

Resolutions
Adopted by Bureau
Assnⁿ Apr. 16
1873

RESOLVED, That the recent treacherous massacre of our honored Gen. Canby and the peace Commissioner, by the Modoc Indians awakens our profound sorrow and deepest abhorrence, and that the U. S. Government can in justice do no less than punish, with the utmost severity, all who were in any manner connected with this bloody transaction.

RESOLVED, That this terrible and disheartening event cannot be justly laid to the charge of the righteous and humane policy recently inaugurated by our government in its dealings with the Indians; nor does it prove, as some allege, the criminal and incorrigible character of any persons or tribes not engaged in the outrage. It was rather the outcropping of the original savage character which the unjust, deceptive and corrupt practices of the Government Agencies have in former years helped to confirm.

RESOLVED, That we hail with satisfaction and gratitude, every honest attempt on the part of our civil authorities, to establish and maintain a permanent peace with the Indians, and to secure faithful and tried christian men to represent the nation in its dealings with them.

RESOLVED, That our cordial sympathies and sincere prayers accompany all christian missionaries, teachers and other agencies employed by our own and other churches to give the gospel to the Red man; and that no temporary failure arising from the depravity of the Indian, shall lead us to forget that he is our brother man for whom in common with us, Christ died, and for whose christianization his church is perpetually bound to labor.

Introduced by Rev
R. B. Nimrod, Republic
Special Comm.
Wm. C. Cairns.
& J. C. Hopkins

correspondent of the New York
ays of an American lady, who was
g the Empress Eugenie's seven-row
e of pearls and diamonds: "The
is very becomingly dressed in white
silk and clouds of tulle. The only
on criticism could venture upon
t she seemed too conscious of bear-
weight of £40,000 worth of jewelry
oulders, and pushed pride to the
of humility, inasmuch as she
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AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.—BOSTON.

THE following agreeable letter has been received by the Secretary of the English Peace Society from the Sister Society in America:—

“ Boston, Mass., U.S.A.,

“ Mr. W. Evans Darby.

“ January 15th, 1889.

“ Dear Friend,—An item in our most valued exchange, the *Herald of Peace*, announces your selection for the place made vacant by the retirement of Mr. Richard, and the resignation of my friend, Mr. Jones. I only write to give you, across the sea, the hand of international fellowship, and to wish you a most happy and successful career.

“ If the exigencies of war, which have drawn men of different nationalities together, and cemented the bonds of fellowship between nations, can make people love each other, ought not the work of Peace to be equally attractive and binding?

“ God bless you, and help you do that which without Divine help is hopeless, but with it is sure to triumph.

“ In haste, but in hearty fellowship,

“ One of your ‘ Cousins over the Sea,’

“ R. B. HOWARD.”

moting a Christian spirit was pointed out, by reference to the appalling poverty, misery, and degradation resulting to the people, wherever Militarism and the system of maintaining peace by preparation for war were in force. Illustrations followed, of war in its reality, by an impartial eye-witness; also of 'the more excellent way' of peace and harmony by Arbitration.

"It was evident that most of the audience had never seen the subject in this light before—it came like a new revelation upon them. At the conclusion of the address one after another of the mothers present spoke of the need of more care in the training of children in the way of peace, not giving them military toys, or in any way fostering the love of soldiering, etc.

"The President, an elderly American lady, spoke feelingly of the desolations of their great Civil War, and deprecated the war spirit in every form. The results of the meeting were most gratifying; it was unanimously resolved to add a Peace Department to the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Victoria. Two ladies, energetic members of the Society of Friends, were appointed secretaries. On the principle of striking while the iron was hot,' the excellent secretaries went to work with a will, and obtained to the Wisbeach Local Peace Association Declaration the signatures of every lady in the room, eighty-four in number, it being only an afternoon or *small*

THE UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

SIR W. LAWSON ON WAR AND ITS BURDENS.

The Universal Peace Congress of 1890 was resumed yesterday at the Westminster Town Hall. Sir WILFRED LAWSON, M.P., presided over the morning sitting, and among those present were the Mayor of Birmingham (Mr. A. C. Barrow), Sir Arthur Blackwood, Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., Professor Blackie, Mrs. Ormiston Chant, Mr. Percy W. Bunting, Mr. G. Cadbury, the Hon. Chauncy M. Depew (New York), and the leading delegates from abroad.

The SECRETARY (Mr. D. E. Darby), announced that the Committee of Procedure had considered the question of opening the proceedings with prayer, and had decided that those who desired to do so should assemble a few minutes before the prescribed time for opening the sittings in order that they might carry out their wishes. It was felt that under the circumstances this would be better than arranging for more formal devotion.

The CHAIRMAN, in an opening address, said he thought politics should be joined to religion, as otherwise he did not see that they were of much use. (Hear, hear.) The rules of the Congress forbade speakers to make any direct allusion to politics, so he should only make indirect allusions. (Laughter.) Christianity taught them to love their enemies, but fathers sent their boys into the army, there to learn how to bayonet their enemies. (Renewed laughter.) Clearly either Christianity had failed or those had failed who had sought to expound its principles. They should not look to the success of the peace movement from the high, the mighty, and the noble in the land. Let them rather look to the democracy of England to carry out the great principles which they were assembled to advocate. (Cheers.) Why should they despair? It was only a few years ago that the democracy acquired any power. Previously the government of the country had been by the classes for the people, by the people. (Cheers.) He spoke with great delicacy as to other countries, but he understood that there was to be found in France a "strong condemnation of what was known as the adventurous colonial policy, while in Germany there was evidence of the people's greatest discontent with the burdens which the people were called upon to bear. (Hear, hear.) As to this country, let them look back to the general election of 1868. In that election one party in the State attained a great success, because it declared for the equal rights of nations, and against the horrible war-spirit that then reigned. The Congress was to spread the truth in the matter, and point out to the nations a more excellent way. (Hear, hear.) Those who took part in the movement would, of course, encounter the ridicule of the world; but let them not heed that inevitable result. (Cheers.)

Mr. DABBY said that, in the name of Mr. E. Butler, of Leeds, who was prevented from being present, he begged to move the following resolution:—

The Congress affirms its belief that the brotherhood of man involves, as a necessary consequence, a brotherhood of nations, in which the true interests of all are acknowledged to be identical. The Congress is convinced that the true basis for an enduring peace will be found in the application by nations of this great principle in all their relations one to another.

Mr. Butler's paper on "The Brotherhood of Men: How to Promote It," was then read. Public opinion, he said, could be influenced just as a crowd could—namely, by a strong trumpet voice. Men should be bidden to listen to God's voice proclaiming the Divine truths of His Fatherhood and man's brotherhood. The seed once sown would depend for its growth and strength upon the conditions surrounding it. A climate must be created in which it could grow robust as a British oak. The spirit of the time was with them. They had reached the eccentric stage of happy inconsistency. Mighty armies tore and blasted one another to pieces, and the Red Cross followed to patch up the wounded. It was a state of transition, but the world would struggle out of its Slough of Despond upon the side of the Celestial City. Every illustration of the living presence of Christ among them helped to create the atmosphere. They did not crave logical proof or oceans of statistics; they wanted living specimens. Meadows of statistics were turned into food for heart and mind by the kindly Christlike deeds of hearts that assimilated them, incorporated them, and turned them into motives, principles of life, and vital forces. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. B. BRAITHWAITE, of London, seconded the resolution, and read a paper by Miss Cooke, entitled "Our Brotherhood, a Power." The writer argued that the brotherhood of man was not sufficiently recognised, which was to be regretted, as it formed a far better basis for society than force. In recognising their brotherhood they enabled nations to be generous without being dishonoured, and they dried up the sources of international rivalry. To protest against the material burdens of war was unavailing in the hour of national passion and panic; to protest against an infringement of the laws of brotherhood and mutual love was far better calculated to succeed.

Several other papers were then read.—Mr. John B. Wood, of Philadelphia, dwelt upon "Christ's Teaching to the World in the New Testament," arguing against force and advocating a policy of non-resistance.—M. Sarrasin, of the Familistère of Guise, in France, gave the views of the late M. Godin, the founder of the institution, upon "The Inviolability of Human Life." "Christ's Teaching about War" was the subject selected by the Rev. F. M. Cameron, of Bonnington Rectory, Hythe, Kent, and he sought to show that Christ had taught His Church, both by example and precept, that peace and self-sacrifice, and not the weapons of the world, were the means for securing the Divine victory of love which was to set up His kingdom. Mr. George Gillett, of London, submitted a number of conclusions on the question of "War in the History of the Children of Israel."

A discussion took place on the resolution, and M. DESMOULIN moved, and Mdlle. RADU seconded an amendment to the effect that the word "brotherhood" should be omitted where first it occurred, and the word "solidarity" substituted for it. The discussion turned upon the precise significance each word had in foreign ears. By a decisive vote the amendment was rejected, and, after the Chairman had ruled out of order a proposal to incorporate both words in the motion, it was agreed to in the terms in which it had been originally proposed.

Mr. J. B. BRAITHWAITE then moved:—

The Congress recognises the important influence which Christianity exercises upon the moral and political progress of mankind, and earnestly urges upon ministers of the Gospel, and other religious teachers, the duty of setting forth those principles of peace and goodwill which occupy such a central place in the teaching of Jesus Christ.

In moving the resolution Mr. Braithwaite read his paper on "The Early Christians and War." In the period of child-like faith, he contended, the early disciples accepted the Lord's commands in their plain and obvious meaning, not imagining that the words "Love your enemies" could be tortured into an allowance to kill or even injure them. This position he supported by citations from St. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and other early Christian writers.

Other papers read were entitled, "God's Teaching to the World in the Old Testament" (by Mrs. Wigham); "The Teaching of Prophecy on the subject of War" (by Mr. George Gillett); "Christ's Teaching to the World in the New Testament" (by Mr. H. S. Newman); "The Kingdom of the Prince of Peace" (by Mr. J. J. Wilson); "The Duties of Ministers of Religion with regard to Peace and War" (by Mr. George W. Minier); and "Religious Aspects of the Peace Question" (by Signor E. T. Moneta).

Considerable discussion took place on the resolution, and after it had been resolved that words should be added recommending that the third Sunday in December of each year should be set apart for the purpose of inculcating peace principles, the resolution was finally carried in the following terms:—"That the Congress recognises the important influence of Christianity in the moral and political progress of mankind, and earnestly calls the attention of ministers of religion, and other teachers of morality, to the necessity of more prominently advocating those principles of peace and goodwill which form the basis of the instruction of Jesus Christ, of philanthropists, and of moralists."

