

HAMILTON HOLT, NEW YORK, PRESIDENT

JANE ADDAMS, CHICAGO, VICE-PRESIDENT

43
LOUIS P. LOCHNER, CHICAGO, SECRETARY

NATIONAL PEACE FEDERATION

HEADQUARTERS

116 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO

TELEPHONE—RANDOLPH
6151



Chicago, October 30, 1915.

Dear Sir:

Will it not be possible for you to
call your students together on November 8th,
at the chapel hour or at such other time as
may be convenient, for the purpose of endors-
ing the resolution submitted in Enclosure III?

Thank you in advance for your co-
operation in this matter.

Very sincerely yours,

Louis P. Lochner
Secretary.

NATIONAL PEACE FEDERATION

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Secretary

DO NOT WASTE THIS MATERIAL. IF YOU CANNOT ACT, HAND IT TO
SOMEONE WHO WILL.

I.

WHAT TO DO.

(1) Find out what organizations in your city will hold meetings on November 8.

Get some live member in each to see to it that a place is somehow provided on the program for the passage of the Resolution (Enclosure III.) and for as much of the program below (Enclosure II.) as may be practicable.

It may be an unusual request in the case of many organizations, but precedent should not be a bar to action while the greatest tragedy in history is being enacted.

(2) If yours is a factory town or an industrial center, have the working men and women during the noon hour, or at any other time convenient, called together and present the Resolution (Enclosure III.) to them. If time permits, have the Manifesto (Enclosure V.) read to them. They are for peace and will demonstrate it by their action.

(3) Arrange for a citizens' mass meeting and challenge your city to action. Every decent citizen wants this carnage to stop ere the white race is annihilated. For material suitable for a mass meeting, see Enclosures III, V, VI, VIII, IX, XI, XII. Also see such articles on "The War Buzzard" in the American Magazine for November and "On the Battlefield" in The Public for September 17.

(4) See to it that the editors of the papers in your city receive a copy of "The Case for Continuous Neutral Mediation" (Enclosure VII). Ask them after reading it to write an editorial endorsing the idea. Also show them the other enclosures, notably III, V, VIII, IX, XI, and XII, for such use as they can make of them.

(5) Enclosed are two newspaper stories (Enclosure X). Send the first one to your editors immediately with a request for publication, and the second shortly before the day of the meeting. Also furnish them with photographs of your speakers, and with advance copies of their speeches.

(6) Get as many fellow citizens as possible to wire individually to President Wilson, besides having organizations telegraph him.

(7) Write the Chicago office at the earliest opportunity, stating what action was taken in your city.

(8) Don't hesitate to write for additional material for information to the central office at Chicago.

Address:

The National Peace Federation,
116 South Michigan Avenue,
Chicago, Ill.

IF YOU CANNOT ACT IN THIS MATTER, PLEASE BE SURE TO HAND THIS MATERIAL TO SOMEONE WHO WILL.

II.

THE PROGRAM.

If a special meeting is called for the express purpose of passing the Resolution, a program somewhat like the following is suggested:

- (1) Reading of the Manifesto (Enclosure V).
- (2) Address along the general lines suggested in Enclosure VI.
- (3) If there is time, reading of some of the other enclosures, (XI and XII), or, if preferred, these enclosures, together with the text of the Resolution (Enclosure III), may be reprinted and given to everyone in the audience.
- (4) Voluntary offering for a fund to continue a vigorous campaign of action in favor of an early peace based on justice and not on military advantage.

Contributions should be sent to The National Peace Federation, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

- (5) Reading of the Resolution, with Motion to adopt it and to telegraph its contents to President Wilson (Enclosure IV).

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III.

THE RESOLUTION.

(This resolution should be submitted to every newspaper in the city
and to the representatives of the Associated Press for publication
immediately after its passage.)

The outcome of recent missions to the governments of the warring
nations warrants the belief that, while the nations at war are not
willing themselves to begin negotiations or even signify a desire to
do so, lest it be interpreted as a sign of weakness and place them at a
disadvantage in the final peace settlement, there is nevertheless
abundant evidence that those charged with the administration of the
foreign policies of these nations would welcome, or at least not
oppose, affirmative action by a neutral agency to bring about a peace
based on international justice.

