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door opens from time to time, and people come in and say, 'Mr. Minister, we must have more men, we must have more ammunition, we must have more money. We cannot go on with this war without more of something else,' and he continued: "At last that door opens and two people walk in and say, 'Mr. Minister, could not negotiations be begun?'" After all, I may not represent his country very worthily, but he is an officer of the government in a high place, and that is what he said. And there are other testimonials of the same sort from all kinds of people in office, and they are part of the peoples who are at war and unable to speak for themselves.

HUMAN NATURE WILL REASSERT ITSELF

The young men in these various countries say of the bayonet charges: "That is what we cannot think of." You know, of course, that all of the countries make their men practically drunk before they can get them to charge; that they have a regular formula in Germany; that they give them rum in England and absinthe in France. They all have to give them the "dope" before the bayonet charge is possible. Think of that. No one knows who is responsible. All the nations are responsible, and they indict themselves. But in the end human nature must reassert itself. The old elements of human understanding and human kindness must come to the fore, and then it may well be that they will reproach the neutral nations and will say: "What was the matter with the rest of the world that they kept quiet while this hor-

rible thing was happening, that men for a moment had lost their senses in this fanaticism of national feeling all over Europe." They may well say, "You were far enough away from it not to share in it, and yet you wavered until we had lost the flower of the youth of all Europe." That is what they said in various tongues and according to their various temperaments, and that is what enables them to fight for their countries when they are at war, believing as they did in the causes for which they were fighting. The people say, "We do not want this war." They say that the governments are making this war, and the governments say, "We do not want this war. We will be grateful to anybody who will help us stop it." We did not reach the military offices, but we did talk to a few military men, and we talked to some of them who said that they were sick to death of this war, and I have no doubt there were many others who, if they spoke freely, would say the same thing. And without abandoning their causes, and without lowering, if you please, the real quality of their patriotism, whatever it is which these various nations want, the women's resolutions said to them, and we said it to them as long as they permitted us to talk, "Whatever it is you want, and whatever it is you feel you ought to have with honor, why in the world can't you submit your case to a tribunal of fair-minded men? If your cause is as good as you say it is, or you are sure it is, certainly those men will find the righteousness which adheres within it." And they all say that if the right medium can be found the case will be submitted.

A CONFERENCE OF NEUTRAL STATES

AT THE meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society December last a resolution was adopted earnestly recommending to the President of the United States that he call a conference of neutral powers to consider such questions as neutral rights during the present war, the extension of good offices, and the lessening of the chances of future wars. Many similar suggestions have been made from time to time from various quarters. Miss Jane Addams, returning from Europe, urges the importance of such a conference.

The Hon. Elihu Root on the last day of May, 1907, offered his instructions to the American delegates to the Second Hague Conference. Secretary Root pointed out that the clause of the program relating to the rights and duties of neutrals is of very great importance. He called attention to the necessity for establishing provisions which tend to prevent disagreements between nations, which tend to dispose of disagreements without recourse to war, which tend to preserve the rights and interests of neutrals, and finally which tend to mitigate the evils of war to belligerents. He added further:

"The relative importance of these classes of provisions should always be kept in mind. No rules should be adopted for the purpose of mitigating the evils of war to belligerents which will tend strongly to destroy the rights of neutrals, and no rules should be adopted regarding the rights of neutrals which will tend strongly to bring about war. It is of the highest importance that not only the rights, but the duties of neutrals, shall be most clearly and distinctly defined and understood, not

only because the evils which belligerent nations bring upon themselves ought not to be allowed to spread to their peaceful neighbors and inflict unnecessary injury upon the rest of mankind, but because misunderstandings regarding the rights and duties of neutrals constantly tend to involve them in controversy with one or the other belligerent."

We are now in receipt of a statement from Dr. Charles H. Levermore, of the World Peace Foundation, referring to the same matters. Dr. Levermore's views are so pertinent that we print them in full:

DR. LEVERMORE'S STATEMENT

"The sinking of the *Lusitania* and other similar events have clearly demonstrated a constant conflict between the claims of belligerents and the rights of neutrals.

"That conflict implies an ever-increasing danger that each neutral State, attempting to defend its right singly instead of in concert, may be drawn into the struggle. If the violation of neutral rights continues, an irresistible demand for strong action will be inevitable. As an alternative to violent measures, the World Peace Foundation proposes the prompt convocation of a conference of neutral nations as the most practicable and effective step toward the maintenance of neutral rights and the betterment of international relations.