EDUCATION AND ARBITRATION.

M. FRÉDÉRIC PASSY (Paris) occupied the chair at the afternoon meeting, which was largely attended. The subject under discussion was the educational aspects of the question. The Chairman in opening the proceedings quoted the remark of one of the greatest warriors—he would not say the greatest man—Frederick of Prussia—who once said, "If my soldiers were philosophers they would never fight." If men, said M. Passy, knew more of philosophy and a little more of the consequences of things, they would not allow their Governments to fight against one another.

The report of the committee as to the formation of a body of gentlemen to address a letter to the crowned heads of Europe on the subject of peace, set forth that the following gentlemen should be appointed—Mr. Augustine Jones (U.S.), Dr. Richet (France), Signor Moneta (Italy), Don Marcoartu (Spain), and Mr. Hodgson Pratt (England). The report was agreed to.

Mr. J. W. GRAHAM (Manchester) then moved the first resolution, as follows:—"This Congress expresses its opinion that all teachers of history should call the attention of the young to the grave evils inflicted on mankind in all ages by war, and to the fact that such wars have been waged as a rule for the most inadequate causes." In support of this resolution he read a paper which contained a deliberate undoing of God's doing. From war had been gained in the past all that it had to give, by the peopling of the most important portions of the earth with the most intelligent peoples in their degrees. What we now had to do was to bring about the checking of national antagonisms and the wars which were caused in consequence of them. "If we fight we must win" was the determination of all those who entered upon warfare, and this led to the most frightful results, not only in the carnage of battle, but of bringing up nations for generations afterwards in a spirit of militarism which ruined their characters for gentleness and their capabilities for the arts of peace. He pointed out the great value of recent results in science to the cause of peace, as found, for instance, in Herbert Spencer's "Political Institutions" and "Data of Ethics." While granting the value of war in an early stage of society in consolidating nations, in setting political organizations going, and in laying the elementary basis of moral qualities, he said that evolution pointed out how all this was past, and was therefore immoral; that military bred despotism, official intolerance, a great bureaucracy, domestic tyranny, protection, individual harshness, and incapacity for change. He expressed the opinion that time cured militancy by the comparative decrease of military nations by their gradual change and by their mutual slaughter, and that an industrial state invariably followed. Thus now, for the first time, had science given to the moral teaching of Jesus Christ that confirming homage which was its due.

The resolution was seconded in a paper prepared by Frau Fischer-Lette, who dwelt upon the miseries brought by statesmen upon the humbler classes of those they governed, who only desired to live and let live. In her opinion the women of the world ought to take strong measures to prevent the brutality of their husbands, sons, and brothers being dragged from their sides to undergo the torments of war; for after all, although all of them had not to bear the wounds inflicted by their enemies, yet all had to help to pay the cost of the struggle.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. SARRAZIN (of Guise) proposed the following:—"The Congress protests against the use of military

exercises in connection with the physical exercises of school, and suggests the formation of brigades for purposes of saving life, rather than any of a quasi-military character." The paper spoke of the extreme importance of moulding the flexible minds of children at the early impressionable school age in the right direction, and retorted the gathering how lasting those first impressions were. He desired that history should be re-written in a higher and better sense, when conquerors should no longer be held up to child minds as those whose characters they ought to follow; but that the lives of men who sacrificed themselves for the good of humanity should be more strongly than at present brought under their attention. He desired to see the establishment of a regular literature of this description, and in particular urged upon those who had charge of schools that they should devote half an hour daily to a discourse which should accustom their scholars from their earlier years to the idea of arbitration as the best method for settling disputes.

The paper by Mr. W. W. EVANS DABBY, of which a précis was given by that gentleman by way of seconding the motion, dealt with the vexed question of military drill in schools. The Secretary of the Peace Society claimed that military drill could not be considered as physical training, except in an incomplete and injurious fashion. His strong point was that military drill could never really be separated from its associations, and these were not such as were advisable to be prominently brought forward in schools. Mr. Darby claimed, in addition, that military drill was morally injurious to the children so trained, because it reversed the principles of love for one's enemies which were enforced in our schools. It will be remembered that Sir Wilfrid Lawson, in his speech in the morning, touched on this theme, and certainly carried the Congress with him. The final point in a vigorous and lucid speech was that military drill was totally unnecessary, as excellent gymnastic exercises were provided for in the procedure of most schools, either Board or proprietary, nowadays.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, the owner of a name which has so many associations to the cause of peace, supported Mr. Darby's speech in a few brief and pointed remarks.

A contrast to the calm utterances preceding it was the animated oration of Signor MONETA (editor of *Il Secolo*), who, however, was at one with both Mr. Darby and Mr. Sturge.

On the motion of Mr. CROSSFIELD, an addition was made to the resolution, calling upon examiners to mould their questions so as to lead the minds of pupils to dwell upon the blessings of peace. In this form the motion was carried.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT moved the following:—"This Congress believes that war is frequently represented in a false light in the education of youth, and desires to call the attention of teachers to their power and, therefore, their responsibility in this matter. It urges them to lead their pupils to honour deeds of peace and the doers of them, dwelling in terms of sorrow on the loss and misery caused by wars, whether successful or unsuccessful. It also commends to parents the consideration of the right education of their children on these points, and believing that the rhymes and games of earliest years make deep impressions on the plastic minds of childhood, implores them to exercise care in these matters." Mr. Pratt in the course of his remarks suggested the organisation of arrangements whereby young men of one country could pass their vacations at the towns or in the homes of the professors and educationists of other countries. During such visits lectures might be given on the thought and literature and the great public men of countries visited. Another system he thought might be useful was the extension of the old system of travelling scholarships, under conditions adapted to the present time, which should lead to the study of some special question in each city visited. Such questions he suggested might be the social legislation of the city they stopped at; its industrial organisation; the condition of its working classes; its political and Parliamentary usages and character; its educational institutions of one class or another; and its criminal law and its results. Visits thus made by able and promising young men of the Universities would, doubtless, lead to the most satisfactory results, as it would enlighten them on the inner life of foreign States; while it would also do much to evolve that mutual respect for their foreign neighbours, which the Congress desired to evoke in all, and do away with ignorant prejudice.

The resolution was seconded by a précis of a paper on the same lines, written by Herr Wolkenboer, being read.

The resolution was carried unanimously, and the proceedings soon afterwards terminated.

The Congress will sit again at 10 o'clock this morning.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

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LONDON, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1890.
The Congress of the Universal Peace Society, which opened yesterday at the Westminster Town Hall, was largely attended. The morning sitting was presided over by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., and among those present were the Mayor of Birmingham, Sir Arthur Blackwood, Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., Professor Blackie, Mrs. Ormiston Chant, Mr. Percy W. Bunting, Mr. G. Cadbury, the Hon. Chauncy M. Depew (New York), and the leading delegates from abroad. The Secretary, Mr. D. E. Darby, announced that the Committee of Procedure had considered the question of opening the proceedings with prayer, and had decided that those who desired to do so should assemble a few minutes before the prescribed time for opening the sittings in order that they might carry out their wishes. It was felt that under the circumstances this would be better than arranging for more formal devotion. The Chairman, in an opening address, said he thought politics should be joined to religion, as otherwise he did not see that they were of much use. The rules of the Congress forbade speakers to make any direct allusion to politics, so he should only make indirect allusions. Christianity taught them to love their enemies, but fathers sent their boys into the army, there to learn how to bayonet their enemies. Clearly either Christianity had failed or those had failed who had sought to expound its principles. They should not look to the success of the peace movement from the high, the mighty, and the noble in the land. Let them rather look to the democracy of England to carry out the great principles which they were assembled to advocate. Why should they despair? It was only a few years ago that the democracy acquired any power. Previously the government of the country had been by the classes for the people, by the people. He spoke with great delicacy as to other countries, but he understood that there was to be found in France a "strong condemnation of what was known as the adventurous colonial policy, while in Germany there was evidence of the people's greatest discontent with the burdens which the people were called upon to bear. As to this country, let them look back to the general election of 1868. In that election one party in the State attained a great success, because it declared for the equal rights of nations, and against the horrible war-spirit that then reigned. The Congress was to spread the truth in the matter, and point out to the nations a more excellent way. Those who took part in the movement would, of course, encounter the ridicule of the world; but let them not heed that inevitable result. Mr. Dabby said that, in the name of Mr. E. Butler, of Leeds, who was prevented from being present, he begged to move the following resolution:—The Congress affirms its belief that the brotherhood of man involves, as a necessary consequence, a brotherhood of nations, in which the true interests of all are acknowledged to be identical. The Congress is convinced that the true basis for an enduring peace will be found in the application by nations of this great principle in all their relations one to another. Mr. Butler's paper on "The Brotherhood of Men: How to Promote It," was then read. Public opinion, he said, could be influenced just as a crowd could—namely, by a strong trumpet voice. Men should be bidden to listen to God's voice proclaiming the Divine truths of His Fatherhood and man's brotherhood. The seed once sown would depend for its growth and strength upon the conditions surrounding it. A climate must be created in which it could grow robust as a British oak. The spirit of the time was with them. 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In recognising their brotherhood they enabled nations to be generous without being dishonoured, and they dried up the sources of international rivalry. To protest against the material burdens of war was unavailing in the hour of national passion and panic; to protest against an infringement of the laws of brotherhood and mutual love was far better calculated to succeed. Several other papers were then read.—Mr. John B. Wood, of Philadelphia, dwelt upon "Christ's Teaching to the World in the New Testament," arguing against force and advocating a policy of non-resistance.—M. Sarrasin, of the Familistère of Guise, in France, gave the views of the late M. Godin, the founder of the institution, upon "The Inviolability of Human Life." "Christ's Teaching about War" was the subject selected by the Rev. F. M. Cameron, of Bonnington Rectory, Hythe, Kent, and he sought to show that Christ had taught His Church, both by example and precept, that peace and self-sacrifice, and not the weapons of the world, were the means for securing the Divine victory of love which was to set up His kingdom. Mr. George Gillett, of London, submitted a number of conclusions on the question of "War in the History of the Children of Israel." A discussion took place on the resolution, and M. Desmoulin moved, and Mdlle. Radu seconded an amendment to the effect that the word "brotherhood" should be omitted where first it occurred, and the word "solidarity" substituted for it. The discussion turned upon the precise significance each word had in foreign ears. By a decisive vote the amendment was rejected, and, after the Chairman had ruled out of order a proposal to incorporate both words in the motion, it was agreed to in the terms in which it had been originally proposed. Mr. J. B. Braithwaite then moved:—The Congress recognises the important influence which Christianity exercises upon the moral and political progress of mankind, and earnestly urges upon ministers of the Gospel, and other religious teachers, the duty of setting forth those principles of peace and goodwill which occupy such a central place in the teaching of Jesus Christ. In moving the resolution Mr. Braithwaite read his paper on "The Early Christians and War." In the period of child-like faith, he contended, the early disciples accepted the Lord's commands in their plain and obvious meaning, not imagining that the words "Love your enemies" could be tortured into an allowance to kill or even injure them. This position he supported by citations from St. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and other early Christian writers. 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Considerable discussion took place on the resolution, and after it had been resolved that words should be added recommending that the third Sunday in December of each year should be set apart for the purpose of inculcating peace principles, the resolution was finally carried in the following terms:—"That the Congress recognises the important influence of Christianity in the moral and political progress of mankind, and earnestly calls the attention of ministers of religion, and other teachers of morality, to the necessity of more prominently advocating those principles of peace and goodwill which form the basis of the instruction of Jesus Christ, of philanthropists, and of moralists." EDUCATION AND ARBITRATION. M. Frédéric Passy (Paris) occupied the chair at the afternoon meeting, which was largely attended. The subject under discussion was the educational aspects of the question. The Chairman in opening the proceedings quoted the remark of one of the greatest warriors—he would not say the greatest man—Frederick of Prussia—who once said, "If my soldiers were philosophers they would never fight." If men, said M. Passy, knew more of philosophy and a little more of the consequences of things, they would not allow their Governments to fight against one another. The report of the committee as to the formation of a body of gentlemen to address a letter to the crowned heads of Europe on the subject of peace, set forth that the following gentlemen should be appointed—Mr. Augustine Jones (U.S.), Dr. Richet (France), Signor Moneta (Italy), Don Marcoartu (Spain), and Mr. Hodgson Pratt (England). The report was agreed to. Mr. J. W. Graham (Manchester) then moved the first resolution, as follows:—"This Congress expresses its opinion that all teachers of history should call the attention of the young to the grave evils inflicted on mankind in all ages by war, and to the fact that such wars have been waged as a rule for the most inadequate causes." In support of this resolution he read a paper which contained a deliberate undoing of God's doing. From war had been gained in the past all that it had to give, by the peopling of the most important portions of the earth with the most intelligent peoples in their degrees. What we now had to do was to bring about the checking of national antagonisms and the wars which were caused in consequence of them. "If we fight we must win" was the determination of all those who entered upon warfare, and this led to the most frightful results, not only in the carnage of battle, but of bringing up nations for generations afterwards in a spirit of militarism which ruined their characters for gentleness and their capabilities for the arts of peace. He pointed out the great value of recent results in science to the cause of peace, as found, for instance, in Herbert Spencer's "Political Institutions" and "Data of Ethics." While granting the value of war in an early stage of society in consolidating nations, in setting political organizations going, and in laying the elementary basis of moral qualities, he said that evolution pointed out how all this was past, and was therefore immoral; that military bred despotism, official intolerance, a great bureaucracy, domestic tyranny, protection, individual harshness, and incapacity for change. 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Mr. Sarrazin (of Guise) proposed the following:—"The Congress protests against the use of military

