

righteousness, that shall exalt the nation.

"Answer—Righteousness is simply doing what is right. What is just is always right; what is unjust is always wrong; it being the first principle of justice that men shall not be judges in their own cause, to refuse to submit to judge or arbitrator is unjust, hence not right, for the essence of righteousness is justice."

"Let us measure the value of those that war has not taken and then we can obtain some estimate of the value of those lives that have gone." Life he held was sacred and precious, to be guarded sacredly because created by God as something worthy and lasting.

The attainment of peace as seen from the viewpoint of the clergy was presented by Archbishop Ireland. Greater than all other names to consider in the conception of peace, he held, was the divine name of Christ.

"What we need to prevent wars," the prelate declared, "is the expansion of the gospel of Christ; what we need is that inner culture of the soul that will bring out its spiritual nature; that will bring out the divine that is in it—bring about the peace in the family, in society, indeed among all the nations and peoples of the earth."

Rev. Lyman Abbott in his address exhorted for concerted action of the world to attain the ideal of eternal peace.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted with a few minor changes, although the debate over them continued more than two hours.

Mrs. Belva A. Lockwood declared that the speakers on the platform were trying to have it all their own way. Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, chairman of the committee on resolutions declared it had been impossible to incorporate in the brief expression of the sentiment of the congress all of the one thousand and one suggestions and ideas which had come from various sections of the country.

Several of the speakers were interrupted from time to time by other delegates who wished to be heard and who thought the speakers were taking too much time. The debate finally was limited as to time and when the vote was taken several delegates were endeavoring to be recognized.

Among the participants in the debate was William J. Bryan. He said:

"So many delegates have not had an opportunity to express themselves upon these resolutions that I do not think it fair that we who have been assigned places on the program, should occupy all the time. I came here to see that the one idea which I regard as the most important of all was carried out, and that was that all the disputes, not subject to arbitration by diplomacy, should be referred to international arbitration. This has been incorporated in the resolutions, just as it was adopted by the inter-parliamentary union in London last July, when twenty-six nations were represented. I regard this as a long step toward the elimination of war.

"There is one other subject which I would have been pleased to see incorporated in your resolutions, but which the committee has not deemed wise, and that is that the time has come when the lending of money to a belligerent by a neutral state should be regarded as being as objectionable as the furnishing of powder for the shot and shell. It is all wrong to say that powder, lead and shell are contraband and then to allow the money lenders to furnish the means of buying the things that are forbidden. It is a wrong principle which allows a few money lenders to profit by the distress of nations."

William J. Bryan in his address offered as a substitute for the historic words "liberty or death," the cry of "liberty and life." This sentiment was the keynote of his address. The cost of human life he wanted counted and estimated.

The resolutions adopted by the congress follow:

"Whereas, The nations, through the application of scientific invention and discovery to intercommunication and travel, have become members of one body, closely united and interdependent with common commercial, industrial, intellectual and moral interests, and war in any part of the world immediately affects, both materially and morally, all other parts, and undisturbed peace has become the necessary condition of the proposed well being and orderly progress of human society; and

"Whereas, The Hague conference in 1899 made a great and unexpected advance towards the establishment of peace by the creation of a permanent court of arbitration for the judicial settlement of international disputes; and

"Whereas, The said court of arbitration, having adjusted four controversies, in which nearly all the prominent powers were participants, has become a fixed and well recognized means of settling international disputes, though its operation is only voluntary; and

"Whereas, The principle of international com-

missions of inquiry, provided for in The Hague convention has proved itself one of great practical efficiency, as illustrated in the Anglo-Russian North sea crisis; and

"Whereas, More than forty treaties of obligatory arbitration between nations, two and two, have been concluded, stipulating reference to The Hague court for five years of all disputes of a judicial order and those arising in the interpretation of treaties; and

"Whereas, Public opinion in favor of the peaceful settlement of controversies has made extraordinary advance since the first conference at The Hague, and as recently declared by the British prime minister, has attained a practical potency and a moral superiority undreamt of in 1899; and

"Whereas, The states of the western hemisphere, through the action of the third Pan-American congress and the reorganization of the international bureau of American republics have reached what is virtually a permanent union destined henceforth to wield a mighty influence in behalf of permanent peace; and

"Whereas, The first Hague conference, though it failed to solve the question of reduction of armaments, for which it was primarily called, unanimously recommended to the powers the serious study of the problem with the view of relieving the people of the vast burdens imposed upon them by rivalry of armaments.

