countries followed. In conjunction with efforts of Charles Sumner, the Friends of Peace met in New York and New Haven, and in various States, and sent over two thousand names as petitioners to Congress. June 9, 1874, Senator Hamlin presented his report from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with a resolution for International Arbitration, and on June 17, 1874, J. H. K. Willcox, Vice-President of the U. P. U., drafted the following which was presented to Hon. Stewart L. Woodford in the House of Representatives, and received a two-thirds vote.

"That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and requested to negotiate with all civilized powers who may be willing to enter into such negotiations for the establishment of an international system, whereby matters in dispute between different governments agreeing thereto may be adjusted by arbitration, and if possible, without recourse to war."

The action of the Congress of the United States in 1890 adopting substantially the same resolution, though sixteen years after, is gratifying.—*Peacemaker.*

A YEAR'S HISTORY.

THE DIRECTORS' ANNUAL REPORT.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY:

IN MEMORIAM.

We have been called to part with an unusual number of our associates during the past year. Among these were Rev. Theodore Dwight Woolsey, LL. D., Ex-President of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.; Rev. G. W. Thompson of Stratham, N. H.; Francis B. Gilman of Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. D. D. Tappan, Topsfield, Mass.; George H. Stuart of Philadelphia and John B. Crenshaw of Richmond, Va. Among our faithful co-laborers, who have died, are also Sarah B. Hallock of Connecticut, Nancy E. Brooks of Massachusetts and Mary Whicher of New Hampshire. All of these had come to a ripe old age, except Mr. Gilman, an active member of the Executive Committee, the efficient auditor of our accounts and our delegate to the Universal Peace Congress at Paris. Benjamin F. Knowles of Providence, R. I., an honored member of the Society of Friends, a faithful and wise member of the Executive Committee, almost never absent from his post, manifesting a constant and controlling devotion to the cause of Peace, died Sunday, May 18, 1890. This is not the place for extended eulogy; but it is due to each and all of our departed fellow-laborers that we here record our appreciation of their characters and work and express our sense of bereavement and loss.

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

The last annual meeting was held the first instead of the last week of May, in order that it might be attended by those of our number designated as delegates to the Universal Peace Congress in Paris, a portion of whom sailed from Boston May 11, 1889. After various journeys and meetings in the interest of our work in Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England, our delegation met in Paris for the Congress June 23-28. It consisted of Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., Mr. Francis B. Gilman, Rev. R. B. Howard and Mr. Edward Cummings of Massachusetts, Hon. J. B. Chamberlain of Colorado and Dr. R. H. Thomas, M. D., of Maryland. At the religious meetings which were adjuncts to the Congress and at the morning sessions of the various committees as well as the general sessions of the Congress, your delegates actively participated. Our constitution, organization and a brief history of our Society were translated into French and handed not only to the members of the Congress but distributed freely in the great Exposition. Dr. Miner prepared and presented a paper entitled "*A Step towards Disarmament*," in both the English and French language. The Secretary also contributed a paper on "*The New Sympathy of Nations*," in both French and English versions. He also made an address,

which was repeated on the spot in the French language by M. Eschenauer of Paris, a leading member of the Congress. The delegates participated from time to time in the general discussions and in the farewell exercises. They attended by invitation of M. Carnot, President of the French Republic, and M. Guyot, the Minister of Public Works, receptions given at their palaces; also one tendered by the American Minister, Hon. Whitelaw Reid and one on the Fourth of July by the city of Paris at the Isle of Swans, and subsequently at the Hotel de Ville. A formal visit to the grave of Lafayette led to an interesting conversation on the subject of a French-American treaty of Arbitration with Edmond Lafayette, member of the Senate of France and grandson of the early friend of the United States.

We cannot resist the conclusion that the visit of this delegation to Paris during the great Exposition and its participation in the work of the Congress and its adjuncts, was directly promotive of international concord not only with France but with the entire civilized world as there represented. The official doings of the Congress itself were fully published in the ADVOCATE OF PEACE and need not be recounted in this report. The Paris Congress was followed by interesting meetings with the friends of Peace in Great Britain, and, after the return of the delegation to America, a large and representative meeting in Boston addressed by the delegates, of which a full report has been published in pamphlet by the Society. The expense of representation at the Paris Congress was borne either by the individual delegates or by a special contribution of the friends of Peace made for that purpose. Such was the success of the Paris Congress that provision was made for another to meet in London, July 14-19 of the present year, at which it is proposed to take measures to hold a similar meeting at Rome in 1891 and in the United States in 1892-3. We recommend that the American Peace Society send a delegation to the London Peace Congress and empower it to invite a similar gathering in our country in connection with the Columbian Exhibition to be held in Chicago.

THE LEADERSHIP OF AMERICA.

Nothing impressed your representatives more seriously than the sentiment which they frequently heard from representatives of various European countries that it is the duty of the Great Republic of the West not only to keep abreast with the world's endeavor to abolish war, but to lead the nations in the better way of Universal Peace.

It seems to us an answer to this often expressed wish and hope that in accordance with the petitions of thousands of our countrymen, many of them sent to Congress at the solicitation of this Society, our Government invited a conference of delegates of the independent nations of America at Washington. They responded and have spent the past winter deliberating on the common interests of the Western Continent and, towards the close of the

session, adopting and publishing a well digested plan of general arbitration, with the avowed purpose of preventing future wars, in harmony with a memorial sent them by this Society.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The official President of that Conference, Hon. James G. Blaine, who is the United States Secretary of State and the representative of our Government in its foreign policy, gave utterance to sentiments in his farewell address as noble in their aspirations as any which have emanated from the able and eloquent men who for over sixty years have spoken upon the platform of the American Peace Society: "*If, in this closing hour, the conference had but one deed to celebrate, we should dare call the world's attention to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of two great continents to peace, and to the prosperity which has peace for its foundation. We hold up this new Magna Charta, which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American Republics, as the first and great fruit of the International American Conference.*" Nor has utterance stood alone. Action has been taken. The representatives of nine nations of this continent had on the first day of May signed the Arbitration Scheme.

ACTION OF CONGRESS.

Nor is this all that encourages our hearts. A concurrent resolution, originating with peace loving people of America and the British Peace Deputation of 1887, led by W. R. Cremer, M. P., has been unanimously passed by both Houses of Congress. It is as follows:

"*To invite International Arbitration as to differences between Nations.*"

"*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President be, and is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any Government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration, and be peaceably adjusted by such means.*"

This resolution makes a most important suggestion and imposes upon the President a grave responsibility. It announces the moral attitude of our National Congress and expresses the wise conviction of the best citizens of the Republic. It seeks to extend to "*any government*" the principles that have been adopted by the International Conference as applicable to American nations.

ANNUAL PROGRESS.

Other incidents of this most remarkable year bearing on our work, and may we not justly claim as in some degree the fruit of previous years of labor, put forth by this and similar societies, are:

1—A protracted maritime Conference at Washington, the outcome of which points to more harmonious laws for

the government of ships and commerce upon the high seas.

2—Several cases of successful international arbitration and not one failure. Among these may be mentioned one by the Chickasaw Indian nation and the settlement by the nations involved of the Samoa difficulty.

3—Treaties or parliamentary action in favor of Arbitration by Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Spain and Italy, and a declaration of Chinese opinion and policy in the same line by Li Hung Chung the celebrated *Viceroy of China*.

4—A so called labor conference at Berlin which was the occasion of remarkable protestations of peaceful intentions by the German Emperor, who invited Jules Simon, one of the French labor delegates and the President of the Parliamentary Peace Congress in Paris July 29-30, to his table and amicably conferred with him on the peace of Europe, saying to him according to report, in answer to some suggestion of the neutralization of Alsace-Lorraine: "Nothing can be regarded as premature which serves to promote peace between France and Germany." On the same occasion the Pope wrote the Emperor in favor of disarmament and pronounced enormous military preparations unchristian.

ARMAMENT OR DISARMAMENT.

But Germany and France and all other nations go on arming. Our own country is, in spite of our position, our conferences and our recent official utterance, urged to do the same. The malignant spirit of war breathes in the speech of the aged Von Moltke at Berlin pleading for more troops, more guns, more conscription, more debt, more oppression in the name of peace! The inaugural of the German prime minister, Caprivi, successor of Bismarck to the Reichstag, announces the German policy in eastern Africa to be "Bible and Bullets." The next day Henry M. Stanley in London gave in his adhesion to the German policy and berates England for paying attention to Peace Societies! England may deserve criticism for her treatment of uncivilized people among whom she has established colonies, but she has never been obsequious or obedient to Peace Societies.

The American Peace Society has one and but one plank in its platform of principles. It is that war is not in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel. The combination of "Bible and bullets" in Africa seems to us inconsistent with that principle. The sufficiency of the Gospel, in its teachings, its spirit, and its methods to abolish the slave-trade and effect other social reforms, without an appeal to the sword, is our cherished belief. Put Christian principle into law, give it the force of public opinion and public conscience. Try it, even as it never has been tried, and Christian civilization will become more than a name.

FINANCIAL.

The Treasurer's report will show the financial transactions of the past year and the present state of the treasury. While there was a small balance in the treasury at the close of the year April 30, 1890, the printers' bills of the present month will much more than absorb it and no provision whatever has been made for current expenses, including about two hundred and fifty dollars required to send an official delegate to the London Congress. No legacies have been received during the year.

Owing to the extraordinary expenses made necessary by repairs on real estate and the shifting of leases, all of which it is hoped will add to its resources in the future, the net income of the Permanent Peace Fund was somewhat reduced. We have received from that source \$2992.20 and from donations and publications, including balance on hand at the beginning of the year, \$1873.70, making our entire resources \$4865.90, of which there has been expended on our work at home and abroad \$4772, leaving a balance of \$93.90.

THE LIBRARY.

Some useful reference books have been added to our library and we have purchased the publications of other societies and those of general literature as we had need. Both our home and foreign correspondence has largely increased. Our periodicals have been circulated more widely than ever, and ought to be sent gratuitously to every reading room in the United States. We receive more commendations than pecuniary returns for our papers and other publications, for which there is an increasing demand, which, if we had the means, we would gladly supply. The records of the Society for the last thirty-five years have been neatly transcribed into a new book for preservation among our archives.

HONORING OUR FOUNDER.

The venerable author of the life of William Ladd, John Hemmenway, is enjoying a green old age, residing in Minnesota. He has with commendable patience and research compiled a new and enlarged manuscript edition of that interesting and historically invaluable memoir which he has placed in our hands with an earnest request for publication. It is due to the memory of the founder of this Society, one of the most unique and remarkable characters of the first quarter of the century and who is called without exaggeration "the Apostle of Peace," that an adequate and well edited "life" should be published. It will cost for 2000 copies about \$1000. Are there not friends of peace—heirs of his principles and his work—who will contribute the necessary funds? It should be sent for notice to every respectable periodical in the country and be placed in every public library. Cannot the book be published this year while the indis-

pensable aid of the venerable author is available for editing it?

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Our thanks are due to the Executive Committee of this Society who have met stately, punctually and in good numbers during the year. It has memorialized Congress; corresponded on international complications with Peace Societies abroad and at home; circulated petitions to Congress among the people; sent a delegate to Washington to confer with the International Conference and the Government of the United States; and entered into correspondence with the authorities as to a Peace Congress, in connection with the World's Exhibition of 1892-3.

It is the opinion of the Directors that the United States Government should be asked by this Society to call the above mentioned Congress, and invite foreign governments to send representatives, who shall sit either separately or in conjunction with the delegates from the Peace Societies of the world, to confer on vital questions of international law, and the immediate causes of war, to the end that the obstacles to perpetual peace may, so far as practicable, be pointed out and removed.

THE PARLIAMENTARY CONGRESS.

A large number of French and English members of national parliaments met in convention with others from the United States and Italy and other European governments at Paris at the close of the Peace Congress. A conference was organized and entered into earnest deliberations. It has perpetuated itself by a permanent committee of organization, which has called a Parliamentary Peace Conference in London July 21, 1890. It comprises some of the leading statesmen of Great Britain and France, and the United States ought to be represented by men of similar character and position.

TREATIES AND A TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATION.

This new and remarkable body is committed to the advocacy of arbitral treaties as we are. It also contemplates with us some high Tribunal with power to adjudicate on international affairs. America and France, America and England are the nations to which the world looks for leadership in such treaties and such a Tribunal. The elaborate project for such a Tribunal by the late Leone Levi which is endorsed by our countryman Dr. Edward Everett Hale, will be one of the subjects discussed at the coming Peace Congress in London. It is an attempt to put in practical form suited to the present time the ideas which were largely embodied in the six prize essays on a Congress of Nations published by this Society and donated to the many governments in 1840, just half a century ago. Our Executive Committee considered and approved the Leone Levi project in 1888.

Anything like a general system of arbitration among the nations such as is coming implies so many questions of international law, as to demand an international code and a Tribunal adequate in its constitution and powers for its administration. Hence our sympathy with the effort for an International Code in which Hon. David Dudley Field of New York holds a most influential position, and similar efforts for an International Tribunal or High Court of Arbitration as advocated by Dr. E. E. Hale of Boston.

THE PEACE WORK OF WOMEN.

At its last annual meeting for the first time four women, representing Massachusetts, Maine and Ohio, were placed upon this board. The activities of women in the cause of peace have been most apparent in the Peace Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of which Hannah J. Bailey of Maine, one of this board, is head. That department has published valuable tracts and periodicals, sustained lecturers in the field and made its voice influentially heard upon the platforms of the original Society or Union. It is doing a noble work which commands our sympathy and gratitude. This organization furnishes the peace cause with auxiliary societies in every community where the world-wide temperance reform is prosecuted by women. It is invaluable as a means of circulating petitions and otherwise reaching localities where no exclusively Peace Society exists.

OTHER HELPERS.

We would gratefully recognize the friendly attitude of the various religious bodies in the United States, and the fraternal relations which exist between ourselves and other more recent peace organizations, among which the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia and the Christian Peace and Arbitration Society of the same city are the most noteworthy. Our Rhode Island auxiliary is very helpful in its own State as well as in the more general work. The trustees of the Lindley Murray Fund of New York and of Obadiah Brown Fund of Providence, R. I., also deserve grateful mention for the timely and substantial assistance which they have rendered.

Our acknowledgments are due to the Lombardy Union of Milan, Italy, of which M. Moneta is Secretary, for publications, correspondence and other marked courtesies; also to the London Peace Society, of which Rev. W. E. Darby is Secretary, for its valuable publications, co-operation and generous hospitalities during the stay of our delegation in London. To the International Arbitration and Peace Society of London, of which Mr. Hodgson Pratt is President, we are also greatly indebted for social attentions and cheerful co-operation.

THE YEAR NOW CLOSED.

Ladies and gentlemen of the American Peace Society: It is with sincere gratitude to our Heavenly Father, that

we close this review of a year's labor, in the cause to which this Society has now for sixty-two years been devoted. Surely we have abundant reason for congratulation for the past and courage for the future. Our field is the world, our sympathies as broad as humanity. That this Society has a place and a duty in establishing the kingdom of God on earth—a kingdom which is righteousness and peace—that it exists for the fulfilment of prophecy and as an answer to prayer, is to us as evident as that God is love and Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace.

Let us gird ourselves anew for spiritual conflicts with unswerving faith that the time is drawing nearer when the nations will learn war no more and the will of God will be done on earth even as it is in Heaven.

On behalf of the Directors of the American Peace Society.

R. B. HOWARD,
Secretary.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

DIRECTORS' SESSION.

The Directors met at Pilgrim Hall, May 27th, at 2 P.M. In the absence of the President, Rev. L. H. Angier of Boston was chosen chairman and Rev. S. C. Bushnell of Arlington Secretary *pro tem*. Prayer was offered by Rev. R. B. Howard. Minutes of the meeting May 6, 1890, were read and approved. The Corresponding Secretary read the report of Thos. H. Russell, Esq., Treasurer of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund, showing the amount of the entire fund, the cost of administration and other expenses and the net income. The Treasurer of the fund had paid to the Society \$2992.20. The principal is well invested and unless something unforeseen occurs seems likely to yield a larger income in future years for the cause of Peace.

In answer to questions by various Directors it was explained that the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund are incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts. They hold whatever they have received or whatever may be given them for the purpose, in trust, for the American Peace Society; paying to that Society, which has no voice in the management of the fund, nothing but the net income of the same, which ordinarily amounts to nearly four per cent. The salary of the Secretary and the rent of an office and a part of the expense of publications are met by this income. All benevolent contributions are expended under the direction of the Executive Committee in the work of the Society, which committee meets at least bi-monthly. The Directors meet but once a year, usually on the same day of the annual meeting of the Society. The report of the Treasurer of the Permanent Peace Fund was accepted.

F. M. Patten, the Treasurer of the Society, then made his annual report which was accepted and approved. The substance of it appears in the report of the Directors under the head "Financial."

The Secretary read the annual report of the Directors and after criticism and discussion, it was unanimously adopted. Adjourned.

GENERAL MEETING.

The American Peace Society was called to order. The organization ordered by the Directors was continued.

Rev. John Worcester offered prayer. The reports of the Treasurer and Directors were submitted and approved. The latter was ordered to be printed. It was published in pamphlet form and appears on page 107 in this paper.

The following resolutions were introduced by Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells. Dr. W. A. Mowry, Ph. D., seconded their adoption. After a spirited discussion participated in by Dr. Mowry, Mr. W. E. Sheldon, Rev. A. E. Winship, Mr. N. T. Allen, the chairman and others, they were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the constantly increasing armaments of European nations threaten the peace of the world, and call for a halt in the interest of humanity.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend proportionate, gradual, mutual and simultaneous disarmament, especially to the five great Powers of Europe, both for the sake of their suffering peoples, our fellow-men, and for the sake of an influential example on the other governments of the world.

Resolved, That for our own country, an immense navy and expensive coast fortifications, with an army such as these will make necessary, seem to us uncalled for. If we propose to arm, we cannot consistently ask other nations to disarm.

The following committee on nominations was appointed by the chair: Rev. A. E. Winship, Rev. John Worcester, Hon. W. E. Sheldon, Rev. David Gregg, D.D.

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the year ensuing reported the list printed on the second page of this paper, and they were elected. Rev. C. B. Smith offered the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved, That we hereby tender the thanks of the Society to the Park Street Church and their pastor, Dr. David Gregg, for the proffer of their place of worship, in which to hold our public anniversary meeting Sunday evening, June 1st, and we gratefully accept the same.

Voted, That the President and Secretary, together or separately, have discretionary power in filling vacancies or adding names to the London Delegation.

The following named persons were nominated and elected as delegates to the Universal Peace Congress at London July 14-19, or were subsequently appointed by a committee chosen for the purpose of securing a suitable delegation and given power to issue credentials:

Hon. David Dudley Field, New York; Dr. John Nutt, Chicago, Ill.; Otis McGaw Howard, Chicago, Ill.; Philip C. Garrett, Philadelphia, Penn.; Augustine Jones, Esq., Providence, R. I.; Rev. R. B. Howard, Boston, Mass.; Rev. Reuben Thomas, D. D., Brookline, Mass.; Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., Boston, Mass.; Rev. P. S. Moxom, D. D., Boston, Mass.; Rev. Chas. B. Smith, West Medford, Mass.; Rev. J. K. Wilson, Taunton, Mass.; Rev. Malcom McG. Dana, D. D., Lowell, Mass.; Rev. J. H. Allen, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. S. F. Dyke, Bath, Maine; Judge Charles Devens, Boston, Mass.; Hon. J. Q. A. Brackett, Arlington, Mass.; Mr. Robert A. Woods, Connecticut.

After some encouraging remarks from the chairman, Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, Augustine Jones, Esq., and others, the Society adjourned.

Once let it be felt that the murderous perfection of scientific weapons has rendered bravery a mere mockery, and human beings will no longer consent to be driven on to certain death in holocausts.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE.

O home of graces, home of knowledge, be
 To each, to all who come thy courts within,
 Their shrine of consecration for all time!
 That his great gift who gave his country thee,
 May rid the land of want, and shame, and sin,
 And with her women, make her men sublime.
 —Laura Ormiston Chant.

May 21, 1888.

MRS. CHANT AT HOME.

Those who have heard Mrs. Chant speak or have heard of her or will read her address made at Park Street Church June 1st, in this number of the *ADVOCATE*, will be glad to know something more of that gifted woman as related by Maria S. Porter of Lynn in the *Boston Transcript*.

The home of Mrs. Chant is at Hampstead, near the historic Hampstead Heath, and is called Glenora Gardens. Dr. Chant, a well-known physician, is a noble man, in entire sympathy with the work of his wife, often, very often, lending a helping hand, and is in every regard fully worthy to be the husband of such a woman. They have four lovely children, and it is something always to be remembered to have seen that mother with her children; their judicious training is at once made manifest. She sings to them the sweet little songs she has written and set to music for them; she enters into their sports; she for the time being is one of them. Into that home how many forlorn, forsaken, suffering, sinful ones have been taken, tenderly cared for, and strengthened through the love and right living there to be seen and felt, and they are made better men and stronger, purer women. Her work in connection with others in London who have the interests of the working women so much at heart, in establishing clubs for their benefit, is of vast importance. I was her guest at a parlor-meeting and reception given to her in a palatial house in South Kensington, the hostess, a lady well-known in London society, the audience assembled a distinguished one, composed of men and women many of whose names are familiar to us all. Mrs. Chant spoke to them of the clubs for working women and especially of the Honor Club that had been established, largely, through the efforts of Miss Honor Brooke, the daughter of Rev. Stopford Brooke, one of London's most eloquent preachers. Miss Brooke recited, in her gentle, inimitable way, a poem of Mrs. Chant's called "An Idyl of London"—a poem that in sentiment would bear favorable comparison with Hood's never-to-be-forgotten "Bridge of Sighs," the enthusiasm of the audience was unbounded, and as Mrs. Chant's little girls went around for contributions the gifts were in pounds and not in shillings.

In one of her talks on woman suffrage, she said (after telling us that for the first time in England's history there was a majority in favor of woman suffrage in Parliament) with incisive wit, "It is very tiresome to hear it said women should not vote because they cannot fight. Thank God it is beginning to be understood that moral force is more effective than brute force. They say that women shouldn't vote because they have not given us a Shakespeare. The men have not succeeded in duplicating Shakespeare!"

Mrs. Chant was born to the people. On the one side she was related to Edmund Burke, one of the most famous orators and statesmen that England's annals can show;

her maternal grandmother was his niece. On the other side she is a lineal descendant of Prince Rupert, the cousin of Charles I, the loyalist soldier, the dashing, fearless, reckless cavalier, the man so versatile, who was poet, artist, master of the horse, governor of Windsor Castle, and whose ashes repose in Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey. Although he was a Stuart, he was one of the best of them. So Mrs. Chant by inheritance has a rightful claim to her varied gifts. Mrs. Chant sailed for home on the "Cephalonia" June 7.

On leaving these shores Mrs. Chant may be sure that we all bid her a hearty God-speed, trusting that she may often and often visit us.

Of her we can truly say—

As year by year rolls on, at call of duty
 This sweet-voiced woman will not cease to speak
 Her words of truth, clothed with a potent beauty,
 Entreating help for the oppressed and weak.

How much all women owe this earnest pleader!
 This, noble men with grateful hearts, will tell,
 And recognize in this devoted leader
 One who a woman's part hath acted well.

MILITARY DRILL IN SCHOOLS.

To the Editor of the *Transcript*: Nothing was more to the point in Mrs. Laura Ormiston Chant's admirable address at Park Street Church, Sunday evening, than what she said of the "military drill" of our schoolboys. Horace Mann, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner and others of Massachusetts, most honorable citizens, denounced it, as do hosts of our men and women to-day in private. It is retained simply and almost wholly by the love of parade and show. At the late convention of those interested in physical culture in November last at Huntington Hall, no one, save the drill master in the Boston school, had one word in commendation of the system, while Professor Sargent of the Cambridge gymnasium for Harvard students is decided in his opinion that it is physically injurious to the lads under eighteen years of age. Certainly on moral grounds it is not to be encouraged.

SCHOOLMASTER.

LETTER TO SECRETARY.

Rev. J. O. Fiske, D.D., of Bath, Me., writes:

"I have lately read Mommsen's and Merivale's Histories of Rome with new amazement at the might and wisdom of that remarkable nation. It was war, however, which overthrew Rome. She conquered vast numbers of the people of the very finest races of the earth in physical force and beauty. Those she reduced to slavery. The enslaving of such multitudes of such people introduced the exhausting, devitalizing indulgence of unlimited lust and sensuality. Rome became enfeebled and rotten through her immoralities made practicable by war, and she fell.

"I have heard Prof. Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., of the Union Theological Seminary give the same explanation of the physical, enfeebling and necessary consequent fall of Rome."

There is no human being
 With so wholly dark a lot,
 But the heart by turning the picture
 May find the sunny spot.

—Phæbe Cary.

SOME TIME.

Some time, when all life's lessons have been learned,
 And sun and stars forevermore have set,
 The things which our weak judgment here has spurned—
 The things o'er which we grieved with lashes wet—
 Will flash before us out of life's dark night,
 As stars shine most in deeper tints of blue;
 And we shall see how all God's plans were right,
 And how what seemed reproof was love most true.