in order to prevent the money leaving the island. Such, in the merest outline, are the principal points essential to any arrangement which might lead to the possibility of a temporary settlement of the Cretan question.

FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

PARIS, TUESDAY NIGHT.

The Deputies are anxious for the Chamber to go into recess this month, and the Ministers are just as willing, but with the Zanzibar and Newfoundland questions unsettled they hesitate to fix an early date. A Foreign Office Circular Note to the journals, professing to come from London, and stating what compensation is likely to be given by the British Government for Zanzibar, is looked upon merely as a feeler. Its object is to see what the Paris Press and the Deputies may think of the terms which one is led to infer M. Ribot thinks acceptable. These terms are absolute freedom of action for France in the Niger territory; the cancelling of the Anglo-Tunisian Treaty of Commerce; and the acknowledgment by England of the right of France to grant the exequatur to French Consuls in Madagascar. Nothing is said about Newfoundland. This question should not be reserved by her Majesty's Government. It is not to the interest either of Great Britain or the colony to let it drag, and on no account should the lobster claim be admitted. M. Ribot might search every paper in the archives of his department without finding a word in support of it. It is a new thing arising out of a new and strained interpretation of the treaties and declarations. Of course there is no connection between the Fisheries question and the slight which the French complain Lord Salisbury has put upon them; but as the two questions call simultaneously for settlement, they should be got rid of together.

FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE CONGO.

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY.)

PARIS, JULY 15.

M. Ribot, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to-day caused to be distributed to Parliament a batch of papers relating to the Congo. The correspondence is brief, covering only five pages of printed matter. The first document is a letter from M. Strauch, the President of the Congo International Association, to M. Jules Ferry, and is dated April 23, 1884, when M. Ferry was Prime Minister. M. Strauch wrote that the association, being desirous of affording a fresh proof of its friendly feelings towards France, undertook to give her a preferential right, should it ever be obliged by unforeseen circumstances to dispose of its possessions. M. Ferry replied on the day following the receipt of this letter, stating that the French Government took note of the declaration of M. Strauch; and at the same time he communicated it to all the representatives of France abroad. The fourth paper in the correspondence is a letter dated April 22nd, 1887, from M. van Eetvelde, Chief of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Congo State, in which he

THE NATIONAL RIFLE MEETING

FIRST STAGE OF THE QUEEN'S PRIZE.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

BISLEY, TUESDAY NIGHT.

The Queen's Prize must have been lost in the strangely jumbled competitions of dreamland last night by many young marksmen whose slumbers were disturbed by the patter of heavy rain on canvas coverings. It is a severe test at the best on a novice's nerves to face the targets at a National Rifle Meeting, no matter how much confidence may have been encouraged by previous provincial successes. If to all other trials be added the prospect of a deluge, one cannot wonder that men, whose anxious inexperience made them prone to think of nothing but the prize they were to begin shooting for this morning, saw that prize slipping away from them, when in the mystic mid-region between sleeping and waking they listened to the hollow wind and heard rain beating against their tents. At daybreak this morning there were still watery signs in the western sky. Fortunately, however, the threats of thunderstorms have not been fulfilled, and showers during the night only served to make the surroundings fresher and more full of colour when the morning sunlight touched them. The bracken had unfolded greener fronds, the brown buds of the ling were bursting into lilac bloom, and the cineraria blushed a deeper purple. Then the more ominous clouds began to roll slowly away, leaving only the morning mists to be dispelled by noonday heat. Saint Swithin was going to be kind after all, and something like Queen's weather marked the opening stage of the shooting for the Queen's Prize. That trophy is rendered more than ever difficult to win by alterations of the spaces into which targets are divided. The bullseye of a third-class target is still as it used to be—eight inches in diameter; but the magpie circle now is no bigger than the inner was last year, and the latter ring is contracted to a band only four inches wide round the bullseye. In comparing the scores made at the two hundred yards range this morning with the records of a year ago, therefore, one must not forget that it is as difficult to make twenty-two points in seven shots now as it was to make twenty-eight then. These are as nearly as possible the accurate proportions—at least the unsuccessful tell you so, and one will not gainsay them. Judged by this standard, the results achieved by numbers of marksmen to-day, though apparently less creditable than in some previous years, are actually much more so. By noon two men had scored within a point each of all bullseyes, and this, according to the above test, shows rather better shooting than the highest possible, whereby we are landed in a paradox. Ordinary spectators, however, are not likely to trouble themselves much about such fractional niceties. Bullseyes are bullseyes to them, and nothing more. Whether the black disc remain always of the same size, or be reduced to a mere speck, they, unlike the critics, are quite content to be pleased "they know not why, and care not wherefore."

Though the greatest of all N.R.A. trophies can now only be won after an ordeal more severe than marksmen have hitherto been subjected to, there are minor prizes attached to it this year that give special encouragement to recruits, who may win medals and money worth having even if they fail to gain places among the first hundred. If a recruit happen to carry off the gold medal he can take not only the 250l., with all the honours attached to that distinction, but a very substantial sum in addition. That was why the young and unknown men showed such a spirit of emulation to-day and attempted with some success to rival the achievements of champions whose reputations have been made in many a stubborn contest. When the competition in the first stage commenced at nine o'clock this morning one might have been pardoned if he had boasted that such a scene could not be witnessed in any other country of the world. Not so much increase of numbers as their concentration made the gathering of picked shots seem more formidable than in any previous years. They stretched in a belt of varied colour across five hundred yards of heath, and in the ring of their rifles there was no perceptible pause for a moment until midday gunfire. It has been said that sunshine could not affect the accuracy of shooting on these Bisley ranges because the glare of light would never fall full in the eyes of competitors. That, however, is a proposition which many are now ready to dispute. Long before noon there were breaks in the clouds through which bright rays would flash for a moment on the targets only to be succeeded a minute later by dark shadows. The common had been too recently soaked by heavy rain to throw off the rippling heat which so often baffled the best of shots at Wimbledon, but in place of this there rose a humid haze that served very much the same purpose, if one may trust the opinions of those who attribute to that cause their comparative failure. Nevertheless, good scores were made, and the average of excellence was exceptionally high, if due allowance be made for the difficulties already enumerated. The first to achieve distinction was Lance-Corporal Fenwick, of Perth, who made within two points of the highest possible. Half an hour later, however, Lieutenant Wakeman, 1st Wilts, headed him by a point, having only failed to find the bullseye once, and then his shot fell not an inch outside that disc. Later Captain Fergusson, of Inverness, also scored 34 points for seven shots, and curiously enough he got an inner instead of a bull at the second round just as Wakeman did, each finishing with a string of bullseyes. These were the only two who got within a point of the highest possible, but Sergeant Bartlett, 1st V.B. Somerset; Sergeant Palmer, 1st Warwick; Lance-Corporal Fenwick; Lieut. Manning, of the Canadian Team; Private Ritchie, 1st Dumbarton; Lieut. Atkinson, 3rd Durham Light Infantry, the gold medalist of 1874; Sergeant M'Haffie, 1st Ayr Artillery; Lance-Corporal Fletcher, 3rd V.B. Hants; Colour-Sergeant Woodman, of the same corps; Major Trick, 2nd V.B. Welsh Regiment; Private Cripps, 1st V.B. West Kent; Sergeant Oliver, of the second battalion of that regiment; Corporal Phillips, 1st V.B. Hants; Private McLauchlan, 3rd V.B. Highland Light Infantry; Sergeant Potter, 4th Middlesex; Private Anderson, 4th Surrey Rifles; and Lieutenant Warren, Queen's Prizeman, stand credited with thirty-three each, while nearly fifty have made only one point less.

