

flash upon us some day like a gleam of light from the judgment throne that we are spending twenty-five times as much every year for our ships of war as we are for the extension in distant lands of that Kingdom which is an eternal Kingdom and for whose coming we daily pray. We have spent more on our last six battleships than the twenty-five leading universities and colleges of New England have been able to accumulate in their endowments by industry and sacrifice in two hundred and seventy-five years.

The light which will break forth from our missionary labors is going to light up the hollowness of the mischief-making adage, "In time of peace prepare for war." This is an adage of a pagan age and bears in its body the marks of Cæsar. It was born in a world in which every foreigner was an enemy and every stranger a foe; when throughout the world it was might which made right, and no one had ever seen the Prince of Glory. But when the leading nations of the Western world are counted Christian, and their rulers partake of the Lord's Supper, and the majority of their statesmen have been baptized into the blessed name, and the majority of influential voters have sworn allegiance to the Prince of Peace, to go on everlastingly repeating that old pagan adage is to blaspheme the name of Jesus and to block the progress of the world.

Our missionary work is also going to throw light upon the cardinal obstacle to the progress of world-evangelization. The only obstacle that blocks the cause of missions is the conduct of Christendom. Christ has said, "By their fruits you shall know them"; and Japan and China and India are all ready to judge us in that way. The most conspicuous fruit that grows on the Western tree is a twelve-inch gun. That can be seen a longer distance than a New Testament. Delegations of noblemen and princes from the distant East, when they come to visit us, do not investigate our churches to find out our methods of preaching the gospel of love; they are more interested in the manufacture of guns, and order some just like our own. If two deacons representing two prominent churches in any American city should begin some day to weight themselves down with bowie-knives and revolvers, each man adding to his collection each year a deadly weapon of the latest fashion, and if each succeeding purchase were exploited in all the newspapers, not only of that city, but of all the cities in the land, the conduct of those two deacons would nullify the message that came from the pulpits of those two churches. And when two so-called Christian nations weight themselves down with armor and anxiously number their battleships, counting up the number of their lyddite shells, and when every movement of each nation is blazoned in all the papers of the world, their conduct subtracts from the penetrating power of the message which is being proclaimed by every Christian preacher throughout the world.

The light will some day become so intense that the Christian church will be able to see what is her duty. Who knows but that some day a National Council may find its tongue and dare say something on this great question — the very greatest question in all the world! It may be that if it is not a National Council, it will be a General Assembly, or a General Synod, or a General Convention which will rush into the arena where the

statesmen are formulating their policies of international procedure, and will cry out, "I beg you go no further in this business." If the Christian church does not speak, who is going to speak? How can you expect Washington city to lead the way if the church remains dumb? America can lead as no other nation is able to lead because her entanglements are fewer and her traditions inspire her to travel the high and noble way. Some day the church is bound to grapple with this question. You cannot any more send tens of thousands of men out upon the sea to spend day after day and week after week shooting costly metal into the water, while thousands of human beings are starving on the land, and escape the slow traveling, but terrible retribution of a God who is just, than a nation can manacle the limbs of the black man without washing out its sin in blood. This vision of the missionary task is going to open the eyes of the church to the wickedness of this incessant playing with the idea of war. There are sins of such fierce malignity that even to roll them in the mind brings the soul under the dark and devastating energy of their infernal power. So long as Christian nations think of war, prepare for war, plan for war, pour out their treasures to make themselves terrible in war, fill their papers and magazines with pictures of the deadliest instruments of war, spend two billion, five hundred million dollars every year upon their armies and their navies, so long will the heart of Christendom be cold to the appeal of Jesus, and the hand of Christendom be paralyzed in its effort to accomplish the work which Christ has given us to do.

There have been three historic scourges, famine, pestilence and war. Commerce has slain the first. With her ships and money she has made it impossible for vast populations to starve to death. Pestilence has been overcome by science. With her antitoxines she has strangled the deadliest of the bacilli, and a dozen historic pestilences lie dead at her feet. The last enemy is war. Who will say to war: "Where is thy sting, O war? Where is thy victory?" Commerce cannot kill it. As Richard Cobden used to say, "Commerce is dangerous." Science cannot kill it. The war bacillus is beyond the reach of her most potent antitoxine. If left to herself, science only whets the sword to a sharper edge. Who, then, is going to kill war? Christianity can kill it. Christianity must kill it. Christianity will kill it. It will do it by Christians bearing witness to the Prince of Peace in Jerusalem, in Judea, in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.

Women and International Peace.*

BY THE BARONESS VON SUTTNER.

My dear Sisters: It is not the cause of women but that of humanity of which I wish to talk with you. Not *because* we are women, but *although* we are women, ought we to take this great political and thoroughly social question into the circle of our thought and activity.

It is not at all fitting that an entire half of human society should stand by, without understanding, without participation and coöperation, when this society is attempting to deliver itself from a state which is still in many respects barbarous and bring it into a higher condition, which is important alike for both sexes.

