

fronting the army of Evil, victorious as it may seem, a sacred and invincible army of Good, which keeps Society from falling to pieces and progress from ceasing.

I am no Elijah, I admit, and my lips have not been touched with a burning coal of fire. Nevertheless, like Elijah, I have despaired—despaired at seeing the outbreak of violence and greed once more sweeping over the world. I asked myself whether, after all, man's quest of truth and justice has not been in vain, and then I felt that just as I was about to leave this world I was also about to cease to hope for the future. I revived, however, when I saw the ardent and vigorous protests and the many appeals for unity and concord, which came in from all parts, from France, England, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and even Italy—that Italy to which we are all so much attached and whose backsliding we all so deeply lament.

Now, convinced that Baal will not have the last word, and trusting to that chosen few, who are never absent from our midst and by whom the world is always saved at last, let me say once more, before I go hence, to all my friends and fellow-workers: Whatever may betide, do not lose heart. To you is entrusted the guardianship of Truth, Justice and Love. Ignorance and Hate shall not prevail against you.

WHY WE ARE NOT DISCOURAGED.

By the Baroness BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

The personality of the authoress of the touching novel "Lay Down your Arms", which has been translated into every language and read by all classes, is so well known, that we need here only gratefully acknowledge that she was one of the very first to accede to our appeal by becoming a contributor to our new Review. By her untiring efforts and her numerous writings, Baroness von Suttner may be said to have done in the struggle against war what Mrs. Beecher-Stowe, in "Uncle Tom's Cabin", did in the struggle against slavery.

The war in Tripoli, the revolution in China, the many rumours of war between England and Germany, Italy and Austria, besides other circumstances, are causing the enemies of peace to rejoice and be exceeding glad. For some time past communications, some derisive, others in the form of letters of condolence, have been pouring in upon me, in ever-increasing numbers. The former scornfully enquire:—"What about your peace ideas now? Do you see

now how ridiculous you are?"; while the burden of the latter is "How painful it must be for you and your friends, my dear lady, to see your beautiful illusions so cruelly shattered. It may be sad, but it is nevertheless true, that war is a law of history, while your ideals remain mere ideals. You will now have perforce to bow before realities, and trim the sails of the Peace boat to the wind of stern Fact."

True, there is no use in setting sail in an ill-manned boat against a rising storm and tossing waves. But the analogy is not exact. The ideal of peace is not like a boat, but like a rock, against which the waves may dash and round which they may seethe and foam, but yet it does not yield. Without further beating about the bush, therefore, I will proceed to reply to my correspondents, and do my best to make them understand the point of view of the Peace party as regards the present international situation.

First and foremost, we frankly admit that we have been mistaken—not as to our principles, but in our estimate of the level of civilisation to which the world in general had attained. We thought there was a far more widespread desire for justice as between one nation and another, and a far deeper abhorrence of despotism than appears to be the case. But that war is at present being waged between two Powers does not prove the falsity of the beliefs held by the peace party. It merely proves that the truth of these beliefs has been insufficiently realised either by the nations themselves or by their leaders, or by both; and that the Peace movement is not yet powerful enough, either as regards its propaganda, its organisation, or in any other respect, to overthrow the deep-seated forces of ancient despotism. At any rate it has not been strong enough to overthrow them as soon as we once hoped to have done, and as, indeed, we had some reason to hope we might have done, especially after the establishment of the Hague Tribunal. In other words, we have erred and gone astray, but not, I repeat, in doctrine, only in imagining our beliefs to be far more generally accepted than they have proved to be in the light of experience.

Certain truths, war notwithstanding, remain unchanged. Their appeal to the reason is as strong as ever; their influence for good as great; and this is so no matter how much these truths may be fought by Governments, by the Press, or by schools, the three

mightiest engines of human folly. As such truths I should instance the following:—

1. That civilisation is merely another word for the suppression of brute force.
2. That nations are already oppressed, and eventually will be crushed out of existence, by the burden of armaments.
3. That it is as desirable to put inter-State relations upon a footing of law, as it has always been found to be to put relations between individuals, families, races, towns and provinces on a legal footing; and that it is no more difficult to do so in the one case than in the other.
4. That the abolition of war as a legally recognised institution would be of inestimable benefit to all mankind, alike from the material and the moral standpoint.