And we shall see, that, while we frown and sigh,
 God's plans go on as best for you and me;
 How, when we called, He heeded not our cry,
 Because His wisdom to the end could see;
 And, e'en as prudent parents disallow
 Too much of sweet to craving babyhood,
 So God, perhaps, is keeping from us now
 Life's sweetest things, because it seemeth good.

And if, some time, commingled with life's wine,
 We find the wormwood, and rebel and shrink,
 Be sure a wiser hand than yours or mine
 Pours out this potion for our lips to drink;
 And if some friend we love is lying low,
 Where human kisses cannot reach his face,
 Oh! do not blame the loving Father so,
 But bear your sorrow with obedient grace.

And you shall shortly know that lengthened breath
 Is not the sweetest gift God sends his friend,
 And that sometimes the sable pall of death
 Conceals the fairest boon His love can send.
 If we could push ajar the gates of life,
 And stand within, and all God's working see,
 We could interpret all this doubt and strife,
 And for each mystery find a key.

But not to-day. Then be content, poor heart;
 God's plans, like lilies pure and white, unfold;
 We must not tear the close-shut leaves apart;
 Time will reveal the calyxes of gold.
 And if through patient toil we reach the land
 Where tired feet, with sandals loose, may rest,
 When we shall clearly know and understand,
 I think that we shall say that "God knew best."

A PAN-AMERICAN MONUMENT.

The Washington *Evening Star* of April 17th says:
 Senor Mendonca of Brazil, one of the committee appointed by the Pan-American congress to devise and report a plan for expressing the grateful appreciation by the visiting delegates of the courtesies and hospitality extended by the United States government and the delegates from the United States, proposes that the delegates from Central and South America inaugurate a movement for the erection in the city of Washington as a gift to the people of the United States of a monument to commemorate the gathering of the first congress of all the nations on the western hemisphere.

Mr. Mendonca says that this monument shall not only commemorate the meeting of the congress, but typify in its design the principal results secured, *chief among which he placed the adoption of the principle of arbitration as the means of settling all disputes and difficulties that might arise between two American nations.*

—The right way to go through life, and have the best manners, is to feel and to act as though everybody, no matter how rich or how poor, needs all the kindness they can get from others in the world.

MRS. CORA KENNEDY SADA.

We are indebted to Miss Williams, a friend and relative of Mrs. Sada, for a translation of the beautiful eulogy pronounced to her memory by Signor Ludovico Carli, March 16, 1890, at Milan, before the International Peace Society, of which Mrs. Sada was a benefactor; to the noble and devoted Secretary of which, *M. Moneta*, she was a kind and attached friend. We regret that our space at this time compels us to condense this eloquent oration.

It will interest American readers to know that Mrs. Sada was a daughter of the well-known Dr. Donald Kennedy, and a member of a family distinguished for kind and benevolent activities. Her husband, energetically and successfully prosecuted his business as a civil engineer in South America and retired to his Italian home in advanced life and enjoyed the comfort of competence and the society of a beloved wife in whose benevolent purposes and deeds he fully sympathized and actively shared.

Miss Williams was a companion of Mrs. Sada to the last and has but recently returned to her American home. We are also indebted to Dr. G. G. Kennedy of Boston for several beautifully printed copies of the eulogy in Italian.

Cora Kennedy Sada was born in Boston, Mass., of an English mother and a Scotch father. She was always a person of strong attachments and in her early youth showed a great love of the country which had given her a father. The old Scottish legends, the old Scottish poetry, were things very dear to her heart and entered with other beautiful things into the formation of her rare character. A warm, sympathetic nature showed itself in her early life, and grew later on into that grand goodness of heart, that benevolence of spirit, which showed itself in her smallest and least noticed acts.

She was an author of more than average ability but never had enough opportunity in her life to cultivate to its highest, the ideal side of her character. With an invalid mother as a constant care upon her, she could not devote her whole time to the literary work that she so loved. Her poems, however, breathe the sincerity of her life. They are inspired by love of humanity and by love of God. All war, all oppression, every form of vice, all meanness in man, was abhorrent to her. Although she loathed wrong doing, yet her gentle nature ever reached out toward erring men to help and succor them.

Madame Sada's husband was a noble-hearted man and somewhat like his wife. He was an Italian and a resident of Milan. She was drawn to him through his reputation as a man of philanthropic character and kind deeds. He died a few months before his wife.

Nothing is more interesting about her than the fact that she loved all humanity, not merely a small, select portion of mankind. Above all countries she loved America. Above all statesmen she revered Washington. But she was a citizen of the world and looked upon all men as her fellow-countrymen. Thus she was a devoted friend of the Italian Garibaldi, while at the same time she admired the great French author, Victor Hugo. The portrait of Lincoln, draped with the flag of her native country, adorned her *salon*.

Italy was her home for many years and it is there that she died. She was worn out and exhausted by the care of her mother. She had lost her husband, her parents, and many dear ones, and had no children to solace her.

These many causes acted upon her sensitive nature and she succumbed to them when she had just begun to carry out those philanthropic ideas, so dear to herself and to her husband.

Her hatred of war and her love of all things peaceful was manifested in many ways throughout her life; but at her death she showed the depth of her feeling on this subject by leaving six thousand dollars to the Peace Society of Italy. Among her other bequests was one of ten thousand dollars to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, also an Italian charity, much like the American Society of that name. A beautiful fountain, costing some five thousand dollars, was one of the gifts which she and her husband presented to the city of Tortona in order to provide a drinking place for the poor people of the town. She also gave twenty thousand dollars to be used in the erection of a Home for the aged poor of Tortona, the city in Italy where she passed much of her time. Her private charities were innumerable.

WILLING TO DISARM.

BRAZIL WELCOMES THE PROPOSITION FOR INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 5, 1890. The Secretary of State has received a dispatch from the United States legation at Rio de Janeiro, announcing that the cabinet has passed a resolution enthusiastically approving the action of the International American Conference, in recommending arbitration in all questions of differences between the several governments of America. The following is an extract from *O Paiz*, the official organ of the minister of foreign affairs at Rio de Janeiro, referring to the subject:

"At the conference of the ministers, yesterday, the resolution of the International American Conference, determining that arbitration shall be resorted to to settle all questions arising among the American nations, was presented. We are informed that the government of Brazil, through the minister of war, Gen. Benjamin Constant, lamenting that Chili has not accepted this proposal, will lay before the next congress the idea of sending to Chili within five years deputations from all American republics to solicit the acquiescence of that country. And, as a natural consequence, that all the American nations shall disarm all officers and soldiers of the army and navy, to keep the same honors and rank as at present enjoyed. The minister of foreign affairs was authorized yesterday to telegraph to Washington this resolution of our government."

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AID.

The following petition prepared by Rev. Henry T. Cheever, D. D., received 1066 signatures and was presented to Congress.

To the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives:

Your Memorialists, a responsible body of loyal American citizens, residents of Worcester, Massachusetts, alarmed by the late failure in the United States Senate, of the important measure that goes by the name of the Blair Education Bill, thrice before carried through the Senate by large majorities, unite in requesting that your honorable bodies will forthwith reconsider and put into law

that Bill or something equivalent; whereby the means of impartial primary education in free public schools, may be secured to all the illiterate freedmen and white inhabitants of the South, by the guarded appropriation of national funds to supplement State educational aid, as the same free school education is now secured to the people of less illiterate sections of the country by State aid alone. We urge that the honor and faith of the nation are pledged to providing such an education, especially to the densely ignorant freedmen and children of freedmen, through the agency of the tried American system of unsectarian public schools. And we therefore implore our national Congress to see to it that such education does not fail, by immediate legislation, adequate to the emergency of increasing ignorance and illiteracy, and plainly demanded by a large majority of the intelligent American people without distinction of party.

THE NEWSMONGER.

Side by side with the sermon of the eloquent or sensational preacher he prints the details of the simon pure or the disguised prize-fight of the day. The law that publishes the bruiser who affords the illegal spectacle has no power over the newsmonger who fosters public interest in pugilism, and extends the brutalizing excitement of the ring to the family circle. Pugilists would not fight by stealth in obscure places if the newspapers were not allowed to flood cities with their bear-pit heroics of the battle. Side by side with the quotations of the markets, the newsmonger prints the illegal "odds" of the race trades and the bar-rooms at election time. Not satisfied with leaving every neighborhood to the contemplation of its own social cesspool, he makes each separate locality the dumping-ground of the moral filth of the whole continent. By a strange perversion of justice, where law-breakers sow tares the newsmonger reaps circulation and profits.

If any one affects to call that a low standard of professional taste, his apology is that it is the public which demands such a coarse interpretation of his duty. This is not strictly true, because, in competing with his fellow-newsmongers for the public patronage, he takes advantage of the weakness for sensation and scandal, common enough to human nature, and abnormally developed among our own people by the license adopted by prominent newspaper.—*The Century Magazine*.

We notice a warlike scream issued by a M. Camille Dreyfus of Paris, in the form of a pamphlet, entitled "War a Necessity!" In this curious production he urges an immediate war with Germany. He screams out: "The historical hour has come! Two years ago it was too soon; two years hence it will be too late. France must fight now, come what may!" But there are wise men in France who can effectually answer their excited fellow-countrymen.

Perhaps the greatest resultant of the Pan-American conference was the compact whereby international arbitration was established as the basis of action in every case of threatening dispute between sovereignties, excepting where a country's independence shall be considered as at stake. Score one for the American Peace Society.—*Cottager and Ready Record*.

You May Have Tried

A score of preparations called "sarsaparilla," without receiving any benefit; but do not be discouraged. Had you taken Ayer's Sarsaparilla in the first place, you would have been cured and saved time and money. It is not yet too late. Ayer's Sarsaparilla does not exhilarate for a while, and then leave the patient more prostrated than before; it produces a radical change in the system, such as no other preparation, claiming to be a blood medicine, can effect. Original—best—cheapest. Try Ayer's Sarsaparilla.

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"I am glad to add my testimony to the value of Ayer's Sarsaparilla. I have, for four years past, been very much afflicted with salt-rheum on my leg, which was raw from the knee to the ankle, attended with a stinging, burning pain sometimes almost beyond endurance. The best physicians and several preparations of sarsaparilla, failed to give relief. Last spring I was advised to try Ayer's Sarsaparilla, and I am happy to say that it has effected a thorough and permanent cure. From the first my health began to improve, and now I consider myself a well man."—Calvin Gardner, Overseer, Boott Corporation, Lowell, Mass.

"Several years ago I was prostrated with a severe attack of erysipelas, which left me in a very feeble condition. I tried various remedies without avail, and finally was induced to take Ayer's Sarsaparilla, a few bottles of which made me feel like a new person, every trace of my old complaint being removed. I can recommend this medicine to any one needing a thoroughly reliable blood-purifier."—Mrs. Almira Squires, South Albany, Vt.

"For years I suffered from scrofula and blood diseases. The doctors' prescriptions and several so-called blood-purifiers being of no avail, I was at last advised by a friend to try Ayer's Sarsaparilla. I did so, and now feel like a new man, being fully restored to health. I believe that I owe my life to Ayer's Sarsaparilla, and would recommend it to all afflicted with scrofula or any other disease of the blood."—C. N. Frink, Decorah, Iowa.

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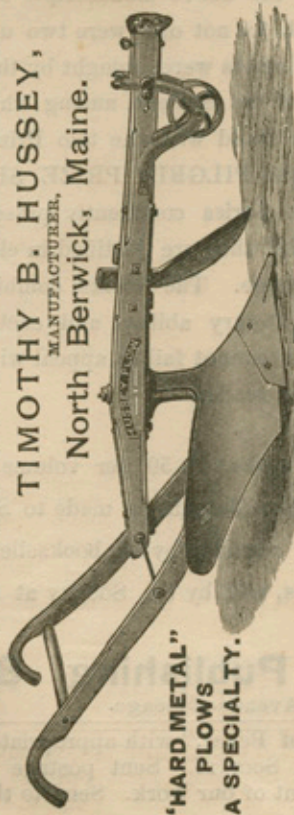
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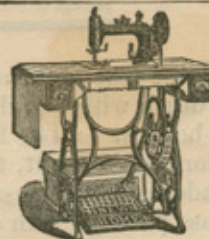
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The \$1000 which the above named Society recently paid for two of the above manuscripts seems to have been well invested, for not only were two unusual books thus secured, but others were brought by the Prize offer to the attention of the Society, among which four were deemed worthy to stand with the two Prize Books, the six constituting the **PILGRIM PRIZE SERIES**. The publishers of this Series confidently present it to the public, and feel that they are justified in claiming for it an unusual patronage. The books combine Christian helpfulness with literary ability, and each story is so interesting that it cannot fail to appeal with success to the most indifferent reader.

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PROGRESS BY PEACE.

THE COMING UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESSES
AT ROME AND CHICAGO.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1890—91.

BY REV. R. B. HOWARD, SECRETARY.

HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, PRESIDENT.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

JOHN G. WHITTIER,

HON. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, New York,

HON. JOHN JAY, New York,

VICE PRESIDENTS.

F. M. PATTEN, TREASURER.

D. C. HEATH, AUDITOR.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
No. 1 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON.
1891.

ANNUAL REPORT.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE
SOCIETY :

IN MEMORIAM.

The death of our honored president, Hon. Edward S. Tobey, Sunday, March 29, after a faithful service of more than fifteen years, has bereaved the Society of one of its ablest and most devoted friends. His funeral was attended by a number of the officers and other members of this Society, April 2. Among his many associates in the work of benevolence, none mourned his loss more sincerely. His death was marked by the same Christian serenity that had characterized both his public and private life. Had he lived another week, he would have been seventy-eight years of age and have completed half a century of a most beautiful family life. The sympathy of those who love peace and honor goodness in this and other lands abides with his afflicted household and with this Society which he esteemed among the noblest of the many with which he had had personal and official connection. The decease of our

president will make it necessary to fill the vacancy at this anniversary.

Rev. Herman Halsey, who during his lifetime had attested his devotion to peace by liberal contributions extending over many years, died at his home in East Wilson, N.Y., March 24, at the age of 97. He remembered the cause for which he had labored and prayed during his long life, by a legacy in his will. He was the oldest alumnus of Williams College and of Andover Theological Seminary. He honored these institutions and others with which he was identified by a life of heroic devotion to his convictions. Several others of the older members have during the year exchanged the turmoil of earth for the peace of heaven.

THE LONDON CONGRESS.

The most significant event of the year was the Universal Peace Congress at London, the second in the current series, in some respects one of the most remarkable meetings ever held. It took place at Westminster town hall July 14-19. Your Society was fully represented. One delegate, Hon. David Dudley Field, ably presiding over its deliberations, others being placed on the board of managers, and still others addressing the Congress by previously prepared papers or in the more extemporaneous debates.

Rev. Reuben Thomas, D.D., and Rev. R. B. Howard preached sermons at the request of the Congress. Dr. Thomas' sermon has since been effectively given in Boston

and other cities and forms one of our most valuable printed documents.

The delegates of the American Peace Society actually present and participating in the deliberations were:

Hon. David Dudley Field, New York; Augustine Jones, Esq., Providence, R.I.; James H. Chace, Providence, R.I.; Rev. Reuben Thomas, D.D., Brookline, Mass.; Rev. Charles B. Smith, West Medford, Mass.; Mr. Robert M. Woods, Bridgeport, Ct.; S. A. Keen, Esq., Chicago, Ill.; Otis McGaw Howard, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. P. S. Moxom, D.D., Boston, Mass.; Rev. J. H. Allen, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. R. B. Howard, Boston, Mass.

Two other national societies, The Universal Peace Union and the Christian Arbitration and Peace Society, were fully and ably represented by delegates from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Richmond, Va., and other parts of the United States to the number of thirty—some persons being delegates also from the various meetings of Friends.

The Congress was attended by representatives from Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Germany, Austria, Turkey, Servia, Spain and India; those from Great Britain being the most numerous. The English-speaking delegates were granted the courtesy of conducting the business and debates in their own language—almost everything being subsequently translated into the French. The subjects discussed were too numerous to mention in this report. They comprised the whole range of anti-war topics. The proceedings, papers and resolutions, with some account of the many

connected meetings, excursions, banquets, receptions, together with a list of delegates, prefixed by a likeness of the president, were with great labor compiled and published by the secretaries of three London societies. One hundred copies were sent to us for gratuitous distribution. Others were purchased by us and many public libraries, private individuals as well as the officers of this Society, have been supplied. No more important or instructive book treating subjects of special interest to all inquirers for the way of peace among the nations, has ever issued from the press. Public meetings have been addressed by returned delegates in many States of the Union.

The Congress adjourned to meet in Rome in November next. A cordial invitation has been extended to this Society to participate, as it did in 1889 at Paris and 1890 at London. Hon. David Dudley Field and Rev. James B. Miles, then Secretary of this Society, held a Peace conference, organized an association and were given a banquet in Rome in 1873. In this the leading men of the Italian Parliament participated. Count Sclopis, P. S. Mancini, the President of the Senate, the Mayor of Rome and others were among the official members.

CORRESPONDENCE.

These congresses and the new awakening to the cause of peace throughout Europe of which they are both the cause and effect, have greatly increased our correspondence with England, France, Belgium and Italy, and somewhat with Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Austria and Ger-

many. This correspondence has been conducted on our part as far as possible in the languages of those countries.

THE CHICAGO CONGRESS.

Preparations are being made by the United States officials for a Universal Peace Congress in this country, in connection with the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. This Society has been invited to bear a responsible part in preparing for and conducting that meeting, the first of the kind ever attempted on the American continent. Your Executive Committee advise co-operation, as far as practicable, with other Peace societies in the United States in such preliminary preparations as may ensure success. To this end they have appointed a special committee, which will need to be reinforced by the interest and efforts of the members of the Society in general if this great enterprise is to succeed.

In the course of a very encouraging letter to the Secretary, Hon. C. C. Bonney of Chicago, President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, remarks: "I thank you for copy of the proceedings of the London Peace Congress of 1890, and for the report of the delegates of the American Peace Society on their return from the World's Peace Congress at Paris in 1889. I have read the report and examined the proceedings with great interest; and earnestly trust that with the guidance and blessing of divine Providence, we shall have here in Chicago in 1893 a more imposing and powerful Peace Congress than any heretofore assembled. It is indeed my ardent hope that in 1893

the moral and intellectual forces of the world will be so drawn together, aroused and organized, that henceforth, justice will triumph over force, and the enlightened public opinion of the world be more powerful than armies and navies."

He also adds under date May 14, "There is no subject to be brought before the World's Congresses of 1893 in which I feel a more profound interest, than that of the substitution of an unarmed judge for a military commander; of the voice of justice for the edict of force; of a permanent international court for the wager of battle by contending armies, and you may at all times rely upon whatever aid and co-operation I may be able to give to the sacred cause in which you and your associates are engaged."

FINANCES.

The Treasurer's report will acquaint you with the improved financial condition of the Society. Our receipts were from,—

Publications, Donations, etc.	\$1,200 08
Permanent Peace Fund	3,839 96
Balance from last year	93 45
Legacies	4,510 26
	<hr/>
	\$9,643 75

Our expenditures were as follows:

Salaries of Secretary and Office Agent	\$2,698 50
Expenses of London Congress	355 95
Publications and printing—J. E. Farwell & Co.	835 52
Travelling and incidentals	216 70
Care of Office, Translating and Typewriting, etc.	130 15

Postage, Telegrams and Stationery	\$99 79
Peace Publications purchased	70 49
Rent of Office and heating	446 20
Paid debt to P. P. Fund with interest	1,470 00
Invested in Endorsed Note	1,000 00
Cash on hand, to balance	2,320 45
	<hr/>
	\$9,643 75

THE PERMANENT PEACE FUND.

The annual report of the trustees, James W. Converse, Esq., W. F. Warren, D.D., Rev. Geo. R. Leavitt, D.D., and Rev. H. H. Leavitt, made by Thomas H. Russell, Esq., the treasurer, shows that the Permanent Peace Fund has been increased \$4289.09 by the legacy of Rev. G. W. Thompson of Stratham, N. H., subject, however, to interest on said legacy payable to the widow during her life. A conservative estimate of the entire fund which is invested largely in the property originally left for that purpose, places the present value of the same at \$80,000.

The incorporation and endowment of this fund is due to the wise forecast of a former secretary, Rev. Geo. C. Beckwith, D.D. Its object, according to its corporate law and the will of its principal contributor, is to promote the cause of peace "*until the custom of war shall be permanently abolished in all countries nominally Christian,*" and provides that the American Peace Society shall receive the net income of the same, and maintain a permanent secretary and business office and publish a periodical not less often than once in three months. The salary of your secretary is derived directly from this fund and

his support is thus assured without any demand upon current donations or contributions which are exclusively devoted to the work. The gratuitous services of the trustees and their uniform courtesy and consideration in our business relations deserve grateful mention.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The executive committee has met regularly during the year and has never lacked a quorum. Its services have been cheerfully given to the administration of the Society's affairs and to the consideration of the general interests of peace in this and other countries. All official correspondence of importance has been submitted to its approval. Subcommittees have acted on special subjects referred to them. The committee are always glad to see members of the Society at their sessions and to receive written or verbal suggestions at any time. Their proceedings, so far as they would interest the public, have been published in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and to some extent in the daily press.

THE PRESS.

Our periodicals have been issued regularly and have an influential circulation, much of it in fulfilment of the constitutional provision that life and annual members shall be entitled to the *ADVOCATE* without charge. The editor has endeavored to make the *ADVOCATE* not unworthy of a prominent place among the world's peace publications. Our means do not permit us to secure paid contributions, nor have we attempted any very long and elaborate

treatises such as might be useful. But as a summary of events bearing on our work and in the discussions of current topics from the point of view of this Society, the *ADVOCATE* has endeavored to fill its place. We are confident that no better work for peace could be done by the members of this Society than to secure a larger circulation for both the *ADVOCATE* and the children's paper, the *ANGEL OF PEACE*.

We have issued "slips" from time to time bearing our imprint to the principal newspapers of the country. Our appeal for governmental endorsement of the Universal Peace Congress at Chicago in 1893 was issued to one hundred leading newspapers and to every member of the next Congress. We have purchased as occasion called for them, such of the London Peace Society's recent publications as we could find use and sale for in this country.

PUBLICATION FUND.

There is a crying need of a publication fund which would enable us to issue valuable peace documents written from the American point of view, and especially to re-issue the *Life of William Ladd*, our honored founder, while the proofs may be revised by its venerable author, John Hemmenway, now in his seventy-seventh year.

PROPAGATION OF PEACE PRINCIPLES.

Our work has three objects: *First*, to enlighten and influence public opinion. To this end we address to men, women and children through the press, the platform and

the pulpit such facts, arguments and persuasions as are calculated to lead them to see the truth of our principles and the duty of embracing and propagating them. We have no paid agents at present in the field, but the Secretary has during the year travelled as far West as Minnesota and addressed audiences in that State and in Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Maine. After the London Congress he gave addresses at several places in England and Wales.

Our *second* object is to influence and aid the United States and other governments to maintain peaceful relations among the nations.

Our *third* object is to secure from our own and other governments such preventives or substitutes for war as arbitral treaties, Courts of Arbitration, and, ultimately, an International Tribunal or High Court to which differences may be referred for final adjudication.

We advocate gradual and simultaneous disarmament where immense and costly armaments exist, and discourage the creation of such armaments where they do not now exist.

A PROTEST.

The forcible expulsion of American missionaries from the Caroline Islands, the destruction of the mission churches and schools and the slaughter of the natives under the pretence of establishing the government of Spain deserves the reprobation of Christendom. If Spain and Germany would unite with England and the United States in guaranteeing the neutrality of the islands of the South

Pacific, including Samoa, education, order, civilization and peace would be established and the people be left free to choose their own government and religion.

THE PRESENT STATE OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The tendency of the vast and daily increasing armaments of Europe is constantly towards war. Every spark kindles a flame which owing to the inflammable matter everywhere present threatens a general conflagration. Hence, disturbances in Servia, riots in Paris and Lyons, movements of Russian troops and collisions in India, South Africa or the islands of the Pacific create universal alarm, rouse the passions of speculators, and daunt the confidence of those who see in peace alone the hope of the world.

On the other hand, the attitude of the United States, which continues comparatively unwarlike in spite of all the declamations of politicians and portions of the press, and the partial activities of the government in fortifying the coasts and building war ships, gives assurance of peace. The "*Conference of American Nations*" gave utterance to the best public sentiment of America. The treaties concluded in consequence of that conference have all tended towards greater harmony. The outbreaks in Chili and Central America have had to struggle against the moral sentiment of the continent. The controversies as to the Behring Sea seals and the cod fisheries of Newfoundland, however irritating, cannot provoke war. The resentment of the Italian government at the New Orleans massacre, however passionate and

unwise in its expression, was a natural result of the murder of Italians by an unopposed and unrebuked mob. But our country, strong in her peaceful power, made no threat of arms, but offered to do what it could under the constitution, to insure the fulfilment of solemn treaty obligations and counselled calmness and patience. It can do no less than to render what reparation is possible for a crime, which, however provoked, was unjustifiable.

This Society forwarded a memorial proposing the mediation of the United States between the two parties to the Chilian civil war which met with a favorable response from the department of State. The government has offered mediation. All nations in treaty alliance with us should second such an effort to prevent further shedding of blood.

President Harrison has acted in accordance with the concurrent resolution of Congress, urging the President to propose arbitral treaties to other nations, but his invitation has as yet been fully accepted by no government except that of Switzerland.

