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of vital interest and honor and independence. Whenever you are sufficiently civilized to take the same stand and repose in us the same trust, we shall like to make the same agreement with you.

I was asked today by a newspaper reporter whether I thought Japan would enter into such an agreement. I told him I did not know. He asked me whether I thought the people of the United States would be willing to enter into such an agreement, and I told him again I did not know. I am not speaking for the people of the United States. But I will say for myself that if Japan, in the spirit of Great Britain and in the spirit of the United States would agree to recognize the integrity of our country, to recognize our independence, to recognize our national honor and to recognize our vital interests, and we would agree to do the same with Japan, and based on that agreement she would agree to leave all questions that might arise between us in the future to arbitration, I would say that we would say, "Do it by all means," and I believe we would have a better protection for the Philippines and the Hawaiians and our own coast than we could ever get by army or by navy.

That is my creed. I got it into twenty-two minutes, and I am going away tomorrow morning and leave it to be riddled by those who do not agree with me, in the subsequent sessions of this Congress.

"The Why, When and How of Disarmament." If Dr. Warfield can tell us why armaments should cost us so much and why they should be abolished, and how we can bring that abolition about, we shall all be delighted. I have the honor of introducing Dr. E. D. Warfield, President of Lafayette College.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS; WHY, WHEN, HOW?

ETHELBERT D. WARFIELD, DD., LL.D.

Emerson has strikingly said: "Every reform was once a private opinion". . . . "Every revolution was first a thought in one man's mind; and when the same thought occurs to another

man, it is the key to that era." Judged by this statement the movement for peace and arbitration must have in it a great political possibility. But like so many of Emerson's phrases this looks upon only one side of human history. Every reform, every revolution, was indeed once a private opinion, and remains for us a thought embodied, a dream come true. But there have been many opinions, many dreams, that wailed out their wan lives in the vain quest for bodies in which they might be made flesh. And the question for us today is this. Is the idea of reduction of armaments only a pious opinion, or is it a resolute purpose? Is it merely a dream or is it a determined program of action?

The mind of contemporary thinkers has felt the drift of our age towards philosophical uncertainty, and has sought in pragmatism to regain for conduct its just place in all human thinking. The will to do is being valued to us at its true worth. A civilization rich in bloom, heavy with the odors of a too languid love of beauty and ease, must be stimulated to test all truth by action. And no contemporary movements are more criticised for the disproportion between their ideals and their deeds than those represented in this great gathering.

Of all the subjects under discussion, the man who calls himself practical thinks this of the reduction of armaments the most impractical. I dare to believe the very contrary is true. It presents the problem of a situation that every one will admit to be a crime against society, to which no one has the courage to apply the key. The man for the hour, that and that only is needed. A statesman of large views with a strong nation behind him, possessed of the courage and capacity of leadership, such is the need of the hour. Is it the old receipt for roast hare; first catch your hare? Let us at least see what the situation really is.

WHY SHOULD THERE BE A REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS?

Let us take the pressing practical argument first. There should be a reduction of armaments because the burden of armed peace *is*—not merely *is becoming*—intolerable to a considerable number of the great powers, and oppressive to every nation of any

weight in the world's councils. The time does not permit me to dwell upon the details which are familiar to this audience. The terrible cost in money, in taxes wrung from peoples already oppressed by the unpaid cost of the wars of earlier generations, is known in every ministry of Europe. Far more vivid is the knowledge of this cost in the boards of industrial corporations. But only the workingman and his household appreciates with due poignancy the price of national pride and international suspicion.

If this burden were necessary it were the part of patriotism to bear it with a cheerful spirit. But if it is only the child of national vain-glory, the creature of ministerial illusion, the invention of vampires who suck the blood of nations to enrich themselves, not only patriotism, but a higher passion for mankind demands that this burden be lifted from the shoulders of men.

There was a time when our ancestors dwelling in the forest depths along the Rhine, the Elbe and the Weser saw amid the shadows of the forests the fearful shapes of were-wolves and other creatures of their imaginations which filled their days with tremors and their nights with dread. An unhappy atavism seems to oppress the imagination of some of their descendants with uncouth survivals of ancestral fears so that they see in all other nations

Brutes that wear our form and face,
The were-wolves of the human race.

But this burden of taxation is not the highest price that is paid for armed peace. The burden of a manhood tribute—three years of a strong man's life in some countries—and the ever growing threat of the spread of this plague, is not to be reckoned little. I need not press this point in this land so accustomed to liberty, so nobly schooled in the precious freedom, not merely from governmental dictation, but for a self determining manhood. And to all those whose minds have risen to the conception of a world-wide fellowship in the arts of civilization and the aspirations of religion, nothing could be more hateful than the attitude of international suspicion and distrust which is represented by these burdensome preparations for a war which seems ever at the gates.

