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of the sneers of Europe, is a proof of it all, and the legend on his coins, "In God we trust," symbolizes it anthropomorphically. Is he to carry on the peace movement?

It is not a constitutional question, or else England would have to solve it, as the battle of woman suffrage is being fought there now; it is not a speculative question, or it would be left for the German. It does not require the form sense of the Italian or the intellect of France. It is a question for romantic love, and the nation which opens its arms to the oppressed of all the earth has to cast itself into the battle. I have a vision of a death struggle to gain it; I am reminded of a passage of scripture which says, "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend." But I feel that the nation that accomplishes the peace of the world will be that nation which has lived the best emotional life.

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The Hope of Peace.

By Stanley H. Howe, Albion College, Albion, Mich.

(This oration won first place in the Intercollegiate Peace Oratorical Contest held in McCoy Hall, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, on Friday evening, May 5, at the time of the Third National Peace Congress. We publish it both on account of its own merits and as an illustration of the new spirit that is rapidly taking possession of the college young men of the country.—Ed.)

The history of civilization is a record of changing ideals; and ideals are best reared in the hearts of the world's young men. Inevitably nations look toward the cradle for their future and intrust the care of their destiny to the hands of youth. "Tell me what are the prevailing sentiments that occupy the minds of your young men," declared Edmund Burke, "and I will tell you what is to be the character of the next generation." When the blood of youth is sluggish and impure, when the young hold wealth more dear than worth, remove the check of virtue from their selfish aims, establish Mammon as their god, and, ambitious to govern the world, forget how to govern themselves, then nations choke and die. But when the blood of youth is rich and pure, pulsating through the veins of the universe with strong, resistless surge, when fathers teach anew the angel's message of good-will and peace, and sons build high their goal upon a pedestal of service and of truth, then nations breathe and live. What hope, then, asks the world, finds the doctrine of peace in the ideals and aspirations of America's youth today?

The nation faces a charge of militarism. It is the indictment of her critics that never before in American history has the government entertained an attitude so hostile toward her neighbors and so dangerous to the interests of peace. They point to the attempt to fortify the Panama canal and cry out that America would drain her treasury to build a monument of reproach to international integrity. They criticize the vast appropriations for the navy and declare that America is starving her poor that she may more pompously parade the seas. They protest against the "war game" on the Rio Grande and even charge that in the interests of a Wall Street king America invites the world to arms. And these are not illusions. The lure of gold has turned the nation from her mission. The spirit of commercialism has eclipsed the sentiment of brotherhood and tempted the

republic to barter her honor for the price of imperial supremacy. Wherein, then, again asks the world, finds America hope for the future? And to the charges of her critics, with their dismal prophecy of "wrong forever on the throne," this is the nation's answer and defence—that an eclipse is never permanent, that the world stays not in the valley of the shadow forever, and that the solution of the problem, the fulfillment of a national mission, and the hope of world peace, finds their common assurance in the changing ideals of America's aspiring young men.

The young American is essentially ambitious. He is wont to seek the shortest path to leadership, and when blocked at one highway, to turn with undiminished ardor to another. And his ideal is a mirror of the age in which he lives. In Revolutionary days he covets the glory of a minute-man, and in the deeds of Warren and Putnam he finds the consummation of his hopes. Again in the hour of civil war his eyes turn toward the battlefield—and from her boys under twenty-one the Union draws eighty-five per cent of her defenders. But fortunately for America this drama of the youth's ideal has one more act. The lure of life and drum has become a thing of the past. The glamour of military life has become a dream of yesterday. The young man is learning that the prize of battle is never equal to the price. And with the growing conviction of the folly and futility of international strife must disappear the last apology for war. Nations will cease to struggle, not when they have learned that war is a tragedy, but when they have discovered that it is a farce.

And the youth of today is learning it. In the same deplorable conditions which the nation's critics have regarded as an alarming tendency toward militarism, he reads a message of the absurdity of war. Militarism itself is revealing a mission. Based as it is on the spirit of aggrandizement, it is teaching to youth the economic value of a human life. It is uncovering its own selfish motives and betraying its own senseless ends. It is impressing the world with the truth that battles are fought for purse-string and not for principle. It is teaching to youth a new ideal; it is itself the answer to complaints of friends and calumnies of foes. It is the cloud before the dawn. It heralds the coming of the brightest epoch yet chronicled in world history. It is the realization of that glorious prophecy of John Hay that the time is coming when "the clangor of arms will cease from the rising of the sun to its going down, and we can fancy that at last our ears, no longer stunned by the din of armies, may hear the morning stars singing together and all the sons of God shouting for joy."