Negotiations are on foot looking to the arbitration of all differences between the American and English governments. Several successful cases of international arbitration have taken place during the year.

FOUNDATION STONES.

The fundamental principle which in Europe is expressed in the words "solidarity of the race," and among us by a stronger phrase, "the brotherhood of man," implies that the families of the world called nations, which by

modern inventions have been brought into local proximity and by the progress of ideas into a closer moral sympathy, should be in the best sense of the word, neighbors—*good neighbors*. Surely the ties of consanguinity though strong—as for instance among all English-speaking peoples—are not limited to any one race. "*God hath made of one blood all nations.*"

Christianity, the one great remedial force of its era, teaches supremely, that mankind should not hate and hence destroy, but love and therefore help one another. No national compact, no mere pretext of self-preservation can abrogate this law of God, both natural and revealed.

Christian believers are the ordained teachers and leaders of the peace reform. Free nations are their most promising fields of labor. The United States is an immense school, or university, to which people of all nations have come. They are here to learn to dwell together in unity and peace, and to be trained in the enjoyment of liberty under law. The spirit of God antagonizes that of war. Let us be encouraged. "If God be for us who can be against us?" He has not appointed us to administer his judgments but to proclaim and dispense his mercies.

The revered founders of the American Peace Society, after making provision for any needed alteration in its constitution solemnly declared, "the object of this Society shall never be changed." That object which they also put on record and which from year to year it is our duty to promote is: "*to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity.*"

Christian people do not yet seem fully convinced of this truth. *Soldiers* never doubt it. A battlefield is its most vivid illustration. The spirit of a bloody fight has nothing in it like the Holy Spirit.

PROVIDENTIAL HELPS.

In closing let us notice how certain recent inventions and progressive movements co-operate with the spiritual forces opposing war. The money markets shudder at its immense cost. Those who lend money and those who pay taxes shrink from it. A newly-invented torpedo that can sail out self-navigated, and detach a screw or explode an entire ship, promises to render steam steel-clad navies useless. The machine-gun fired by dynamite or smokeless powder—capable of no human emotion—by a touch, can sweep a regiment of fathers, brothers and sons into eternity or leave them lying maimed, bleeding and helpless on the field.

Workingmen awakened to intelligence, longing for liberty and exercising the suffrage, refuse to be hired or forced into armies. Wives and mothers, sisters and daughters are finding their voices and using their newly conceded rights to prevent and abolish war. The conscience of the churches is growing into harmony with the words and spirit of Jesus Christ. Such are some of the forces that may be trusted to aid this Society in every wise effort to hasten the fulfilment of the words uttered by the coal-touched lips of Isaiah :

"The nations shall learn war no more."

BOSTON, May 25, 1891.

Dr. Quincy with kind regards
R. B. Howard
THE COMING PEACE.

ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON,

ON THE

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

JULY 4, 1891,

BY

JOSIAH QUINCY.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

No. 1 SOMERSET STREET.

1891.

THE COMING PEACE.

ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON,

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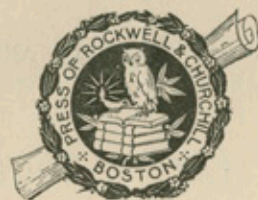
BY

JOSIAH QUINCY.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

No. 1 SOMERSET STREET.

1891.



1 SOMERSET ST., BOSTON, July 13, 1891.

JOSIAH QUINCY, ESQ.:—

DEAR SIR,— Allow me to hand you a copy of Resolutions unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society, July 13, 1891:—

“Resolved, That the thanks of the American Peace Society are hereby extended to Josiah Quincy, Esq., for his Fourth of July Oration delivered at the request of the City of Boston.

“We hail its prophecy and proofs of ‘the coming peace’ and his declaration that ‘the abolition of war stands forth preëminently as the greatest reform measure that man is now called upon to undertake,’ as worthy of the occasion, and the era in which we live.

“Since Charles Sumner’s Oration on ‘The True Grandeur of Nations,’ delivered July 4, 1845, we know of no address better calculated to advance the cause of Peace to which this Society has been devoted for sixty-three years, and we hereby respectfully request Mr. Quincy to furnish this Society with a copy of it for publication, and as wide circulation as we can give it.”

Very respectfully,

ROWLAND B. HOWARD,

Secretary.

BOSTON, MASS., July 22, 1891.

REV. ROWLAND B. HOWARD, *Sec’y American Peace Society:*—

DEAR SIR,— I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of July 13, enclosing a copy of the Resolutions adopted by the American Peace Society. I appreciate very highly the action of the Society, and I am glad to send you herewith a copy of the Oration for publication by it.

Yours very truly,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

THE COMING PEACE.

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS :—

FOR the one hundred and eighth time the municipality of Boston to-day invites her citizens to join in celebrating the greatest political anniversary that recurs in the calendar of time. Ever since the Fourth of July 1783, when the independence of the United States, declared seven years before, had at last been acknowledged by Great Britain, the day when this nation took its place among the powers of the earth has been commemorated in this city by an unbroken line of municipal orators. The elaborate and scholarly oration of the past, full of classical, literary, and historical allusion, has almost passed away, and is no longer expected; yet it is with diffidence that I enter the excellent fellowship of those who have preceded me in this office, and attempt to add anything to the thoughts which this occasion has suggested.

The recurrence of a national anniversary re-

minds us that the works of men are not fixed and permanent, but constantly growing and changing. Nations and cities have their birth, their youth, and their maturity. As the child is transformed in growing into the man, so the community is often so changed by the lapse of time that it seems to lose its very identity. The Boston which heard Dr. John Warren deliver her first Fourth of July oration in 1783 has disappeared, and left scarcely a trace behind. The ground upon which she stood, and the harbor in which her ships rode, still remain; yet even these are so altered by the hand of man that our predecessors of a century ago would scarcely recognize them. Of that former Boston little is left but the Old South Church and King's Chapel, the Old State House, the ancient burial grounds, and the Common. Great indeed are the changes which the town and city has seen since this municipal observance was instituted. Her inhabitants have increased from some ten thousand to four hundred and fifty thousand. A population almost wholly native by immediate descent, as well as by birth, has been replaced by a population of which one-third is of foreign birth and two-thirds are of foreign

parentage; and to-day one-half of the people of that town which George III. found so rebellious come of ancestors who were loyal subjects of the British throne long after the close of the revolution. In religion, Boston has seen the Church of Rome increasing in the home of Puritanism until nearly one-half of her population is included within its fold. Manufactures have replaced commerce as the leading occupation of her citizens. Fort Hill has been torn down, and the Back Bay has been filled up to be the site of her finest residences. The railroad and the street railway, operated by forces which the last century scarcely knew, daily bring their tens of thousands to swell her trade.

If Boston has changed, the great world beyond her limits has changed no less. In 1783 that world scarcely knew what representative and responsible government meant; it did not know at all what popular government meant on any large scale. Venice and Genoa alone called themselves republics; the Swiss Confederation, the German free cities, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and Great Britain lived under institutions of some freedom; but elsewhere absolute monarchy or autocracy ruled. Louis XVI. sat

upon the throne of France, which he was to leave ten years later for the scaffold. Frederick the Great was still in the last years of his reign in Prussia. Charles III. was King of Spain. Catherine the Great was Empress of Russia. To-day out of the principal independent nations of the globe, forty-four in number, twenty-three are republics, and six of these — Mexico, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Columbia, Venezuela, and Switzerland — are federal republics after the type of the United States. Even of the twenty-one countries having a monarchical or imperial form of government, fourteen enjoy representative parliamentary institutions, over which the nominal monarch has only a partial control. Thus only seven autocratic governments of any importance now remain in the world, those of Russia, China, Turkey, Persia, Siam, Morocco, and Madagascar.

In 1783 there was scarcely a written constitution in existence. To-day, following the example of the United States, all of the republics, and all of the limited monarchies except Great Britain and Sweden, have formal, written constitutions, which secure the liberties of the people and limit the power of their rulers. In form, at

least, the whole American continent, with the exception of Canada, Newfoundland, the West India colonies, and a few others of small importance, is now under republican government; and even Canada, although nominally presided over by the representative of the British crown, is for all internal purposes practically governed by her own people, through parliamentary institutions, as completely as the United States.

The peculiar significance of this anniversary lies, therefore, in the fact that the event which it recalls marks an epoch in the history and in the political development of mankind. The Declaration of Independence was regarded in 1776 and long afterward from a purely national point of view; the Fourth of July appealed to the patriotism of the American rather than to the larger interests of the citizen of the world. But looking back to-day upon the mighty and beneficent influence which the political ideas first put into practice by our forefathers have had upon the earth,—upon the new aspect which they have given to civilization, upon the new relations which they have established and are still establishing between nations,—we feel that we are carried beyond that narrow and selfish patriotism,

that exclusive regard for the interests of one people, which has too often proved a curse, instead of a blessing, to the world. We are raised to that higher and nobler view which recognizes not only that all men of one nation are free and equal and are joined together as members of a community, but that all peoples and all nations form one great brotherhood of man, and are linked together in one human destiny. As the individual becomes useful and honored by living for his fellow-men, and developing his powers only that he may be capable of rendering his brother better service, so a nation wins respect, not by shutting itself up in a selfish isolation from the world, but by so developing its capacities and resources that they may contribute to the general progress of civilization and the elevation of all mankind.

The most obvious way in which the United States has already rendered a great service to the other peoples of the earth has been in opening its doors to receive them among its citizens and offering its territory for their settlement. While there have been in the remote past, under different conditions of life, great migrations of whole tribes or nations which might

compare in magnitude with the movement of population to this country, never in history has there been such a steady flow of immigration as the United States has received since 1820. Never has a nation contained so large a number of inhabitants of foreign birth or of foreign parentage as does ours to-day. Between 1820 and 1890 over 15,000,000 people, nearly one-quarter of the present population of the country, crossed the Atlantic to make their homes upon this side. In ten years alone, from 1880 to 1890, while 7,000,000 were added to our population by birth, over 5,000,000 were added by immigration; a number that exceeds the whole population of the Kingdom of Holland or of the Dominion of Canada, and equals the population of Ireland, or of Scotland and Wales combined. The Anglo-Saxon and the Celt, the Teuton and the Slav, the Scandinavian and the Latin, have all contributed to swell this stream. Never, probably, has there been a country so broadly cosmopolitan in the origin of its people as is the United States to-day, and never have large numbers of immigrants been so readily assimilated and so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of new institutions. However a change in our circumstances, in the condition of Europe,

and especially in the character of immigration, may make restrictions upon this free flow of population desirable for the future, nothing can take from us the composite character of our citizenship, or the glory of having furnished new homes to so many millions of our fellow-men, under better and freer conditions than the old world could offer.

With this much by way of introduction, let me come to the special subject upon which I shall address you to-day; a subject as old as man himself, yet still first in importance among the problems which command the attention of the statesman and the philanthropist and affect the welfare of humanity.

The first of these Fourth of July orations was spoken a few months after the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain. The orator of that day, who had served as a surgeon with the revolutionary forces and knew what war was, spoke with deep feeling of the losses and the suffering which the long conflict had involved, and hailed the return of peace as a supreme blessing. Sixty-two years later, in 1845, Charles Sumner delivered on this same occasion his ora-

tion on "The True Grandeur of Nations," the best known of any of our Boston Fourth of July addresses, which, by its masterly condemnation of war and unflinching analysis of its true character, won for its author a high place among advanced political thinkers. Reflecting upon the present aspect of the question which he treated and upon the new light which the history of the last half century has thrown upon it, I have felt that no theme would be more worthy of this anniversary, more in harmony with the great thoughts which it recalls, or more full of vital import for the present and the future, than that of The Coming Peace. Let me attempt, therefore, within the limits imposed upon me, to point out some of the great forces which are now working on the side of permanent peace and bringing its attainment within the range of vision of the statesman and the philosopher, and to show the connection of this subject with the past history and present tendencies of our own country. If in doing this I dwell chiefly upon considerations connected with the physical welfare and progress of mankind, let it not be understood that increase of wealth and comfort is held up as the only worthy object of national

endeavor. A purely material civilization, built upon selfishness instead of brotherhood, destitute of all high ideas and spiritual aims, carries within itself the seeds of its own inevitable decay or downfall. But it is not such a civilization that we need expect as the result of peace.

In this age of reforms the abolition of war — and I include under that term the condition of armed peace which is so peculiarly a feature of our time — stands forth preëminently as the greatest reform measure that man is now called upon to undertake. Others are partial: this is universal. Others may succeed in accomplishing some good: this is sure to bring widespread blessings. Others may improve society or government: this will give the only true basis for society or government to rest upon. Concerning other measures for the amelioration of the world, men may honestly differ; but no one can dispute the beneficence of this, or set a limit upon its good effects. Political economy and religion, science and ethics, the philosophy of politics and the philosophy of history, alike declare the vast mischief that man has suffered, and is still suffering, from war. It degrades the condition of labor and prevents the natural growth of capital; it perverts the moral nature of man; it prevents

the evolution of a true civilization; it is the great buttress of autocratic rule and the chief obstruction in the path of popular government. Its crushing burden, while heavier upon some nations, weighs down all. The relief that assured peace would bring would be felt in the remotest corners of the earth, and imagination can scarcely picture the benefits which would follow in its train.

The change in the character of warfare is the first subject that demands our attention as a consideration against its continuance. In no field of human endeavor have methods been more completely revolutionized in the present century by the progress of invention. The men of the revolution would be almost as much at a loss to understand modern methods of fighting as the Indians were to comprehend those of our ancestors. The breech-loading and repeating rifle, the machine gun, the long-range cannon, the armor-plated vessel, the hundred-ton gun, the submarine torpedo, all would be new and strange to them. The quick transportation of troops by steam on land and sea and the military use of the telegraph have alone been sufficient to reverse completely old conditions of conflict. What is to be the effect of these modern methods — just beginning to approach their full development, only

partially tried on land in one great conflict, and that twenty years ago — upon the future of warfare?

In the first place, recent discoveries have made quite clear what has long seemed probable, that in the contest between the forces of destruction and the means of defence, the ultimate victory must rest with the former. Man's power to destroy by means of the high explosives of which so many are now known, explosives in comparison with which the action of gunpowder becomes almost insignificant, must far outrun his power to contrive adequate defences. The problem of destruction is now a very simple one in itself, however great may be the field for the exercise of ingenuity in its solution; it consists merely in directing explosives to the point of attack. Let a properly charged torpedo strike the heaviest armored vessel that can be put afloat, and she sinks to the bottom of the sea; let a sufficient charge of dynamite reach any fort that can be built above ground, and it is shattered and dismantled. Science and invention have progressed far enough to make it probable that man will in the future be able to navigate the air much as he now navigates the water, and that he will explore the depths of the ocean as he now skims its surface. Against the submarine torpedo boat capable

of carrying a crew to direct its movements, against the air-ship dropping explosives from the skies, no means of defence will avail. When the arts of destruction have won their final victory, the wars which call them into activity must of necessity cease.

This brings us to another influence which tends towards peace: the enormous cost of modern war and preparations for war, and the immense scale upon which they must be conducted. The best estimates and information show that the six great powers of Europe, namely, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Russia, have nearly 3,000,000 men in actual service in time of peace in their armies and navies, while the rest of Europe has 1,000,000 more. The number of fully trained men in the reserves of these great powers is fully equal to twice the number in their standing armies, or 6,000,000 in all, while the number of more or less trained men in Europe, enrolled in the military service and liable to be called out in case of war, amounts to at least 10,000,000, in addition to those counted in the standing armies. It is safe to say that never in the recorded history of the human race have such large numbers of men been under arms in time of peace, or so

many been ready to be called into active service, as is the case in Europe to-day; and the destructive power of these armies and navies has never been approached. All this means an enormous financial burden, and makes the waging of war more a question of finance than it has ever been before. The direct money cost of keeping up the armies and navies of the six great powers of Europe alone is upward of \$600,000,000 a year, and the indirect cost by the loss of productive labor must be fully as great; and in order to measure [properly the cost of war we must add another sum of at least equal magnitude for the annual interest upon the war debts of these countries. The enormous waste of national resources which these figures feebly express, and the ever-growing burden which the further development of the art of war will impose, must inevitably lead to some readjustment of international relations. The expense of the instruments of conflict constantly increases with their complexity. No sooner is one form of rifle perfected than an improved type supplants it and the old weapon is thrown aside; with new methods of attack, fortifications and defences become obsolete and must be replaced by others at enormous expense; before a ship of war

has been launched more than a few years new vessels are designed and must be built by the nations which are in the struggle for supremacy. All this means a much greater training for the soldier than was formerly requisite; he must be carefully educated in handling his weapons and must understand something of military science. The countries of Europe, groaning beneath the weight of \$22,000,000,000 of indebtedness, many of them adding to the burden by constantly recurring deficits, must in the end face one of two alternatives: national bankruptcy and repudiation, or international disarmament.

Even our own recent experience in the United States has shown that the waging of war under a democratic government seems to involve, through the payment of pensions, a new and unforeseen expense of vast proportions, continuing for half a century or more after peace has been reestablished. Our pension roll to-day amounts to more than the annual cost of the largest army in Europe, and the number of our pensioners is equal to that of the soldiers in any army but that of Russia. Through pensions and interest on war debt we are to-day making an annual payment of over \$150,000,000 for a conflict which closed more than

a quarter of a century ago. Expensive as is the conduct of war under a monarchy, our experience has shown that its cost is greater yet under a democracy.

Hostilities under modern conditions are likely to be as expensive in human life as they are in property. On the sea, a ship with a crew of a thousand men may be instantly sunk; on land, if armies engage each other in open battle, the loss which modern weapons can inflict will be appalling. A regiment in line can be mown down by machine guns like grain beneath the reaper's sickle. Our civil war cost over half a million lives; with the progress which warfare has made, the next European war may cost far more.

Another conspicuous agency in promoting peace is the growing tendency toward popularizing government and placing it upon a basis of responsibility to the people, if not upon one of pure democracy. Europe is only just beginning to feel the permanent effects of the American revolution and of the French revolution. After a century of growth, republican ideas are stronger than ever before. The French republic appears at last to be so firmly established that only some great convulsion can overthrow it. England has nearly reached

manhood suffrage, and enjoys under the form of a monarchy popular government in the fullest sense, in some respects even outdoing us in democracy; in Germany imperialism has had to take up state socialism in order to retain its hold on the people, and if the pressure of military danger could be removed that country would make rapid strides toward government of the people; even in Italy, Spain, and Portugal the suffrage is widely extended, and republican ideas have a strong foothold. This growth of democracy has an important bearing upon the future of war. In the first place, it removes many of the reasons which have formerly led to conflict. With the diminishing influence of monarchs the causes of enmity arising out of the relations of ruling dynasties are fast being removed, indeed have already largely disappeared. The *casus belli* must now be one which arises out of international, not out of inter-dynastic, relations. Again, the direct and responsible representatives of the people are not likely to go to war unless the people themselves demand it; and making all allowance for national feelings of enmity, affecting whole peoples and races,—such as perhaps still exist between France and Germany, and anciently existed between England and France,—

conflicts between nations are less likely to originate from sentiments shared by all their citizens than from the jealousies or ambitions of a few rulers.

Another influence that makes strongly for peace is the marvellous growth that has taken place in the last half century in the intercourse between nations and the closeness of their relations, arising out of the improvement of means of transportation and communication. These more intimate relations come from increased commerce; from the development of international finance; from the flow of population from one country to another for settlement or travel; from international arrangements in relation to such matters as the postal and telegraph service; and from closer professional, educational, and literary intercourse.

The volume of international commerce, in spite of hostile tariffs, is constantly augmenting at a rapid pace, and, notwithstanding temporary movements in the opposite direction, the thoughtful observer can clearly see that the tendency of the civilized nations is inevitably in the direction of freer trade and the lowering, if not the abolition, of barriers raised for its obstruction. The foreign commerce of England, France, and Germany alone for 1889 was considerably over eight billion dollars.

Already a reaction is seen on the continent against the policy which stands in the way of a yet larger and freer interchange of products. The cable has recently brought us the news of a possible customs union between Germany, Austria, Italy, and Switzerland, and such an event would mean a profound change in the commercial relations of Europe. On our own continent the contest is no longer between the policy of prohibitory duties and freer commerce with all nations, but between the latter policy and special arrangements for reciprocal trade with particular countries.

International financial interests have never approached their present magnitude, and must be powerfully felt in the future in the interest of peace. There are in the first place enormous holdings of national obligations outside of the country issuing them. The bonds of Italy, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Turkey, and other countries are held in very large amounts all over Europe, and are quoted on all the great bourses. The very country that may be urged toward war by political considerations may be held back by financial ones. The fact that Egypt is to-day practically in the hands of a receiver, in order that the interest on her bonds held by foreigners may be paid, is a

striking illustration of the power of these international financial interests. The frequent necessity of raising large loans in foreign markets as a preparation for hostilities is also not to be overlooked. Then we must remember that foreign interests in railways and industrial enterprises of various sorts have never been so large as at present. With the decline in the rate of interest which takes place in fully developed countries, capital looks for a better rate of return abroad; it was never so mobile, so easily directed from one country to another, as it is to-day. The modern capitalist has no political or race prejudices; he looks merely to security and profit. The citizens of one country thus become greatly interested in the prosperity and welfare of another; and these are largely dependent on the maintenance of peace.

The extraordinary immigration into this country has already been mentioned; to a lesser degree this transferability of population is noticeable even within the limits of Europe. Modern means of transportation enable labor to flow from one country to another, according to the condition of demand and supply. Every settlement, or even temporary residence, of citizens of one country in

another must tend to promote a broad cosmopolitanism and make war less likely. In a less degree travel, upon the enormous scale that it is now conducted, must give the people of the different nations a better knowledge of each other, and so promote, however imperceptibly, a better understanding and more friendly feeling in foreign relations.

The influence of international arrangements for the regulation of such matters of common interest as the postal service, patents, copyrights, coinage, and weights and measures, are considerable factors toward the growth of permanent peace. The Conference of American Republics, recently held at Washington, however small its actual and immediate results may have been, is perhaps the most conspicuous and significant instance ever seen of the friendly meeting of many independent nations to consider subjects of mutual concern. Already, by the action of the governments represented, and at their joint expense, the surveys are being made for an international and an intercontinental railroad to bring them into closer communication. Then there are the great industrial exhibitions, which began only with the last half of this century: surely they are producing effects which cannot be left out of the account.

International organizations of professions or trades, like that of the physicians, which holds its annual meetings successively in different countries; international schools of political thought, like that of socialism; educational institutions, like the great universities of Germany and France, and the schools of painting in Paris and Rome, which draw pupils from all quarters of the earth; the translation and circulation in many countries of all the great works of modern literature; all these influences tend strongly toward bringing about that liberality of spirit and community of thought which is the deadly foe of national hatred. The increase in the knowledge of foreign languages and the growing preponderance of four or five great tongues should also be mentioned; and one of the most characteristic attempts of our time is that of creating a new artificial language, to serve as the common medium of communication of all mankind.

Another general influence which advances peace is the growth of modern industry, and of the facilities for popular education which accompany that growth. While they may exist side by side for a time, industrialism and militarism are in the long run incompatible with each other. Their aims are utterly at variance, the whole spirit of the one is

antagonistic to that of the other; the soldier only exists as a parasite upon the operative, and when the latter refuses longer to nourish him, he must either starve or work. The rulers of the past had to govern a people largely rural and agricultural, ignorant and obedient to authority; those of the present have to deal, in the leading, progressive nations, with a population that is largely urban and industrial. The tendency of people to concentrate in cities and large towns is one of the most marked facts that confronts us to-day, and it is full of importance and significance. Industrialism is the cause of modern popular education, because it effects that concentration of population which is a necessary condition of general instruction, and because much of its work demands a certain degree of mental training, hitherto not so necessary for the work required in agriculture. This instruction, slight though it may be, inevitably tends toward the overthrow of the military régime, which has in the past rested mainly upon the ignorance of the people. Above all, the growing popular comprehension of economics, and of the effect and incidence of taxation, must be a powerful factor in checking future wars.

Next in the list of pacific influences is the con-

solidation or unification in a great political aggregate of states formerly independent, the most striking instances of which in recent times have been seen in the formation of the Kingdom of Italy and of the Empire of Germany. It must, indeed, be conceded that while such a union removes the danger of warfare between the states which join together, it seems for the present only to lead to a greater scale of military preparation for defence against foreign countries. Yet its tendency in the end will clearly be a pacific one. An agreement between a few states is much easier to bring about than one between many. The affairs of nations, like those of industry, can be managed with less friction when a few men can enter into engagements of wide and far-reaching scope. With the absolute control of the destinies of Europe lodged in the hands of a few great powers, a small number of influential statesmen should be able at an opportune moment to secure its permanent peace.