For *The Daily Graphic* Prize at 200 yards standing some remarkably good scores were made considering the altered size of circles on targets and the restrictions as to position. Major Williamson, 1st Oxford Light Infantry, scored 33 points in seven shots, or two short of the highest possible; Private Greaves, 1st battalion North Lancashire, was only a point behind him; Armourer-Sergeant Foster, 1st V.B. Northumberland Fusiliers and Major Ellis, 2nd V.B. King's Liverpool Regiment, were credited with 30 each, and in the long string of those who had scored 29, were Lieutenant Davidson, of the 2nd V.B. Royal Lightlanders (who was a well-known shot at Wimbledon years ago, when he did much to uphold the honour of the London Scottish), Major Davison, 2nd Liverpool, Corporal Fenwick who hails from the same corps as Mr. Davidson, Captain Millner, 8th King's Rifles, a famous member of the Irish eight; Private Rother, a Middlesex champion, who made his early reputation as one of the London Rifle Brigade, and now shoots for the Civil Service; Sergeant Peat, 2nd West Surrey; Private Hayhurst, of Manchester; and Lieut. McIsaac, of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Volunteer battalion). No results of this competition have yet been issued by the Statistical Department, but the positions held in the list were given by Major Williamson. Private Greaves, Sergeant Foster, and Major Ellis are not likely to be affected by any subsequent returns.

The Bristol Mercury is informed that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach is to succeed Lord Carrington as Governor of New South Wales.

RUSSIAN CADETS AND THE NIHILISTS.—Our Berlin Correspondent telegraphs:—The Russian Minister of War has issued an order, whereby pupils of the civil colleges will be excluded from the higher military schools. It is said that the ranks of the Nihilists were chiefly officered by such pupils. It is doubted whether this measure will have any success, as the dissatisfaction among the officers of the line is said to be widespread.

The Queen has given permission to Mr. Macbeth Raeburn to etch for the Fine Art Society the portrait of Stanley painted for her Majesty by Professor Angeli, and which is the only one for which he has given sittings since his return from Africa.

At the meeting of the Council of the Society of Accountants and Auditors (Incorporated), held at the society's offices, 4, King-street, Cheap-side, yesterday, Mr. Ebenezer Carr (Messrs. E. Carr and Co., Limited) was elected president for the ensuing year; Mr. Edward Whitaker (Southampton), vice-president.

THE
UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

The Universal Peace Congress of 1890 was resumed and concluded yesterday, at the Westminster Town Hall. At the morning sitting the chair was taken by the Hon. David Dudley Field (the President.)

The SECRETARY announced that the Bureau had re-drafted the resolution in reference to "the National Control over Declarations of War," and that in its new form it read as follows:—

Whereas the very principle and purpose of a Universal Peace Congress, is the establishment of a juridical status among nations; and whereas the Congress believes that all international disputes can be settled by peaceable means, it affirms that the duty of Peace Congresses is to investigate the means of establishing a juridical status. The Congress, whilst refraining from expressing an opinion respecting the establishment of juridical courts in the form suggested by L'Abbe Dufourney in his paper, is of opinion that any wars can be avoided if delay can be secured, during which the voice of passion can be stilled and the voice of reason heard. The Congress, therefore, recommends that there shall be established national judicial courts independent of the Executive for the examination of all disputes which may occasion war, and that such courts shall have power to call for all information in the possession of their Executive Governments. The considered judgments of the juridical court, together with the decision requiring reparation of the wrong as set forth in the said judgments, shall be notified through the Embassy to the other party and people, and be communicated to its own people as well as to the other Powers.

The resolution was approved, as also was the following:

The Congress congratulates the friends of Peace on the resolution adopted by the International American Conference (with the exception of the representatives of Chili and Mexico) at Washington in April last, by which it was recommended that Arbitration should be obligatory in all controversies concerning diplomatic and consular privileges, boundaries, territories, indemnities, right of navigation, and the validity, construction, and enforcement of treaties, and in all other cases, whatever their origin, nature, or occasion, except only those which in the judgment of any of the nations involved in the controversy may imperil its independence. The Congress respectfully recommends this resolution to the attention of the statesmen of European and other nations of the world, and expresses the ardent desire that treaties in similar terms be speedily entered into. The Congress expresses its satisfaction at the adoption by the Spanish Senate; on the 10th of June last, of a project of law authorising the Government to negotiate general or special treaties of arbitration for the settlement of all disputes except those relating to the independence and internal government of the States affected. Also at the adoption of resolutions to a like effect by the Norwegian Storting, on the 6th March last, and by the Italian Chamber on the 11th of July instant, and by the Congress of the United States at its present session.

Dr. PANKHURST read a paper entitled "The Treaty System and Concert of Nations in Relation to an International Tribunal." He said that with the establishment on a firm basis of an International Tribunal the problem of peace between nations would receive a practical solution. In the course of the generations that had passed away since the Treaty of Westphalia two great international forces had been in constantly increasing activity and range of operation, contributing greatly to prepare the way for an international system with an international tribunal. Those two forces were the treaty system and the concert of nations. The treaty system was a great instrument to define common duties; the concert of nations was a great organ to express common life among the nations. Out of those forces might be evolved an international Tribunal, with coercive agency to secure obedience.

After remarks by Don A. Marcoartu (Spain) and Madame Thoumain, the Rev. Dr. W. A. Campbell moved the following resolution:

That a committee of five be appointed to prepare an address or communication in the name of this Congress to the principal religious, commercial, labour and peace organizations in civilised countries, requesting them to send petitions to the Governmental authorities of their respective countries, praying that measures be taken for the formation of suitable tribunals for the adjudication of international questions, so as to avoid the resort to war.

The resolution was approved, together with a rider to the effect that it should be communicated to organizations interested.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT read a paper entitled "Arbitral Tribunals." He said that they were seeking a condition of things in the civilised world whereby all disputes should be decided as to secure absolute justice, and they were also seeking to eliminate the decision of such questions by a resort to force. The first step would be the establishment of a permanent tribunal for the purpose of arbitration. It seemed that the publication of a draft for the constitution of a tribunal such as was prepared by the late Leone Levi constituted a most important step, and perhaps the first step to the realisation of their aims. The permanent existence of such a body of judges must lead Governments to resort to its services as a matter of course. A resolution was afterwards carried to the effect that the Congress expressed its extreme regret that the attempt made by the Conference at Berlin in 1886 to codify the rules of international law affecting the conduct of belligerents, should have failed, and expressed the hope that means might soon be found for reopening the question.

THE NEUTRALISATION OF MINOR POWERS.

The Hon. D. D. FIELD again occupied the chair in the afternoon, and probably in view that this was the concluding day of the practical work of the Congress, the attendance was larger than it had been for a day or two past. The first subject down for discussion was "Neutralisation," which included (1) "Reasons which render the neutralisation of states, territories, rivers, canals, &c., desirable; how to render the same effective, and (2) plans to be adopted whereby neutralised provinces or states may be able to dispense with the necessity of maintaining defensive forces." With regard to this Dr. Richet (Paris) moved the following resolution:

Seeing that the object pursued by all peace societies is the establishment of juridical order between nations; that neutralisation by international treaties constitutes a step towards this juridical state, and lessens the number of districts in which war can be carried on; the Congress recommends a larger extension of the rule of neutralisation, and expresses the wish—(1) That all treaties which at present assure to certain States the benefit of neutrality remain in force, or, if necessary, be amended in a manner to render the neutrality more effective, either by extending neutralisation to the whole of the State of which a part only may be neutralised, or by ordering the demolition of fortresses which constitute rather a peril than a guarantee for neutrality. (2) That new treaties—provided that they are in harmony with the wishes of the populations concerned—be concluded for establishing the neutralisation of other States. (3) As to the means by which a neutralised State shall protect itself against any aggression in violation of international treaties, the Congress considers that the solution of this important and difficult problem is not sufficiently advanced to arrive at a formal conclusion. The Congress, therefore, commends this part of the question to the careful study of the various peace societies, and suggests its further consideration at the next Peace Congress.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT, in seconding the motion, said it was the clear duty of Peace Societies, not only to occupy themselves with abstract principles, but to do what they had not as a rule done up to the present, namely, study and concern themselves in the actual political international questions of the day; and to ascertain all the causes and pretexts for war which might arise from them. He therefore called the attention of Peace Societies to the existence of weaker States which were a constant source of danger to the civilized world, because there were greedy and ambitious Powers ready to trample upon the freedoms and neutrality of such States. He contended that the historical as well as the present life of small nations was as valuable as that of larger States and equally as sacred. But although the progress of mankind depended largely upon the interchange of national knowledge, every element of justice was swept away when the gusts of national greed came on, and any excuse was taken for invading these small States. Such a state of things should be removed, and he thought the great Powers were called upon by joint action to relieve those States which had had their independence guaranteed from the necessity of taxing their resources by the maintenance of large armaments.—

M. Desmouhous, who followed, was called to order by the chairman for introducing controversial matter by referring politically to the present position of Alsace and Lorraine.—A gentleman from the body of the audience subsequently proposed that the whole of the third paragraph of the resolution should be omitted, on the ground that it showed weakness and would give an argument against the Congress to its enemies, who might say they did not understand their own contentions. After some discussion the resolution was passed with the exception of the third clause.

The next topics, which were speedily disposed of, dealt with the question as to the form in which co-operation could best be established between the Annual Inter-Parliamentary Conference and the Universal Peace Congress. After the federation of Peace Societies had been discussed, the Rev. Dr. G. D. Boardman brought forward the memorial which it was proposed to send to the heads of all civilized States, advocating peace; and this was adopted with the rider that the President's signature should be appended to it. Formal resolutions of thanks for hospitality to her Majesty the Queen, the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, and Mr. Passmore Edwards; for pulpit utterances to the Rev. Canon Scott-Holland, the Rev. Dr. Renen Thomas, and the Rev. J. M. Gibbon; for services in presiding to all the Chairmen of the Congress, and to the Chairmen of the various committees, and to the secretaries, and to the Press, were adopted amid cheers. A special resolution expressing the appreciation of the Congress of the work of the late Aurelio Saffi was spoken to by Signor Moneta. Additional resolutions were passed, being proposed by Rev. Dr. Grammer, expressing thanks to Almighty God for the unanimity and work of the Congress, and the firm belief of the delegates of the ultimate success of the cause of peace.

To-day the delegates visit Windsor, and attend a banquet in London.

