

CAN PERMANENT PEACE BE SECURED?

Advocate of Peace—November.

We hope that it will not be considered inappropriate if we undertake for the sympathizers with the cause of peace, so far as we may speak for them, to lay down some of the principles calculated, we believe, to insure firm and everlasting peace between nations. In so doing we feel called upon definitely to reject certain of the ideas which heretofore have controlled the international relations of States, because we recognize that the growth of intercourse between nations has rendered such theories in truth obsolete.

We deny, for example, the absolute right of any nation to determine its course of action irrespective of possible effects upon its neighbors, just as States deny such right to an individual person. We assume that a nation is a member of a common family or community, and that as such its sovereign rights, so called, must be limited by the corresponding rights of other nations. We conceive that this proposition denies to any nation the right to initiate war against another; that this be true whether there be claim of infraction of boundaries, oppression of those of common blood, affronts to honor, historical enmities, or whatever may be the real or fancied cause. From these considerations it follows that it would be as wrong internationally for a nation to attack another as it is nationally wrong for a private individual to declare blood feud against his neighbor. The restriction placed upon a nation entering into the society of nations must be that it thereby surrenders its rights to be advocate, judge, and executioner of its own policies, irrespective of who may be injured directly or indirectly by such conduct. Does not the existing world-wide distress afford an absolute demonstration of the futility of any other conclusion?

We therefore declare that with the termination of the present conflict there should be an agreement between the nations of the earth which shall preclude any nation from determining alone the righteousness of its own cause as against the interests of another nation.

We recognize in the present conflict the absolute breakdown of the theory that the strength of a nation rests upon the perfection of its military system and the development of its enginery of war. We consider that current history demonstrates that one nation's determination to base its very existence on the ability to control by arms the will of other nations leads only to a similar determination on their part. The inevitable result is simply the ultimate injury or destruction of all. Militarism, in short, defeats the very ends for which it purports to exist.

We therefore further declare that the employ-

ment of armaments by a nation should not go beyond the preservation of internal order, and that they should never be used for foreign aggression. When the fires of the present conflict are extinguished, the nations must submit at once to some plan of co-operative, collective, and radical reduction of armaments. To this plan the United States, of course, must be a party. Hence we are resolutely opposed at this time to any increase of the military or naval strength on the part of our own government, for we dare hope that in this respect, as already with regard to democratic government, the United States shall remain the leader of the world.

We recognize that the Hague Conferences, however beneficial they may have been in giving a partial sanction to the purposes of arbitration between nations, have absolutely failed in their treatment of the subject of war. This, we regretfully say, is because they have not adequately considered the views we have hereinbefore expressed, because they have regarded war between nations as the inevitable if not the legitimate expression of the assumed national will of disputants, and because they have succeeded, and that most feebly, simply in cloaking some of the savagery and brutality of international conflict.

We declare that the time is now come when the ax should be laid to the root; that hereafter no "Conference" should undertake to lay down rules aiming to "regulate" military or naval warfare. It must rather declare armed conflict to be internationally unrighteous and intolerable. It must acknowledge that it is no more possible to formulate rules for civilized warfare than it is to codify the laws of civilized piracy, civilized highway robbery, or civilized murder. No good can come from further shutting eyes to this fundamental truth.

To the end of making the views just expressed more effective, we declare that the nations of the earth should by common agreement determine to permit no international flotation of bonds for the purpose of carrying on war or procuring the means of war; that they permit under no circumstances the exportation of arms or munitions of war from one country to another; that they stamp out, as they would a plague, the manufacture or construction of munitions or vessels of war by private individuals or corporations, whether designed for national or international purposes; that, should the necessity demand it, they allow only the arming of international forces for the enforcement of international peace.

Further, to insure the abolition of international war, we declare that so long as a state of war continues the neutral nations of the earth should forbid trade with any country found guilty of indulging in war, and that they should enforce such determination internationally; that all alleged breaches of treaties should be referred to a ju-

cial body for determination, which body must be clothed with every moral sanction, and, if necessary, which we do not expect, with every physical sanction to enforce its judgment.

The ends we have in view, ambitious and far-reaching as they may seem, are simple and readily resolvable into a single proposition, which is that no nation shall have power henceforth to indulge in conduct toward another nation which would be illicit or condemnable if indulged in by one man toward his neighbor.

That nations may never again fall into the awful error destroying now the youth and hope of Europe, that there may never be another war, we solemnly call to all right-thinking people of the world for support and co-operation in the establishment and maintenance of these most important principles.

We have made bold thus to express ourselves with reference to the cause we so humbly but earnestly represent, because we would that the foundation of the new world order may be begun at once.



THESE, TOO, WERE MEN.

T. W. Mercer, in *London Labor Leader*.

These, too, were men! These corpses ranged in rows,

And piled in ghastly heaps on moor and fen;
These silent hosts we fools accounted foes,
These, too, were men!

How slow we learn! How slowly man outgrows
The traits of beasts that dwell in cave and den,
And rises o'er the brutes, his history shows.

Shall we not blush, and hang our shamed heads
when

Our rulers boast new triumphs, deadly blows,
And foemen slain, if we remember then—
These, too, were men?

BOOKS

FANCIES.

Sunlight and Shadow. By Louise W. Kneeland.
Published by Sherman, French and Co., Boston.
1914. Price, \$1.00 net.

The dedication of this volume of verse to "The Great Mother" indicates the leaning of the poet toward nature and love as expressed in a shower of titles—"Nightfall," "Winds of March," "Winds of the Hills," "June," "Winter," "Twilight," "Love's Invitation," "Love's Fulfillment," "Love's Communion," "Lovers' Vows"—and others in which we find the impassioned theme expanding in more or less original measures. Perhaps one of

the most rhythmical and common-place of these is the domestic picture painted in "The Desired":

O let me make a happy little place,

Where I can drink the comfort of your smile,
Where I can see the radiance of your face
And know that heaven has come to stay awhile.

O let me make a garden hid away

With pansies set, and pinks and gilly flowers,
When birds will sing the livelong summer day,
And shady walks allure the golden hours.

And we will have a room, where firelight falls

At dusk—where crickets chirp and winds do
moan—

In flickering lights and shadows on the wall,
While we do sit and rest, we two alone.

Ah, let us make a happy little place

For just us two, where you will softly smile
And I can see the radiance of your face

And know that heaven has come to stay awhile.

From the selfish sentiment of these stanzas one may jump to the blast of "The Oath":

Hear us, ye Damned!

By the starved child's

Pitiful cry, the sunken

Cheeks robbed of

The glowing rose;

By the short and labored

Breath, the racking pain,

The body's slow decay;

By all the agony,

Brooding in the Mother's

Heart, the muttered

Curses on the lips of men

Tortured by their helplessness,

Hear us, ye Damned!

By these, by these

We swear that we,

Who have the power,

Will use it

To bring about

The REVOLUTION!

Hear us, ye Damned!

It is not necessary to quote the second page of shuddering statements to the damned, turn to the soothing quatrain, "Brothers"—

Should you think that in some there's no virtue,

And your feeling of comradeship halts,

Believe me, the reflection won't hurt you,

That at least we're made one by our faults.

All in all, the sentiments expressed in both the "sunlight and shadow" of these prose poems may pass without criticism, for they make very forcible appeal to the higher and truer instincts of human nature, and will sustain the test of renewed reading and quotation.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*Drift and Mastery*. By Walter Lippmann. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York. 1914. Price, \$1.50 net.