

Second Business Session.

Wednesday Morning, October 5, 1904.

The President called the Congress to order at 10 o'clock.

Mr. Mead moved that the following messages of greeting be cabled from this Congress to Europe :

To Frederic Passy, Paris: The International Peace Congress, at the largest and most hopeful session in its history, greets its grand old man, who has fought the good fight and kept the faith from the day of small things to the day of great things.

To Hodgson Pratt, London: The International Peace Congress in Boston, the greatest Peace Congress which has ever met, remembers you with gratitude and honor, and rejoices that you are present in spirit.

To Elie Ducommun, Berne: The Thirteenth International Peace Congress of one thousand members sends you its greetings and its heartfelt thanks for the years of efficient and untiring service which have brought such noble things to pass.

To Andrew Carnegie, Skibo Castle, Scotland: The International Peace Congress in Boston, the largest and most confident ever assembled, gratefully greets the builder of the Temple of Peace at The Hague and the generous and earnest worker for the world's just and rational organization.

The motion was unanimously adopted, and the messages accordingly sent from the Congress.

The President, who was obliged to be absent during the session, then called the Hon. Albert K. Smiley to the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Secretary Trueblood has some telegrams which he will now present.

Dr. Trueblood here presented a large number of telegrams and messages of greeting to the Congress, including a cablegram from Sir Thomas Barclay of London. These are all given or summarized by titles with other messages at the end of the account of the first business session.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask Dr. Trueblood, who knows her so well, to introduce the Baroness von Suttner, who has just arrived from Europe.

DR. TRUEBLOOD: It gives me great pleasure this morning to welcome to our Congress and to present to you the distinguished lady from Austria who has perhaps done more for the cause of international peace than any other living woman. [Applause.] I very

much doubt if any man in any country can claim superiority over her in this regard. [Applause.] At the Hague Conference she had the honor of being the only woman invited to be present at the opening session. You have all heard of her great story, "Lay Down Your Arms," which has had such a powerful influence on European thought. This book has had large sales in this country; it has been translated into nearly all the languages of Western Europe; it has already gone through about thirty editions in German, and is probably more popular and more widely circulated to-day than ever before. She was the founder fourteen years ago of the Austrian Society of the Friends of Peace, which has done much for the promotion of the cause in that country. She has attended nearly all the Peace Congresses in Europe, and has wielded through both her speech and her writings a powerful influence in the changing of European public opinion.

The Baroness has honored us by accepting the invitation extended to her on behalf of the friends of peace in this country to be present at this Congress, and we assure her that during the month which she proposes to stay in the United States she will be welcomed everywhere she goes.

It gives me great pleasure to present to the Thirteenth International Peace Congress the Baroness Bertha von Suttner of Vienna, who will take a few minutes to extend to us the greetings of her society and her fellow workers in the Austrian Empire. [Applause.]

RESPONSE OF THE BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am quite overwhelmed by this hearty reception, and I do not know in what terms I can thank you.

Owing to unforeseen impediments I have been late in joining this Congress, and I deeply regret that I was not present at its opening. But better late than never [applause], and I am glad that I have been able to come at all and to bring you the greetings of the societies I represent.

First of all, I bring you the greetings of the Vienna Society of Peace, which has existed now for ten years and has been growing every year. Many of our friends would have liked to come, but the circumstances did not permit it, and so they have conferred the honor upon me of representing the whole society, to which many prominent persons in Austria belong.

Then I am the delegate of the Society of Peace of Hungary. I bring a message, too, from the Academical Peace Society of the University of Vienna.

I wish I could express how elated I feel to find myself here among many old friends, and let me hope amongst a few new friends, too [applause], in so distant a part of the world. It makes one feel conscious of the happy fact that our movement is encircling the

world, the New and the Old. The New World, I know well, was the cradle of the movement; and after all I have heard and seen in the few minutes that I have had the happiness to be among you, I can well believe that the New World may also bring its crowning work.

These were the thoughts which gladdened my voyage over the ocean; and one good feature of that voyage certainly also was that a few days elapsed without news from the outside of what is going on in this sad world, and without hearing from those interesting moves on the checkerboard in the Far East where the play means death and unutterable suffering to thousands of our fellow creatures, and where horrors so ghastly and of such gigantic proportions are being perpetrated that one feels ashamed to be a citizen of our present world. [Applause.]

But I dare not detain you longer from your work, which means the prevention of such horrors, and I only ask your permission to join you. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: It gives me great pleasure to present to you Rabbi J. Leonard Levy of Pittsburg, Pa., who will say a few words in the name of his people.

RESPONSE OF RABBI J. LEONARD LEVY, D. D.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: A few moments ago the Chairman of this meeting asked me if I would bring to this Congress a word of greeting from the people to whose religious faith I belong. I could not resist both the honor and the temptation to say a word to this very distinguished body, a word both of congratulation and a word of the deepest gratitude for the work in which you are engaged. For if there is one people above all peoples to whom the cause of peace is sacred and is to-day bringing a message of hope, it is the people of Israel. [Applause.]