"Such a conference of the non-belligerents has been needed since the war began. It is needed more with every day that the war continues. It should consider and promote the proper definition and defense of the

rights and duties of non-belligerents in time of war. It should take diplomatic cognizance of a new fact, already universally recognized, that in a world so closely articulated and interwoven as ours a declaration of war by one great nation against another virtually compels many other nations to become involuntary participants in the strife. In relation to this fact the conference of non-belligerents ought to consider how far, under modern conditions of warfare, non-belligerent States may assert and defend the paramount importance of their own rights as opposed to the rights or claims of belligerents. Furthermore, it is the peculiar duty of an association of neutral States in time of war to represent and to safeguard the highest interests of humanity and civilization, which are placed in jeopardy by the lamentable relapse into belligerency.

"Such a conference should be watchful for suitable opportunities for suggestions of mediation, conciliation, and arbitration. It may also consider and formulate the principles and policies which the States represented by it should advocate for the reorganization of the world when negotiations for peace begin and the war is ended. Non-belligerents and belligerents will then be equally concerned in securing, if possible, a reconstruction of our civilization so as to establish a régime of peace with justice under law.

"The conference of neutrals might properly be convoked by the United States, or preferably by the agency of the governing board of the Pan-American Union, which is already available as the nucleus of such a conference. The diplomatic representatives of all neutral States now accredited to Washington might be empowered to sit as delegates to the conference while the war lasts.

"Constituent members of the Pan-American Union have already suggested a development of the possibilities of that organization, and a financial conference of the union was convened on May 24. A committee of its governing board has received from Venezuela a proposition for the convocation of a conference of all neutral States to discuss the rights and duties of non-belligerents in time of war, and another proposition, emanating from Honduras, for the establishment of a permanent international commission of inquiry. Other neutral States are therefore eager to facilitate the solution of international controversies by other means than those which war offers. The United States should not withhold its powerful co-operation in these policies.

"If historical precedents are desired for the establishment of a conference of neutrals in time of war, precedents are not lacking. In 1780, during the war of the American Revolution, the Russian government led in the formation of a League of Neutrals for the purpose of defining and defending neutral rights to freedom of commerce and navigation. Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Portugal joined Russia in this league, to which, later, Austria, Prussia, and the two Sicilies adhered, and also the belligerents opposed to England. The principles avowed by this league paved the way for the Declaration of Paris in 1856. One of the objects of the original League of Neutrals was also the hope of influencing the belligerents in determining peace. At the same time Russia, Denmark, and Sweden formed what was known as the League of Armed Neutrality, whose purpose was to keep all warfare out of the Baltic Sea.

"In 1794 Denmark and Sweden renewed the latter league as against English and French belligerents. Russia joined this second league in 1800, but it was dissolved by external force in the ensuing year.

"A successor of these Baltic leagues of neutrals appeared in the Conference of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark at Malmö December 19, 1914, a conference which united the executive chiefs of those three nations in defense of their common interests in freedom of commerce.

"A conference of neutrals will necessarily emphasize a principle, which is too often denied or ignored by angry belligerents, that the welfare of each is the concern of all. The belligerent parties suddenly build up two great organizations for wrecking civilization. It is all the more incumbent upon the non-belligerents to create, at once and in contrast, an organization to preserve the social and political forces that are endangered, to insist upon the fundamental supremacy of law and order, and to bear witness for sanity and human sympathy among men who are tempted to forget both.

"We may surely hope that the United States will exemplify such principles, even under the stress of any provocation; but how much more effective will the lesson be if it proceeds from the agreement of a great family of nations, representing the non-belligerents of every continent!

"Recently, in the strain of our most delicate and dangerous relations with our Mexican neighbor, the Niagara Conference proved the value of a community of interests among representative nations of the two Americas. The situation in Europe may not yet be ripe for mediation, but a conference of neutrals can hope to create opportunities beyond the reach of any one nation, and it can speak in behalf of the common interest with an authority that no single nation can assume.

"Nor should the possible evolution and expansion of such a conference of neutrals be overlooked.

"As soon as a congress of belligerents meets to discuss terms of peace a congress of the involuntary participants in the war will be needed. The whole enlightened world is perforce involved in this war and concerned in its outcome. Therefore a conference of neutrals that has been studying all the problems underlying the struggle would be precisely the international council that could be profitably transformed into a suitably authorized congress of the non-belligerent powers, which would be as intelligently resolved to remove the causes of war as the belligerents could be.

"It ought to be the especial service of such a conference of neutrals and congress of non-belligerents to prepare themselves and their belligerent neighbors for the final introduction of the Third Hague Conference. It ought to be their preliminary agreement which would eventually procure for The Hague conferences a permanent organization, with meetings at regular intervals, and the final development of the world court. Thus would be taken the next necessary step toward that organization of the world which public opinion should be educated to demand and support.