Among the civilizing movements of the age which are now making for peace, the growth of the sentiment of humanity, of international solidarity, of the brotherhood of man, must be set down as one of the most important. The forces before touched upon, though partly connected with the

intellectual life of mankind, have mainly been related to its material well-being. But this last influence rests upon the perception of the spiritual and eternal which underlies the material and the mental, and transcends both. In no respect has the growth of the race been more marked during the present century than in the development of those qualities which are described by the word humanity. Institutions and organizations of charity and benevolence, of which this city has so many, are the growth of the present century. Even with the development of modern warfare there have sprung up great voluntary organizations to mitigate its horrors and to lighten its sufferings, to give aid to those who have been disabled by its perils and to carry succor to the widow and the orphan. Side by side with the heroes of the battlefield we have in modern times placed the heroines of the hospital. Political and social philosophies based on universal brotherhood, teaching the doctrines of world-wide democracy and equality and of the true community of all human interests, are at last reaching the great body of the people and appealing to their minds and hearts. More and more is it recognized that under modern conditions the na-

tions of the earth are drawn together and made one people. The social problem and the labor problem are international in their scope, and must be international in their solution; for, however the interests of a class in one nation may be hostile to the interests of a class in another, the interests of the masses of the people are everywhere and always the same. Injustice cannot exist in one country without inflicting harm on others. By lifting the burdens in one community the life of all mankind is made a little better. The social readjuster cannot proceed far without discovering that, if he should succeed in carrying out his plans for improvement in his own nation, it would be swamped by immigration from all others; the labor reformer soon learns, as the imperial young ruler of Germany lately recognized by calling an international labor conference at Berlin, that any radical steps for the elevation of the manual workers call for international action. The industrial organization, when effected upon that more equitable basis for which good men are striving, must finally bring us to that awakening of the race consciousness which gives the truest perception of the purposes of life.

In this connection, one fact which tends strongly to the growth of this broad humanity should not be overlooked; I allude to the great change that has taken place in the position of woman. After being kept through the recorded history of the world, with rare exceptions, in the position of the drudge or the plaything of man, without any place of her own in the body social or the body politic, woman to-day finds in the most advanced nations that nearly all professions and occupations are open to her; and if she is not yet accorded the franchise, she is admitted to have an equal interest with man in political questions and an equal right to form her own opinions and to declare them. The influence of woman is to-day a most potent factor in all humanitarian movements, and therefore is indirectly a check upon war; and as her sphere of influence and of action goes on widening, she must be strongly felt as a direct power in favor of the maintenance of peace.

The removal in modern times of many of the causes which formerly led to hostilities is worthy of notice. With the acceptance of the idea of religious toleration, differences of creed no longer furnish the incentive to war which they have so

often done in the past. Interference in the internal affairs of other countries is limited to semi-civilized states, and the doctrine of the Holy Alliance, that war could properly be waged against a country on account of obnoxious changes in its political institutions, has become a curiosity of history. With the occupation of almost every portion of the earth's surface, the occasion of conflicts for the possession of new territory is removed; and we have lately seen the greater part of the only continent that still remains unsettled by civilized men amicably divided between the nations of Europe. The change in the relation between colonies and the mother country no longer leaves room for such a war as that of the revolution. The same nation that imposed vexatious laws upon the American colonies, and would not allow the bond of connection to be severed until hostilities had lasted for seven years, has accorded to Canada and Australia almost absolute powers of self-government, and would not fire a shot to keep either of them in the British empire against the will of its people. The doctrine of preserving the balance of power in Europe, which in former times was held to justify hostile measures against any state

which was acquiring a preponderating strength, has become completely obsolete.

The neutralization of small states by treaty between the great powers is significant as confining the sphere of conflict. Thus Switzerland and Belgium have both been eliminated from possible European struggles, and the neutrality of their territory has been formally guaranteed. By the extension of international law the rights of neutrals and of non-combatants have been largely protected. By the Geneva Convention of 1864 the hospital service was placed under the protection of the Red Cross. Just as the growth of the common law restrained the action of the individual and forced him to regard the interests of others, so the growth of a common law of nations has surrounded their action in war with a constantly growing body of regulations, of which all civilized countries recognize the binding force; and regulated warfare is a long step toward peace.

The actual nature of military conflict and the horrors of battle have never before been brought home to the great body of the people as they have been in our time; and the more generally war is understood the less likely it is to be

tolerated. The modern newspaper lays before its hundreds of thousands of readers a graphic account of actual operations in the field; the war correspondent depicts hardship and suffering, disease and wounds, the agony of death, as well as the triumphs of arms; even the art of painting has been pressed into the same service, and vivid pictures of great artists have perpetuated the ghastly scenes of the battlefield.

The conclusion that the world will outgrow war to which we are thus led by a brief survey of the forces which are now promoting peace is supported by some additional considerations which are worthy of notice. These fall under the heads of practicable substitutes for war, the teachings of scientific evolution, and the influence of religion.

Negotiation and arbitration are the two great substitutes for war. Modern methods of quick communication have made lengthy negotiations possible without unreasonable delay; in these the points of difference can be gradually narrowed down and finally settled. Where the intention to seize a pretext for quarrel exists, of course there is never any difficulty in making negotiation fail; but if there is a fair intention on both sides to

reach an understanding, modern diplomacy can generally effect it, or can at least arrive at an agreement for arbitration in those cases which can best be settled in that manner. Such negotiations are now conducted not through ambassadors at a distance, to whose discretion much must be trusted, but through direct communications between the responsible heads of the state departments or foreign offices. The long series of successful instances of arbitration, now more than sixty in number during the present century, go far to prove the possibility of dispensing with the arbitrament of the sword. A most conspicuous example was the Geneva arbitration, conducted between Great Britain and the nation which declared her independence on the day we celebrate; and last year was made memorable by the meeting at Washington of an International Conference of all the republics of America, to whose work I shall again refer.

Experience has shown that international tribunals can be constituted that are as competent and as unprejudiced in the settlement of international controversies as are the courts of law in passing upon disputes between individuals. As the private war and trial by battle have be-

come obsolete, and even duelling is now held in contempt, so it is not unreasonable to indulge the hope that in coming time the arbitrament of war, crude in its working and uncertain in its results, will be replaced by the arbitrament of peace. To-day, in the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest judicial tribunal ever instituted, two States of the Union, possessed of all the attributes of sovereignty save such as they have surrendered to the federal government, appear as parties to a suit and yield obedience to the court's decree. In the future we may well believe that the nations of the earth will establish a yet more exalted tribunal of justice, to which they will be content to submit all controversies, and by whose judgment they will cheerfully abide.

The teachings of scientific evolution lead us to the same conclusion as to the probability of the outgrowing of war. The fruitful conceptions as to the origin, growth, and development of man, of human society, and of political institutions which science has opened to us during the last half century, confirm the faith that the progress of mankind is from barbarism and strife to civilization and brotherhood. The military organization of society was suitable to a stage of

development that we are rapidly leaving, and must give place to a purely industrial organization. Evolution teaches us that the present has grown out of a past from which it differs as widely as possible in every conceivable respect, and that many of the qualities in man which were once regarded as a part of his nature are comparatively recent acquisitions. It also teaches us that from the present we cannot judge of the future, that as man has been modified, physically, mentally, and morally, by his past experience on earth, so he will continue to change in the time to come. The brutality of the savage has given place to the humanity of the civilized man; and peace is the goal toward which the latter is tending in his process of evolution. As the race expresses itself through the unit, and is typified in it, so we may well conclude that as man as an individual has, through the long progress of ages, become more and more a pacific animal, only making war in his associated capacity, so the race will in future acquire the same character.

Finally, for those who have any religious belief in the spiritual significance of this earth, the abolition of war must appear as something that

will inevitably come. If this globe has any higher purpose than to serve as the arena upon which human gladiators are to fight, then the period of conflict must one day give place to that millennium proclaimed by the prophet, when "nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." In promoting this growth of religious sentiment against war, Christianity can win one of its noblest triumphs. Slowly and gradually the different spheres of man's activity have been brought more and more under the sway of the principles of the Gospel, far as these still are from exerting their proper influence; and at last its precepts must be applied to international relations. That higher and more spiritual Christianity which the nineteenth century has developed — higher because returning more closely to the point from which it started in the first century — is by no means the least of the forces which in our time strengthen the cause of peace; and surely it is capable of becoming by far the greatest. One of the distinctive features of early Christianity was that it broke down the conventional barriers between Jew and Gentile, between Roman and barbarian, and declared that in the divine mind

there were no distinctions of nationality or race. It brought to all humanity the good tidings of universal brotherhood. And though for long centuries men who preached the gospel of peace have given their sanction to war, celebrating its victories and blessing its conquerors, yet the modern revival of a truer understanding of the teachings of Christ, if it does not result in the acceptance of the doctrine of non-resistance so nobly maintained by one body of his followers, must at least lead to the conviction that war is un-Christian and unnecessary.

Thus far I have spoken of the influences that affect warfare between nations. Civil contests within the limits of a single country demand separate mention. Several of the considerations already alluded to apply to internal conflicts; but the great security for the maintenance of domestic peace arises from the fact that some governments have already reached a condition of stable equilibrium under democratic institutions, and that many others are fast tending to that point. While popular government is establishing itself, while it is so far ahead of the political capacity of the masses of the people that they become the prey of demagogues or autocrats, it may in-

deed seem to occasion more insurrections and civil conflicts than monarchical rule. But this is only a temporary phase which is outgrown. No government that the world has yet devised is as stable as a democracy whose people understand their rights of sovereignty. When every citizen is free to cast a secret ballot, and every political change which a majority desire can be secured by the action of their representatives, all occasion for armed revolution has passed away, and the rebel against the government is a traitor to the people.

And now how shall we connect these thoughts with the anniversary of to-day, and what place shall we assign to our own country in this progress of the world toward peace? In the first place we must remember that, though the Declaration of Independence led to a long and bloody war, it was, on our part, purely a defensive war. Our forefathers were fighting upon their own territory, for the right to govern themselves. Slow and reluctant in entering upon war, prosecuting it under extreme difficulties, they were glad to welcome peace as soon as their independence was acknowledged. The principles which they proclaimed are entirely opposed to wars of aggression. If all

men are created equal, if as individuals they stand upon an even footing, then also must they be equal in their associated capacity as nations, and the poorest and the feeblest nation is equal in all its rights to the richest and the strongest; then must the same code of morals apply to governments in their dealings with each other that applies to men; then must the ignoble rule upon which the world has lived so long, that in the affairs of nations might makes right, give place to the law of justice. In the course of more than a century of national life, our country has been true in the main to its pacific character. The pages of our history are indeed blotted with the record of two wars with foreign countries; it is true, also, that our land has been the scene of the greatest civil conflict that the world has ever known. But now for nearly eighty years our relations with the mother country, though subjected to some strain at times, have remained on a friendly footing, and many embarrassing questions between us have been settled by peaceful methods; and the fact that the slave power once engaged us in war with Mexico has long since been forgotten on both sides of the line, in the friendly intercourse of commerce. The war of the rebellion was fought to secure the con-

ditions of lasting peace by maintaining the integrity of the federal union. The United States as one nation has a pacific mission to fulfil on earth, and the war that established once for all that the federal government is an indissoluble union of indestructible States, as it was fought by peaceful citizens, so it had peace for its end and object. The blood of the brave men of the North and of the South, mingling upon the battlefield, has but more firmly cemented the union of two sections in a common country.

Our nation has rendered a great service to the cause we are considering by setting an example against the practice of maintaining a large standing army. Never, in modern history at least, has any great nation kept so small a proportion of its citizens under arms as has the United States. To-day, with a population of 63,000,000 and a territory of over 3,500,000 square miles, our standing army still remains within the limit of 25,000 men, established many years ago, so that we have only one soldier for every twenty-five hundred people. Our army numbers but little more than a national police force; probably the combined policemen of a score of our largest cities would equal numerically all the troops of the Union. And when, at

the close of the civil war, a million men who had been drawn from civil pursuits and transformed for the time being into soldiers, returned again, easily and quietly, to the ordinary affairs of life, another great lesson was taught to mankind. To-day not alone the geographical separation of our country from others renders it secure, but the paradox must be acknowledged that its very devotion to peaceful industry makes it so strong in the resources required for modern warfare that we need not fear the attack of any foreign power. There is not a nation that now groans beneath the burden of a great standing army that would not be stronger as a warlike power at the end of ten years if it could follow our example and devote itself to industrial development during that time.

But perhaps the most important service which we have rendered to the establishment of peace lies in our development of the federal system of government. Here has been successfully solved the political problem which has been the puzzle of past ages. The great empires of the past involved so much centralization of power that they broke down of their own weight. Not until our forefathers conceived and put into practice the idea of a federal nation of limited powers, made up of

states which chose their own executive officers and legislative bodies, and which retained all the powers of sovereignty except such as they conferred upon the central government by a formal, written instrument, did any practicable way appear of combining great numbers of men permanently under one political organization. In our system we have laid down the lines of future political development, and have furnished the model upon which not only three of the republics of America, but the empires of Germany and of Austria-Hungary, the Dominion of Canada, and the new Commonwealth of Australia, have already been formed. The world now knows how it is possible, under free institutions, to form a closer political union and a more coherent empire than autocratic rule has ever been able to create, and along this path of political progress lies the road to the permanent abolition of war.

The United States has always contributed powerfully to hasten the coming disarmament by its encouragement of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes, and by the support which its people have given to the conception of a Congress of Nations as the final consummation to be aimed at. The very idea of an international tribu-

nal seems to have originated two centuries ago with one of the founders of America, who has given his name to one of our greatest commonwealths. In 1693 William Penn, in an "Essay on the Present and Future Peace of Europe," urged the plan of a general congress for the settlement of international disputes. The first organized movement in support of this idea began with the formation of the American Peace Society in 1828; its founders declared that they hoped "to increase and promote the practice already begun of submitting national differences to amicable discussion and arbitration, and finally of settling all national controversies by an appeal to reason, as becomes rational creatures, and not by physical force, as is worthy only of brute beasts; and this shall be done," they continued, "by a congress of Christian nations, whose decrees shall be enforced by public opinion." As long ago as 1835 the Legislature of this Commonwealth passed resolutions declaring that some mode should be established for the amicable and final adjustment of all international disputes, instead of resorting to arms.

By the treaty of Washington, submitting its just claim against Great Britain to arbitration, our country in a conspicuous instance showed her

opposition to unnecessary war. But perhaps her greatest service to this means of settlement will come from an attempt which has unhappily proved abortive for the present. By the treaty agreed to by the representatives of the American republics, assembled in International Conference at Washington at the invitation of the United States, it is declared that "believing that war is the most cruel, the most fruitless, and the most dangerous expedient for the settlement of international differences, the republics of America hereby adopt arbitration as a principle of American international law for the settlement of the differences, disputes, or controversies that may arise between two or more of them." Arbitration is by this treaty made obligatory in every case except where one of the parties to the controversy believes that the point at issue is of such a nature as to threaten its national independence; and this exception simply corresponds to the right to resort to force in defence of his life which the law everywhere allows to the individual man. A code of rules for putting arbitration into practice is embodied in the treaty, and it is provided that any other nation may become a party to it. The unfortunate failure of the nations represented to ratify this treaty within

the time allowed has for the present prevented the accomplishment of its beneficent purposes; yet even its adoption by the Conference marked an epoch in international relations. This body took further steps of importance in recommending the respective governments to adopt the declaration that "the principle of conquest shall not be recognized as admissible under American public law," and in declaring its desire that European nations, by becoming parties to the treaty, should adopt its methods of settling disputes between themselves and the nations of America.

And now, with this record in the past, what can we still do in the future to promote that union of different races which has taken place to so wonderful an extent upon our own territory; how can we help further to perfect that brotherhood of man upon which our political institutions are founded? First of all, we can continue to hold before the eyes of the world the spectacle of a peaceful, federal republic, already exceeding in its population every government in the world except the empires of China, Russia, and Great Britain, and exceeding even the latter if the two hundred and fifty millions of her subjects in India are omitted. We stand to-day among the four great

powers of the earth, surpassed by none in the extent of our resources, equalled by none in the intelligence of our people. It must be that the United States will have more and more power in moulding the public opinion of the world, and that our example and practice will have a growing influence upon other nations. Therefore every effort to elevate and purify American political or social life, to keep the stream of democracy flowing clear and unobstructed, to make government of the people work more successfully, is also an effort to promote the concord of nations and to hasten the coming peace.

But the time has now arrived when the United States can do more to promote this cause than merely securing her own internal development. With the final settlement of the once menacing questions of slavery and secession, with the final establishment of the national government on a firm foundation, we can turn our attention to our relations with other countries. We can in the future play a continually increasing part in that growing closeness of intercourse between nations which has already been referred to as one of the strongest promoters of peace. In the way of commerce, having already established within

our borders complete freedom of trade on the largest scale which the world has ever seen, we shall in the future seek, as we are already doing, closer trade relations with foreign countries; and every barrier to commerce that is removed, whether by treaty of reciprocity or otherwise, raises another barrier against war. The imaginary lines that separate our country from Canada on the north and Mexico on the south must, in respect to commerce at least, fade away before the true community of interest which unites us with them. With the rapid strides which we are making in the higher forms of civilization, the friendly ties of common intellectual and professional interests must bring us into closer association with European countries; the establishment this year of the long-delayed right of international copyright has been one step toward the connection of nations through literature. Even the American inventors who are furnishing improved weapons of warfare to foreign countries may be, as we have seen, hastening the extinction of war and coöperating in the true mission of their nation.

We live in an age of searching analysis, when the oldest and most cherished institutions are

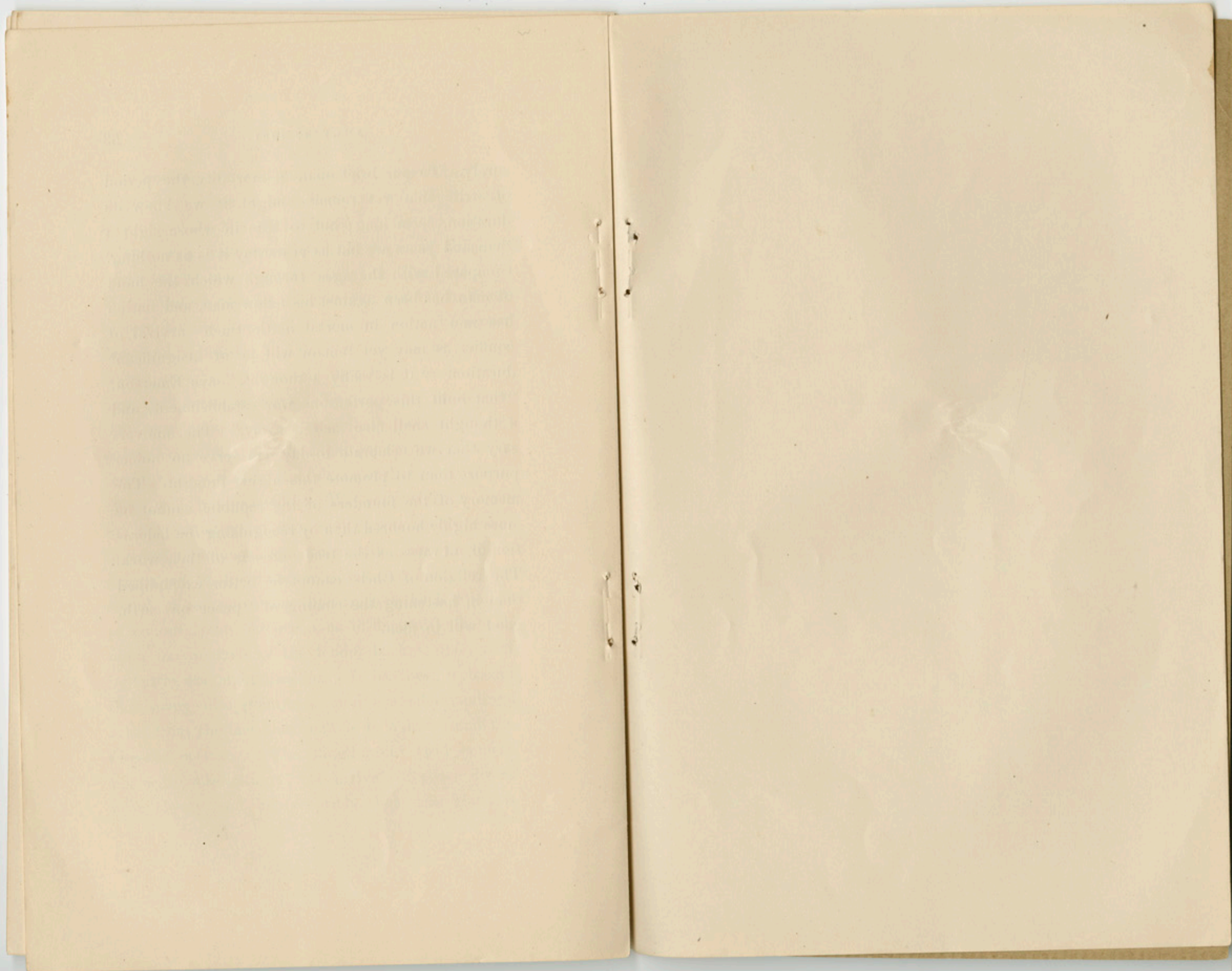
obliged to submit to a critical examination and dissection. When the people are sufficiently educated in all countries, as they are fast becoming in some, to understand the true nature of war, they will insist upon its abolition. Already, in almost every country of Europe except England, the maintenance of the standing army rests not upon free will, but upon force; the ranks are not filled up by the volunteer, but by the conscript. The people, if left to themselves, would engage in the pursuits of civil life; hence the necessity for universal compulsory service in order to keep up militarism. In England, with her much smaller army, it is true that its numbers are, with some difficulty, maintained by voluntary enlistment; but her experience furnishes a scarcely less striking commentary on the dislike of the people for military service. Recruits have to be drawn mainly from the dregs of the population; and at the expiration of their term of service more than nine men out of ten refuse all inducements to reënlist. Within the last ten years there have been over forty thousand deserters. The plain truth is that, unless driven by necessity, men will not serve in standing armies in time of peace; and in time of war, unless some great cause appeals to their con-

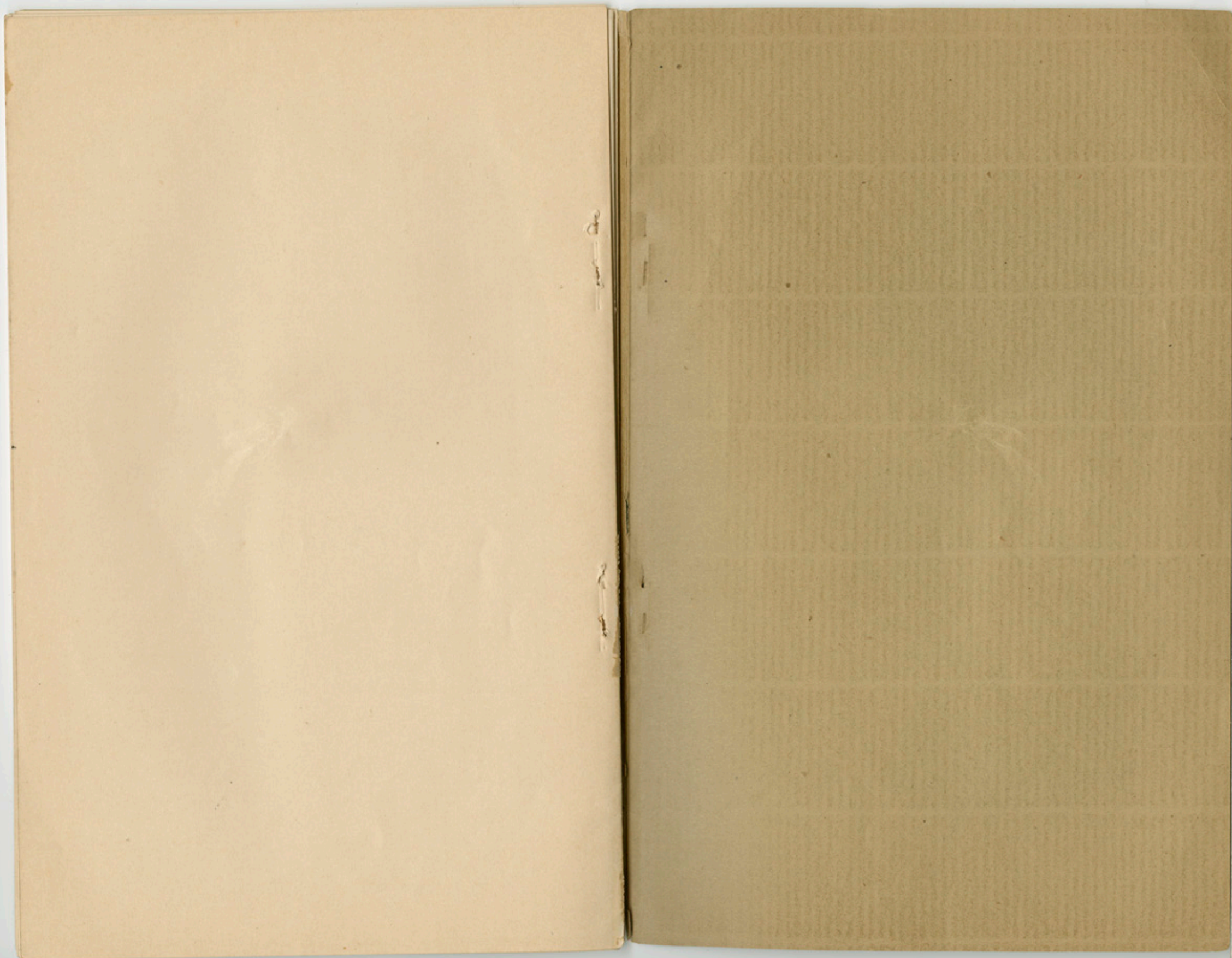
victions, as it did to the soldiers of the revolution, modern citizens must have their passions roused and their emotions excited before they will fight. Leave out the music, the banners, and the uniforms, the pride, pomp, and circumstance which give to war its fictitious glory, and it would be a sorry game, at which few would care to play. Far be it from me to depreciate the heroic self-sacrifice which men have shown in responding to what they believed to be their country's call to honorable duty; but it cannot be denied that if the peoples of the past had been as free and as intelligent as our people are to-day, they would have fought very few of the wars which have stained the pages of history. As liberty and education advance hand in hand, as the citizen assumes control over his own actions and learns to use his own reason, as he comes to discern the real essence and substance of war underneath its external forms and trappings, he will refuse longer to lend himself to the destruction of human life.