Twenty-six hundred years ago the prophet of Israel dreamed a dream, which as far as human civilization will permit has become realized in the Congress now in session in Boston. He said: "In the fullness of time swords shall be turned into plow shares and spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

It may be that in his day that man was obscure, unknown, regarded as one of the faddists or cranks of his time. But faddist or crank, it is his thought, his hope, his ideal which has been the means of bringing about the Thirteenth International Peace Congress.

I desire this morning as a Jew, as an Englishman by birth, as an American by adoption, and above all, as a human being [applause], as a man to emphasize what Sherman meant when he said, "War is hell." He did n't begin to depict properly the monstrosity of the evil. War is fratricide; war is the murder of brother by brother.

If there is one message which has come to us from the Good Book

It abolished cannibalism and infanticide, but some fatal blunder brought about warfare between the natives and ourselves,—warfare which is now deplored by all of us alike. We are all one people now.

It may have been thought that we had gained enough bitter experience to keep us out of any further warfare; but the war in South Africa kindled anew the flames that were seemingly dead in our lovely islands. Our young men pressed forward in contingent after contingent. Our horses were sent away by thousands. Some of our boys were killed, some died lingeringly by enteric fever, some returned home to live out as best they could their altered lives. The country is still divided as to the issues of the whole miserable affair. We have fortifications all around our coast; we have battleships; and in nearly every school there is compulsory military drill; but there are many sorrowful homes which once were glad. The farmers, last harvest, complained they could not get suitable labor, and everywhere from north to south our beautiful houses are made desolate. We learn that in South Africa affairs are even worse. A friend of mine went over recently to South Africa, intending to make her home there, but quickly returned to New Zealand. And so these conditions lead to a growing realization of the futility of warfare. The love of peace for its own sake is becoming more and more freely expressed among us.

I should, perhaps, also say a word about the National Council of the Women of New Zealand, which I have the honor to represent here. That Council has stood for peace and arbitration since its first inception. Year after year it endeavors to inculcate a better public opinion by addresses and debates on peace and arbitration. It may be asserted that it is doing excellent service in that respect. At every annual meeting it pleads for the gradual, simultaneous and proportionate reduction of armaments, and urges arbitration as the only rational mode of settling disputes, in national as well as in private affairs.

Within our own bounds New Zealand has proved the efficacy of arbitration. We have industrial tribunals that settle every disagreement between employers and employees, so that for about ten years boycotts, strikes and lockouts have been unknown in our land. Any intelligent community which has thus realized the benefits of arbitration in its personal matters must in course of time logically give extension of that principle to all its relations with the world. Thus, in the remotest section of the British empire, as in this vast republic, the spirit of the new era, the spirit of brotherhood, the spirit of love is assuming definite guidance.

The Baroness von Suttner was next introduced and spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE BARONESS VON SUTTNER.

Mrs. President, and my dear American Sisters and Brothers: I have been requested to speak of the responsibilities and duties of women in this cause. I have been very deeply impressed by various things

that I have heard and seen in the short stay that I have had in America — very short, for I arrived only this morning after a journey of twelve days from my own country. Still, what I have heard and seen has so deeply impressed me that I cannot restrain the desire of giving some expression to it.

This country is the cradle of the peace movement. I knew it long ago, but what I begin to realize now is to what depth and height it has grown among you, to what breadth it is expanding. Its work is fervently done on moral grounds and on scientific grounds by prominent men and earnest women. The women, especially, form a feature peculiar to you, for on the European continent the work of the women in the peace movement is not so strong as here. It is often, I might say, very weak. I have not found that on the platform where women unite to fight for their rights and for their ideals, the peace cause has been made so prominent as it has here. The International Council of Women have made this the chief subject of their propaganda, but that Council was founded in America and by an American woman. I am sorry the president of the Council, who was to have been here, is absent, and I wish to send her, from our assembly, the expression of our regret not to have her here and of our esteem for her work.

At the great congress in Berlin last June, a whole session was devoted to the peace cause, but this was not the work of the European society. It was the work, again, of our dear Mrs. Sewall. You know by the reports what a great sensation she produced, owing to her peculiar charm and the eloquence with which she pleaded for the noble cause that ought to be the bond between our sex over the whole world, — ought to be but is not, I am sorry to say, nor can we well expect it to be. Women represent the half of mankind, and certainly are quite as divided in their opinions and in their abilities as the other half, though women, certainly more than men, are prone to detest war and to be afraid of it. But there is a great deal between the detesting of a thing and the wish and endeavor to eradicate it.

Then there is the belief that the thing must be, that war is a necessity, though a dire necessity, that it is founded in the struggle of nature. This belief, which is an error, is very widely extended. Those who think thus declare that war cannot be eradicated by human will. I have heard it remarked that Christian men and women are prone to this belief, that everything must remain as it is; and for that reason we find so few Christian men among the champions of the peace movement. The leaders are rather scientists, poets, etc. At least, that is the case in Europe.