The friends of Peace, therefore, refuse to give up any of the fundamental principles on which their doctrine is based; and it goes without saying that they will similarly refuse to abandon their attempt to save the world from destruction by war. So long as they have hands to war and fingers to fight, they will continue the struggle. If they are unequal to it, who will be to blame? Not they, but the millions of their fellowmen, who, although in their inmost hearts probably desiring peace, nevertheless turn with contempt or indifference from those who work for it, instead of lending them at least such support as comes from the weight of numbers. I repeat, that if the friends of peace are beaten in their struggle, the responsibility therefor will lie with those who, blind to all results achieved, deaf to all reasoning, persistently ignored the value of their work, throwing suspicion on it and misrepresenting it, instead of bestowing on it their support and approval, and endeavouring to win it new converts. Great changes can, of course, never come about rapidly, but it is just at such times as the present, times of general upheaval and menacing danger, that the conflict between old and new ideals must be carried on more vigorously than ever. •

One contention of the peace party, as steadfastly maintained by them as it has been steadfastly denied by their opponents, has been proved true during the last few months; and that is, that wars may be engineered by highly placed personages, and brought about without either the nations concerned or their representatives or any of their intellectual leaders having been for one moment consulted.

Whatever has thus been decided upon is then immediately approved by a chorus of servile journalists, and, if only it be sufficiently sensational, hailed with delight by the man in the street. Any subject of either of the combatant nations who protests against such things being done is at once branded as a traitor, while all protests from other countries are ascribed to envy, intrigue, or malevolence.

What an excellent thing it would be if in every country there were a Ministry of Peace, whose business it was to act in the interests of peace, and to which the section of public opinion anxious to avert a war or bring to an end one already begun, might apply in order to secure a hearing. And how excellent a thing it would be, also, if there were but an independent daily press, with a high moral tone, and fully conscious not only of its powers but also of its responsibilities. What might not such a press do to prevent wars and discords, especially by teaching men to look fairly at both sides of all disputed questions. The power of the press, indeed, is infinite for leading nations first into the way of peace and thence along the upward path of civilisation.

Contemporary events, it is true, show that our ideas do not yet prevail, but they do not show any flaws or inconsistencies in them, for there are none. In this new age of great progress in technical inventions, especially of engines of wholesale destruction; of increasingly strong ties of solidarity between nation and nation; of the ever increasing economic interdependence of one people upon another; and of the ever higher moral demands made on man by his fellow man, the military system has already been outgrown, and every day it is becoming more and more out of date. Such are our contentions; and their force is by no means weakened by recent events on the world's stage.

Those who fight for the maintenance of eternal principles, or champion ideals, the realisation of which they know cannot come at once, will never allow themselves either to be led astray in their beliefs or deterred from their efforts because for the time being error may happen to be rampant, the more particularly when they remember that that error has been handed down by a past when it was even more powerful than now. Soon all civilised nations will have so many interests in common that the substitution of legal

justice for military force will be a matter of sheer necessity. The Peace movement, therefore, is no mere outcome of fantastic dreams divorced from all reality, but the impulse towards self-preservation which is at the root of every advance in civilisation.

CHARLES RICHEL: THE FABULIST OF PEACE.

By J. ERNEST-CHARLES.

"Freedom by Truth". This the motto of M. J. Ernest-Charles, the well known author of "Les Samedis Littéraires" and "La Littérature d'Aujourd'hui". To this motto the eminent critic is ever faithful, whether he happens to be saying in his books what he thinks of the merits and defects of such and such an author, or whether he be criticising the works of some prominent author for *Le Gil-Blas*, *Excelsior*, or *La Grande Revue*. He both amuses while he instructs, and instructs while he amuses. The spoiled children of fortune say that he is "very cruel". True, he is cruel, but so gracefully, so wittily cruel, and with such a strong admixture of good sense in his cruelty. M. Ernest-Charles will be heartily welcomed as a contributor to this Review, and we hope that all who read his articles will forget that their writer has sharp claws, with which on occasion he can scratch, and will abandon themselves wholly to the charm of that gentle persuasiveness with which he would lead us towards Peace.

We used to have La Fontaine, who was good. Now we have Richet, who is better. Chamfort has said that La Fontaine "was not the poet of heroic deeds, but of every day life and ordinary common sense." But M. Charles Richet, who, coming as he did rather late into a very old world, has also wished to try his hand at writing fables, is a bold thinker, always athirst for fresh knowledge, the forerunner of many an invention, a prophet, a writer of short stories and Greek tragedies, a poet and an apostle; and in his fables he has preached peace to all who will lend him their ears.

Frank and generous by nature, in his charming fables every new aspiration of the day finds expression. They teach, preach, and have a moral, but above all else they aim at serving some purpose, for M. Charles Richet, if a fabulist, is also a man, a father, and a citizen of the twentieth, perhaps I should say of the twenty-first century, in short a citizen of the world.

Being gentleness itself, he does not incite to revolt against the established order of things. Rather would he wish to see human beings in general forgiving and tolerating one another. In all undertakings he counsels prudence. Ambition he will not allow, for life, he maintains, has a purpose nobler than success. Above all he preaches the doctrine of work and its ennobling power—an old, but ever new idea.