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Common Brotherhood of the children of One Common Father. Ay, and to the poor, starving, enslaved millions of Christendom, an un-Christendom shall this gospel yet be preached with a power and purity unequalled since the death of Paul. There are a few, still, small voices crying in many a wilderness up and down this sin-seared earth—voices earnest, strong with faith and hope and love, calling to the toiling, unhomed children of men to rally around the standard of Universal Brotherhood, and claim the dignity and honor and patrimony of their divine relationship.

Congress of Nations.

BY J. P. BLANCHARD.

As the Officers and leading members of the American Peace Society propose to press the subject of a Congress of Nations for the settlement of international law, on the governments of our own and other nations the ensuing winter, and to urge the remission of petitions to Congress for that purpose from various parts of the U. S., we deem it a timely occasion to present the subject to the readers of the *Advocate* for their consideration and co-operation.

This subject has early and long engaged the attention of the organized friends of peace. The movement commenced in the year 1829, when Thomas Thompson, Jr. Esq., a gentleman whose exertions at that time for the cause were beyond all praise, acting under the authority of the Massachusetts Peace Society, penned the following proposition for subscription: "We the undersigned, convinced of the great advantages and blessings which AN ABOLITION OF WAR, and the reference of all international disputes to A COURT OF NATIONS, would confer on mankind, heartily concur in recommending a suitable reference of this subject by the Peace Societies to the attention of Congress, as soon as such a reference is found to be practicable and convenient." This proposition was presented by him personally to various individuals, and in the course of a year he obtained over 1200 signatures to it in Boston and the vicinity, from all ranks and classes of society. As the Massachusetts Society was at that time destitute both of numbers and means, and not sufficiently instructed in the subject, no direct use was then made of these signatures; but they served to indicate the approbation of the people of the measure proposed, and to direct public attention to the object, and doubtless formed the basis of the measures subsequently taken.

In February, 1835, the same gentleman, in company with the late William Ladd, presented a petition for this object to the Legislature of Massachusetts, which was referred to a Committee, who reported favorably upon it, and Resolves were passed recommending that some mode should be established for the abolition of war. In 1837, Mr. Thompson again pressed the subject on that Legislature, and at the same time a petition was presented to it from the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Peace Society, to the same purport. The Resolutions of that Legislature on these petitions directly recommended a Congress or Court of Nations, and they were communicated to the President of the United States, and the Executive of each of the States; and in 1838 similar resolutions were again passed by the same Legislature, and in like manner communicated. Massachusetts then,

as a State, is committed on the subject; and has the imperishable glory of being the first sovereign power which has unequivocally sanctioned this noble expedient for the removal of the greatest curse of the world.

In the winter of 1837, a petition was presented to Congress from the New York Peace Society, and others, on this subject. The Report upon it by the Committee of Foreign Relations, of which the late lamented Mr. Legare was chairman, fully concurs in the benevolence and utility of the measure, and looks forward to a future time for its universal adoption; but for the present merely assents to temporary arbitrations or mediators for the adjustment of international disputes. Since this, the New York Peace Society has 'once again, and the American Peace Society three times, petitioned Congress on the subject, and the London Peace Society has petitioned the British Parliament, but the result of these petitions has not been decisive.

Premiums were offered by the American Peace Society for Essays on this Congress of Nations, and a great number were accordingly written, which were submitted to the examination of some of the most eminent civilians of our country. From these a selection of five was made by Mr. Ladd, and adding a summary one of his own, he published them in a handsome volume, which has been presented to the Executive of the United States, the Sovereigns of Great Britain and France, and many other Sovereign rulers, Statesmen, and Civilians. These have all been favorably and respectfully received; and although not yet entirely acquiesced in, have awakened extensive attention to the subject, and have well prepared the way for further action. Mr. Ladd pursued this object with indefatigable zeal till the time of his death, since which, we regret to say, it has been suffered to lie in abeyance.

We have presented this cursory account of the past action on this subject, not merely for the information of our readers, but also to show the encouragement that exists for the success of this measure, and the steps already taken by which future labor is diminished. It was not to be expected that the first efforts would be immediately successful, but the deep consideration given to the subject in consequence of these efforts, and more especially the moral and political changes that have since occurred, are highly auspicious to the accomplishment of this object, if well sustained and vigorously pursued. It is believed the moment has come when the majority of civilized governments would, on serious representation, joyfully accept the measure; and there is no nation from whom the proposal of it could come with more apparent disinterestedness, and less liability to suspicion than our own.

The plan recommended for this Congress of Nations we cannot now take the space to detail. It is laid down fully in the Essays to which we have referred, and other publications. It is only necessary to say briefly, that it should consist of two provisions, one temporary, the other permanent. First, a Congress or Convention of the representatives of those nations who consent to the measure, to form a code of general international law, on just and honorable principles, which when ratified by the several governments represented, shall be considered—as treaties now are—binding upon them in honor. These laws to take no cognizance of the internal government of each nation; so that their respective independence will remain uninflected.

