

. . . *Two hundred million dollars* is to be asked for the army and navy for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1901, and the naval construction board is preparing plans for forty warships in addition to those now under construction. There is no tendency to militarism in the country! No! no! It is all a bugaboo of the imagination!

. . . The special commissioners appointed by the governments of Nicaragua and Honduras to fix the boundary between the two states, a matter long in dispute, have concluded their work in a manner satisfactory to both governments.

. . . Dr. James L. Barton, one of the secretaries, said at the meeting of the American Board in St. Louis that, whatever the immediate outcome of the Chinese troubles may be, the ultimate "outcome will be, not the heightened power of Russia or Germany, not the greater glory of England or America, but the deliverance and evangelization of China's millions, the prevalence of the Kingdom of God in all that populous oriental world."

Out of the Depths.

BY MARGARET E. CANON.

Lord God of hosts, Thou art
A God of peace,
From all the woes of war,
O send release.
We cannot trace Thy hand
In this dark war,
For sin and cruelty
Thou dost abhor.
Lord, Thou canst sin defeat
In every form;
Canst still the wind and wave,
Control the storm.
Thou canst reach forth Thine hand
And quell all strife,
Out of the depths of death
Bring hope and life.
And so we come, O Lord,
In this dark hour,
And pray Thee manifest
Thy mighty power,
And o'er all the earth
Bid warfare cease.
Out of the depths we cry
To Thee—for peace.

— Selected.

Slow Evolution.

BY THE BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

From La Fronde, Paris, Oct. 6.

For some time my mail has been bringing me, in increasing numbers, letters of ridicule and letters of condolence.

"Well, madame, your great idea of universal peace—what has become of it? Immediately following the Hague Conference came this fine South African war, and now the Chinese imbroglio! You must confess that in these matters the peacemakers are playing a queer rôle!"

Or, in a tone of compassion:

"How you must be pained, madam, you and your

friends, to see your illusions so cruelly dissipated! It is certainly very sad. But you must make up your minds to bear it: your bark has gone to wreck!"

Of course, one cannot drive a feeble bark against a raging sea. But the figure is false. The peace movement is not properly symbolized by a bark, but by a rock, which is not shaken even though it is submerged by the waves. Yes, it is true, we have been deceived; but not in the principles which we have enunciated: we have been deceived in our estimate of the moral level of our contemporaries. We thought that the conscience of the world was possessed of a more ardent aspiration after international justice, with a deeper aversion to the reign of violence, than is the case.

But the events in question prove absolutely nothing against our movement. They prove only that this movement has not yet the organization, the development and the means of action which it ought to have. The truths which we teach are none the less true; the results attained are none the less positive; nor have we for a single instant given up our efforts. We shall continue our struggle to the very last moment, to turn aside the danger with which the world is threatened. Is it our fault if we are too weak to succeed? Is it not rather the fault of those millions of our contemporaries who, in their heart of hearts, desire to attain the same end, but who turn away with indifference, if not raillery, from those who are laboring for its realization, instead of giving them the support of their public adherence? The blame belongs to those who, even where the peace movement has already obtained brilliant success,—as in the case of the convocation and the conventions of the Hague Conference,—do nothing but cast suspicion and vituperation upon the work, instead of exerting themselves to strengthen it by encouraging those who are sincere and constraining those who are not.

Great evolutions, of course, can work themselves out only slowly; but it is precisely in the days of violent disturbances and threatening dangers, such as we are now passing through, that the contest between the new ideas and the old prejudices ought to be pushed forward with greater rapidity. Now, when the spirit of violence is manifesting itself with so much insolence, one might expect the partisans of right to fall into solid line; one might hope for the arraying of men of conscience in a crusade for deliverance from the scourge of immorality in politics.

Is this too high an estimate of the spirit of the time? The philosopher Kant said that "man cannot have too high an opinion of man." It is better to make a mistake in this direction than to err on the side of the same indifference and the same skepticism of which we accuse others.