Still we do not find a large number of men ready to take a leading part in this movement. It is not a matter of sentiment; it is a matter of scientific knowledge. Only those who believe in the progress of the world, the evolution of human society, will give themselves to such a movement as ours. When they become imbued with these

convictions women will join the peace movement, and do so effectively. As long as the error remains that war is a necessity, women will not join. On the contrary, they will continue to countenance war. They will stifle their maternal feelings and try to enkindle in their husbands the warlike spirit. In the hour of national conflict, they will give moral encouragement. They will even give their personal assistance and consider themselves heroines for doing so. There is a statue erected in the Public Square of an Austrian town to a young peasant girl who, ninety years ago, when the French were storming the city, hurled down some dozen Frenchmen by stabbing them with a fork.

We are of those who consider that war is not necessary; then, not being so, that it is a crime. We consider murder a sin, and we consider war as wholesale murder, although making allowance for the great error that is in the mind of the murderer. We do not condemn as murderers the soldiers who do what they are taught.

But now, speaking to women who, by study or by intuition, do know that war is a relic of barbarism, and that men by their misguided judgment will make it continue, I want to speak to the women about their responsibility and their duty. In the contention against war women have some chance. In some spheres we have great influence and power, and if we fail to use this influence and this power in the service of what we consider the most glorious cause in the world, we commit a great sin of omission. As mothers, we have the power to lead the next generation to peace, not only by banishing out of the nursery the tin soldier and out of the schoolroom the bloody stories of warfare, but by lifting the minds of our growing sons to the realization that we live in a time where a higher and nobler civilization is being wrought out, and that theirs will be the opportunity to hasten the realization of this idea.

Now, mothers, sisters, you have another advantage over men. It is this: While a certain roughness and hardness is excusable, perhaps even desirable, in the composition of a strong man's character, the chief virtues of woman are declared to be gentleness, kindness, charity and pity. It is our privilege to show these feelings without restraint and to make them the mainspring of our actions. Let us use this privilege in the struggle against warfare. War, being the cause of the vastest sufferings, it is also the occasion for the vastest pity. Only read the reports from Port Arthur. Try to realize the depths of these horrors and your hearts must melt. While such wars are being waged, while such miseries and such cruelty are staining our earthly home, every woman should be clad in deep mourning; no woman should be seen to smile. Only imagine that nine days' battle, where fifty thousand bodies covered the ground, and where the wounded had been lying nine days without help! Only think of the men and the horses caught in the tangled wires and hanging there, as an eye witness described it, hanging there like rats caught in a trap! Think of the whole regiment blown into the air by an exploding mine,—again I quote my eye witness,—the sky

darkened by the falling limbs! Imagine the heaps of twenty thousand bodies under the walls of Port Arthur, those bodies covered with chalk that they may not pollute the air! Are you sure, quite sure, that they were all corpses? In some of those miserable and wretched creatures the vestiges of life still remained.

If you read and think of those things, if you try to realize them, hatred against war must inflame your hearts and pity must pervade your souls. Fortunately human imagination is not strong enough to realize all these horrors. We can only grasp what is seen. If we could but grasp all those things I think it would make us mad. And our great pity must not be allowed to weaken our reason: it must be our strength. We can never undo what has been done, and we cannot stop what is going on, but what we can do is to help to prepare a new order in which these things will never occur again. And as we can do it, so let us do it.

The Chairman then presented to the meeting the following letter from Mrs. May Wright Sewall, President of the National Council of Women:

TO THE WOMEN'S MEETING CONVENED AS PART OF THE
THIRTEENTH INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND ARBITRATION
CONGRESS ASSEMBLED AT PARK STREET CHURCH.
WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 5, 1904.

My Friends and Colleagues of many Nationalities: It is with a profound sense of regret and disappointment, and a keen appreciation of the loss which I am experiencing, that I am obliged to deny myself the pleasure of accepting the great honor of presiding over your deliberations on October 5th. I have been glad to be a member of the Committee of Organization for the Thirteenth International Peace Congress. My pleasure in this work has been limited only by my consciousness of the small degree to which I have been able to assist it.

The questions that will be brought before you are too serious, and the issues of your meeting fraught with consequences too large, to justify me in holding your attention for a single instant by a statement of the personal considerations which compel my absence. I write because I trust to the generosity of the Executive Committee and to whoever shall serve in my place as your presiding officer to allow me, notwithstanding my absence, to bring to your attention certain facts which are the basis of important propositions to which I respectfully invite your attention.

While I feel that the world is too ready to hold women responsible for whatever evils may assail society, I myself believe that the relation of women to the whole of humanity is such that if all women could be awakened to feel both the horror and the helplessness of war, if they could under the pitiless pain of this feeling be led to adopt the title of Baroness von Suttner's powerful book and issue it to the world as a command, "Lay Down Your Arms!" the world would be compelled to obey. I recognize, however, that the conviction that war is useless is not shared by the masses of women any more than by the masses of men, and that the masses can never be brought to share it except by education directed to the attainment of that conviction.

As my position upon the Executive Committee for the Thirteenth International Peace Congress was directly due to the fact that for some years I have been the chairman of the Committee on Peace and Arbitration of the National Council of Women of the United States, and as the invitation to preside at your meeting was, without doubt, directly due to the fact that I have just been elected to the