The thanks of the representatives of the Press are especially due to Mr. D. Williamson (one of the officials of the Congress) for his never-failing courtesy and the help he has rendered to them during its proceedings.

The voice of Italy
IL SECOLO ON ARBITRATION AND WAR.

ARBITRATION is yet in the early stages of its existence, but it is a germ destined to become a noble tree. Arbitration aims at giving to *justice* the supremacy in international relations, hitherto occupied by *violence*.

It aims at making the fate of peoples no longer depend on the blind and brutal decision of arms, but on principles of justice and equity, supported by public opinion. For this reason the deepest thinkers in Europe and America have made and are making Arbitration the starting point for the pacification of the civilized world; for this reason, the Peace Societies have raised this glorious Standard, and the warmest advocates of liberty see in it the keynote of all future and lasting progress.

Step by step facts are following in the wake of theory. Five Republics of Central America, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Nicaragua, San Salvador, and Honduras, have already concluded an agreement by which they undertake to solve by means of Arbitration every difference that may arise between them.

The United States expect shortly to make similar agreements, not only with other states in America, but also with such European States as shall be disposed to enter upon this course.

It is the law of the age and will triumph!

The difficulties in its way amongst us are much less than those that opposed the realization of Italian unity fifty years ago. It would have triumphed ere this had the energies consumed for years past by many liberals and democrats in party strife been employed in the pursuit of this humane ideal. But the times are ripening; and the evils constantly accumulating under a system of rivalry and bitterness, will open the eyes and the mind and heart of the population, sooner than people expect.

Let those who choose do what they will, like the despots of forlorn memory, to arrest the course of civilization, the end of war in Europe is approaching. Whether those who dream of a new Carthaginian war please or not, the future of the world belongs to humanitarian ideas and to the establishment of Peace.

Again August 20th. "Those who *do not want war*, but who comprehend that it settles nothing, and would throw back European civilization for two or three centuries, are taking note of facts that develop daily.

"They observe that war is *not wanted by the country people*, who shrink from seeing their fields devastated and their harvests ravaged.

"Nor is it wanted by the class of *city operatives*, who know they will have to be the chief losers; while even in case of victory no material or moral advantage will accrue to them.

"It is not wanted by *women* nor by those possessed of *gentle hearts* and *religious sentiments*, because the first and last words of Christianity ring with peace and brotherhood.

"It is not wanted by *socialists* of any school, who on the contrary would have all the barriers that separate one people from another thrown down; nor by the *democrats*, who know that the greatest enemy to liberty is militarism; nor lastly, by the *learned*, who see by the laws of history that the progress of humanity is developed in proportion as it separates itself from violence; and that thus will come in the dominion of reason.

"Then who does want war?"

"*Those few*, to whom liberty is an ominous and suspicious thing; who would like to keep the people in perpetual subjection, and who see in war a marvellous pretext for enjoying the fat livings connected with the Dictatorship of executive power; who reduce Parliaments to taxing machines; make of secret funds a mainspring of Government, and of court intrigues an endless land of delight and source of gain. It is needless to name them, the reader knows already where to seek them, these perpetual enemies of the public peace, these implacable instigators of *fratricidal* massacres.

"The Cause of Peace must triumph, as have triumphed other moral conquests, scorned in their rise, then discussed, and at length accepted by universal consent. And it will triumph sooner than is generally believed if all those (and in Italy they are four fifths of her people) who feel a horror of human butchery, would do their duty."

From the appeal to the Italian Committee, signed by

AVO. A. MAZZOLENI, M.P.

E. T. MONETA.

Editor of the Secolo of Milan.

During the last month S. Moneta has addressed large and enthusiastic audiences at Leghorn, Naples, and Rome, arriving in Florence at the close of a Peace Meeting gathered to hear the Marquis Alfieri di Lostegne, who introduced him to his select and numerous audience in flattering terms. Both orators report their favourable impressions of the friendly and pacific attitude of the French people and Government.

THE UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

It is nearly forty years since so important a Peace Congress as that which will assemble at the Westminster Town Hall to-day has met in London. Between 400 and 500 delegates will attend from America, and almost every prominent European capital. Among them are the Hon. David Dudley Field (president of the Congress), the Rev. R. B. Howard (secretary of the American Peace Society of Boston), the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, the Rev. Dr. Boardman, the Rev. Dr. Markland, the Rev. Dr. Braislin (Brooklyn), the Rev. Dr. Moxon (Boston), the Rev. Dr. Grammer, Mr. Benjamin Trueblood, M. Bajer, M.P. (Copenhagen), M. Borg, M.P. (Sweden), Dr. Richet, M. Contuirrea Senator, Paris, Don Arturo de Marcoartu (Senator, Madrid), Marquis Alfieri di Sostegno (Rome), Count Pandolfi, Sig. Moneta (editor of the *Secolo*, Milan), M. Van Eck (the Hague), Herr Maier (Frankfort), and M. Frédéric Passy (Paris). The English Peace Societies in London and the provinces will be well represented as well as the Society of Friends. The meeting opens to-day at 11 o'clock in the Westminster Town Hall, which, for the convenience of the foreign delegates, we may state is near the St. James's Park Station of the District Railway. At three

o'clock the president delivers his address, and at eight o'clock a conversazione will be held. Tomorrow the Congress sits from ten till one in the morning, and from three till six in the afternoon. Section A in the programme will be taken at this meeting, the subject for consideration being, "The Christian and other Religious Aspects of the Question of Peace and War." The sittings will continue till Friday, and the subjects for discussion include "International Arbitration," "International Law," "Neutralisation," "Disarmament," "National Control over Declaration of War," "Relations of Civilised States towards Weaker Races," "Indirect Causes of War, and Remedies for the Same," "Educational Aspects of the Question," "Inter-Parliamentary Conference," and "Federation of Peace Societies." On Wednesday, at 7.30, the Rev. Dr. Thomas (Boston) will preach to the delegates at the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct; and on Thursday at four o'clock the Lord Mayor will hold a reception at the Mansion House. At 7.30 on that day the Rev. J. M. Gibbon will preach at the Stamford-hill Congregational Church. On Saturday morning there will be an excursion to Windsor. The castle is not at present open to the public, but the Queen has made an exception in favour of the delegates, who have permission to visit it on that day. In the evening a banquet will be held, but the arrangements for this are not yet completed. On Sunday religious services in connection with the Congress will be held throughout London. At the New Tabernacle, Old-street, the Rev. W. Evans Darby (one of the secretaries of the Congress), will preach at the morning service, and the Rev. Dr. Howard at the evening service. At St. Nicholas Cole Abbey (Queen Victoria-street), the preacher will be the Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, at seven o'clock. Yesterday afternoon Canon Scott Holland, who is a vice-president of the Congress, preached at St. Paul's Cathedral. By permission of the Dean and Chapter a number of seats were reserved for the delegates, many of whom attended. The Canon took for his text the 2nd chap. of Isaiah, 4th verse. Having referred to the horrors of war and to the military spirit and greed of aggrandisement shown by the nations of the earth, he said:

We should never fully succeed in securing unbroken peace until we made it evident to the spirited element in us that it does not need war in order to survive. We must educate the qualities of chivalry and bravery which are in us, to shrink with disgust from the barbarities of the battle. Then we might hope to see the beginning of the end, when the weapons of warfare should be turned to happier uses. There was plenty of scope for the exercise of our energies, he showed, in covering the waste lands of our colonies, in the wards of the hospitals, and in efforts spent in the task of winning to happiness and love the thousands who lived in the crowded slums. We could remember how Gordon found in the alleys of Woolwich, work at least as bracing and cheerful as in the long agony of Khartoum. We should do our utmost to impress upon men the horror and wickedness of which war is the embodiment and cause, to labour to reduce all possible excuses for war, and enforce every possible remedy for it. We should also labour to extend the area that can be covered by arbitration and international law.

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THE UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

THE DECLARATION OF WAR.

The Universal Peace Congress of 1890 was resumed yesterday at the Westminster Town Hall. At the morning sitting the Hon. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD (the President) occupied the chair, and there was a large attendance of delegates.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the section to be taken was that entitled "National Control over Declarations of War." He should like in a few preliminary remarks to say that for his own part the discussion was not one in which he could engage, because the matter was settled in America. (Cheers.) Across the Atlantic they would no more think of allowing their President to declare war than they would think of allowing him to declare the country under submission to an Emperor. The national control as to war was not, he thought, in the hands of the Executive in any part of the two American continents. At any rate, he could say positively that in his own continent it was Congress alone that could declare war. (Hear, hear.) The discussion nevertheless would be of great interest to all European countries, because, with perhaps the exceptions of France and Switzerland, he did not suppose there was any country in Europe—the certainly did not know of one—which did not vest in the sovereign the power to declare war. Whether that state of things should or should not continue, or rather whether that Congress should not do all in its power to influence public opinion to bring about a change, if a change was needed, was the question they would have to discuss that morning. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD read a paper on "Declarations of War." He pointed out that the principles of an institution representing the highest juridical attributes and international functions of sovereignty were embodied in the constitution and procedure of the Feacial College of ancient Rome; and the materials for adaptation of those principles to modern conditions existed in the Privy Council of this United Kingdom, certain members of which body, as the independent but responsible assessors of the issues of peace and war, should be organized as soon as demanded by the public voice. At the conclusion of the reading of his paper, Mr. Wood moved the following resolution:

That there should be instituted in connection with the government of each nation a Juridical Court upon the following basis: 1st. There shall be established in connection with such government a Juridical Court for examining and judging the justice of causes of war. All the documents relating to the international dispute shall be communicated to it by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2nd. The executive Power shall neither be able to decree a war, nor to announce the commencement of hostilities until the Juridical Court has been seized of the question, and has given its considered judgment affirming the justice of the cause for war. 3rd. Before any hostilities are commenced, the considered judgment of the Juridical Court—with a summons requiring reparation of, or satisfaction for, the wrong committed, as stated in the said judgment—shall be notified by embassy to the offending nation, and be communicated to the other nations and their inhabitants; and the offending nation shall only be proceeded against in case of its public refusal to make such reparation.

L'Abbé DE FOURNEY seconded the resolution, and proceeded to read a paper on the same lines as that of Mr. Wood. He commenced by saying that the object at which they should aim would be the prevention of all but defensive wars. He strongly advocated the establishment of a council or deliberative assembly in each nation to correspond with the Feacial College of the Romans. One characteristic of the College was that no member of it was permitted to be a soldier or even to carry arms, that being ordained in order that the Court should be in no danger of being demoralised by the military spirit.

On the suggestion of Mr. Joseph Sturge the word "announce," occurring on the second line of the second section of the resolution, was omitted, and the word "direct" substituted.