"For these reasons all friends of that international justice which alone can insure international peace should unite in calling for the speedy convocation of a conference of neutral States. A statement, embodying ideas similar to those contained in the subjoined resolution, should be signed by individuals, or by companies and

associations of citizens, who believe in the wisdom of this policy. Such a statement thus completed should be forwarded to the Department of State at Washington and to the members of Congress in either House who represent the signers:

"We, the undersigned, citizens of the State of _____, believing that the neutral

nations should have the requisite organization for bringing their united counsel and influence to bear upon existing international relations, respectfully submit that the government of the United States should take immediate steps for assembling a conference of neutral States to consider and act upon their common interests in international affairs."

OUR CONSULAR SERVICE AS A PEACE AGENCY

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

IT is an interesting fact that no one has thought especially to notice our United States Consular Service as an agency for promoting good will between the United States and other nations. And yet our country is officially represented at practically all of the great commercial and industrial centers of the world by 289 consuls general and consuls assisted by 305 vice-consuls and a fairly large staff of clerks. Many other places are reached by 199 consular agents serving under the supervision of the consuls general and consuls. Not including messengers and janitors, the entire personnel of the United States Consular Service is approximately 1,200. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, our government spent upon this branch of its foreign work \$2,083,908.42. The fees collected by this service and paid into the United States Treasury reduced the net cost of the service for that year to \$43,674.00. But none of these fees were collected for services having any relation to the promotion of American export trade, the protection of American citizens, or the cultivation of friendly relations between the United States and foreign countries.

And yet it must be manifest to any one interested to examine the facts that such a large corps of specially trained American citizens, living more or less permanently and in an official capacity in distant lands, must, both directly and indirectly, interpret constantly to foreigners the spirit of our institutions, and mold in no small degree their real opinion of us and of our ideals.

Consular officers are expected to maintain and promote the rightful interests of American citizens as provided in treaties and usage. Besides issuing passports, attending to the thousand and one needs of American citizens abroad, attending to many matters relating to American shipping, watching the attitude toward our immigration laws, reporting weekly upon the sanitary conditions of the ports at which they reside, promoting friendly relations between American and foreign commercial houses, they are in some countries invested with judicial powers over American citizens in those countries.

It is therefore the aim of the State Department to send to these posts Americans of the best type—university graduates, if possible. They are for the most part required to write and speak the languages of the countries to which they are sent. They are expected to make an accurate and intelligent investigation of commercial, economic, and industrial conditions, and to be able to report the results of their investigations in a manner to be of practical value to the American busi-

ness man. They ought reasonably to be expected to take a proper place among the best people of the district to which they are sent. It is essential that they be gentlemanly and tactful, that they have personal charm and resourcefulness, and that they be possessed of a practical rather than theoretical attitude of mind. We consider it important that these men who represent our commercial interests should be at least the equal of our army and navy officers.

Since the executive order of President Roosevelt, issued upon the advice of Secretary Root, June 27, 1906, the consular service has gradually approached these conditions. Indeed, some four years ago the Emperor of Germany declared in a public speech that the consular system of the United States is the best in the world. But the salaries offered for these positions, especially among the middle and lower grades, do not as a rule attract men of the highest quality. The consuls general, for example, are divided into five classes, with salaries as follows: Class one, \$12,000; class two, \$8,000; class three, \$6,000; class four, \$5,000; class five \$4,500. The consuls are divided into nine classes, with salaries ranging from \$8,000 to \$2,000. The secretaries are divided into five classes, ranging from \$3,000 to \$1,200. While our new American consul enters the service under examination at a salary of \$2,000 or \$2,500, Great Britain long ago gave her lowest grade consul a salary of \$3,000. No United States consul should receive less than \$3,500. It is true that many of our consulates are in quarters quite inadequate for maintaining the respect shown to similar establishments of other nations. The system of promotion has been so far developed that consuls may advance strictly upon their merits from the lowest to the highest class of the service, and in order that promotions in salary may be actual rather than apparent, some means must be found by which the inequalities in the cost of living at the respective posts can be overcome.

But for our purpose the important fact remains that our people and our government do not seem to have sufficiently realized the importance of confidence and friendship, depending wholly upon mutual acquaintance and understanding, as the foundation upon which effective commercial and other interests must be built. By increasing the compensation for consular service and creating new consular offices beneficent results would inevitably follow. Where so many men are engaged in carrying out concrete international policies, enforcing laws with respect to tariff, pure food, and the rest, there are the forces which tend to make either toward war or