The events which are taking place at the present moment, far from proving that our theories are fallacious, furnish rather an illustration, an experimental demonstration, of their truth. The Transvaal war has shown what disproportion exists in our days between the possible profits of a war and its certain losses. Let us look at the conqueror's bill. England has lost fifty thousand of her sons, in the flower of their age and strength. She has used up sixty million pounds sterling of the national fortune. She has forfeited the esteem and sympathy of

the rest of the civilized world, and she has put in jeopardy what was her most priceless prerogative, liberty. Liberty of opinion has been abolished. Those have been stoned who dared to express about the war a different opinion from that of the government. As to individual liberty, the spectre of conscription is already seen lifting its head. The character of the people has been brutalized by the awakening of the selfish passions. The results of half a century of popular education have been destroyed by the fever of war. Instead of the tunnel which ought to be built under the Channel, forts are being erected at Dover. India is being devastated by famine, and the sums which might have saved human lives have been employed in destroying them. And the end has not yet been reached. For in modern war, as Mr. de Bloch has demonstrated in his masterful work, decisive battles are no longer fought, even with forces so disproportionate. The reports of Sir Coutts to Parliament have disclosed the horrible condition of the sick and wounded in Africa, and these facts are an illustration of what the friends of peace urge with the greatest emphasis, namely, that the present means of destruction are such that no proper sanitary service is possible.

As to the Chinese conflict, it presents an illustration of another aspect of our plan. Let us leave aside the fact that the awakening of hatred against the "white devils" may be attributed to a series of acts of injustice which have been committed against China. Let us take into account only the actual situation, the disorder, the horrors, the massacres. Evidently, such a state of affairs cannot be straightened out by arbitration and cannot be endured with peaceful serenity. In this case our adversaries seem to be right. "You see, don't you?" they say to us, "that there are cases where war is unavoidable; therefore, we must always be prepared for it. Are you now convinced? Are you not embarrassed to find an answer?"

Not at all. Our answer is: "As an organized state has need of a constabulary to execute the verdicts of the judges, to arrest brigands and madmen, to disperse mobs who are hurling stones and burning houses, to defend the weak and the persecuted against the abuses of the strong, so the confederation of civilized states would have need of an armed force for the maintenance of international justice. But the force which is employed in the service of right is very different from that which designates as right whatever it wishes to do. And for this international police there would be no need of forces numbering millions."

The Chinese conflict has forced the civilized powers to enter upon the path which the peace party suggested for their free acceptance, namely, union, the foregoing of their rival interests (interests for the most part wrongly understood) in the name of their common interest. Mechanically, spontaneously, an international force has been formed. The possibility of such a force, constantly denied by our adversaries, has thus been proved by an accomplished fact. The natural evolution of societies impels them towards solidarity. What has been the work of events might have been accomplished by the initiative of reason, and would thus have rested upon more solid bases. There is little confidence in this passing and accidental concert. It is predicted that this

same Chinese conflict, out of which has come a union among the powers, will produce discord among them, and thus bring on the great European conflagration, the much-talked-of war of to-morrow.

And here again the skeptics are against us. Agreement? Union? Nonsense! At the first opportunity it will go to pieces. No power will permit an advantage to others. As soon as the campaign is over, or even before, the opposition of interests will make itself felt and the great war will break out.

Yes, it will break out, unless for the settlement of the ultimate differences a tribunal shall be established to which it shall be agreed in advance to submit them. But this is a new proof of the necessity of the creation of such a tribunal. And the regrettable fact that it is not yet in operation proves absolutely nothing against the possibility of instituting and rendering it efficient. Furthermore, its foundations have already been laid at The Hague. People take pleasure in ignoring this fact. The militarists feel how thoroughly this institution will undermine their system, and they would like to bury it in silence.

If there were in existence a system of international justice, of international morality, whose maintenance were recognized as of supreme interest to the confederated states, as is the case in communities, then the international police would always be sufficiently strong to prevent or to punish the isolated crimes of criminals among the states.

Recent events have confirmed another of the affirmations of the friends of peace, namely, that wars are made at the good pleasure of certain of the mighty of the earth without waiting to consult the peoples, the parliaments, the wise in spirit. What is decided upon in the seats of authority and worked out in cabinets appears suddenly as an accomplished fact. A servile press approves it, and the populace acclaims it. Ah! how urgent the necessity of creating in every country a ministry of peace, an official center, where the interests of peace might be defended and where the portion of public opinion which protests against war might be able to make itself heard! How urgent also the action of an independent press, conscious of the duty which its power imposes on it, the duty of directing the public in the path of conciliation, of union, of the just appreciation of the two sides of a dispute, in a word, in the path of peace, which alone is worthy of a civilized humanity! What occurs is exactly the contrary: all countries have their "yellow press," which is a veritable factory of discord.

To sum it all up, the events which are taking place, without offering the least proof that the plan of the friends of peace is incomplete or contradictory, demonstrate that it has not yet been applied. That is all.

PARIS, October 5.

The Appeal of the Peace Congress to the Nations.

The Ninth Universal Congress of the Peace Societies of the world, met at Paris from the 30th of September to the 5th of October, desires, before closing its labors, to make an appeal to public opinion and set forth the results of its deliberations. The Congress has made the