M. VASSEUR cast some doubt on the efficacy that had been associated with the Feacial College of the Romans, and argued that the Congress had assembled in order, not to regulate war, but to declare absolutely against it.

M. ARNAUD, a delegate from the International Association of Peace and Liberty, moved the following amendment:

Whereas the very existence of the Peace Congress is associated with the establishment of the juridical order or legal state among nations—that is to say, the negation of the right of war; whereas the study by the Congress of the conditions necessary to a declaration of war under the respective powers of the different authorities suggests the recognition of the right of war; whereas the only case in which a people can undertake acts of war is the case of legitimate defence, in which there is no necessity for a declaration of war, the Congress denies to all authorities whatever the right of declaring war, proclaims its faith in the pacific solution of international difficulties, and deciding that the Congress will give itself wholly to those studies and efforts which are necessary for the establishment of the laws of peace, and deciding that the code of war shall not be discussed.

Mr. D. NIBBS seconded the amendment.

After some remarks by Mr. G. D. COLLETT (who advocated the establishment in this country of a Foreign Affairs Committee, composed of members of both Houses of Parliament).

Baron THOMAS DE SAINT-GEORGES ARMSTRONG proposed as a further amendment that a law should be passed whereby six months for reflection would be enforced after every declaration of war.

Finding no seconder, this amendment fell to the ground.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the mover of the resolution and the mover of the amendment had come to an agreement, the result of which was that the following motion would be submitted in substitution of those that had gone before:

Inasmuch as the very reason for the existence of the Congress is the establishment of the juridical order or state of law among nations, and, consequently, the negation of the right of war; inasmuch as any negation by this Congress of the conditions necessary for the declaration of war, and of the powers of the various authorities in this matter, would be a recognition of the right of war; inasmuch as the only case where a people can enter into acts of war are cases of legitimate war, in which case no such declaration of war is necessary, this Congress declares its negation of the right of war, and denies to all authorities and powers the right of declaring war, it declares its belief in the pacific solution of international difficulties, which form obstacles to the establishment of a universal state of law, and the Congress declares that, while waiting for the definitive establishment of the juridical state or condition of law, the institution under all Governments of a juridical court like that explained in the paper of L'Abbé De Fourney would be an excellent way of diminishing the chances of war. Therefore the Congress adopts the following resolution: While waiting for the establishment of international arbitration, the Congress desires that there shall be established a juridical court under the following conditions. (Here were recapitulated the three sections of the original resolution.)

The above resolution, on being proposed, met with a very mixed reception, and great divergence of opinion was expressed on the subject by various delegates. An amendment to the substantive resolution was next moved, amid some uproar, by Mr. Gillet, and seconded by Mr. John Hilton; but finally, acting upon suggestions, the Chairman put the question as to whether the Congress would vote at once on the resolution as amended. This led to a division, but proved no solution of the confusion, as fifty-seven delegates voted on each side. Finally, Mr. Hodgson Pratt stated, after remarks from Mr. Wright (Birmingham), L'Abbé De Fourney, and Dr. Grammer, that the resolution would be redrafted and submitted to the Congress to-day.

CIVILIZED AND SAVAGE RACES.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE, M.P., the President of the English Peace Society, occupied the chair at the afternoon meeting. The questions for decision were the relations of civilized States towards the weaker races, a subject which was sub-divided as follows: (1) In what manner can the protection of the latter from aggression and from an invasion of their rights be best secured; and (2) the relations of civilized States towards each other in territories belonging to weaker races.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE, in opening the proceedings, was loudly applauded. He said—I cannot take for my title this afternoon without apologising to you for my absence at the previous meetings of this Congress, and as I have the honour of being the President of the English Peace Society, a position which I have already held for several years, you may be assured that it has been from no want of most hearty sympathy that I have been obliged to be absent from these sittings. I rejoiced when I heard that this Conference was about to be held, and although we may not be many in numbers gathered within these walls, I believe that we are the representatives of a very large amount of feeling amongst the civilized nations of the world; and representing that feeling as we do, I think we are each of us sure in our various countries that we are part of a number that is daily, nay, hourly, increasing. There are three positions from which we may look at the question of war and international disarmament. I call the high point of view that of the standard of the Christian religion, whose principles are diametrically opposed to every principle of war. But if we take up the lower ground of political economy only, there is no political economist who for a moment could say a word on behalf of the present condition of things. If we take it upon the ground of morality, the dealings between man and man, the present condition of Europe could not for a moment be defended. I know that there are various modes of looking at the question of peace, arbitration, and disarmament, but I am most anxious that if we are agreed that a thing is wrong tried by a moral, political, economical, and Christian standard, we should at least endeavour to bring about a better state of things than that which now exists throughout the civilized world. The waste of property, the waste of life, the detriment to morals all come home naturally to every lover of his country who looks at the condition of the land he loves, and the land he lives in, I hope we may each be able to encourage the other by efforts in our respective countries and local centres; and again I cannot help thinking, and I think you will agree with me in the view that the harvest is daily getting riper; that as education is spread, that as knowledge is spread, whether you speak of political or Christian knowledge, the feeling of the wickedness and evil of large armies both in time of peace—and that is very difficult to exaggerate—as well as in time of war—is getting stronger amongst the peoples of the civilized world. It may be that the horizon is somewhat dark—and I dare say it is—because we still feel that our respective Governments seem to be running what the late Mr. Disraeli called "a mad race one against the other," but there is evidently a great feeling amongst the peoples to check that mad race. I am afraid that check will not come from the Governments until they are made to feel that the popular foundations on which they rest incline upon it. I cannot help thinking from what I have seen of the working classes that they are more and more disposed to furnish the sinews of war, and more disposed to unite with other nations, separated in some instances by very narrow seas and in another by the wide Atlantic, and to hold out to those other peoples the right hand of friendship. In conclusion, Sir Joseph Pease introduced the subject for discussion, saying that although it might at the first blush be thought that it came within the scope of the Aborigines Protection Society, it also had a great deal to do with the purposes of that Congress. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. O. BRATHWAITE (London) then moved the following resolution:

The Congress holds that the doctrine of the universal rights of man requires that aboriginal and weaker races shall be guarded from injustice and fraud when brought into contact with civilized peoples, alike as to their territories, their liberties, and their property; and that they shall be shielded from the vices which are so prevalent among the so-called advanced races of men. It further expresses its conviction that there should be concert of action among the nations for the accomplishment of these ends. The Congress desires to express its hearty appreciation of the successful results attained by the late Anti-Slavery Congress, held in Brussels, for the amelioration of the condition of the peoples of Africa.

The speaker of the importance of this subject to England, who from her history was a nursing mother to many

native races. Civilisation had too often in the past swept over the earth with the destructiveness of one of the great prairie fires of America, driving the native races before it like wild animals and marking its course by destruction and death. But the deep-seated feeling of human brotherhood had in all ages raised up illustrious examples of a more successful policy. Though the Spanish Conquest of America had involved the destruction of thousands of Indians, a Las Casas had risen to be their protector, and in later years the Jesuit Mission of Paraguay had shown the possibility of a more pacific policy. Further north there was the famous Holy Experiment of William Penn upon which Mrs. Richardson had presented a paper, and the successful treatment of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Dominion Government of the Indians of the North West Territories of Canada. The terrible slave trade had devastated Africa, but the instincts of humanity had risen against it, and it would soon be a thing of the past. Australia and South Africa furnished examples of the value of missionary effort in promoting the welfare of native races, and the administration of Fiji as a Crown colony had been strikingly successful. An examination of these examples showed that the three great dangers to native races were: 1. The want of self-restraint found among the pioneers of commerce and colonization at the outskirts of civilisation. 2. The difficulty of the whites understanding the natives. 3. The unpreparedness of the natives physically and morally for the sudden inrush of civilisation, which infected with its vices before it gave strength to resist them. These dangers must receive their appropriate remedies. 1. Nations, acting either separately or in concert, should devise measures for controlling their subjects in distant parts of the world. The conclusions of the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference, which owed so much to the untiring energy of men like Baron Lambert, Lord Vivian, and Sir John Kirk, were a signal instance of what might be done. 2. It was of the utmost importance that colonial administrators should act with absolute good faith and justice, and should earnestly endeavour to understand the native habits and character. 3. The native races must be protected from the vices of civilisation—especially from the poisonous spirits, the sale of guns and ammunition and everything approaching to slavery. The speaker concluded by cordially recommending the resolution to the Congress, especially that portion of it in praise of the conclusions of the Brussels Conference.

The motion was seconded by the reading of the précis of a paper by Miss Ellen Robinson, who suggested that an International Conference on the whole subject should be held.

In a paper read by Mr. H. R. Fox-Bourne, that gentleman said the establishment of dominion by civilised states over weaker races, as in the case of the Colonial Empire of Great Britain, however faulty in some of its incidents, was inevitable and in accordance with the law as to "the survival of the fittest." They could not hope to prevent further extension, both of colonising or, yet more, of trading enterprise, and all they could reasonably expect or effectually strive for was that it should be done under more philanthropic conditions than heretofore. The African problem was of the most present importance. In this continent there was more opportunity and better warrant for trading than for colonising enterprise. This was so even in South Africa, yet more in other parts. Here large acquisitions of territory were especially to be deprecated. All they had any right to do, or expect to do, with any credit or advantage to our rulers, or without injury to the natives, was to extend legitimate trade relations with them, which might probably lead to some sort of sovereignty over those with whom we deal. But to that end it was essential that we should keep within the narrowest limits of our territorial possessions, and require from the natives no more subjection to us than was involved in observance of the contracts freely made by their authorised chiefs, and not extorted from them; that there should be no arbitrary interference with their institutions, with progress in civilisation.

After some further discussion, the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT then read a paper in support of the following resolution:

The Congress believes that the warlike prejudices and traditions which are still fostered in the various nationalities, and the misrepresentations by leaders of public opinion in legislative assemblies, or through the Press, are not infrequently indirect causes of war. The Congress is therefore of opinion that these evils should be counteracted by the publication of accurate statements and information that would tend to the removal of misunderstandings amongst nations, and recommends to the Inter-Parliamentary Committee the importance of considering the question of commencing an international newspaper, which should have such a purpose as one of its primary objects. The Congress proposes to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference that the utmost support should be given to every project for the unification of weights and measures, of coinage, tariffs, postal and telegraphic arrangements, means of transport, &c., which would assist in constituting a commercial, industrial, and scientific union of the peoples.