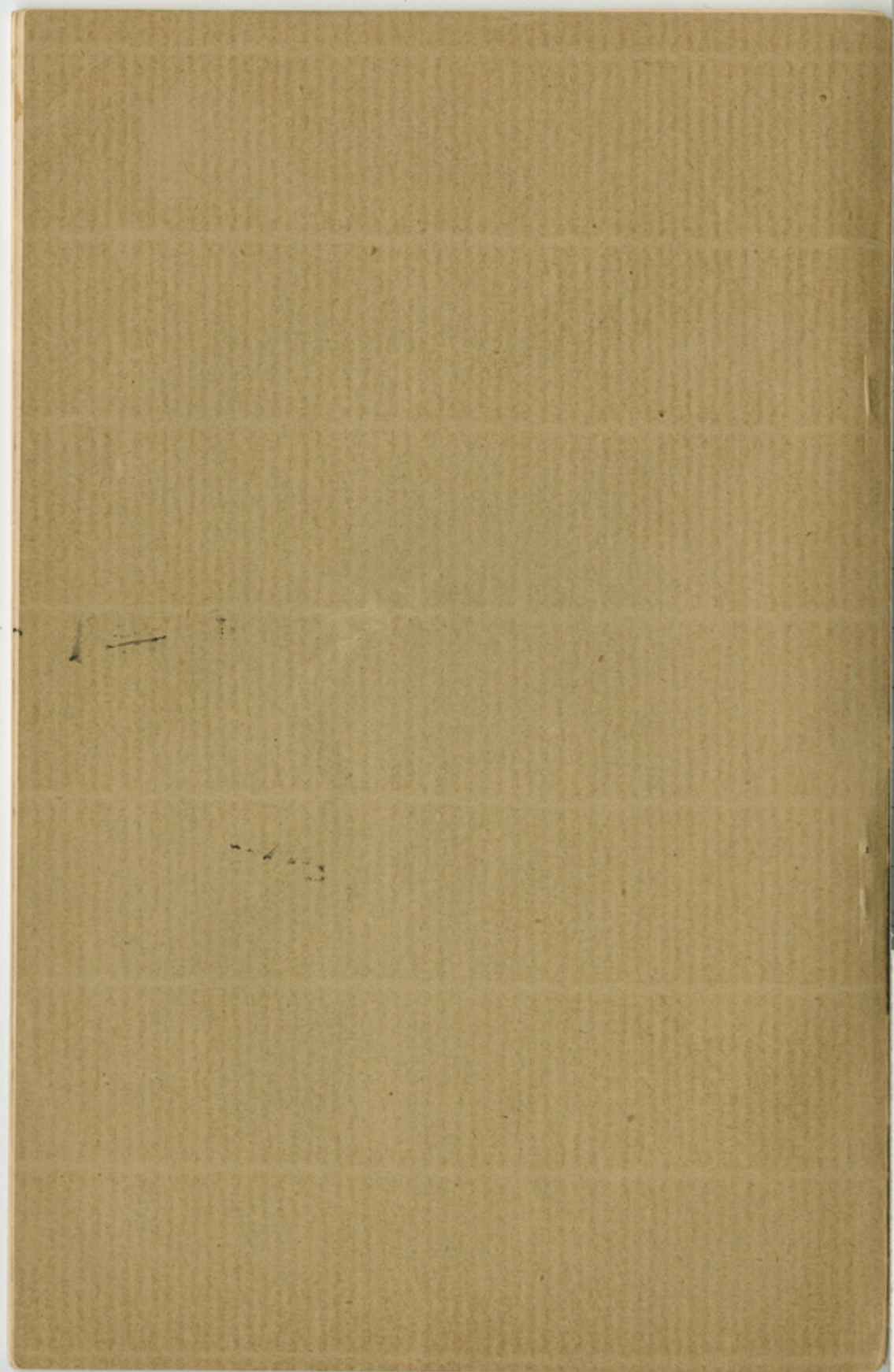
Let it not be thought that the considerations that have been brought forward are meant to lead to the conclusion that there will be no more war in the world, and that the great armies of Europe will

be peacefully reduced and finally disbanded. This may indeed come to pass, however unlikely it may seem; yet, if the probabilities of the immediate present only were considered, the topic of this address might more appropriately be The Coming War. Before the sword can be finally sheathed it may be that the soil of Europe is to be again drenched in blood. The darkest hour in the history of war may be yet to come; but it will be a darkness that presages dawn. No one of the influences that have been touched upon may yet be strong enough to stifle the voices that cry to arms; but in the aggregate, and in the fulness of time, their silent effect will be irresistible. We cannot fix a date for the cessation of war, and it will hardly come in what remains of the nineteenth century; yet it may come in the twentieth, and some within the sound of my voice may live to look back upon it as an outgrown barbarism, as to-day we look back upon the quarrels of the feudal barons, upon trial by battle, and upon duelling. It has been well said that many disappointments and misunderstandings arise from the fact that man is in a hurry and the Creator is not. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation;" the arrival of peace draws near slowly and imperceptibly, but none the less

surely. To our brief span of mortality the period of strife that yet remains might, if we knew its duration, seem long; but to Him in whose sight a thousand years are but as yesterday it is as nothing. Compared with the ages through which the hand of man has been against his fellow-man, and nation has met nation in mortal battle, such survival of conflict as may yet remain will be of insignificant duration. "It is really a thought," says Emerson, "that built this portentous war establishment, and a thought shall also melt it away." The anniversary that we celebrate to-day can serve no nobler purpose than to promote this higher thought. The memory of the founders of the republic cannot be more highly honored than by recognizing the federation of all races as the true outcome of their work. The religion of Christ cannot be better exemplified than in hastening the coming of "peace on earth, good will to men."







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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

The Executive Committee of the American Peace Society met in the Society's room January 25, at noon, President Robert Treat Paine in the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. S. C. Bushnell. Rev. G. W. Stearns was chosen Secretary *pro tem*. The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

Voted, That suitable acknowledgment be made of the receipt of the legacy of one thousand dollars from the estate of Amanda Parlin.

Voted, That the correspondence between President Paine of this Society, and the President of the United States, as published in the January number of the *Advocate of Peace and Arbitration*, be hereby ratified and approved.

F. M. Patten, Treasurer, made a statement of the financial condition of the Society.

In reference to the unfortunate sickness of Secretary Howard in Rome, Italy, remarks were made by Messrs. Ela, Smith, Bushnell, Miner and Stearns; and it was then voted that the sum of five hundred dollars be placed at the disposal of the Finance Committee for the use of the Secretary while he is abroad.

Voted, That the Secretary *pro tem*. be authorized to make a minute on the records, expressive of the deep sympathy we feel in our Secretary's misfortune in Rome, and that our action be communicated to him by the President of the Society.

In reference to the serious aspect of the relations between America and Chili, remarks were made by President Paine and others, commending calm, Christian thought, and that especially in view of the new and embarrassed government of the Chilian Republic,

Voted, to refer to a committee, consisting of President Paine, Dr. Miner and Dr. Allen, all the matter concerning the use of the documents (consisting of the address prepared by President Paine, and the article by Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward) in reference to the Chilian situation.

Adjourned.

G. W. STEARNS, *Sec. pro tem*.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.

Conspicuous success has attended the establishment of the Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration and of Conciliation as a means of avoiding strikes and lockouts and of saving great loss both to the workmen and the employers. An experiment at first, the Board may now be regarded as an established institution, and arbitration is henceforth to be a recognized factor in the settlement of industrial difficulties. The board, in its annual report, shows that the old principle of supply and demand is not as universal as was supposed. The usefulness of the Board grows with time. Says the report, "With added experience and greater familiarity on the part of the business world with the methods and principles by which the action of the Board is regulated, the efficiency of the State Board as a conciliator has increased, and on the side of arbitration it is a gratifying fact that in every such case the advice offered and the price lists recommended have been cheerfully accepted by all parties with permanent good results to the business affected." Massachusetts is a pioneer in this respect and is attracting attention, as the following statement by the Board shows: "The Board has received from time to time gratifying assurances from other States and other countries that the work of arbitration and conciliation carried on in Massachusetts in the name of the State, that is, of the whole people, is watched with increasing interest and with a readiness to acknowledge whatever degree of success is met with." The saving to the people by the establishment of this system is very great. The earnings of the people concerned in controversies settled by the Board in 1891 were \$2,307,000 and the total yearly earnings of the factories in which they were employed were \$9,038,750. The expense of the board was \$8592. The actual amount it has saved cannot well be computed, but it was certainly many times its cost.—*The Congregationalist*.

WHAT CHRISTIANITY DOES.

It is the genius of Christianity to dignify and ennoble common things. It sheds a halo about the lowliest life, and fills with significance the doing of the humblest task. Christianity can never be accused of being a religion for the patrician class. When Jesus went about preaching and teaching, we are told that the "common people heard him gladly;" and so they do to-day.—*Zion's Herald*.

If we are to follow Christ it must be in our common way of spending every day.—*Law*.

MORE THAN CONQUEROR.

In Memoriam—Rowland Bailey Howard—Died
Jan. 25, 1892.

We write under the shadow of a great sorrow. Our honored Secretary and Editor has left us. He has gone to the land of the living. Some of us his co-laborers clasped his warm hand last October in affectionate goodbye, and as the great ship swung away from her wharf in East Boston and thrust her prow toward blue water, we replied to his signals of affection which seas cannot sever as he waved cheery farewells from the Catalonia's deck. We thought him bound for the Old World. We thought he was going to Rome. But his real destination was the truly eternal city. We turned away to work again with the expectation that during only a few weeks the ocean tides would surge and swell between him and us. We supposed that then he would recross to home, friends and work. But the Master willed it otherwise.

The day and hour that no man knew was Monday noon, January 25. At that very time here in Boston a special meeting was in progress in our Peace Society's room. We were feeling much concern over our brother's prolonged illness. In the hope of relieving his mind from some possible burden it was then and there voted to telegraph at once sympathy and money. In the hour of our endeavor to help he appears to have been grappling with the last enemy that shall be destroyed. Before the tamed lightnings of God could hurry the message under sea and over land to the sufferer

"God's finger touched him, and he slept."

We are not disposed here to enter upon any extended eulogy. Yet when a man, brave, strong and good, falls in the discharge of duty, we feel that somehow it is a glorious way to die. Mr. Howard's last work has been very modestly mentioned in our last issue. From various sources now, however, come repeated testimonies that he spoke with great power when he took the floor of the Roman Congress to urge the claims of Peace upon Christians as such. These speeches were the swan-song, though the ears of the listeners were holden that they should not know it. Notwithstanding the general unfamiliarity of the members of the Congress with his mother-tongue, which naturally he chose to use, we can easily believe that the language of the man's soul made itself clear. They could not fail to comprehend a wordless speech in that strong, pure face which looked a benediction in itself, and attested a spirit that lived near to God. The commanding presence which men saw fit to praise at former Congresses in Paris and London represented America equally well in the Italian capital. We are assured that the well-ordered and virile ideas, of whose manœuvring our brother had more than usual mastery, were not wanting, and in neither their thought

nor expression had the United States reason to be ashamed of our nation's chief spokesman.

Mr. Howard's hopefulness impresses us anew. His letters dictated in the hospital kept coming for many days after the telegram from Rome had outstripped them with its sad news. Those letters are thrilled with Christian hope. His stout heart had a song in it to the last. Even under the stress of sickness his sunny faith seems not to have succumbed. But the end was near, though we knew it not. Monday morning, when the great world, refreshed by its Sabbath rest, was addressing itself once more to toil, we imagine the faithful servant heard the Master whisper, "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." Suddenly at noon there was no more pain. The former things had passed away.

So God took him as He takes many a good soldier who does his duty and dies. One is reminded of our Secretary's illustrious namesake, who almost exactly a century ago went about the same continent doing good in the prisons of the nations, and making the name of John Howard radiant. We feel that it is hard for any one to die far from dearest friends. Strangers' hands could be very tender in their ministrations, but none could avail to prevent the willing spirit's flight. Many a saint during the Christian ages has gone to heaven from Rome. It pleased the Lord, when our brother was caught up, to make the place of his feet glorious. We know that as a scholar he must have felt the absorbing interest awakened by the old city which has been so notably the theatre of mighty deeds in the storied past, yet we cannot believe that he was reluctant to exchange it for heaven. Anywhere one may say: "To depart and be with Christ is far better." Like the Greek warrior whom Virgil describes as falling in the same Italy, far from home and kindred, but able to lift his eyes heavenward from the battlefield where he is expiring with fond remembrance of sweet home,

— "coelumque

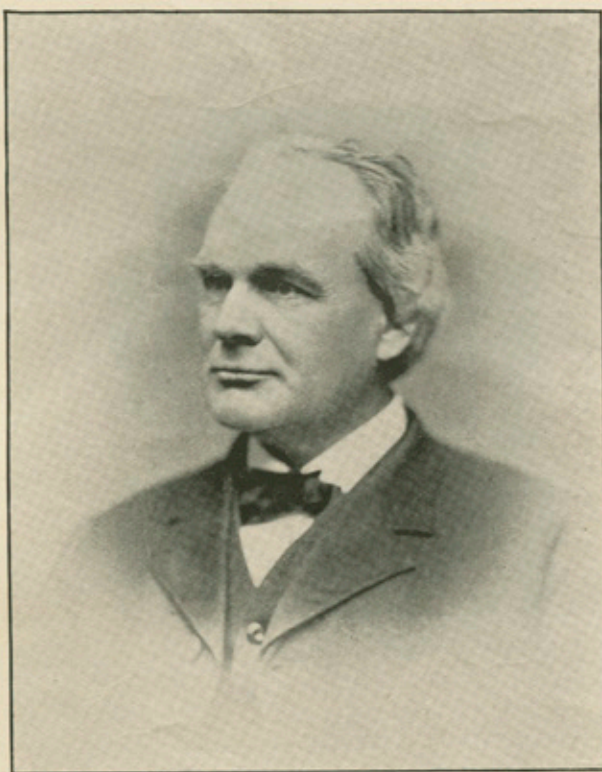
Aspicit, et dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos,"

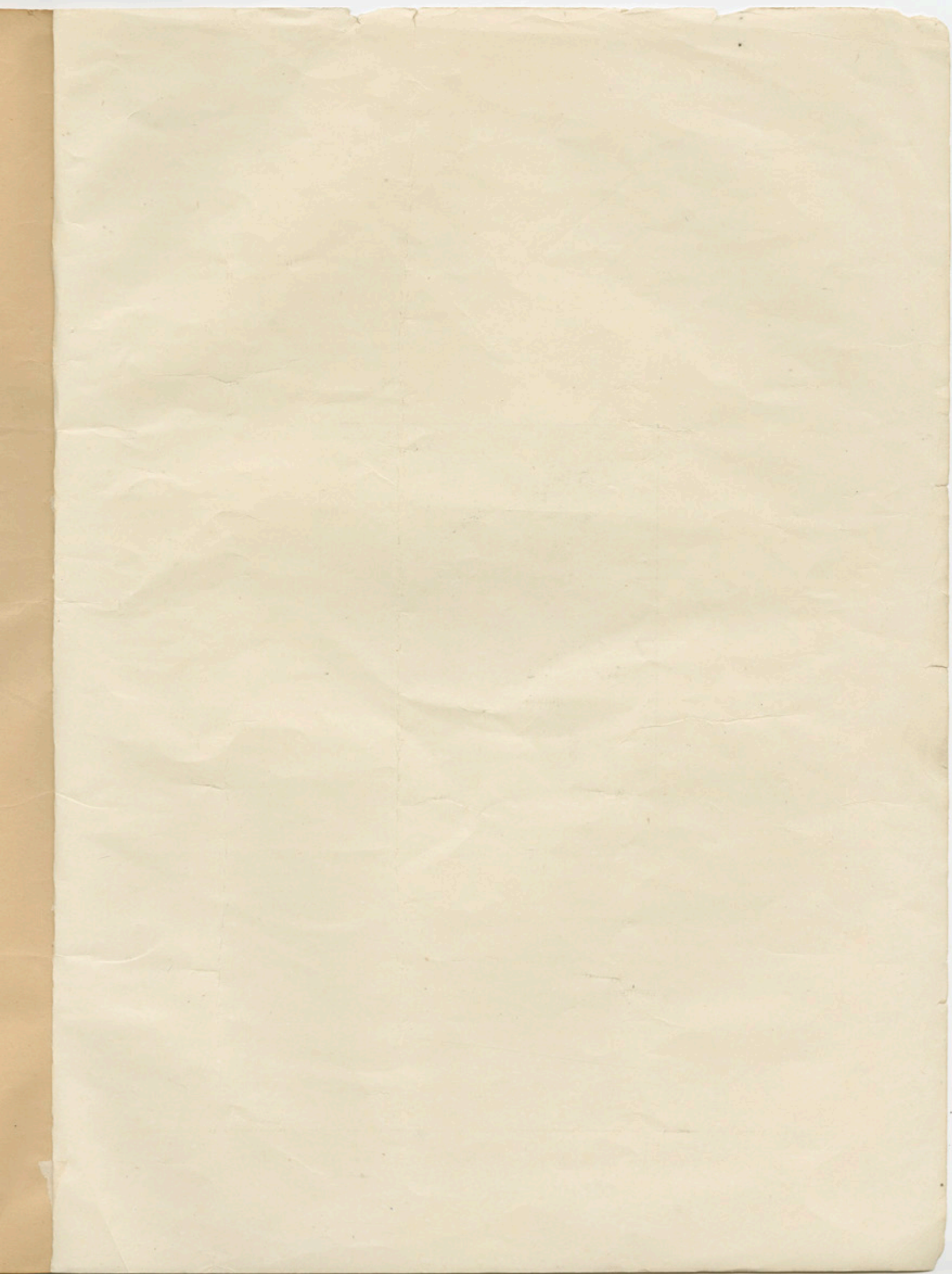
so, we may be sure, loving, prayerful thoughts of native land and dearest ones thronged into the last moments of that triumphant life.

We are Christians, and we do not mean to sorrow after the manner of those who know no Conqueror of death. Our purpose is to bear in mind, like our brother's stricken family, how rich we are in what we have had during these years. It is true that the ocean of eternity rather than the Atlantic separates him and us. But we remember the promise of One who is faithful and true that there shall be no more sea. We mean to mourn as Christians if at all. Others may murmur the monody of the poet:

"The winds and the waves are wailing,
And the night is full of tears."

Nevertheless for our part we purpose to be busy while





we wait for the day when we, his fellow-workers, shall in our turn change the cypress of mourning for the palm of victory.

G. W. S.

OUR LATE EDITOR.

ROWLAND BAILEY HOWARD (whose portrait we present in this issue) was born in Leeds, Maine, October 17, 1834, being the second son of his father whose full name was the same. His grandfather, Captain Seth Howard, was a pioneer in the Maine wilderness. Mr. Howard was educated at Bowdoin College, the Albany (N. Y.) Law School, and Bangor Theological Seminary. He preached in Harpswell, Patten and Island Falls, Me., and was a settled pastor in Farmington, Me., Princeton, Ill., East Orange, N. J., and Rockport, Mass.

Mr. Howard was editorially connected with the *Chicago Advance* during several years, and in that period travelled in Europe, and by his rare facility with the pen shared his privilege with many readers. He has two brothers and one half-brother living: Major-General O. O. Howard, U. S. A., commanding Division of the Atlantic; Gen. Charles H. Howard, Editor of the *Farm, Field and Stockman*, Chicago, and Judge R. H. Gilmore of Denver. His first wife was Miss Ella Patten, of Bath, Me., by whom he had three sons all of whom are now living. His second wife was Miss Helen Graves of Farmington, Me., who with a daughter aged sixteen and a son of thirteen survives him.

We quote the remainder of this article from Portland and Chicago papers.

Mr. Howard's experience in taking care of the wounded upon the terrible field of Gettysburg, where he served under his brother Major-General Howard, made a deep impression on his mind, and was often referred to by him as the starting-point of his peace-loving principles. Some years ago he resigned his pastorate in Rockport to enter upon the advocacy of international arbitration as Secretary of the American Peace Society. Under his able management the Society has taken a high place among the best organizations of a philanthropic character in this country and abroad. He edited the *AMERICAN ADVOCATE OF PEACE AND ARBITRATION* in which he constantly and eloquently argued in favor of the objects for which this Society was founded. He took an influential part in the World's Peace Congress at Paris in 1889, and London in 1890, likewise in Rome, in November, 1891. His illness was occasioned by overwork and a general breaking down of the system after his arduous duties at the Congress. A serious surgical operation was performed upon him last Dec. 16, the result of which was a fatal weakening of his exhausted strength. He lingered in the American Hospital at Rome till January 25, when he found eternal relief.

DIRECTORS' MEETING.

A special meeting of the Directors and Executive Committee of the American Peace Society was held in the Society's room, Monday noon, Feb. 8, 1892. President Robert Treat Paine was in the chair. Other members present were Messrs. Hale, Angier, Cogswell, F. A. Smith, Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, Messrs. J. H. Allen, Bushnell, Dunham, Ela, Farwell, Miner, Sheldon, C. B. Smith, Stearns, Wentworth and Richards.

After prayer led by Rev. E. E. Hale, D. D., and usual preliminaries, President Paine briefly referred to the sorrowful occasion of the meeting. Several members followed with tributes to Mr. Howard's memory. It was voted to invite Mrs. R. B. Howard to exercise oversight of the office until a successor to the late Secretary Howard should be secured. [This invitation has since been communicated to Mrs. Howard, and has been accepted.]

President Paine, Messrs. Miner, C. B. Smith, Hale and Sheldon were constituted a committee to nominate officers for the coming year, and especially to submit names which they would approve for the office of Secretary.

A committee was appointed to have power to take any action necessary in connection with the coming World's Peace Convention at Chicago in 1893.

G. W. STEARNS, *Sec. pro tem.*

At the Directors' meeting, after speaking warmly of William Ladd, who founded the American Peace Society in 1828, Dr. L. H. Angier continued: "For more than forty years I have been an active member of this Society. I knew Dr. Beckwith intimately. I knew his great love for this American Peace Society, and how his soul was imbued with the spirit of William Ladd. I have known intimately every Secretary since. We have had faithful servants in this cause, and among them none more faithful than our departed brother, Rowland Howard, of precious memory. I feel it as a personal loss that we shall see his face no more among us. But we shall not forget his faithful service, and I hope that it may be an inspiration to us, increasing our determination to the extent of our ability to carry out the great principles of this Society."

Rev. Dr. David H. Ela said: "It was my good fortune in my boyhood to be at the same school with him. Our callings caused us to be widely separated, but some years ago I came into the Society, and so renewed my boyhood acquaintance, and I found him the same earnest, devoted Christian man that he was Christian boy, and the same characteristics which run, I may say, through the somewhat remarkable family, and I have felt the same strong attachment for him in these later days that I had in the early times."

Memorial Tributes to Rev. Rowland B. Howard.

REV. A. A. MINER, D.D.

DEAR ADVOCATE—Through your columns I would proffer a word in regard to your late Editor, our common friend, the friend of Peace and of every moral interest of our race. The Rev. R. B. Howard was a man of singular purity of mind and heart. He could not but shrink from the fearful woes that afflict mankind in this age, and indeed which have afflicted it from time immemorial.

Especially was he keenly alive to the barbarities of war. He had studied the subject carefully and brought the fruits of his study to these columns. Far more than most men he was free from undue heat in whatever phase of the great subject he might at a given time be discussing. Calm in his general temperament, his vision was clear, his purpose high, his devotion steadfast.

As a member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society, I had come to repose great confidence in his impartial judgment and wise discretion. As a co-representative with him at the International Peace Congress in Paris, 1889, this appreciation was much enhanced. In the conferences of the various sub-committees his suggestions were listened to with profound respect, and manifestly had no little weight. Whenever he spoke in open Congress it was with dignity and eloquence. His whole soul was stirred and the moral impression was great.

That impression was all the greater because he was an American. It was generally felt that the United States occupy an exceptional position; especially was this true among the English representatives of the Congress. Our recent subjugation of the rebellion, our liberation of our slave population, our disbanding of the great army and reliance upon the justice of our cause to secure settlement with England touching the rebel cruisers, and especially our ocean bulwarks,—all conspired to enhance the appreciation of our national strength, and to increase the influence of the American representatives.

Mr. Howard received special attention from the President of the Congress, M. Passy, as indeed did the American representatives generally, as also in London from Mr. Hodgson Pratt, President of the International Arbitration League.