"Resolved, By the national arbitration and peace congress, composed of delegates from thirty-six states, that the government of the United States be requested, through its representatives to the second Hague conference, to urge upon that body the formation of a more permanent and more comprehensive international union for the purpose of insuring the efficient co-operation of the nations in the development and application of international law and the maintenance of the peace of the world.

"Resolved, That to this end it is the judgment of this congress that the governments should provide that The Hague conference shall hereafter be a permanent institution, with representative nations meeting periodically for the regular and systematic consideration of the international problems constantly arising in the intercourse of the nations, and that we invite our government to instruct its delegates to the coming conference to secure, if possible, action in this direction.

"Resolved, That as a logical sequence of the first Hague conference, The Hague court shall be open to all the nations of the world.

"Resolved, That a general treaty of arbitration for ratification by all the nations should be drafted by the coming conference, providing for the reference to The Hague court of international disputes which may hereafter arise, which cannot be adjusted by diplomacy.

"Resolved, That the congress records its indorsement of the resolution adopted by the inter-parliamentary union at its conference in London last July, that in case of disputes arising between nations which it may not be possible to embrace within the terms of an arbitration convention, the disputing parties before resorting to force shall always invoke the services of an international commission of inquiry, or the mediation of one or more friendly powers.

"Resolved, That our government be required to urge upon the coming Hague conference the adoption of the proposition, long advocated by our country, to extend to private property at sea the same immunity from capture in war as now shelters private property on land.

"Resolved, That the time has arrived for decided action towards the limitation of the burdens of armaments, which have enormously increased since 1899, and the government of the United States is respectfully requested and urged to instruct its delegates to the coming Hague conference to support with the full weight of our national influence the proposition of the British government, as announced by the prime minister, to have, if possible, the subject of armaments considered by the conference.

"Resolved, That the congress highly appreciates the eminent services of President Roosevelt in bringing The Hague court into successful operation, in exercising his good offices for restoring peace between Russia and Japan, preventing, in co-operation with Mexico, a threatened war in Central America, and in initiating, at the request of the interparliamentary union, the assembling of a second international peace conference at The Hague. It congratulates him upon the reception of the Nobel prize as a just recognition of his efficient services for peace.

"Resolved, That the distinguished services of the Hon. Elihu Root, secretary of state, to the cause of international peace and good will during his recent visits to the South American capitals

and to Canada be accorded the grateful recognition of this congress.

"Resolved, That we thank the prime minister of Great Britain, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, for the noble stand which he has taken in favor of a settled policy of peace among the nations, and of a limitation and reduction of the military and naval burdens now weighing upon the world.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent by a committee to this congress, to be chosen by the president of the congress, to President Roosevelt, to Secretary Root and to each of the United States delegates to the forthcoming Hague conference."

William J. Bryan was the last speaker of the afternoon session. When he was introduced the audience applauded wildly. In part he said:

"This body is not official. We represent no government, therefore we can be more free in our expression than an official body could be. A man is easier in speaking for himself than for millions he represents. We understand Germany keeps a great army for fear France will attack her. Yet we need not be surprised when we hear from Baron de Constant that his nation wants peace and would lead in the peace movement. Yet, too, we need not be surprised to hear that Germany's so-called war lord is a friend and advocate of peace.

"England, we know, has a great and fearsome navy, and yet we should not be surprised to hear that King Edward is peace-loving and peace-seeking.

"Other nations may be surprised to hear that we have doubled our army and navy in ten years. That we spend millions upon millions more each year in their support is known, yet our president is called the agent of peace and we are a peace-loving nation. There are some seeming inconsistencies always. However, they are not ours alone."

THE PRIMARY PLEDGE

As this copy of The Commoner may be read by some one not familiar with the details of the primary pledge plan, it is necessary to say that according to the terms of this plan every democrat is asked to pledge himself to attend all of the primaries of his party to be held between now and the next democratic national convention, unless unavoidably prevented, and to secure a clear, honest and straightforward declaration of the party's position on every question upon which the voters of the party desire to speak. Those desiring to be enrolled can either write to The Commoner approving the object of the organization and asking to have their names entered on the roll, or they can fill out and mail the blank pledge which is printed on page 15 of this issue.

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