Mr. T. CROSFIELD (Liverpool) seconded the motion, which was supported by the reading of the précis of papers by Mr. A. H. Love (Phil., U.S.A.), Mr. John Hilton (London), and Mr. J. Mather (Manchester).

The resolution was carried.

The influence of women in the maintenance of peace was also brought forward with the view that every woman throughout the world should sustain as wife, mother, sister, or citizen the things that make for peace; as otherwise she incurred grave responsibility for the continuance of the systems of war and militarism; and that women should unite themselves with societies for the promotion of international peace.

The Congress soon afterwards adjourned until to-day.

THIS AFTERNOON, at 10, THE GONDOLIERS, Messrs. Frank Holt, Henry Bellamy, Lawrence Gridley, Frank Tebbutt, Edward Clowes, Frank Lyne; Mesdames Fanny Harrison, Agnes Taylor, Minnie Freeman, Louise Rowe, and Alice Graham.

COURT THEATRE.
Proprietors, Mrs. John Wood and Mr. Arthur Chuzzleigh.
To-NIGHT, at 8, THE CABINET MINISTER. Messrs. Arthur Cecil, Woodson Grosvenor, Herbert Waring, Brandon Thomas, Allen Ayresworth, Saunders, Farren, Clowes; Misses Le Tibère, Thomas Filippi, Tannor, Eva Moore, Caldwell, Isabel Edissen, Harrington, Mrs. Edmund Phelps, and Mrs. John Wood.

SHAFESBURY THEATRE.
Lessee and Manager, Mr. E. S. Willard.
THIS EVENING, at 8.30, JUDAH. Mr. Willard, Messrs. Royce Carleton, F. Kerr, Sant Mathews, C. Fulton, H. Case, Harting, Thomas; Mesdames Bessie Hatton, Gertrude Warden, A. Bowering, and Olga Brandon.

AVENUE THEATRE.
Manager, Mr. Geo. Alexander.
THIS EVENING, at 8, DR. BILL. Messrs. George Alexander, R. Webster, G. Capel, H. Grattan, A. Chevalier; Mmes. E. Robins, Charlotte Lockyer, Loston, Marie Linden, L. Graves, E. Kenward, L. Young, and Fanny Brough.—At 8.30, MISS CINDERELLA.

COMEDY THEATRE.
Manager, Mr. Chas. H. Hawtrej.
To-NIGHT, at 9, NERVES. Miss Maudie Millet, Miss Sophie Larkin, Miss Lydia Corwell, Miss Edna Matthews, and Miss Lottie Veane; Mr. H. Komble, Mr. Edward Righton, and Mr. Charles Hawtrej. Preceded, at 8.15, by A BAD PENNY.

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HIGH WATER AT LONDON BRIDGE.

To-DAYMorning, 2h. 2m.....Afternoon, 2h. 26m.
To-MorrowMorning, 2h. 47m.....Afternoon, 5h. 4m.

LONDON, THURSDAY, July 17.

The House of Commons was occupied yesterday with further discussion of the Irish Estimates in Committee of Supply. Several votes were agreed to.

At yesterday's meeting of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Child Life Insurance, the chairman, the Bishop of Peterborough, announced that what is known as the Undertakers' Clause in the Bill would be withdrawn.

Lord Henley's Committee on the Central London Railway Bill yesterday found that the

Stakes, which were divided. At Worcester Honora took the Elmley Plate, Laceman the Scurry Welter Handicap, Porridge the Coventry Maiden Plate, Chines the Stanton Plate, and Peck o' Pepper the City Welter Handicap.

Only one first-class county cricket match remained to be decided yesterday, that between Lancashire and Middlesex at Manchester. The northern county won by seven wickets.

The hearing of the Duncan v. Duncan, Engleheart and Hill divorce suit was resumed yesterday when, after Lieut. Engleheart had been further cross-examined, Deputy-Inspector Hill, the second co-respondent, went into the box and gave an emphatic denial to the allegations against him. Other witnesses were called, but the case had not concluded at the rising of the court.

Additional evidence against Alden Carter Weston, who as a result of the Dunlo case is charged with forging a cheque for 300l., was given at Marylebone yesterday. In the end Mr. Newton committed the prisoner for trial.

The stock markets were quieter yesterday, the settlement absorbing attention. Only one small failure was announced in connection with this, although money was not easy to obtain. Markets generally were steady to firm. Grand Trunk of Canada and Mexican Railway stocks excepted. Consols closed at 96½ for the account. The Bank lost 11,000l. in gold on balance. Bar silver rose to 50½d. per oz.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT'S SPEECH

of the dinner given to Mr. SCHNADHORST by the National Liberal Club last night contained not only a formidable indictment of the Government, but an admirable forecast of the Liberal victory for which all the omens are preparing us, and which will only be the greater in the end the longer the day of battle is delayed. It was right and fitting that Sir WILLIAM should be the man selected to drive home in the public mind the deliberate though happily unsuccessful attempt of her MAJESTY'S Ministers to exalt the House of Lords at the expense of the House of Commons. We explained to our readers on Monday, though necessarily with some reserve, how Mr. BALFOUR, in his draft Report, had been endeavouring to remove from the representatives of the people their indefeasible right of initiating Bills. The Report has since been published. But it is published as amended, and the revised version gives no adequate idea of the CHIEF SECRETARY'S original proposals. The amendments are for the most part Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT'S own, and it is he who has chiefly fought for the cause of the Constitution in the Committee over which Mr. GOSCHEN presided. He has fought and he has won. There was on the Committee a Conservative majority greatly in excess of that to which the party is entitled, and the Conservatives, actively assisted by those deserters who usurp the name of Liberal, are bent, as usual, upon violent changes in the existing order of things for the purpose of overbearing popular opinion by privileged prejudice. Mr. BALFOUR appropriately led this onslaught upon the House of Commons as a whole. Mr. BALFOUR recently proclaimed himself a Democrat, somewhat to the consternation of his political friends. They did not understand his theory, which is that Democracies are naturally Conservative in the party sense of the word, as the United States are supposed by their example to show. The doctrine is thoroughly unsound, and the fallacy lies in assuming that a country which has a written Constitution but no Sovereign Parliament may be profitably compared, without allowance for those facts, to one which has a Sovereign Parliament but no written Constitution. While, however, Mr. BALFOUR'S reasoning is erroneous, his object is plain enough. He hopes by appealing to the Conservative instincts of Englishmen that he may preserve whatever makes for the classes at the expense of the masses, and at the same time produce by indirect means changes which would transpose the whole balance of political forces. He has been found out, and the moment he was found out he gave up the game. Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT'S speech, accurate in its statements, felicitous in its method, and lucid in its style, will show those least acquainted with the technicalities of Parliamentary procedure how a contemplated attack upon the rights of the Commons was thoroughly exposed and signally defeated.

Mr. BALFOUR'S Report contained in a parenthetical and most insidious form the proposition that the House of Lords might suspend a Bill sent up to them from the House of Commons. Mr. BALFOUR went on to say that this fact was of little or no consequence, because no Bill could receive the Royal assent which had not passed both Houses in the same session of Parliament. This red herring was not quite good enough for so experienced a political sportsman as Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT. The inherent vice of Mr. BALFOUR'S suggestion is that it enables the Lords to capture a Bill, to make it their own, and to exempt it altogether from the jurisdiction of the Commons. Let us suppose—no incredible hypothesis—that a Home Rule Bill were to pass the House of Commons in the first Session of the next Parliament. If Mr. BALFOUR'S Standing Order had been passed as he drew it, the Lords might at once have suspended the Bill, and thus postponed it to the ensuing Session. But the Commons would have parted with the Bill altogether, and could not originate it again. It would have become a Lords' Bill. The Lords would determine when they should take it up, when they should send it down, what form they should impart to it, and what amendments made by the Commons they were prepared to accept. Such a state of things would be absolutely intolerable, and a Bill on a great Constitutional question so submitted to the Commons House of Parliament would justify the old historic motion that Mr. Speaker do kick this Bill to the Bar. Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT'S case was indeed so strong, his arguments were so unanswerable, that his amendment was adopted by the Government themselves. Mr. GOSCHEN has assured a sadly sceptical world that he and Mr. BALFOUR overflow with mutual admiration and confidence. Mr. BALFOUR, who gushes as the Scotch editor joked, with difficulty, has made no similar announcement in regard to Mr. GOSCHEN. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER must be more or less than human if he observed without some inward feeling of complacency the ludicrous and humiliating collapse of his galling and glorious friend. The mocking laughter with which the CHIEF SECRETARY greeted that fatal majority of four when the "Prosperity Budget" brought adversity to its author, can hardly have died out of Mr. GOSCHEN'S ears. An obscure Secessionist started some time ago a ridiculous inquiry into the supremely unimportant question whether his ignorant hatred of Liberalism would allow him to treat Liberals with civility. The truth is that the indignation of Lord SALISBURY'S and Lord HARTINGTON'S happy families against the Liberal party counts for nothing in comparison with their jealous hatred of each other.

Mr. SCHNADHORST, whose recovery of health and strength is a subject of sincere gratification to all Liberals, spoke in a sanguine tone last night from his abundant knowledge of Schnadhorst is the last man to indulge in vain hopes or to ignore the practical difficulties of the situation. But the mass of accumulated evidence, drawn from every quarter, and too strong to be collectively resisted, combines to show that a great Liberal triumph is at hand, and that the Irish question, which has vexed England for seven hundred years, will be happily solved at last. Mr. BALFOUR, in his speech to the Grocers last night, blandly remarked that he could not understand what people on his side of politics

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THE
UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS.

ARBITRATION AND DISARMAMENT.

The Universal Peace Congress of 1890 was resumed yesterday morning at the Westminster Town Hall. The Hon. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD (the President) occupied the chair.

At the morning sitting of the previous day the question of "National Control over Declarations of War" was discussed at considerable length, and in the end the motions that had been brought forward were referred to the Bureau in order that they might be drafted. On the matter being referred to yesterday, a long and animated debate took place as to the propriety of the new form the motions had assumed. An hour and a half having been consumed in this manner, the matter was finally again committed to the Bureau for re-consideration.

The CHAIRMAN said the next business would be the consideration of the following resolution:

That this Congress expresses the hope that the Financial Reform Association and other similar societies in Europe and America should unite in convoking at an early date a Conference to consider the best means of establishing equitable commercial relations between States by the reduction of import duties as a step towards Free Trade.

Le Chevallier, YVONNE DE BOLESTA-KLOZOWSKI formally moved and M. GUSTAV MORIN formally seconded the resolution, which was carried at once without discussion, there being only three dissentients.

The Congress next proceeded to consider the question of "Disarmament."