Mr. Howard was as magnanimous as he was upright. It was at his suggestion that Tufts College bestowed the degree of LL. D. upon Mr. Wm. Evans Darby, Secretary of the London Peace Society, and editor of its publications. Mr. Howard himself was quite worthy of such an honor, and had his life been spared, I doubt not he would have received it. Far more worthy are such men than mere warriors or party politicians.

BOSTON.

REV. CYRUS HAMLIN, D.D.

The Editor of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE is absent from his office, and from the care of the journal.

What moves our grief is that we shall see him there no more! His presence there was most grateful to every reader and every writer. His diaries were always delightful. He knew how to see men and things, as he travelled from place to place. His observations were recorded with such simplicity, sweetness of spirit, candor and sincerity, that one could not help going right along with him and enjoying it all. I never failed to read everything of that kind which he wrote.

It was my privilege to hear him as a speaker only once. At the meeting of the International Missionary Association, at Clifton Springs, June, 1891, he made an address, off-hand, earnest, effective, eloquent and short. Every one felt this was a speaker he would like to hear often.

There was an indescribable charm in his personal and social intercourse. He had a discriminating eye for all the movements, moral and physical, in the country. In all the works of Christian benevolence he took a deep interest. He was not confined to his own department of labor. Every movement in missions, in education, in theology, in politics, he loved to talk about. He had clear views, without the least asperity. He had nothing of that which we call party spirit. He had the true Christian spirit. He had unwavering confidence in the Word of God, and in its final triumph over all opposition and unfriendly criticism; and he could wait.

If one met him incidentally, in his office or on the cars, a half hour's or a few minutes' talk always left the impression of a true Christian gentleman. He had the true brotherhood of humanity. He spoke the truth in love. He left a blessing with him with whom he conversed; not by any remarkable or startling saying, but by the indwelling spirit which expressed itself by word and look.

His departure seems to us all, premature. He should have had a score or more of years of useful service. He should have lived to see his children trained for life's service and fairly entered into it. These are our human judgments and feelings.

But there is a work prepared for all the servants of our Lord which we are not permitted to see. "His servants shall serve Him;" and that service will be as much higher as the state of the servant is advanced and elevated. There is no loss to the universal kingdom of God, but only a change of place, and a promotion to higher service. What is so painful about it now, so distressing, so bereaving, is transient, temporary; the gain is eternal. "Therefore comfort one another with these words."

LEXINGTON.

WM. EVANS DARBY, LL.D., *Secretary of London Peace Society.*

He died nobly at his post, just as one would wish to die when his hour comes. The last work he did was to speak in support of a resolution which, although it was rejected by the Congress, left its mark upon its proceedings and upon the history of the Peace movement. It is sometimes a grander thing to bear a testimony than to carry majorities. And his latest work was to bear public testimony for his Lord and Master "at Rome also."

LONDON.

ALFRED H. LOVE, *President of the Universal Peace Union.*

Startled and shocked by the announcement that comes over the wires of the death of R. B. Howard, we seem paralyzed. Words are incapable of expressing our grief, our admiration, our utter loneliness, our sympathy for his beloved family, our fraternal feeling for the American Peace Society and our acknowledgments to God for the wonderful and beneficent gift of a true nobleman, an apostle of Peace and friend of man. Rowland B. Howard parted with us with the 23d Psalm upon his lips, and a benediction in his heart. We knew him as one of the modest, unselfish, generous and charitable co-workers in behalf of the sum of all virtues, one who was a faithful and untiring officer, uncompromising for the truth, a peacemaker always. His veneration for his mother was only excelled by his reverence for God, to whom he gave all the glory.

His last words to me were: "Secure a section in the World's Columbian Exposition for Peace where we can all assemble, and I will help you. Circulate petitions for an International Court of Arbitration for 1893. Do not overwork yourself, for we have a long and arduous task and I marvel how you can do so much. I have read and re-read your twenty-five years' labor for Peace, and regard it as a valuable page in American history. You should go to Rome with me. If you cannot go I will do all I can for the great cause."

He has met the trial. He has done all he could. He has given his life for it in the "Eternal City." We looked for his return. We awaited his glowing account of the Congress. As the daylight grew dim at the closing session, Howard's voice was the last that was heard. Cries went forth for Howard; he replied by earnest appeals for an International Court and an invitation from America to attend the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. He promised to do this for us. He fulfilled it, as he has grandly fulfilled his mission upon earth. We all loved him here in Philadelphia, we all watched for his editorials, we all thank our Heavenly Father that he lived, and we know not how his place can be filled.

It is only through that Peace which his life and counsels

gave us that we can bear the loss and labor on to try and emulate his example and hold the victories that his life achieved.

PHILADELPHIA.

The Thursday morning [Feb. 4] prayer meeting of the workers in the Congregational House took on an unusually tender character last week, owing to the fact that it was made an informal memorial service of the late Rev. R. B. Howard, who was one of the most faithful supporters of this little meeting and whose aid in song, prayer and remarks was always welcome. His classmate at Bowdoin, Rev. E. B. Palmer, narrated the circumstances attending Mr. Howard's conversion, and Dr. Alden, Rev. C. R. Bliss and others spoke affectionately of the dead. It appears that he was literally a martyr to his duty, for he left his sick bed in Rome to speak at the Peace Convention. He there urged with all his force and eloquence and against, we regret to say, the preponderating sentiment of the gathering the duty of committing the body to an outspoken Christian platform.—*The Congregationalist.*

Death has indeed been busy in the ranks of the peace army. We may almost say with the poet—

"How fast has brother followed brother,
From sunshine to the sunless land!"

Within a few months we have had to chronicle the deaths of honored and well-tried veterans like Viganò, Lemonnier and Laveleye, and of one cut off in his prime and at the height of his usefulness, Francesco Siccardi. And now with sad hearts we announce the death of the Rev. Rowland B. Howard, Secretary of the American Peace Society, Boston. All who had the privilege of knowing Mr. Howard must have felt proud to call him friend. Of striking appearance, with a singularly beautiful and winning smile, he had the rare power of drawing others to him at the first introduction, and the friendship once formed would never alter or diminish. Mr. Howard was a man of high character, endowed with very considerable ability and eloquence, of great refinement of mind and gentleness of manner. He had filled the post of Secretary of the American Peace Society for many years with great zeal and devotion, and it will be difficult to fill the place he occupied in the movement in the United States, especially in New England. To our friends and fellow-workers across the sea we offer our sincere and heartfelt sympathy; and for them, as for ourselves, would draw the lesson from the loss of our departed brother which our friends at Milan have drawn from the death of their Secretary, Captain Siccardi, that we shall best honor the memory of him who is gone by redoubling our efforts, and with renewed faith and resolve devoting ourselves to the great cause.—*Concord (London).*

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT PAINE.

BOSTON, Feb. 12, 1892.

To the Members of the American Peace Society:

I desire to communicate to you the letter of Mr. J. Frederick Green, Secretary of the International Arbitration and Peace Association of London, enclosing the following resolution of their committee expressing their great regret at the death of Rev. Rowland B. Howard, our late Secretary.

Let me take this occasion to express my appreciation of the great services rendered by Mr. Howard to the cause of Peace. He first brought our Society to my knowledge and interested me at once deeply in its work. His contagious enthusiasm made him a powerful advocate in its behalf. His sincere love of humanity made the scope of work and influence as wide as the welfare of all mankind. His power as a preacher and speaker enabled him to utter and impress upon others the great truths which moved him. Thus his influence in the cause of the peace of the world may rank at the side of the illustrious services of his brother General O. O. Howard in war, one of our great commanders in the struggle which removed slavery and cemented our Union in indissoluble bonds of peace.

Rowland Howard was one of the leaders of American influence in the recent Peace Congresses at London, Paris, and last of all at Rome, where he died in the service and for the cause which he ably advocated in the last weeks of his life.

Our own Society deeply mourns his loss, but we are profoundly grateful for his services, and we shall always honor his memory and record his name among those who have largely aided to promote the principles of arbitration instead of war between nations, and of peace among men.

With sincere respect,

ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
President of the American Peace Society.

[The following letter is the one above mentioned.]

"A vast International Association ought to be founded, having for its sole object to make the system of International Arbitration to prevail."—*De Laveleye.*

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND PEACE ASSOCIATION.

Offices 40 and 41 Outer Temple, Strand.
(Opposite the Royal Courts of Justice.)

LONDON, W. C., Feb. 2, 1892.

DEAR MR. PAINE:

We have been much pained at hearing of the death of Mr. Howard at Rome.

I am desired by our Committee to forward to you as President of the American Peace Society, the accompanying Resolution adopted by them at their meeting yesterday.

Mr. Pratt has not yet got back from Italy. After the Congress at Rome he visited Florence and Genoa, at both of which cities he has succeeded in founding societies.

He is now at Nice where he is spending a few days before going on to Paris and so home.

Trusting you are well and with kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

J. FRED'K GREEN,
Secretary.

P. S. May I ask you to be kind enough to communicate this Resolution to the members of your Society.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE, Esq.

[The Resolution referred to is as follows:]

RESOLUTION of the Committee of the International Arbitration and Peace Association on the death of the Rev. Rowland B. Howard.

Resolved, That this Committee have heard with great regret of the death of the Rev. Rowland B. Howard, Secretary of the American Peace Society, Boston, who for very many years has been an earnest worker in the cause in America, besides attending the various Congresses held in Europe.

The Committee desire to express their sincere sympathy with the members of the American Peace Society on the loss of one who for so long a period filled the post of Secretary of the Society with so much zeal and ability.

(True copy.)

J. FRED'K GREEN.

Feb. 2, 1892.

EXTRACT

FROM SERMON PREACHED IN ROME, ITALY.

JAN. 31, 1892.

BY JAMES GORDON GRAY, PASTOR OF SCOTCH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

As we prayed here last Lord's Day morning for one who a second time was drawing near to the gate of death, for him the portal into life, a peculiar solemnity, accompanied by a sense of more complete submission to the Divine Will in the case, fell upon our spirits. In St. Paul's Nurses' Home, where all had been done that medical skill and tenderly devoted nursing could do during eight weeks of peculiarly trying experience, the shadow of death at the self-same hour was passing over him whom we thus bore before the throne. It turned out to be his release casting its shadow before it by twenty-four hours. A sorely troubled day and night followed; then on Monday last about this hour the heavy breathing ceased, the eyes opened wide as if on the Unseen and became fixed on the new sights and scenes opening up to him. Not a glance more remained for earthly objects. It seemed as one looking fixedly within heaven's gate with not a thought of looking any more behind him. As we stood beside him we almost wished that it were possible to have that look with him. Then all was still. The servant of God had entered on his rest. So passed

from us the Rev. R. B. Howard, Secretary of the American Peace Society, a younger brother of the well-known General O. O. Howard—both soldiers of the cross; though on the great question of Peace as against War, the brothers seemed to be on opposite sides, and yet the difference was more apparent than real. The General, as good a fighter as the U. S. Army possesses, is yet the most gentle and prayerful of men and in sympathy with the movement for arbitration between nations on fair and equal terms. His messages to his brother up to the last have shown him to be a believer in the efficacy of prayer and if his prayers have not been answered by a restoration, they have hallowed and helped the departure of a loved one to the realms beyond—"the mansions of the Father's house."

Mr. Howard has thus fallen at his post, though far from home and friends. God comfort this day the widow and the children! His last testimony in favor of the cause for which latterly he lived, the sacred cause of Peace, was given in this city on an important occasion. It was a testimony worthy at once of the cause and the Christian soldier that bore it. It was a trumpet call to all Christian men, who would meet on the broad ground of the teachings of Christ, to rally round the standard of Him who is the Prince of Peace and carry forward this great movement in His name. Men would say it was like one leading a forlorn hope in the actual circumstances in which the testimony was borne. It is bound, however, to bear its fruit.

MEMORIAL SERVICE AT ARLINGTON, MASS.

On Friday evening, February 26, a memorial service was held in the Congregational Church of which Secretary Howard was a member, and where his loss will long be felt. The pastor, Rev. S. C. Bushnell, spoke very feelingly of the cordial relations which existed between them from the day when the elder brother welcomed the younger as his "pastor," never missing an opportunity since then to aid him, and perfectly accomplishing the difficult task which falls to an ex-clergyman in another man's parish. Mr. Bushnell spoke of the fellowship existing between them as not destroyed, but only interrupted,—broken for a while,—but sure to be renewed by and by.

Several brethren of the church followed with loving tributes to the memory of their common friend, and then Rev. E. B. Palmer, a classmate and life-long acquaintance of Secretary Howard, said that nothing had been uttered in his praise which was in excess of the truth, the people of Arlington in their brief association with him having but "sampled" the man.

Judge Wm. E. Parmenter of Arlington and Rev. D. Richards, the Secretary's assistant at the office, followed

with appreciative words and the service, which though simple and informal was memorable in many ways, was brought to a close.

Memorial services were observed at the Congregational churches of Farmington, Me., East Orange, N. J., and Rockport, Mass., over which Mr. Howard had been pastor. The Congregational Church at West Medford, Mass., with which he was identified previous to his residence in Arlington, passed appropriate resolutions to his memory. All these services were loving tributes to a faithful servant of God. "O Death, thou art a strange teacher!" But we realize that—

"Sorrow touched by Thee grows bright
With more than mortal ray;
As darkness shows us realms of light
We never saw by day."

PROMOTED.

MARIA LOUISE EVE.

[In memory of Rev. Rowland B. Howard, the beloved Delegate from the American Peace Society to the World's Universal Peace Congress, Rome, Italy, where he died.]

To vanquish armed wrong,
The ancient tyranny that gives to Might
The crown and kingdom of unsceptred Right,
He came, so calm and strong.

No clanging sword he wore,
No earthly weapon did he bear or bring;
But only the commission of his King
In loyal heart he bore.

With vision clear he saw
How vain and useless the demands of strife,
With heart of godlike pity gave his life
To stay her cruel law.

Behold, what have we here,
Where Roman cohorts marched with heavy tread,
While circling 'round the dying and the dead
The eagles hovered near?

Beneath these radiant skies
No council this, of weary, wasting war,
But men of Peace are gathered from afar,
The noble and the wise.

Here, came to him the word,
"The Master wants his faithful servant nigher,
The great Commander calls you. Come up higher,
And sheathe your stainless sword."

AUGUSTA, GA.

Rev. R. B. Howard, the faithful Secretary of the American Peace Society, died in Rome, last week. Spurgeon, the great preacher, died last Sabbath. The following words of the latter are appropriate for both: "A good character is the best tombstone. Those who loved you and were helped by you will remember you when forget-me-nots are withered. Carve your name on hearts and not on marble."—*Ex.*

A VOICE FROM THE DEPARTED.

REV. LUZERNE RAE.

I shine in the light of God,
His likeness stamps my brow,
Through the valley of death my feet have trod,
And I reign in glory now.
No breaking heart is here,
No keen and thrilling pain,
No wasted cheek, where the frequent tear
Hath rolled and left its stain.

I have found the joy of heaven,
I am one of the angel band,
To my head a crown is given,
And a harp is in my hand.
I have learned the song they sing,
Whom Jesus hath made free,
And the glorious walls on high still ring
With my new-born melody.

No sin — no grief — no pain —
Safe in my happy home —
My fears all fled — my doubts all slain —
My hour of triumph come —
Oh, friend of my mortal years!
The trusted and the tried,
Thou art walking still in the valley of tears,
But I am at thy side.

Do I forget? Oh no!
For Memory's golden chain
Shall bind my heart to the heart below,
Till they meet and touch again.
Each link is strong and bright,
And love's electric flame
Flows freely down, like a river of light,
To the world from which I came.

Do you mourn when another star
Shines out from the glittering sky?
Do you weep when the noise of war
And the rage of conflict die?
Then why should your tears roll down,
And your heart be sorely riven,
For another gem in the Saviour's crown,
And another soul in heaven.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

A MOVEMENT TO COMMEMORATE HIS LIFE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

LONDON, Feb. 24.—During the course of his letter concerning James Russell Lowell, Mr. Leslie Stephen says that this being the birthday of the late Mr. Lowell, and understanding that memorial services will be held in the United States, he believes that Englishmen would be glad to show their respect for one of the most eminent writers of the common language of England and America, who, while minister of the United States, said nothing that did not tend to promote the good will of the nations.

Mr. Stephen urges that the proposed monument be erected in Westminster Abbey, as one of Longfellow has been, as a proof of the national regard. The letter concludes with the offer to receive subscriptions for carrying into effect the plan proposed. The *St. James Gazette* supports the proposition. It says James Russell Lowell was the truest representative of what is best in American and British intellect and character. He began a New England patriot and partisan, and ended one of the sincerest admirers of Old England.—*Boston Traveller*.

SPURGEON'S COMBINATION OF QUALITIES.

REV. THOMAS ARMITAGE, D.D.

As in the case of many other distinguished preachers, his auditors have been at a loss to account for the spell under which he held them, and the charm of which they never wearied. Greater orators, scholars, theologians, rhetoricians and profounder thinkers may have addressed them, but never captivated their souls in such perfect subjection; and the question has been almost universal, "Wherein lies this man's great power?" Countless multitudes of the poor and unlettered have hung upon his lips with rapture and profit, under every imaginable circumstance, and have left his ministry under the impression that they never understood the gospel before, if indeed they had ever before heard it at all. Nor has any one yet been able to point out any one distinguishing power which stood out pre-eminently above all others.

Yet all perceptive minds have discovered in Mr. Spurgeon a combination of gifts, graces and energies which very seldom meet in any man, and the whole galaxy has met in the same person only at long intervals of time. Until within a few years, his physique was so robust as to defy the fatigue of all labor, no matter of what character or amount. His voice was rich, of large volume, full of melody and under perfect command, so that he could whisper or thunder at pleasure, and twenty thousand people would catch his sympathetic words. His countenance bespoke every coming emotion of his soul, and all his movements harmonized instinctively with his sentiments, while his entire manner was free, earnest, fearless and natural. He was blessed with a most perfect verbal memory, which retained all that he ever read or saw or heard with a tenacity which few men know, and he could recall every item committed to its keeping at will. His tastes as to language inclined to the nervous and quaint old Saxon, especially that of the Elizabethan age. His heart was true and tender, his imagination pure and fertile, and his convictions living and magnetic. As a rule, he dealt in the pulpit only with what he believed to be the old gospel truths which occupied Christ's mind and challenged all the reverence of the apostles. With all his soul he believed in every reality of time and eternity, and loved the immortal interests of his fellow-men with a consuming intensity; hence he spoke as a man sent directly from God on a personal embassy. Add to this a thorough knowledge of human nature, a stout commonsense, a great talent for illustration, and an aptitude for organizing and administering all the productions of his clear mind, and it is apparent that it would be miraculous for such a preacher to be a failure. If his ministry were not of the most marked order, both nature and the gospel would have been untrue to themselves.—*Harper's Weekly*.

Mr. Frank Carpenter's picture, "International Arbitration," which has been presented to the Queen by Mrs. Carson of New York, has been received at Buckingham Palace, and its final destination will probably be Windsor or Osborne House. All the formalities of the presentation and acceptance were conducted by the American Legation and Sir Henry Ponsonby. The picture temporarily remains amid the portraits of royal personages hanging on the gilded walls.

THE SHORE OF ETERNITY.

FREDERIC W. FABER.

Alone! to land alone upon that shore!
 With no one sight that we have seen before,—
 Things of a different hue,
 And the sounds all new,
 And fragrances so sweet the soul may faint.
 Alone! Oh that first hour of being a saint!

Alone! to land alone upon that shore!
 On which no wavelets lisp, no billows roar,
 Perhaps no shape of ground,
 Perhaps no sight or sound,
 No forms of earth our fancies to arrange,—
 But to begin alone that mighty change!

Alone! to land alone upon that shore!
 Knowing so well we can return no more:
 No voice or face of friend,
 None with us to attend
 Our disembarking on that awful strand,
 But to arrive alone in such a land!

Alone! to land alone upon that shore:
 To begin alone to live for evermore,
 To have no one to teach
 The manners or the speech
 Of that new life, or put us at our ease:—
 Oh that we might die in pairs or companies!

Alone? No! God hath been there long before,
 Eternally hath waited on that shore
 For us who were to come
 To our eternal home;
 And He hath taught His angels to prepare
 In what way we are to be welcomed there.

Like one that waits and watches He hath sate,
 As if there were none else for whom to wait,
 Waiting for us, for us
 Who keep Him waiting thus,
 And who bring less to satisfy His love
 Than any other of the souls above.

Alone? The God we know is on that shore.
 The God of whose attractions we know more
 Than of those who may appear
 Nearest and dearest here:
 Oh is He not the life-long friend we know
 More privately than any friend below?

Alone? The God we trust is on that shore,
 The faithful One whom we have trusted more
 In trials and in woes
 Than we have trusted those
 On whom we leaned most in our earthly strife,—
 Oh we shall trust Him more in that new life!

Alone? The God we love is on that shore,
 Love not enough, yet whom we love far more,
 And whom we've loved all through,
 And with a love more true
 Than other loves,—yet now shall love Him more:—
 True love of Him begins upon that shore!

So not alone we land upon that shore:
 'Twill be as though we had been there before;
 We shall meet more we know
 Than we can meet below,
 And find our rest like some returning dove,
 And be at home at once with our Eternal Love!

The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handy-work.—*Ps.* xix. 1.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S INTEREST IN THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT ROME.

Here is an echo from over the sea which cannot fail to quicken hope in the breasts of peace-lovers the world over. We read that at a dinner, given in Berlin by Chancellor Caprivi, Feb. 5, "which was honored by the presence of the Emperor, among the invited guests was Deputy Baumbach, who attended the recent peace conference at Rome. The Emperor engaged him in conversation about the conference and listened to the details with close attention. At the close he thanked Herr Baumbach warmly for his clear and instructive report of the proceedings and declares that he has followed the movement with great interest."

We hope that the Chancellor himself heard the talk mentioned, and profited by his Majesty's example.

WHAT MAKES POVERTY?

The world groans with the burdens of poverty. Why is poverty so prevalent and biting? We suggest these answers:

1. Is rum the cause? 2. Or licentiousness? 3. Or militarism?

Our people are shocked during their travels in Europe by the sight of women laboring in the fields. They marvel likewise in the towns at other poor women pulling vehicles through the streets, sometimes harnessed with dogs. Have these hateful spectacles any connection with the fifteen or twenty million men who are in arms in Europe? Do the monarchs and nobles foot the military bills? Or do some of the common people find it necessary to work to pay the board of these millions of able-bodied men, and their salaries to buy their costly weapons, build and maintain ships, forts, cannon? If poverty is less prevalent in America—happiest nation in a happy hemisphere where, as Joseph Cook says, is now no slave and no king—is it not partly because we have no great army to clothe, feed, equip and pay?

—While the Chilian question was in suspense, we read in one paper that the men of the U. S. S. *Baltimore* were "wild to avenge the death of their two comrades." Another journal gaily spoke of the soldiers of our army as eager for war, and coveting "the glittering prizes of promotion that dance before their imagination." Of a large part of our army we believe such talk is utterly untrue. Our best soldiers, like our best citizens, believe that the army exists to prevent, rather than to promote, violence.

He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth.—*Ps.* lxxii. 8.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE AND ARBITRATION.

BOSTON, MARCH-APRIL, 1892.

EDITOR.

MRS. R. B. HOWARD,
G. W. STEARNS,

Editors pro tem.

—Heaven is richer than ever before with the gains of the winter now past. The names of Peace lovers among those gone up higher—too soon, if our hearts could speak—are not few, Captain Siccardi, Secretary of the Lombard Union, Laveleye, Lemonnier, Viganò, our own Howard, and now Spurgeon.

—The next World's Peace Congress is appointed to be held in Berne.

—Momentous years for Peace interests are this year and the next. America must lead, and no one can tell what a glorious era may date from the Columbian Exposition. The oak grows more slowly than the mushroom, but it grows, and its growth is substantial. Let us all watch, work and pray for the establishment of that International Court, the logic of whose existence is already conceded.

—We are grateful to Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward for kindly revising the proof of her recent Boston *Herald* letter in reference to the threatened hostilities with Chili. The letter appears on another page of this issue substantially in the form in which several hundred copies of it were sent to our national government, President, Cabinet, Congressmen, and the Chilian government. Wasted, do you say? Some copies, no doubt. But who doubts that "other fell upon good ground"?

—If, as we fear, our Chilian brothers feel that we Americans sided with the now deposed government in their country, we hope they will be quick to see the easy explanation. We live far away from Chili. We remembered a rebellion in our own republic, and instinctively, with our meagre knowledge of the case, we fancied it parallel to our own. As soon as we learned that the late Balmaceda was a tyrant our sympathies went to the other side. Americans are for liberty whatever names of men stand or fall. May President Montt's government ever mean liberty to his people.

—Thomas Lamborn died in Liberty, Woodson County, Kansas, Jan. 6, 1892, aged nearly 71 years. He was a great friend of Peace and Temperance and longed for the day when the nations should "learn war no more." He was one of our most faithful agents, a noble, good, Christian man. He greatly desired Secretary Howard should be spared and return in safety.

—The chemist and the engineer, it has been lately remarked, are now the greatest factors in warfare, and a battle is wholesale slaughter.

—Many of our readers will be much disappointed at the non-appearance in this issue of "The White Crown," Mr. Herbert D. Ward's unique and fascinating story, of which an instalment was given in our last number. In some remarkable way, which as yet we are unable either to explain or understand, crippled as we are by the prolonged absence, illness, and lamentable death of our Editor in Rome, there has been a misunderstanding about our use of the story, and we are in consequence obliged to refer our readers to the *Century Magazine* of August, 1891, for the continuation of this peculiarly strong and interesting production, "The White Crown." We are glad that it is still easily accessible to our readers.