*This letter was made public at the time of the Stockholm Peace Congress.

This transformation means passing from violence to law, from brutality to gentleness, from slavery to freedom, from mutual injury to mutual helpfulness.

In this transformation, my dear sisters, our coöperation is needed. In view of our equality with men, yet to be won and indeed already half won, and in view of our qualities as women, we are called to hasten the elevation of the social status and the development of a higher and more fortunate type of human being.

But let us leave generalities aside and look directly at the ideals and tasks which are suggested for the modern woman by the subject, "Women and International Peace."

Thirty years ago, even twenty years ago, the apostles of the peace cause could turn to women with the pathetic appeal: "You mothers, wives, brides, who must sacrifice to the Moloch of war that which is dearest to you, you who are tender of heart and cannot endure the sight of suffering, associate yourselves with the movement against war, work upon your sons in their training, or upon those by whom you are loved and whom you have chosen, that horrid war may be disowned and gentle peace promoted — work for tenderness and reconciliation, rule as priestesses of humanity, and in this way aid the friends of peace who are laboring for the institution of arbitration for the adjustment of future controversies between nations."

This appeal was addressed to all women, the educated and the uneducated, the women of the higher classes and the women of the people. It was not made to their political insight nor to their social understanding, but only to their feeling and their heart.

At that time things were very different from what they are to-day. The peace movement as well as the woman's movement was at a very different stage of development. The ideal of international peace was then only an ideal, that is, a pure theory, a "pious wish," and it was believed that the goal could best be approached by rousing in the soul a horror of war. Therefore women, especially mothers, who even in Roman times were recognized as "haters of war," were asked to give their hatred for it open expression.

To-day the peace movement — although the greater portion of the people of our time do not know it — has long ago passed out of the realm of the idea into that of deeds. It has built itself up into a widely-branching organization, it has entered the political sphere, it can point to positive practical results and its future way to the goal is clearly marked out. The grounds upon which it supports itself, the lines of argument which it employs, root in social and economic laws. Without sacrificing any of its high ethical character, it operates with the instruments which are at hand and adapts itself to the newly recognized truths. In a word, modern pacifism has become a science; and science need not appeal to sentiment: what it employs is free, unprejudiced investigation, and it then carries its conclusions into practical realization.

That the science of peace has to-day created institutions through which its demands may be realized, and in part have already been realized, should be known to every one who follows the chain of current events. The Hague Conferences, the Hague Tribunal (which recently averted the war threatened by the Casablanca conflict), the Bureau of the American Republics (for the adjustment of all future differences in the New World),

the numerous arbitration treaties, the *ententes*, the Inter-parliamentary Union, — these and many others are things of which some years ago just as little could be foreseen as of the aeroplanes which fly over canals, and they are the visible results of the applied science of pacifism.

In these past decades the position of woman also has greatly changed; she has become a participant and co-worker in many spheres which were formerly reserved for men, and she is now on the point of winning for herself the right to the political field. She no longer shrinks from the study of medicine or of jurisprudence. She is seeking also the right to vote and hold office, that she may be able by her counsel to assist in directing political relations both interior and exterior.

Thus it is entirely opportune, if one asks of women to-day to take their part in the peace movement, to make appeal to their scientific and social-political insight.

We pacifists — whether men or women — desire of women, whose help is so indispensable, that they will first of all learn to understand the cause, and that they will with their understanding put themselves at its service. Feeling cannot be relied on. Whoever has no understanding of the goal of pacifism, and hence holds it to be unattainable, will suppress the natural feeling, and, if occasion arises, will, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, shout for a war which is considered necessary and for the good of the fatherland. Of such spirit of heroism in women, beginning with the Spartan mothers, history has many stories to relate.

The two greatest hindrances in the way of the establishment of a system of international justice are, on the one side, the activity of military circles and of all war interests, and, on the other, the passivity of those who doubt the possibility of the abolition of war, who believe that what has always been must always continue to be. Out of this conception arises indifference and apathy toward our movement, and — well this second kind of opposition is the most effective, and the greatest portion of it is furnished by women. In my propaganda work I have much oftener among women than among men come upon this passive opposition, which expresses itself in words uttered with deep sighs and pathetic resignation: "Ah, it would be so beautiful, but it cannot be."

But should they not, in justification of their judgment, and before they have formed a judgment, take pains to inform themselves? In questions of chemistry or astronomy or electricity they do not form final opinions unless they have studied these subjects. Do they suppose that, in such a complicated matter as the organization of the common life of the nations, one can form a judgment without first possessing the necessary information?

The most pressing request, therefore, which I would like to make of the great masses of women is this: Put the peace question on the list of your studies. It is for the welfare of coming humanity the most weighty subject possible. Women who are working in clubs, the "fighting" women, those who, as they are contending for their own rights, stand for right in general, should in all their assemblies and congresses and programs entrust a section of their numbers with the investigation of the peace question, in so far as they are not already connected with the great world league of women which extends over

America and Europe, whose head at the present time is Lady Aberdeen.