Mr. ROWLAND B. HOWARD (Boston, U.S.A.) read a paper on "Conditions of Disarmament." He said there was a sincere difference of opinion among good and wise men as to armaments. Some thought them the guarantee of peace. Others counted them a menace of war. He shared the latter opinion. The more numerous and expensive the army, the more necessary it was to employ it. Disarmament provoked armaments. Germany recently added 36,000 to its army because France added as many to hers. The self-confidence induced by conscious military power rendered a Government careless of conciliation. A great army exhausted the resources of a nation in money and men that ten years of peace became as burdensome to the Treasury as one year of war. The people were more restive under the exactions of an "armed peace" than they were under the excitements of actual war. Statesmen understood that. Governments were therefore inclined to risk a war on slighter pretences, and were slower to inquire for its moral sanctions. Such considerations had weight in the last Franco-German war, and helped to precipitate that terrible calamity. But whatever the pretext, the dominant purpose of great nations seemed to be to excel in military power, and overawe their neighbours solely by an appeal to their fears. This spirit was the opposite of the golden rule. It was force, not love. So long as Governments denied the obligation and practicability of Christian principles, he did not see but they were logical in appealing to the *lex talionis*, the ancient and barbarous ethics which Christ came to supersede by a higher law. A solemn agreement to submit disputed questions to wise and deliberate arbitration vacated no alleged right. It simply substituted the judicial for the military method of obtaining those rights. Once sincerely and solemnly adopted by any two nations, disarmament must follow as a matter of course. No adequate reason exists any longer for proportionately vast armaments. Disarmament should be gradual in order to save the sudden shock of the dismissal to civil life of millions of men now under discipline untrained to labour, and thus unprepared for citizenship. There was danger that sudden disarmament would at once augment the idlers, the strikers, and the mobs. Disarmament ought to be simultaneous. One nation, if both were equally armed, would not lead another in disarming. France and Germany could agree, first, how many troops to dismiss; secondly, at what time. Russia would be harder to win to disarmament, for her statesmen would allege the greater difficulties which she had 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 might each dismiss 100,000 men to-day, and call them together within a short time, as did Napoleon after Elba. 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 dismissed her present force or any considerable part of it. The United States was not "armed" in the sense in which European nations were. The question for that nation to solve was "Does any necessity exist here for great armaments?" Disarmament must be mutual. Neither France nor Germany would consider disarmament except as a mutual act. If thus entered upon the lesser Powers might easily follow their example, especially Italy, if freed from the obligations of the Triple Alliance. Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, and other countries would gladly lessen their armies and their expenditures. As soon as a mutual agreement could be made between the leading Powers a general disarmament would naturally follow.

In conclusion, Mr. HOWARD moved the following resolutions:

I. The Congress feels that it can affirm that the whole of Europe desires peace, and is impatiently waiting for the moment when it shall see the end of those crushing armaments which, under the plea of defence, become in their turn a danger, by keeping alive mutual distrust, and are at the same time the cause of that general economic uneasiness which stands in the way of settling in a satisfactory manner the problems of labour and poverty, which should take precedence of all others.

II. The Congress, recognising that a general disarmament would be the best guarantee of peace, and would lead to the solution, in the general interest, of those questions which now most divide States, expresses the wish that a Congress of Representatives of all the States of Europe may be assembled as soon as possible, to consider the means of effecting a gradual general disarmament, which already seems feasible.

III. The Congress, considering that the timidity, &c., of a single Power might delay indefinitely the convocation of the above-mentioned Congress, is of opinion that the Government which should first dismiss any considerable number of soldiers would confer a signal benefit on Europe and mankind, because it would oblige other Governments, urged on by public opinion, to follow its example, and by the moral force of this accomplished fact, would have increased rather than diminished the conditions of its national defence.

IV. The Congress, considering that the question of disarmament as well as the peace question, depends upon public opinion, recommends the Peace societies here represented, and all friends of peace, to carry on an active propaganda among the people, especially at the time of Parliamentary elections, in order that the electors should give their votes to those candidates who have included in their programmes Peace, Disarmament, and Arbitration.

Captain Siccardi, of Milan, in seconding the resolutions, presented a paper on "Disarmament." Disarmament, he said, needed only the irrevocable decree of public opinion. Nations were still like flocks, led by shepherds. They did not get rid of that shirt of Nessus because they had the poison of militarism in their veins. That virus was at the root of the disease. It was a fact of history, that wars between city and city, or district and district, were abolished as soon as the cities or districts were disarmed. They were disarmed by violence, and though petty wars were put an end to, the era of great wars began. It was idle to suppose that Governments would disarm spontaneously, or as the consequence of some general Congress. They must address themselves to the people who had hitherto been blind to their true interests. They must dispel their ignorance and prejudices, and show the evil and the misery of war. To ask for simultaneous disarmaments was to ask an impossibility, but every one should advocate disarmament in his own country. A country disarmed might safely rely upon the valour of its citizens fighting for hearth and home. Fear produced our armaments; it was pity that would dissolve them.

Mrs. BELVA A. LOCKWOOD (Washington) read a paper entitled, "Is any Scheme for Disarmament Practical at the Present Time?" She said it did not seem optimistic or Utopian to declare that disarmament under certain conditions was not only practical but feasible. Switzerland had virtually neither army nor navy. Her treaty of arbitration with the United States was agreed to mutually, but never signed. Whenever the question of renewing the negotiations was broached, they were met by the answer that it was not necessary. Belgium, under the treaty of neutrality with the five European Powers in 1832-33, known as the Treaty of London, had had no war since that date, although she maintained an army only sufficient to police her kingdom, and no navy. Iceland had neither army nor navy, while Sweden said she would never fight. President Carnot said it should be his mission during the balance of the seven years of his Presidency to maintain the peace of Europe, and the Emperor William had declared that "it is the mission of Germany to preserve the peace of Europe," though he added that that could only be done by keeping up the efficiency of the standing army. The Congress must teach him another way. The standing army of the United States at the present moment numbered only 25,000 foot and horse, being a force hardly sufficient to police the country. She believed the sixty-five millions of American inhabitants would rest quietly in their beds if the little army were disbanded to-morrow.

Dr. C. DEPRAZ presented "An Appeal to the Emperor of Germany to take the initiative in Disarmament." He pointed out that the German Emperor might cut the Gordian knot, effecting peace, not by steel and fire, but by the force of persuasion in a solemn international Congress of responsible statesmen, convoked in obedience to the Divine principle, *salus populi, suprema lex*. The Congress would be convened according to an Imperial Rescript, or the scheme prepared by some preliminary conference. Any Government that had the hardihood to question the verdict of the grand jury of peoples and kings would be compelled to yield to the *force majeure* of an international army made up proportionally to the population of each State.

Mr. W. EVANS DARBY presented a paper on "Armed Peace, and the General Peace of Nations." He said that not only Germany but all the countries of Europe suffered under the burden of taxation for military expenses. It was high time to resort to an unarmed peace. The passions of nations had moderated during the last twenty years. If half the intellect which was lavished upon the perfecting of weapons and armaments, and upon the invention of new sources of taxation were spent in an earnest endeavour to establish peace, we should succeed. Where the will was there the way would be found for carrying it out.

Mr. JOHN WILSON, M.P., expressed the hope that the conclusions of the Congress would have a very material effect upon the action of all the nations of the world, and that it would not be long before they saw an end of the manufacturing of implements designed merely to destroy human life.

Mr. R. A. MOULVI (of Bombay) said that no people desired peace more than his countrymen in India. There was no religion in the world which sought for peace more eagerly than Mohammedanism. There had been so many wars in Asia that the people there had only too good ground for wishing for universal concord, and he only wished a better example was set them by European nations. The Shah of Persia was very eager for peace.

The discussion was continued by M. Desmoulines, M. Jassasie, M. A. Cadot, Mr. J. Bevan Braithwaite, Mrs. Wigham, and others.

The resolutions were then carried.

Mr. DARBY announced that in consequence of communications received from the Greek Minister and M. Emil Mijalovitch, invitations for the remaining sittings of the Congress would be sent to them.

RECEPTION AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

The Lord Mayor, accompanied by the Lady Mayoress, received members of the Congress in the afternoon at the Mansion House, when besides a large number of the ordinary delegates there were present the Marquis of Bristol (Vice-President of the International Peace and Arbitration Society), the Rev. Newman Hall,

Mr. Gillett, and Mr. Hodgson Pratt. After the reception a meeting of a complimentary character took place in the Egyptian Hall, at which the Lord Mayor presided. In opening the proceedings he said he had had the privilege of presiding at a great many meetings under that roof, but he could unhesitatingly say that he had never presided with greater pleasure than upon that occasion, and for this reason—He believed there never was a gathering at the Mansion House, certainly not within his mayoralty, the objects of which were so thoroughly humanitarian and so far-reaching. He was pleased to find that their labours in the interests of peace were not restricted merely to peace between nation and nation, but that they held as a desideratum the maintenance of peace between man and man. He saw by their programme that they considered many other things—such as the sacredness of human life. He was sorry to say that the result of his observation was that in some countries the sacredness of human life was almost ignored, because if it were properly appreciated men, women, and children could not by any possibility be driven out of the countries of their birth upon any pretext whatever, save that of criminality. Their programme embraced also those whose faith lay either in the Old or New Testament, and they might search in vain in either of those religions for the slightest justification for persecuting one's fellow-creatures on the ground that they worshipped a common Creator after the fashion of their own faith. Such a persecution had been the blot upon the 19th century in regard to some countries, although it made one's breast swell with pride to think of the freedom in that respect which was accorded in England, which set an example to the world. He was glad also to think that in other nations the attempt to introduce a persecution of the Jews had been promptly quenched. He did not like to be personal, but speaking of Russia, he could only say that when we saw how Christians and Jews alike were barbarously treated there we could only blush and ask that the eyes of those who directed the fate of that country might be opened (Hear, hear).—After some remarks from Mr. Dudley Field, the Marquis of Bristol briefly addressed the Lord Mayor on the importance of the Congress, and particularly emphasised the words of Lord Bury, "That England might have many interests, but that the greatest of all those interests was peace."—M. Frederic Passy, who also spoke, said that in his opinion ever since the late Mr. Henry Richard took such a deep interest in the movement the numbers of those who believed with them in the principles of peace had been steadily increasing.—In response to a vote of thanks, steadily increasing.—In response to a vote of thanks, Mr. Gillett and seconded by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, the Lord Mayor said the Congress had a great work before it, and he hoped that God might give them strength to accomplish it.—The proceedings terminated.

THE REMARKABLE