—*Judge* had a recent cartoon of more than usual effectiveness. It represented Europe shrinking under the menace of the Fury, impending war, which hovered near amid emblems of destruction and was followed by Famine, while on our half of the globe sat comfortable Uncle Sam, fairly pelted with the money and harvests and other blessings which the prosperity of peace provides.

—To extort good from evil is a sublime achievement. God can do it. He makes the drunkard in the gutter preach a strong temperance sermon to the boys who look on. No thanks to the sinner either? None, of course. This thought is elusive, but it can be grasped and held. We remark in this line that while the horrible apparatus of warfare is made year by year more elaborate and potent, nations thinking of the consequences rather than the wickedness of warfare shrink more and more from declaring war. As a noted American philosopher says, "God does not *use* sin, he *ab-uses* it."

—We are gratified to note the safe return of Mrs. Mary Frost Ormsby from Rome, where she represented the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia at the World's Peace Congress. She says:

The feeling in Rome when I left a few days ago was that there would soon be a resumption of the diplomatic relations with the United States, as before the recall of Baron Fava. In fact, Signor Catalini was being everywhere spoken of as the Baron's successor at Washington. There seemed to be considerable influence at work to lift Mr. Whitehouse, Chargé d'Affaires, to a Minister's place.

One pleasant incident of the Congress was the presentation by Mrs. Ormsby in behalf of Philadelphia ladies of a beautiful flag. We presume the lady spoke in English, but if the assembly caught only the meaning of the name Philadelphia, and the equally glorious significance of the stars and stripes, they gained much. Confidentially we will confess our suspicion, that continental Europe learns something from American women. Several millions of Europeans believe that women are dolls. We are glad of every revelation that women can be both forceful and womanly.

Read "Björnson as a Peace Prophet," page 46.

IS THE TIME SHORT?

Do you remember, O doubtful reader, you who love your fellow-men, but hesitate to throw yourself heart and soul into advocacy of the cause of Peace, because you have been thrilled with the heroic literature of the battlefield, that another President of our blest republic, one who knew war through and through in all its aspects, uttered from the bottom of his heart the ringing words: "Let us have Peace"? Ponder those four syllables. They mean more than much when Ulysses S. Grant speaks them.

When slavery was finally put down, many a man was sincerely sorry in his heart that he had been so slow to espouse a cause so grand as the one that had needed him then. A sad multitude of men were thus belated, and their regret was profound. It is true that at length they came wheeling into line at a bound, but O, the pity that they were so late about it. Now take notice; there are many men and women to-day who will by and by be likewise pained that in these timely days their influence was withheld from the cause of Peace. Dear reader, be not one of them.

WAR VS. BUSINESS.

Commerce a few weeks ago spoke an emphatic word about a war with Chili. The New York Board of Trade and Transportation addressed a call to all commercial organizations throughout the country, saying:

The general business interests of the country have nothing to gain and much to lose by the United States engaging in war with another country, be that country great or small.

We ask your organization in the name of peace and humanity to act, and to act promptly. Every commercial organization in the country, and in every part thereof, should speak out. No time can be lost. The matter can not wait your regular meeting. We therefore urge you to call a special meeting at the earliest day possible, and, if the spirit of the resolution adopted by the board meet your approval, we request that you adopt similar resolutions, telegraph them to president Harrison, and follow the telegram by written copy, attested by your proper officers.

Following is the resolution introduced by ex-Judge William Henry Arnoux:

That we heartily indorse the position heretofore successfully advocated by our representatives in the Pan-American Congress against war between any nations in this hemisphere, and that in case of the failure of the negotiations now pending to reach amicable solution, before resorting to war to vindicate our rights, it recommends that the President of the United States submit to Chili a proposition for the friendly arbitration of the questions at issue.

A cable will soon be laid from the southeast coast of Florida to the Bahama Islands.

ARE SCHOOL TEXT-BOOKS IMPORTANT?

Oh, yes, we suppose so. That is the languid response of some people who are too comfortable to do more than hope that wrong will be conquered, and that truth may be by and by saved from the scaffold. Tell such people—you know them, reader—of the poetry-book which is in use in the primary schools of a certain great European State, and from which the following extracts are somewhat unlike what Americans are accustomed to:

"Be pious and brave: as to the accursed ———, leave them to be murdered."

"If your swords break in killing ——— strangle them!"

The London *Concord* affirms that the people unnamed in the above sentences have similar school-books of their own. This example reveals how deep we must strike to redeem this world. But nothing of the sort is in America, is there?

Even in that case, our hearts ought to be large enough to take in not only our own nation, but the world too. "God so loved the world." Is the campaign altogether too vast in its scope? Remember Paul, who like us had an ebb and flow of feeling in his great heart, and in one breath sighed, "Who is sufficient for these things?" and presently cried courageously, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." Faber is right:

"To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin."

THE SUNDAY PAPER.

After all that may be said in its favor, the Sunday newspaper is an attempt, so far as it goes, to abolish Sunday. In its making and circulation many persons are necessarily employed. The writers and type-setters are but a small part of the force; there are the dealers and the thousand boys who hawk the copies about the streets. Even this is not the worst of it. The Sunday paper is an attempt to occupy the mind of the reader, during sacred hours, with secular subjects. For the Sunday paper is essentially a secular paper. The religious matter in it is usually an infinitesimal quantity; the really secular material constitutes the bulk. Of course, the man or woman who takes the time to read the plethoric Sunday paper has little time left either to read devotional books or to attend church.

We can but think that religious people will find it to their advantage to avoid the Sunday paper.—*Zion's Herald*.

All of Tolstoi's family are in various parts of the famine district in Russia, organizing and superintending the work of relief. His daughter, Countess Marie Tolstoi, accompanies her father on his long excursions over the plains of Russia in order to visit the restaurants, which now number twenty-two in fifteen villages, and feed 1000 people daily.

THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

The Lord is in his holy place! Keep silence all the earth;
The "Prince of Peace" has come to reign! The babe of heavenly birth,
The blessed babe of Bethlehem, who came so long ago,
And walked this cruel earth of ours, in garments white as snow.

We've seen his manger cradle, and long his birthday kept.
We've stood beside him at the cross, and by his grave have wept,
But now He comes, the King of kings!—"Be still," and take it in—

He comes to make us free at last, from sorrow, want and sin.

No armies go before Him, nor sound of war is heard;
He comes to reign in broken hearts, who tremble at his word.
To bring the heavenly sunshine, to lighten every pain,
To heal the broken-hearted, and loosen every chain.

Fresh flowers spring in his pathway, with fragrance rich and rare;
The earth grows warm beneath his feet, and thorns all disappear,
While soft and sweetest melody comes down from choirs above,
To silence all our discord with heavenly notes of love.

He wears a glorious white crown, adorned with purest gems,
That far outshine in lustre all earthly diadems!
And only those that love Him well, and wait his will to do,
Can wear the pure white silver crown, pledge of allegiance true.

Oh blessed, holy Prince of Peace, who would not own thy sway?
Thee, all the tribes of earth and heaven shall worship and obey,
Speak Thou the word of freedom, give Thou the touch of power,
And in a joyful, happy world, come reign forevermore.

ARLINGTON HEIGHTS.

E. M. J.

BJÖRNSON AS A PEACE PROPHET.

JOHANNES H. WISBY.

The great Scandinavian poet, in his early days of discouragement and obscurity, found a quiet and peaceful retreat in the sylvan seclusion of Dyrehaven, a little "Central Park" just outside of Copenhagen, and it was here that he wrote the wonderful romance of "Synnve Solbakken," that was to make him famous, not only in his own country, but throughout the civilized world. It was during a recent visit to this scene of his early struggles and triumphs, that this grand old skald of the North delivered in the Royal Concert Palais one of his most stirring and prophetic appeals to the people of this enlightened nineteenth century, to unite in that universal peace that, for so many centuries, the great heart of Christendom has longed and prayed for without avail.

It is noteworthy, that the members of the royal family of Denmark, who were present, were among his most enthusiastic auditors. Truly the world moves, and thrones as well as all things else must perforce move with it. Thus, words, that only a century ago might have been construed into treason, and have cost the bold speaker his head, are to-day applauded even by the lips of royalty.

Thunders of applause greeted the white-haired poet, as he slowly mounted the platform, that bloodless arena upon which he has won so many of his grandest victories, while the crowded audience listened breathlessly, to catch every word that fell from the lips of the great poet, orator and peacemaker. We may give the substance of his speech in words, but no pen can reproduce the wonderful play of feature, or the exquisite melody of the tones of this man, who, for the time, seemed to hold the hearts of all men in the hollow of his hand:

"I thank you for the loving welcome that you have given me, but the truth is, I stand here to-night in spite of myself, I am not prepared at present to speak freely in regard to this matter, but I appeal, to all who love the thought of universal peace, to lend me the aid of their sympathy, that shall give me strength."

The smile that accompanied this simple introduction, irradiated the grand old face like a glow of summer sunshine, while knitting his heavy brows, and glancing around the hall, he went on, in a voice that touched a sympathetic chord in the heart of every listener:

"When we read about an ugly murder, we are paralyzed with horror, and our first thought is one of vengeance upon the murderer. But when a little time has elapsed, and through the columns of the newspaper we learn, perhaps, of some terrible provocation or often extenuating circumstances, we begin to cool in our desire for retaliation, until at last, we are more than willing that the culprit shall escape the extreme penalty of the law. These two forces are arrayed against each other in every human heart, and in the majority of cases, compassion, in the end, wins the day." (These opposing principles, in nation as in individuals, were the pivotal points around which Björnson arrayed his arguments in the speech that followed):

"In the history of all nations we note the fruitless struggle of bestial force with moral evil, and even among ourselves to-day, we find the remains of those crude ideas of our savage ancestors. The time has been when, if a man of one tribe or nation took the life of a number of a neighboring tribe, perhaps one hundred of the murderer's race must die to avenge the wrong.

"Nowadays, we regard it righteous to slay the murderer alone; and yet, something of that same old thirst for vengeance is hidden away in our souls.

"If, for instance, some Danish sailors have been assaulted and killed by a party of Swedes, their comrades will become furious to avenge their death, and will kill,—kill fiercely, heedlessly,—nothing but blood will, for the time, satisfy them."

Then, with a tender pathos that no word can portray, the speaker pictures the sudden reaction from this national blood-thirst, when the fierce warrior, in his blood-stained path, sees a pair of pleading, outstretched human hands, and hears the cry of the children, and the moans of the women.

Again that gentler quality of mercy wins the victory.

Björnson continues:

"Now, we boldly name the deed of the military hero—murder! The idea is a new one to the masses, but it is a truth that, centuries ago, philosophers and wise men realized and taught to their disciples,—if not to the world. The only new thing about it is, that now, the great body of the people are able to understand and appreciate its significance.

"From every quarter of the globe echo the immortal words of Victor Hugo, 'He who kills, let him wear a monk's hood, or a king's crown, still he is a murderer.'

"Pascal said: 'If I kill a man on this side of the Channel, I am a murderer; if I kill him on the other side, I am a hero.'

"To-day these are the sentiments of millions, and between these millions is a constant interchange of thought and feeling.

"Those who are the material for the war detest that war,—they rise up in their righteous wrath before the princes,

and threaten to kill them. But that is an unrighteous judgment, for it is no longer the princes who decide the war question.

"I was once attending a Peace Convention, where a military man related an incident that had just occurred under his own observation. It seems that he had met a German lady, the betrothed of an army officer, and in speaking of the war, he ventured to say:

"But why do not they let the border people in Elsas Lothringen settle this question among themselves?"

"With an indignant flush, the lady retorted sharply:

"No! rather would I see two million human beings, even my lover himself, dead at my feet, than give up the contest."

"And when the officer told the story, the whole assembly, which was composed of Norwegians, shouted their admiring plaudits. But that loud cry of unreasoning triumph jarred upon my ear like the roar of some infuriated wild beast, and when one of the members arose, and rebuked the audience for their untimely cheers, they only shouted the louder. I could understand it,—this struggle between those two ever present forces, one still overlapping the other at every turn.

"As for the blood-thirsty lady herself, 'and the speaker smiled mischievously,' if a pin had pricked her finger she would, no doubt, have cried for help; while if some monster had dared to tease her dog, ugh!

"The truth is, the thoughts we confess are not *ours*,—we have lived too long in the houses of our ancestors. We call defensive war 'patriotism,' and, Heaven knows what, for yet we are 'devils of fellows,' if we venture to confess the real sentiments of our hearts, upon subjects concerning the world at large.

"One day at Napoli, I was visiting the great aquarium, and noticed a crab, edging along at a snail's pace, and dragging a big block of wood after him, almost as big as himself. What a burden to drag through life! I thought, even for a crab. But think of it my friends, we *all* bear such a block about with us, a dead, petrified block, a block of old dogmas, wherein once was life, but which is now turned to insensate stone."

Björnson is wise. He knows that these simple illustrations are more congenial to Danish ears, and better appreciated than those grand outbursts of poetic fervor by which an audience composed of his own countrymen would be thrilled to the wildest enthusiasm, and returning to the subject of the German lady, he proceeded to paint for his audience a picture of the battlefield in all its ghastly reality, in stern contrast with the romantic fancies of their stay-at-home patriots? And now, with terrible minuteness, the white-haired poet goes over the dreadful scene presented by the battlefield. He makes his listeners smell the sickening odor of the fresh spilled blood and points to the ghastly heaps of dead and dying men, friend and foe, all piled in one horrible holocaust.

"Consider," he cries, "what a spirit of unnatural revenge and fury animates the soldier in his advance upon the enemy's borders! while every heart in the doomed territory is terrorstruck with that mortal terror that fairly congeals the blood in the veins of the helpless victims.

"Even to the victors, war brings sorrow and loss irreparable. Shall I explain to you, my hearers, how this is? Compute the cost of all this destruction of life and property, simply from an economical standpoint, leaving out the terrible desolation and ruin of so many once

happy homes, and you will see that the victorious nation itself only through many, many long years of peace regains, in any measure, its financial prosperity."

Then by a series of masterly strokes, the orator goes on to show the attractiveness of all that warlike pomp and glitter that sets our hearts beating so wildly with its strange fascinating. He paints a dazzling picture of the preparations for a great battle. You can hear the blare of the trumpets, and see the gaily caparisoned horses prancing and rearing amidst the proudly flying banners, and the long, forward gliding tiers of weapons, glittering in the sunshine, and over all the grand and terrible army the chaplain pronounces the benediction of the church. Then with one touch of his masterly hand Björnson reverses the picture, and describes the scenes of the battlefield with such startling distinctness, referring especially to a sight by no means uncommon on northern battlefields, of mortally wounded men frozen to the ground upon which they lay, so that they could only be released by the aid of axes, until an involuntary cry goes up from the whole vast audience:

"Stop! for God's sake, stop!" and he stops, gladly,—the picture is too terrible for either speaker or listener to endure it longer. After a moment's pause, Björnson again takes up his theme, with a simple explanation of his position, and the causes for his assuming it.

"Twenty years ago I wrote a poem upon 'Peace,' why is it then, that, since that time, I have not been steadily at work for it? I will tell you: simply because, in common with my fellow-men the world over, I have been enslaved in a web of dogmas. But now, I have thrust my head through the roof of my ancestors, and am free. They call me dreamer, me who must always look upon all sides of the question before I can believe, but now, friends, I am going to work with all my strength for this noble cause. And to that little band that, for the last few years, has been working so faithfully to secure a universal peace, I shall be like the rising sun behind a mountain.

"Sad and disheartened you watch the far-off ridge, still wrapped in impenetrable gloom, when, suddenly, just as you were about to resume your restless sleep, hopeless of the approaching dawn,—a streak of light gleams between the ragged peaks, and in the next moment you who stand in the valley are in a sea of sunshine."

Björnson dates his conversion to peace principles to the Confederacy of Arbitration of the United States.

"I was converted inside of an hour," he declared, and among the strongest adherents of the cause he reckons the German Socialists as well as the best literary talent on both sides of the water.

"One of the principal German magazines had recently consulted with him as to the advisability of a confederation of European authors,—an alliance that should have for its object the perpetuation of peace among all nations.

"In which case," Björnson wittily declares, "even French journalists will no more try to transform ink into blood.

"Fifteen million soldiers are at this moment equipped and ready to fight, one against the other, at the call of their respective rulers. How long do you think the world will bear this? Change and improvement are the order of the day. In past centuries the sea was the theatre for piracy; to-day it is a commercial bridge between the different countries.

"The last time that I was at Fredericstad, I visited a

barber's shop, and the man who shaved me chatted upon a variety of topics, never once introducing the subject of travel. Next day, as I passed by, I read upon the closed shutters:

"The barber has left for America."

"That journey is nothing but play; where is now the broad, terrible, threatening ocean? Science has bridged it, and robbed it of all its terrors."

Speaking of the prevention of war by federal arbitration, he stated as a fact, that since 1814, no great power has attacked and robbed a small nation that would submit to arbitration.

"The other day," said he, "I attended a meeting of the lower house (of the Danish Parliament), and had there the opportunity of hearing the speech of the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs. He inclined to receive arbitration from foreign powers, but this is a wrong view of the matter. It befits us, who are at peace with all the world, to be the preachers of peace and the first to suggest arbitration to the nations, — not with the voice of a single man, but with the mighty voice of a great and wise nation."

Amidst thunders of applause the gifted speaker stood silently for a moment upon the high platform, the strong, earnest face framed in its wealth of silvery hair glowing with honest pride and enthusiasm, — a picture that none who saw will ever forget, — and as he turned slowly away from hundreds, as from the lips of one man, arose a shout so long and loud that the great hall trembled with the mighty wave of sound:

"God keep our Björnson."

WHAT PRESIDENT HARRISON THINKS.

Apropos of the recent questions between America and Chili, it is interesting to review at this time what President Harrison said at the World's Methodist Conference last October in Washington. A part of his address was as follows:

"You have to-day as the theme of discussion the subject of international arbitration, and this being a public and enlarged use of the word perhaps makes my presence here as an officer of the United States specially appropriate."

"It is a curious incident on this day — appointed by me some days ago, and before I was aware of the theme of the occasion which we have here this morning — I had appointed this afternoon to visit the great gun foundry of the United States at the Navy Yard. Things have come in their proper sequence. I am here at this arbitration meeting before I go to the foundry. This subject is one which has long attracted the attention, and, I think I may say, has as greatly attracted the interest and adherence of the United States as that of any other Christian Power in the world."

"IT IS KNOWN TO YOU ALL THAT IN THE RECENT CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN STATES AT WASHINGTON THE PROPOSITION WAS DISTINCTLY MADE AND ADOPTED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL, OR NEARLY ALL, OF THE GOVERNMENTS REPRESENTED THAT, AS APPLIED TO THIS HEMISPHERE, ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES SHOULD BE SETTLED BY ARBITRATION."

"Of course there are limitations as yet, in the nature of things, to the complete and general adoption of such a scheme. It is quite possible to apply arbitration to a

dispute as to a boundary line: it is quite impossible, it seems to me, to apply it to a case of international feud. If there is present a disposition to subjugate, an aggressive spirit to seize territory, a spirit of national aggrandizement that does not stop to consider the rights of other men and other people — to such a case and to such a spirit international arbitration has no, or if any a remote and difficult, application. It is for a Christian sentiment, manifesting itself in the fair international arbitration."

"But I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the theme for setting forth of which you have with deliberation appointed those who have given it attention."

"Let me therefore say simply this: — For myself, temporarily in a place of influence in this country, and much more for the great body of its citizenship, the desire of America is for peace with the whole world. It would have been vain to suggest the pulling down of block-houses and family disarmament to one of the settlers on the hostile Indian frontier. He would have told you rightly that the times were not right. And so it may be, and is probably true — the devil still being unchained — that we should have our gun foundries, and that we shall best promote the settlement of international disputes by arbitration when it is understood that if the appeal is to some other tribunal we shall be not unprepared."

A LONDON EDITOR ON PEACE.

The distinguished journalist, and student of Indian and Japanese life, Sir Edwin Arnold, has recently declared:

I have the deepest conviction that the future history of the human race depends for its happy development upon that firm and eternal friendship of the great republic and of the British empire, which is at once so necessary and so natural. Resolve on your side of the Atlantic, along with us who know you on the other, to allow no ignorance, no impatience, no foolish passing passion to shake that amity. The peace and progress of the earth are founded upon it, and those who would destroy it are guilty of high treason against humanity."

Some men may question the quality of Sir Edwin's poetic efforts, but no man on earth ought to dissent from the splendid sentiment above quoted.

THE TWO SINGERS.

EMMA C. DOWD.

A singer sung a song of tears
And the great world heard and wept.
For he sung of the sorrows of fleeting years
And the hopes which the dead past kept;
And souls in anguish their burdens bore,
And the world was sadder than ever before.

A singer sung a song of cheer
And the great world listened and smiled,
For he sung of the love of a Father dear
And the trust of a little child;
And souls that before had forgotten to pray
Looked up and went singing along the way.

—The Congregationalist.

"Gold becomes cankered when shut up in a coffer."

JEREMIAH'S SPIRIT MODERNIZED.

I see the wrong that round me lies,
I feel the guilt within;
I hear, with groan and travail cries,
The world confess its sin.

Yet in the maddening maze of things,
And tossed by storm and flood,
To one fixed stake my spirit clings;
I know that God is good.

The wrong that pains my soul below
I dare not throne above;
I know not of his hate,—I know
His goodness and his love!

—Whittier.

We give the following paragraph from the London *Graphic's* correspondence from Vienna. Our readers can judge of its worth. We call special attention to the italicized portion. While a man's heart may ache in sympathy, he can be glad that he lives under the stars and stripes.

The destitution that prevails here at present is greater than it has been in many years. Thousands of respectable persons of the laboring classes are idle and starving through the operation of the new American tariff. *A large percentage of the expert mechanics here would be glad to emigrate, but are deterred from doing so by conscription.* The misery of the poor people in this city is enhanced by an influx from the provinces of a large number of persons who are out of employment, and are flocking to Vienna in the hope of obtaining work. The total number of unemployed persons in this city is estimated at 70,000. It is hoped, however, that the extension of the city limits will give an impetus to building operations, and public works which the Government is inaugurating will also improve the present deplorable state of affairs.

INTOXICANTS AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.

The decision of the World's Fair board of directors to allow the sale of intoxicating drinks within the exposition grounds simply means that the local directory of this great international exhibition intend to go into the saloon business, as sharers of the profit arising from the making of drunkards there. It can hardly be otherwise than that multitudes of young men will date their downfall from their experience at the World's Fair saloons. The directors of the Fair are to be silent partners in the most ruinous business in which anybody can engage, and partakers of the gains to be gotten from putting the bottle to men's lips, in this high place of the nation. What is this procedure but a national insult, a burning shame, a gross affront to public morality? The recreant directors show themselves as willing to descend to any depth of humiliation in their eager desire to swell their income, so that this magnificent commemoration of four hundred years of history shall pay back, dollar for dollar, what is expended on it. What could be more shameful?—*The Watchman.*

"There never was a good war nor a bad peace."

BOOK NOTICES.

An Official Tour along the Eastern Coast of The Regency of Tunis. By Amos Perry, LL.D., Late United States Consul at Tunis.

We have read this book with interest. It gives a fine portrayal of the geography, history, manners and customs of place and people.

The twenty engravings, with the fine portrait of Dr. Perry, make the book of permanent value. The student of travel, character and the variety in humanity will find much to engage his attention. Dr. Perry found some things amusing, and some lessons of wisdom—some sterling virtues and some degrading vices.

The following extract is taken from this book:

MILITARY GLORY A DELUSION.

"At four o'clock, P. M., the Consul, escorted by a squad of cavalry, went forth to visit the fort at El Souk and make calls arranged in advance. He was repeatedly saluted by Mussulman women in their usual way. After examining various parts of the fort he gave the officers at their special request some information in regard to American forts, iron-clad ships and improved fire-arms. No topic so much interested these people as implements and engines of war and death. While he failed to interest them in those agricultural and mechanical arts that pertain to the life and well-being of the entire human family, he witnessed a glow of enthusiasm whenever he spoke, as he repeatedly did speak at their special request, about American fire-arms and other means of human destruction and misery. Not heeding, and probably not knowing the saying:—'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword,' they seemed like the Jews of old, to imagine that they would some time arise from their lowly condition as men and as a people by means of military power. In this respect they seemed to be victims of a fatal delusion; and yet the enquiry will be forced on some minds whether they were really more deluded than some enlightened and nominally Christian people and nations that make military display their pastime and regard instruments of human butchery as their glory and safeguard. The Mussulman population of Tunisia have acquired their war spirit by a due course of training. Their country has been the theatre of wars from time immemorial. Indeed, they scarcely know how to attain any great good except through the use of deadly weapons. They are reminded of their duty as warriors every time they look at their coat of arms in which the emblem of their faith—the crescent—is upon the hilt of daggers and battle-axes, and can hardly fail to attract their attention."

Friends of a Half Century; Fifty Memorials with portraits of members of the Society of Friends, edited by William Robinson. *Friends' Book and Tract Committee:* No. 56 Lafayette Place, New York.