In recent years it has happened that on the departure of troops for far-away battlefields women have opposed the placing of their husbands and sons on ships or cars, wailing and calling to them as they departed or throwing themselves on the tracks. This happened when the Italians were sent off to Eritrea, the Russians to Manchuria and the Spaniards to Riff. That signifies a deep and growing aversion to war — an aversion which must be felt by the husbands also; for if they departed with joy and enthusiasm, or even without open pain, the women would not have the courage to resist, or would be thrust aside by their husbands themselves. This is looked after by the officers, and so their demonstrations of despair are of no use to the poor wives, except in the case of Eritrea, where the dispatch of the troops was not in fact carried out. But of how much use will it be when once women, intelligent ones, shall sit in the councils of the nations and help to create those laws and institutions which will put obligatory arbitration in the place of international wars and "peaceful penetration" in place of colonial expeditions.

But we have not got that far yet. Much before these political demands of women shall be realized women can, through their influence on the process of development, do effective work for international peace, provided, of course, that they have gained a clear conception not only of the possibility, but also of the necessity, of such a change.

The change is necessary, because the technical inventions of recent times, with their improvement in the means of interchange, have created such an interdependence of the nations that wars have henceforth become an anachronism, aside from the fact that the "improvement" (as if evil could ever be improved!) of the instruments of wholesale slaughter have rendered the wars of the future an inconceivable hell and preparation for their industrial ruin. Whatever will live must be capable of adaptation. Human society, if it is not to go to the wall, will be obliged to adapt itself morally to the physically changed conditions of civilization. And that it is doing. The moral "dignity" of war is gone. Militarism supports itself only in a superficial way, by pretending that it is the protector of peace.

But you must not misunderstand me, dear sisters. Though I appeal chiefly to your intelligence, I do not wish to see feeling put out of the count. On the basis of the understanding it will unfold all the more. I should not wish women, while contending for new rights, to renounce their natural right to show their love and sympathy for mankind. These feelings they must exercise with double energy in their struggle against war. The "new woman" must not exhibit sharpness and hardness of heart; she must not lose the special feminine virtues, but turn them in as a part of the common possession of the new society.

There is a special manifestation of woman's tenderness which is accustomed to manifest itself whenever a war threatens. As soon as a conflict reaches that stage when war becomes probable, the suffering sympathy of women begins at once to express itself in preparations for relief work. Committees are formed for promoting the Red Cross. The ladies, especially those of the higher circles,

get up meetings and divide up the work. On all sides the cry is heard: "It is a great misfortune, but I am determined to go as a nurse to the seat of war." This was the case a year ago in Vienna, when from moment to moment it was expected that war with Servia would break out.

This is joy in strength and indeed joy in the noblest among the forces, goodness. Against a misfortune which has not yet broken out and which is avoidable should all efforts be directed, not to lessen it, but to prevent it altogether. And such a misfortune is always avoidable; that has here been made evident. Wars are the results of human purpose. Emperor Francis Joseph did not wish this war, nor did the European powers wish it, and the danger of war was avoided. For this blessed be the gray-haired monarch; and if any woman of his circle strengthened him in his purpose to preserve peace, then blessings be upon both of them.

Great power over the destinies of peoples still to-day remains in the hands of the great ones of this earth. Later this power will pass over to the democracy, but it is exercised still in large measure by potentates. Hence, in the transition period the moment is most opportune for the queens and princesses to unite in a league for the support of the peace movement. If only one would make the beginning, nearly all would follow. To ameliorate war — from this merciful task no woman any longer turns away. The noble task of preventing it, the intelligent and enlightened among them would find joy in fulfilling.

But let us not build upon others. Although others may be more powerful, every single one of us, beloved sisters, can at her post, however humble that may be, contribute her mite to the great work, if she is only thoroughly convinced of the worth of the cause.

The most beautiful symbol of noble womanhood seems to me to be portrayed in that picture of a Madonna, who, with soft, clear eyes lifted toward heaven, is treading down with her tender foot a dragon. Had the artist foreseen that some day our sex would be privileged, with all its acquired gentleness and dignity, to take part in the destruction of the most deadly scourge which threatens the welfare of mankind — war?

Militarism as a Cause of the High Cost of Living.

*From the Report of the Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living, 1910.**

In weighing the causes that have contributed to increase the cost of living, this commission is convinced that a most far-reaching influence in creating, fostering and perpetuating high prices is militarism, with its incidents of war and waste and its consequences in taxation. The three great wars of the last decade and a half — the British-Boer, the Spanish-American and the Russo-Japanese — took millions of men out of the productive activities of our civilization into the wasteful activities of warfare, diverted the energies of other millions from useful industry in shop and mill and farm, and transferred their skill and labor to the production of war equipment, material, food and supplies for the armies in the field.

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