And is this but the dream of a visionary? Is it merely the fancied perception of an inexistent star? Is it nothing more than a groundless hope and an alluring vagary? The answer is visible everywhere. And the hope of peace finds its safest assurance among the institutions of learning in America. James Bryce has referred to the United States as the nation having the largest proportion of its young men in college. In the last month of June more than fifty thousand collegians wore the cap and gown of graduation. It is to the trust of the college-bred man that the commonwealth confides her future, and modern education assumes no greater responsibility than the training of the new world-citizen. Already the school has become the most potent factor

in the new uplift. The youth is no longer dependent upon the newspaper for his knowledge of World Politics. An intelligent study of foreign affairs is at last regarded as of as much importance as a study of the past. To broaden the young man's vision of the world, prominent educators are even advocating traveling fellowships. In twenty-five of the larger universities of America an Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs is establishing the groundworks for a wider international fraternity. Plans are already under way to have an organized delegation of more than a hundred students of all nationalities present at the third Hague Conference. Day by day the problem of world unity is becoming more deeply imbedded in the mind and thought of the rising generation. More and more is youthful patriotism becoming a realization of the truth that "Above all nations is humanity." The lure of war is losing its magnetic power and the brotherhood of man becoming more and more an international reality. A sentiment for universal peace is sweeping the world, and behind the defences of advancing civilization, armed with the strength of a purpose lofty and unselfish, stands an army of America's young men, mustered from the nation's colleges, enlisted to serve for an eternity, and invulnerable in the protection of a new and a conquering ideal.

Therefore the significance of the young man in the world's affairs today is something more than a fancy. Again and again the plea for world harmony hears a response in the changing ideals of a new generation. The growing sentiment of the educated youth of Japan finds its crystallization in the efforts of Count Okuma toward the consummation of world disarmament. The spirit of the youth of England finds expression in the ambitious dream of George V, whose hope it is to tie the bond of Anglo-Saxon unity torn asunder by George III. Among the young men of Russia the life of the great philosopher of world citizenship has left a lasting conviction of the senselessness of war. Even in imperialistic Germany the reckless building of Dreadnaughts brings out a vigorous and uncompromising protest from the thinking youth of the land. In America a vision of the international parliament of man, growing large in the minds of her leading statesmen, finds expression in the continued philanthropy of a great industrial king. Most significant of all, these are the world-wide examples that the college man enthrones in the empire of his thoughts. Sixty thousand European students, bound together by the cosmopolitan ties of a peace Fraternity, have ceased to glorify the triumphs of the battle-field. The commentaries of the hero-worshiper today do not record the names of a Marlborough or a Bonaparte. Rather does the young man find his idols in the more humble annals of a Tolstoy or a Sir Edward Grey. The new ideal of international peace is not merely the religion of a few enthusiasts. In an individual way these apostles of peace serve to voice to the world the spirit of the unnumbered thousands of obscure men whose lives and talents are directed, not to the construction of material kingdoms, but to the building of a better and more world-wide brotherhood.

Such is the hope of peace. The nation's critics may continue their indictment, and, pointing out the crises of the hour, paint in dismal hues a picture of the problems never to be solved except by shot and shell. Her skeptics, blinded by thought of the errors of the past,

may prophesy the desecration of her honor and the disappointing failure of her hopes. The press may pen a graphic story of the military spirit of the age, and frowning patriarchs relate the deeds of golden days gone by. But underneath this cloud that overhangs, and almost hidden in the gloom of history's disparagement, the new world-citizen discerns the birth-light of a brighter and more steadfast star, the young apostle of the new ideal perceives the coming triumph of justice and peace, and the awakened eyes of expectant America look forward with promise to the dawn of that new day when a nation shall be judged by the weight of its cross, and not by the wealth of its crown.

The Arguments Against Arbitration.

With the drafting by the Administration of an arbitration treaty embodying the principles laid down by President Taft, and accepted with so much cordiality at the recent great London meeting on the subject, the question of international peace on the lines of international arbitration enters a somewhat new phase. It has passed, as Sir Edward Grey said at the London banquet to the Colonial Premiers last Tuesday, from the stage of theoretical discussion into the domain of practical politics. It is inevitable, and it is also right, that with this change in the character of the debate new views of the general question should appear. Opposition, which has been nearly or quite silent while arbitration was discussed only on a philanthropic and non-practical basis, will naturally, and again rightly, raise its voice in an aggressive way. This is the basis of all sound and successful public discussion of matters of this sort, and no great problem such as arbitration ever has been or ever will be settled finally, except after thorough and complete consideration of arguments on both sides of the question.

It must not, moreover, be supposed that because the general principle of arbitration appeals to thinking minds, there are therefore no legitimate obstacles which statesmen will take into consideration. We do not refer specifically to Mr. Roosevelt's recent article, opposing the full scope of the international arbitration plan. On the contrary, it seems to us that the ex-President's imagined instances, of reassertion by Great Britain of its old claim to right of search, or of sudden firing by a foreign fleet upon an American coast town, are clearly beside the point. Granted that either one of these two supposed provocations would necessarily result in war, there is nothing proved by the hypothetical case except what may happen under the *existing* order of things.

Under the domain of international arbitration, we scarcely see how either incident could occur as Mr. Roosevelt imagines it. The right of search at sea—supposing so wild a claim to be made by England—would necessarily go before a court of arbitration; the foreign government which may have had in mind the firing on our coast towns would, by the terms of the case, have bound itself to submit its grievances to arbitration before proceeding to such action. In short, these contentions of Mr. Roosevelt seem to us hardly worth serious discussion; they were pretty convincingly disposed of by ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster in his speech to the Peace Conference at Lake Mohonk,