This is a beautiful book. The portraits seem like those of sacred rather than secular humanity—disciples of the Prince of Peace. The memorials are touching and instructive. A choice volume for the centre-table of a household. Would that the youth of our Republic could read more of such books.

Our thanks are cordially rendered to the J. B. Lippincott Co. of Philadelphia for their magazine.

WE ARE BUILDING.

We are building our homes on Eternity's shore,
While we dwell in our structure of clay;
We are shipping materials onward before,
With the close of each hastening day;
We are sending the thought that our spirit has wrought
In the wonderful glow of the brain,
And the timber is grown from the seeds we have sown
'Mid the shades of our sorrow and pain.

We are building our home in the Valley of Life,
By the side of Eternity's sea;
And the work that we do 'mid the scenes of earth's strife
Shall decide what that home is to be.
Every thought leaves its trace on that wonderful place,
Every deed, be it evil or fair;
And the structure will show all the life lived below—
All the sinning, and sorrow, and care.

We are building our home—may the angels of light
Bring us wisdom wherever we stray,
That the mansion eternal be fashioned aright,
And the sunlight of truth be its day!
May the rainbow of love form the arches above,
And our spirit be blest by the glimmers of rest
We have sent to our home in the sky.

—Selected.

A VETERAN'S WORD PICTURE OF WAR.

The following quotation from the *Vermont Chronicle* speaks for itself with a terrible eloquence. It is the account of an eye-witness, and the horrors of the tale could easily be matched, alas, in the experience of thousands of others of our gallant soldiers. You can love the warrior while you hate war.

"The enemy are going to charge us. Orders run along the line and we are waiting until every bullet, no matter if fired by a soldier with his eyes shut, must hit a man. I select my man while he is yet beyond range. I have eyes for no other. He is a tall, soldierly fellow, wearing the stripes of a sergeant. As he comes nearer I imagine that he is looking as fixedly at me as I am at him. I admire his coolness. He looks neither to the right nor to the left. The man on his right is hit and goes down, but he does not falter.

"I am going to kill that man. I have a rest for my gun, and when the order comes to fire I cannot miss him. He is living his last minute on earth. We are calmly waiting until our volley shall prove a veritable flame of death. Now they close up the gaps and we can hear the shouts of their officers as they make ready to charge. My man is still opposite me. I know the word is coming in a few seconds more, and I aim at his chest. I could almost be sure of hitting him with a stone when we get the word to fire. There is a billow of flame—a billow of smoke—a fierce crash and 4000 bullets are fired into that compact mass of advancing men. Not one volley alone, though that worked horrible destruction, but another and another, until there was no longer a living man to fire at.

"The smoke drifts slowly away, men cheer and yell, we can see the meadow beyond heaped with dead and dying men. We advance our line. As we go forward I look for my victim. He is lying on his back, eyes half shut and fingers clutching at the grass. He gasps, draws up his legs and straightens them out again, and is dead

as I pass on. I have killed my man. My bullet alone struck him, tearing that ghastly wound in his breast, and I am entitled to all the honor. Do I swing my cap and cheer? Do I point him out and expect to be congratulated? No, I have no cheers. I feel no elation. I feel that I murdered him, war or no war, and that his agonized face will haunt me through all the years of my life."

THE INDIAN—SHALL WE EDUCATE OR FIGHT HIM?

The Indian question will not stay settled till it is settled aright. Like a celebrated ghost it appears before each successive Congress and will not down. There are 950 poor people called Utes. But they happen to have been crowded by our Government on to a strip of land in southwestern Colorado which proves to be more fertile than was formerly supposed. On this plea—what a plea!—it is proposed to shove them along over the boundary into Utah. "What white man under continually threatened 'removal' could plant, farm, be calm, and prosper?" forcibly asks Mrs. Quinton, the President of the Women's National Indian Association. It will be the glory of some President of the United States to have seen in his administration the Government's promises kept, as, for example, the solemn covenant in 1880 to protect these Utes in Colorado, give them lands in severalty, help them to learn agriculture and to educate their children.

Hear Gen. T. J. Morgan's recent appeal before the Board of Indian Commissioners:

"Now we ask for \$3,000,000 for education. Can it be justified? If this expenditure of \$3,000,000 cannot be justified, then we ought not to have it; if it can be, I think we shall get it. I think it can be, in the fact that we have taken the Indians' land and driven the buffaloes away and made it impossible for them to live. I think Mr. Thornton's statement, that the whales and walrus being taken from the people of Alaska imposes upon us a moral obligation to send them the reindeer, is correct. We have taken the Indians' land. We occupy what they once occupied. We have destroyed the buffalo and the fish. We have taken from them the salmon by the great salmon fisheries, and I think as a people we owe it to them as a debt to educate their children so that they can earn their own living as we must earn ours.

"I think every consideration of economy is in favor of this appropriation. It is cheaper to educate a man and to raise him to self-support than to raise another generation of savages and then fight them. There is a question of political economy here. It is cheaper to educate them, that they may become producers, that they may bring back to the national wealth more than people are putting in to educate them.

"I believe that on the ground simply of sentiment, if you will, this money should be given. Four hundred years ago Columbus discovered America. It was then occupied by these people, and if they had been let alone on this continent, with all its vast resources for four hundred years, I believe they would have developed upon this soil a civilization of their own. We have made it impossible

for them to do that because we have driven them away ruthlessly as we did the Cherokees in Georgia. We have driven them from one place to another and have made their own civilization impossible, and have insisted that they take ours. We are to celebrate next year the coming of Columbus. We are to gather in Chicago, people from all parts of the world, that they may see our greatness. We shall dilate before them upon our art, our science, our philosophy, everything that marks our greatness. I shall have one of our industrial schools there. We shall point to that as a representative of the magnificent work that this great people is doing for the remnant of the Indians! Out of the abundance of our harvests, out of the enormous accumulations of our capital that has been produced out of the soil that belonged to the Indian, out of the abundance that has come to us from their heritage, we are spending a paltry sum that the remnants of these Indians may be lifted on to a plane of higher civilization! I would justify this appropriation on the ground of national sentiment; that it is a humane thing to do; a generous thing to do. I believe we can justify it simply on these grounds."

A THREATENED DANGER.

The impending peril to which we allude is not a war with Chili, as many might infer from the title we have used. It is the fear of being placed in an "unpatriotic" position by refusing to cherish and avow the hostile spirit now so prevalent. Many years ago there was a youth of eighteen who had a most unfortunate temper, and was a terror in the household. He was the only son of a man of large means, but of an iron will, and the stern methods of his father always kindled his resentment. On one occasion when the quarrel between the two had become fierce and bitter, a friend of the family undertook to mediate between them. In doing this he embraced the opportunity to tell the parent that his severity had only developed and increased the child's infirmity of disposition, and he urged a milder treatment, in the hope of winning the youth thereby to see the folly of his ways.

The father was angry and vindictive, and charged the friend with advocating filial disobedience, and with taking the part of one who had disgraced the home that had sheltered him, and was bringing the gray hairs of the one who loved him best with sorrow to the grave. The more his adviser tried to calm the enraged parent the fiercer he became. The son deserved no leniency and would receive none at his hands. The only way to bring him to obedience was by laying stroke upon stroke, and as soon as he could put his hands upon him he would administer a chastisement the boy would never forget. This and much more of the same sort showed the spirit in which the family discipline had been administered, and the suggestion that a little forbearance might be better than so much severity was deeply resented.

Instead of softening the temper of the father the mediation only intensified his purpose to enforce obedience by the strong hand, and when he found the son he proceeded to its execution. The youth was now wrought up to the pitch of resistance, and when he found the parental hand too strong for him he drew a pocket-knife and plunged it into the father's heart. It was known to the

family that the friend had appealed to the father in the son's behalf, and this was at once reported in exaggerated terms, which represented the mediator as one who had aided and abetted a parricide. If he had succeeded in his design he would have saved both father and son from the sad doom that awaited them. But having failed he was held almost as guilty as he who struck the parricidal blow.

When war was declared against Mexico one well-known statesman tried to stay the tide and voted for delay. He was often denounced for this as a traitor to his country and never recovered his popularity. He afterwards said that if there was a proposition brought forward to throw down the gauntlet to high Heaven he would not dare to say a word against it. After the outbreak of the late civil war in this country every man at the North who had tried to soften the asperities of the previous controversy was looked upon with suspicion and was charged with being a "secessionist," no matter how strongly he was opposed to any severance of the Union. The venerable fathers who belonged to the Peace Society were hooted at for their efforts in the annual conference at Philadelphia to stay the conflict. The newspapers that were clamorous for blood were at liberty to publish all the proceedings of that memorable debate without rebuke, but one unfortunate publisher who for months before the outbreak had sought for conciliation in the interests of peace, was denounced for a brief extract of less than ten lines from the summary of the proceedings. The editor did not agree with the peace proposals and had left out the long reports that filled the pages of his contemporaries, but for the few lines he printed as a news item his paper was denounced and refused admission to the mails, although the administration papers had published not only every word thus condemned just as he presented it, but very much more of the same sort.

It is dangerous to one seeking for patronage or popularity to speak in the interests of peace when the war spirit is abroad. And this is the threatened peril to which we now allude. Within the last two or three days several whose patriotism is above all suspicion have been fiercely assailed for their pleas in behalf of forbearance toward Chili, and have been openly accused not only of a desire to embarrass our officials at Washington, but of a want of loyalty to the government. They are "Mugwumps without spirit," they are "cowardly defenders of wrong and insult," they are "without respect for the honor of our flag," and generally represented as unworthy of respect or popular support. Perhaps with this caution they will take the alarm before their issues are tabooed by the Postmaster General and excluded from the mails by orders from that Department—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce*.

OPENING THE FAIR ON SUNDAY.

It would be one of the worst things that could happen to the laboring classes if the opening of the World's Fair should prove the entering wedge to the overthrow of the very day which protects and ensures their rights and interests. Of all men they need God's appointed day of rest, and they should frown down all efforts to abrogate it at the instigation of infidels and of those who care more for the dollar than they do for God or man.—*The Presbyterian*.

BOSTON, January 25, 1892.

The American Peace Society, through its Executive Committee, invites attention to the following earnest words of Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward.

[From Boston Herald, Jan. 20, 1892.]

A PROTEST AGAINST THE POSSIBLE WAR.

A possible war with Chili presents two aspects—the ridiculous and the terrible. Before either of these an intelligent country must pause and ponder. Against the two in one how can it advance?

First: To become absurd is almost as disastrous for a nation as to become criminal.

What and who is Chili, that the United States of America should descend to fight with her? The modern standards of warfare presuppose that nations war with their equals. Let us not, in the heat of the moment, forget that it is only from an equal that an insult can be received. A gentleman in the street is impertinently addressed by a small boy. What does he do? He passes on. Possibly the boy throws a stone at him, or trips him on the ice, or gives him a sprain. What then? Does he knock the child down, as if he closed with a man?

Now, assume that a great nation has received a serious offence from a small one. What and who has offended? Not the intelligence, not the civilization of Chili, but its barbarism and its barbarians. It is the boy, not the man; it is the gamin, not the gentleman who has struck us. We do not say that there is no gentleman in Chili, but that their gentleman has not beaten and killed our sailors. It is the child-Chili, it is the Chili-savage who has done the deed. Her maturity and her better sense will alike repudiate it some day, and be sorry for it.

Meanwhile, how shall we treat the boy and the barbarian? To raise either to the level of dignity or intelligence which constitutes the basis of reasonable war on the part of a great and highly developed nation like our own is nothing less than an international absurdity. If we should declare war on Chili, we should make a fiasco in history.

Of what use is education? What force has statecraft? Of what value is the advancing art of arbitration if we can invent nothing else than the antiquated expedient of killing and being killed as the only way out of a difficulty really not so profound or so complicated as to take its place among the gravest problems of national experience?

Second: From the absurd we should slide into the terrible. After becoming ridiculous, we should proceed to become criminal. We cannot forget that the advance of civilization has changed the conditions upon which war ought to be made, or ought even to be contemplated. A war was, in a sense, justifiable one hundred years ago which would be unpardonable now. It is not too much to say that even twenty years since the legitimate *casus belli* was quite another affair from what it can be, or can be made to be, to-day. Growth in intelligence, in culture, in statesmanship, in international polity, progress in humanity, ethics, sociology—why should we omit to say in Christianity itself?—these things cannot be set aside from the main question. It is and must remain primarily a moral one.

Statecraft has no longer a right, in the face of civilized ethics, to break down the first and simplest Law that binds society into a state—the law defending the sacredness of human life. There is a law above a law. There is something greater than precedent. There is something wiser than a decaying custom, stronger than a rotten evil. "What," cries the sarcastic Voltaire, "what is so respectable as an ancient abuse?"

War, at the height and in the light of our present development, is nothing but an ancient abuse. War is nothing less or more than wholesale murder. Call it any silken or romantic name you choose;

the fact remains. We cannot get away from it. Strip away the flag and the epaulet, remove the drum-beat and the piteous glaze called glory, and you have bare, red-handed murder. It is nothing less, it is nothing more; and the day has gone by when the laws of God permit, or the laws of man should condone, the thing. War is now an anachronism. War has become the unpardonable sin of international relation.

"Consider," said a physician, laying down the morning's dispatches, "consider the effect upon a community when one man meets with an accident. A mechanic falls from a scaffold. A laborer is cut. A leg is broken. Flesh is torn. All the resources of medical science, all the ingenuities of neighborly kindness are exhausted to save that single man. Over one such case a town is moved. War multiplies this accident and this suffering a hundred thousand times. And a nation steps into a declaration of war as if it were going on an errand to the postoffice!"

Into this pit of misery and blood are we going to suffer ourselves to be plunged by the delirium of a moment, by a misplaced sense of honor, by the restlessness of idle officers, or by the latent longing to see how the new cruisers work, or whether the new guns will explode, or perhaps by the notion to prove that we have a navy, after all, or even by the mere impulse to box the ears of a little South American boy?

War! What is war? Who forgets? Not he who has carried dripping sword or smoking musket. Not he who starved at Andersonville, or writhed at Gettysburg. Not she who has ever picked lint, or rolled bandages, or searched the lists of "killed—wounded—missing" at home. Not she who creeps away, yet, on Sunday afternoons to lay a flower upon the grave by whose gaping mouth she hung, heartbroken, a quarter of a century ago. Those of us who have "lived a war" remember.

Enter your protest, sick and failing, aging veterans. Lift your voices, women whose life-long anguish has filled an abyss in which ten hundred Chilis could be sunken out of sight. Plead the case ye four hundred thousand ghosts whose invisible presence should float like the breath of the Almighty between this country and another war!

I was once the somewhat intimate friend of a confidential agent of the Russian government who was travelling in this country for the study of our institutions. On no point did he express so much interest and surprise as in the fact that he had travelled thousands upon thousands of miles in this country and had never seen a soldier. When he first expressed this surprise to me I said: "Why should you see a soldier? What is the good of a soldier? A soldier is simply to defend you against a foreign enemy." He said that it would be natural to have a soldier in front of a public office. But why? Is not the public office the property of the people? Why should the people wish to attack a public office or a public officer? The public officer is one of themselves. They put him there, and they can take him away when they choose. It is a curious observation, and one which shows the absolute difference between the American government and any feudal government, that with us the national government is represented in each village and town by the post-office. That is, it is represented by the peaceful means of communication between man and man. There are numberless places in America where the postoffice stamp and the regular arrival of the mail are the only visible evidences of the national power over the citizens. In a feudal country, on the other hand, the national power appears in the uniform of a soldier whose training is directed to the most effective methods of destruction.—*Edward Everett Hale, in The Cosmopolitan.*

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY ON THE CHILIAN DIFFICULTY.

The following address was prepared by President Paine for transmission to our public men at Washington. We rejoice to say that the war-clouds and mists cleared away so speedily that it was not necessary to send it.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY ask leave to speak to Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, to the members of his Cabinet, to members of the United States Senate and of the House of Representatives, to the public press and to our fellow citizens.

Our country knows the full meaning of war. The world has seen and will not soon forget the indomitable courage and the resolute will of our people when adequate cause compels them to fight. The valor of soldiers and of sailors, and the skill of officers, have been displayed in this country so that they can never be forgotten.

Self-defence will again at any moment summon the whole power of the country into invincible array.

But the solemn judgment of right-minded citizens will no longer consent that the horrors of war shall again be launched against another people, for any cause short of self-defence; until time has been given for sober second thought on both sides, and until all the resources of honorable diplomacy have been exhausted, and thereafter the offer of honorable arbitration has been refused. Nor even then, unless, when passions have subsided, and reason again rules, sufficient cause shall exist to justify the dreadful choice of war.

We earnestly appeal to the public press, wielding such power over the popular mind, to stifle every impulse to fan excitement into flame.

We earnestly appeal to both parties to refrain from any effort to seek party gain where the country's welfare is at stake.

We respectfully commend to the consideration of our rulers the fact that more and more in recent years the United States have been assuming in the eyes of the civilized world the pre-eminent position of commanding influence in standing for the rights of the people.

War has been the sport of some rulers and the passion of others. It has been a grievous curse to the masses of mankind. Preparations for war still inflict crushing burdens on the nations of the old world, especially on the men and women who toil.

God has offered to this new world happier fate, nobler opportunities, privileges of priceless value; to be enjoyed by our own people, and to be treasured and transmitted to our children; charged surely with the trust of sharing them so far as possible with other lands.

Our people are proudly conscious of this great inheritance and duty, the grandeur of peace, the potent influence for good to the masses of the people, to every branch of industry and enterprise, to all noble arts and sciences, from the conscious security of all our people in peace.

Our people have rejoiced in the recent action of our Government in bringing the nations of North and South America into the Pan-American Congress, one chief purpose of which was to cement enduring peace between them and the United States.

Thoughtful men in Europe joined in according honor to our country for this grand step forward, that peace might triumph over war.

Every consideration now appeals to us to conduct this dispute with Chili in such manner as to secure the present and permanent approbation of the civilized world, and especially of the enlightened Christian conscience of ourselves.

Let us beware lest the respect for us of the countries of South America be lost if they see the power of the United States crush their little neighbor.

We will not seek to measure the damage to our growing relations of friendly commerce, if the passions in Chili growing out of war shall be permanently embittered by the anger of defeat. Irreparable injury will be inflicted on the glory of American civilization, on the influence which our country is exerting in behalf of peace and arbitration, as well as of lessened armaments in Europe, and of measures for the welfare of mankind if we lose this opportunity to prove our sincerity, and if, after challenging the admiration of the world for our efforts in the Pan-American Congress to prevent war by arbitration, we now threaten war to a small country because of a dispute growing out of a sudden outbreak of passion by a mob. Let us not forget that impartial arbitration might possibly decide that in this dispute right was not wholly on one side.

In behalf of our country, therefore, as members of the American Peace Society, we solemnly appeal for time, that passions may subside and the truth be established, and the dispute be adjusted by honorable arbitration, if diplomacy shall fail.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE, *President of the American Peace Society.*

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LIVING FLOWERS.

SARAH DOUDNEY.

If you could kiss the rose's velvet mouth,
To charm the cruel canker worm away,
And cry, "Awake, O North wind, come, thou South!
Breathe on my flowers to-day;"

Would you not love to save them from the blight,
And flush them into beauty fresh and new?
To bring them gifts of fuller life and light,
Sunshine and limpid dew?

This you can do for fairer flowers than these,
Flowers that have thoughts and feelings like your own!
Whose stems are broken by the stormy breeze,
Whose freshest tints are flown.

Out in the darkness of the miry street
Those bruised lilies in their weakness lie,
Down-trodden by the tramp of reckless feet—
Left there alone to die.

Go, raise them gently, wash away the stain
On their white petals with your tender grief;
Your tears shall fall like showers of precious rain
Cleansing each sullied leaf.

Oh, give those human blossoms human love!
Uplift the fallen seventy times and seven;
Save those sweet living things to bloom above
In the fair land of heaven.

—Night and Day.

MILITARY MORALS.

The greatest need of our cause is not rhetoric. Facts are eloquent far beyond sounding periods. Then let the following quotation from a letter in the *London Daily Telegraph* speak for itself, condensed by *Concord*.

The writer points out that in three of the great military European realms—Germany, Austria and Russia—civilians, compared to those who "wear" the Emperor's coat, are at a decided disadvantage, legally as well as socially. It is difficult for a German to enter into good society unless he has the right to wear a uniform. A second lieutenant of the regulars occupies a higher standing than the most learned professor, eloquent advocate or skilful physician. In Prussia the army and navy officer must not sit in the opera-stalls. The stalls are for such inferior beings as civilians. The soldier is the social superior of the civilian by virtue of his silver sword-knot. He is a military Brahmin, and behaves as such. It is incumbent upon him, when in uniform, if struck by a civilian before witnesses, to "draw" at once, and cut his assailant down. Should he fail to do so, he is liable to be tried by court-martial, and dismissed the army.

In Jarnow, a garrison town not far from Lemberg, one of the chief cities of Austrian Poland, a ball was given by the members of the local Schützen-Verein, or Marksmen's Club. A quarrel arose between a captain of the Jaeger Corps and a doctor of medicine. Presently the former struck the latter a severe blow, which was forthwith returned; whereupon two other Jaeger officers drew their swords and cut the doctor down. The wounded man was removed to a neighboring hospital, and the ball came to an abrupt conclusion. Now, although the proceedings of these officers were as irregular as they were barbarous, yet, so far as we are aware, no official inquiry has been

instituted into the circumstances of the case by the military authorities. In the first place, the original provocation, in the form of a blow, was given by the officer. In the next place, that blow being returned, no one but he had any right to avenge it, even under Austrian law, by a sword cut. The fracas takes place in a ball-room, in the presence, too, of ladies; yet this kind of brutality seems to be sanctioned by militarism. The article, which is most interesting reading, concludes by pointing out that compulsory military service is a producer of utter insensibility to all human suffering, and quotes, in proof of this, the recent confidential circular addressed to the colonels of regiments by Prince George of Saxony. In this important document His Royal Highness adverts to several "abominable cases of stupid cruelty practised by non-commissioned officers upon their men. Acts," he adds, "not prompted by outbreaks of anger, more or less excusable, but committed with cold and deliberate callousness. One sergeant commanded a recruit to raise and lower a can full of boiling coffee five hundred times, with the result that the unhappy lad's muscles 'gave out,' and he was badly scalded by the reeking liquid. A lance-corporal compelled one of his squad to present arms to him nearly nineteen hundred times in succession, until the man fainted from sheer exhaustion. Another sergeant made the men of his 'section' turn out in the middle of a January night, and go through certain exercises 'on the double' for half-an-hour at a stretch, clothed in their night-shirts and helmets only. The same ruffian one evening, while at supper, forced some recruits to bend the knee before him one thousand eight hundred times, until, to quote Prince George's words, 'the floor of the barrack-room was black with their perspiration.' Another Saxon sergeant was convicted of having 'knocked the heads of his recruits against walls, smeared his muddy boots over their faces, and struck them violently on their kneecaps, until they yelled with pain.'"

On the above *Concord* comments as follows:

This is militarism. This is the brutal, barbarous, cruel and tyrannical policy and practice that military men connive at, condone, approve of and justify. These are the principles and practices that even statesmen and princes, and the so-called ministers of the Prince of Peace, condone and excuse. Let then the note struck by that great and good woman, Baroness Von Suttner, "Die Waffen Nieder" resound through the length and breadth of Europe, until every brave man's heart and holy woman's voice determine to put a stop to that which has disgraced the world in the past, is disgracing it in the present, and must bring it to ruin and bankruptcy at no short distance, if not stopped. As dear old Wordsworth puts it—

"Nature never did betray the heart that loved her."

And again—

"To the solid ground of Nature trusts the mind that builds for aye."

These German soldiers have acted unnaturally, and even against themselves.

A French lady has left a large amount of money to the Academy of Sciences in Paris, to be awarded by that body to the astronomer who succeeds in opening communication with the inhabitants of any one of the other planets, except Mars.

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"For twenty years, during autumn and winter, I had a bad cough. Last October it was much worse, being attended with hemorrhage of the lungs, so that part of the time, I had to keep my bed. Being advised to try Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, I began to use it, and by the middle of March, having taken about four bottles of the medicine, my cough was cured."—Henry Kesser, Millington, Tenn.

"Six years ago, while a traveling salesman, I was suffering from lung trouble. For months I was unable to sleep in any restful posture. I had frequent coughing and choking spells, and was often compelled to seek the open air for relief. I was induced to try Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, which immediately helped me. Its continued use has entirely cured me, and I believe has saved my life."—Alonzo P. Daggett, Smyrna Mills, Me.

"Ayer's Cherry Pectoral cured my wife of a severe lung affection, which we supposed to be quick consumption. We now regard this medicine as a household necessity."—W. H. Strickle, Terre Haute, Ind.

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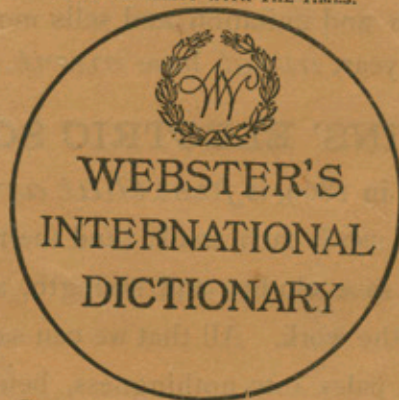
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