The Congress having accomplished this object, may be dissolved, not to be assembled again, till the advance of civilization and public opinion may require a change.

The second, or permanent provision is a general or international Court, composed of the most enlightened civilians of the world, such as shall be agreed on by the parties, to hold their offices during good behaviour, and to be removable only by impeachment, and trial; whose duty it shall be to adjudicate all disputes arising between particular nations on the principles and laws laid down by the Congress. The awards of this Court are not to be sustained by any physical force; the only penalty for disobedience to them will be the dishonor which will attach to any government who should refuse to accede to impartial decisions founded on the laws to which they had consented; a restraint, which in the present and probable dispositions of civilized nations, we deem more efficacious than any fear of defeat in war.

But this plan may be set aside, and any other adopted, if the great object of getting a fixed international law in any mode is only attained. We have stated it because it serves to show two points which we are most anxious to press—namely, the efficacy and practicability of the measure

On the first point, the plan has almost entirely anticipated our remarks. It will be seen by the slightest attention to it, that when carried into full operation, war would by it be for ever put at rest; at least among those who acceded to it. As nations would sustain no loss of honor, but on the contrary preserve it by acquiescence in the decisions of the Court of Nations, they could never urge the plea of violated honor as a necessity for war, and no possible case can be imagined when the interests of a nation would not be less injured by such an acquiescence, than by the uncertain and ruinous appeal to the sword.

The practicability of carrying this measure into effect is the difficult question of the subject, on which we have much to say that cannot be stated in this article. We must content ourselves with remarking that it depends much on the friends of peace to whom this is addressed. It is the intention of the Directors of the American Peace Society to press the subject on the U. S. Executive and Congress the present winter, and if they are well sustained by petitions from the friends of peace through the country, and by meetings, resolutions and other movements in its favor, they entertain a strong hope that our government may be induced to propose it to foreign Courts. Should this be effected, the work will be more than half accomplished, for we have every reason to believe that the proposal coming from this nation, against which no jealousies respecting European policy exists, would be received by every Government with respect and favor. We are aware that many of our most respected friends, who are desirous of the measure, are apprehensive that the time is not yet come for it, and that other measures are necessary to be pursued for many years preparatory to it; but we think that the most direct course is the most efficient; that the minds of the rulers and people are as well prepared for it as they are ever likely to be; and that the only obstacle to success lies in this very paralyzing doubt of it, in the minds of the friends of peace. Let us unite one and all in vigorous efforts, and the completion of our object is almost certain, and if a

failure should be experienced, it prepares the way for a more successful trial in future.

Prominent among the devised substitutes for this Congress of Nations, is the recommendation to Governments to insert in their treaties a provision that all disputes shall be submitted to a foreign umpire mutually chosen. This proposal, emanating from one of our most respected friends, formed the basis of the discussions in the late General Convention of the Friends of Peace at London, and has been extensively approved. We regret to differ from an opinion so highly sustained. We believe that Governments would be more reluctant to give the pledge here required than to enter into the Congress of Nations; and if the treaty provisions were universally made, we think they would be found inefficient for the prevention of war. A successful attempt to obtain the treaty provisions would put back for ages the Congress of Nations, which the friends of the provisions profess to have ultimately in view; whereas, on the other hand, a failure in the attempt to establish the Congress of Nations, would lead to the recommendation of the treaty provisions, as is proved by the action of our own Congress on the subject. We have no room now to discuss this important question, which we may resume in a future number.

We would however willingly suspend our attempt to obtain the Congress of Nations, in deference to our friends who propose the treaty provisions, if the former experiment was now to be commenced; but so much preparation has been made for it, and such extensive influence produced in its favor, that we deprecate the loss of power and time and exertions accruing from its abandonment. We would therefore urge all the friends to unite in vigorous efforts now to carry forward this great project, and should it fail, we should be again re-united on the treaty provisions. But it will not fail.—Let the friends of peace, of humanity, be true to themselves, true to their Saviour, true to the world, and the destruction of the malignant elements of national policy, the blessings of universal peace, the benevolent harmony of mankind, will be given to us by the God of love.

All War contrary to the will of God.

BY S. E. COUES.

There have been, of late, some attempts through the press to prove that all war is not forbidden by the Gospel. My attention has been particularly directed to an article in the Boston Recorder reviewing the oration of Mr. Sumner. To the writer in the Boston Recorder, and to all who agree with him in opinion, I would respectfully address the following remarks.

It is wrong to lie, to steal, and to commit murder. A lower code of laws than the Gospel, stamps these acts criminal. The very essence of criminality consists in the intention to injure others for a professed good to ourselves—the disregard of others' welfare in the attainment of some object—the supremacy of selfishness over the social and benevolent feelings of our nature.

Acts of violence then can never be justified before God by the magnitude or importance of the results intended by the acts of violence; for criminality