And it is not capable of any kind of proof that these armaments have prevented war, or placated opinion. On the contrary it is easy to show that they have bred distrust and even precipitated war. And even on the commercial side the lack of confidence in them as merely defensive is shown in the lower price and greater fluctuation of the public securities of the nations armed to the teeth as compared with those which are practically without armaments. Compare for example, Belgian 3 per cent at 96 with German at 82; and Norwegian $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent at 102 and Russian at 81.

The education of the age in a gospel of force instead of one of justice is also to be counted against this delusion. Not only is this a peril to every people ("He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword" was not written in vain), but new nations are going to school to the old. Has not Japan proved an apt scholar? Let Russia answer. Had the great western powers preached to Japan from the same texts as their scholars and missionaries used, would American jingoes ride the same nightmares they bestride today? Surely in every sin is sowed the seed of its own punishment.

WHEN?

But when? When shall reduction of armament be realized?

No law should be written on the statute books until it has first been written on the hearts of the people.

But who are the people? I once heard Mr. Bryce say under very impressive circumstances, that few realize what a very small body of men really govern every country. Nothing could be more true than this. An efficient majority is not necessarily a numerical majority. Those who are wise after the event are forever pointing out that the great revolutions, the Reformation in England and the American Revolution for example, have been the work, not the of many, but of the determined. The men of force, the men of leadership, in any time of progressive movement bear other men and measures forward by sheer force of will.

But great movements begin with discussion, with the education of the mind and the conscience. Then they are felt to be "in the air." An intellectual and moral contagion is felt. What was a

private conviction becomes public opinion. What was dependent upon individual initiative, begins to move in the pulses of the body politic. Then it is that there must be found men of courage and unselfish devotion who are ready to risk their careers for national well being.

The great work of educating the people in the significance of arbitration and kindred methods of replacing international conflicts by international justice, has been carried on with amazing success during the past decade. The dead weight of public indifference has been overcome and a progressive impulse has been imparted to contemporary opinion. The time has come for decisive action.

When Gladstone upon mature and conscientious reflection resolved to throw aside his strongly intrenched prejudices and recommend the submission of the *Alabama* claims to arbitration, he not only astounded the world,—he advanced the world's civilization by a century's mark.

When Roosevelt flung precedent to the winds and gripped with a brave man's iron grasp a great opportunity, he not only made peace between Russia and Japan, but he showed how progress is to be made possible.

HOW?

How is the reduction of armaments to be begun? How else than by those to whom the high trust of governing nations has been committed breaking away from mere convention and acting with the courage of high conviction?

Every statesman, every cabinet, every ruler, is beset by phantoms of the past, by half defined perils of the present, by self seeking politicians and manufacturers of warlike materials. Not many could act if they would; still fewer would act if they could. But it is for us who believe in lifting this burden, not only from our country, but from all mankind; for us who believe that the time is ripe for Christian civilization to reap the fruits of centuries of growth, to beat upon the dull ears of legislators and stir the cold hearts of executives, until the thoughts of the wisest states-

men are translated into action. Today is ours. We know not what the future has in store. It is for us to act now while it is called today—for us as individuals, and for us as great bodies of men and women informed and inspired by a great cause.

Abraham Lincoln in his address in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, February 22, 1861, spoke of "that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty—not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the burden should be lifted from the shoulders of all men."

That promise will be fulfilled in great measure when governments shall be content to seek the happiness and welfare of their own people within their own territory, neither greedy for the land of others nor jealous of their prosperity, strong in conscious rectitude of purpose, and united in international bonds which shall make it at once the duty and interest of each nation to seek and maintain the integrity and freedom of every other.

CHAIRMAN ABBOTT: "What are We Doing for Peace in the Far East?" I am very glad to introduce to you now one who needs no introduction to the readers in America, Mr. Price Collier, who will give us some answers to that question.

WHAT ARE WE DOING FOR PEACE IN THE FAR EAST?

PRICE COLLIER

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Six months ago I returned from a year of travel in the Far East. I visited India, Burma, the Straits Settlements, China, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, Siberia and Russia. I have been asked here to speak on the subject of "What we are doing for Peace in the Far East" and I propose to add to that "What more can be done in America and by Americans" in that direction.

More, far more, than half the distrust of one another, of the nations of the earth is due to nothing more mysterious than just