This meeting therefore respectfully urges the President of the
United States to co-operate with other neutral governments in calling
a conference of neutral nations, which would constitute a voluntary
court of continuous mediation, would invite suggestions for settlement
from each of the warring nations, and in any case submit simultaneously
to all of them reasonable proposals as a basis for peace.

Adopted this Eighth Day of November by

.....

(Name of Organization)

of.....State of.....

.....
President or Chairman.

.....
Secretary.

IV.

THE TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT.

The following fifty-word night letter should be sent to President Wilson on the eve of November 8:

WESTERN UNION
NIGHT LETTER

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, Vice-President

NEWCOMB CARLTON, President

BELVIDERE BROOKS, Vice-President

RECEIVER'S No.	TIME FILED	CHECK
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SEND the following Night Letter, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

HON. WOODROW WILSON, , NOVEMBER 8, 1915.
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

CITIZENS OF (NAME CITY) RESPECTFULLY URGE YOU TO CO-OPERATE WITH OTHER NEUTRAL GOVERNMENTS IN CALLING CONFERENCE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS, WHICH WOULD CONSTITUTE A VOLUNTARY COURT OF CONTINUOUS MEDIATION, INVITE SUGGESTIONS FOR SETTLEMENT FROM WARRING NATIONS, AND IN ANY CASE SUBMIT SIMULTANEOUSLY TO ALL OF THEM REASONABLE PROPOSALS AS BASIS FOR PEACE.

.....
(NAME OF ORGANIZATION)

.....
CHAIRMAN OR SECRETARY.

THE MANIFESTO

Issued by Envoys of the International Congress of Women at the Hague
to the Governments of Europe, and the President
of the United States

HERE in America, on neutral soil, far removed from the stress of the conflict we, envoys to the Governments from the International Congress of Women at the Hague, have come together to canvass the results of our missions. We put forth this statement as our united and deliberate conclusions.

At a time when the foreign offices of the great belligerents have been barred to each other, and the public mind of Europe has been fixed on the war offices for leadership, we have gone from capital to capital and conferred with the civil governments.

Our mission was to place before belligerent and neutral alike the resolutions of the International Congress of Women held at the Hague in April; especially to place before them the definite method of a conference of neutral nations as an agency of continuous mediation for the settlement of the war.

To carry out this mission two delegations were appointed, which included women of Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States. One or other of these delegations was received by the governments in fourteen capitals, Berlin, Berne, Budapest, Christiania, Copenhagen, Hague, Havre (Belgian Government), London, Paris, Petrograd, Rome, Stockholm, Vienna, and Washington. We were received by the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the Powers, by the King of Norway, by the Presidents of Switzerland and of the United States, by the Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State. In many capitals more than one audience was given, not merely to present our resolutions, but for a thorough discussion. In addition to the thirty-five governmental visits we met—everywhere—members of parliaments and other leaders of public opinion.

We heard much the same words spoken in Downing Street as those spoken in Wilhelmstrasse, in Vienna as in Petrograd, in Budapest as in the Havre, where the Belgians have their temporary government.

Our visits to the war capitals convinced us that the belligerent Governments would not be opposed to a conference of neutral nations; that while the belligerents have rejected offers of mediation by single neutral nations, and while no belligerent could ask for mediation, the creation of a continuous conference of neutral nations might provide the machinery which would lead to peace. We found that the neutrals on the other hand were concerned lest calling such a conference might be considered inopportune by one or other of the belligerents. Here our information from the belligerents themselves gave assurance that such initiative would not be resented.

"My country would not find anything unfriendly in such action by the neutrals," was the assurance given us by the foreign Minister of one of the great belligerents. "My Government would place no obstacle in the way of its institution," said the Minister of an opposing nation. "What are the neutrals waiting for?" said a third, whose name ranks high not only in his own country, but all over the world.

It remained to put this clarifying intelligence before the neutral countries. As a result the plan of starting mediation through the agency of a continuous conference of the neutral nations is today being seriously discussed alike in the Cabinets of the belligerent and neutral countries of Europe and in the press of both.

We are in a position to quote some of the expressions of men high in the councils of the great nations as to the feasibility of the plan. "You are right," said one Minister, "that it would be of the greatest importance to finish the fight by early negotiation rather than by further military efforts, which would result in more and more destruction and irreparable loss." "Yours is the sanest proposal that has been brought to this office in the last six months," said the Prime Minister of one of the larger countries.

We were also in position to canvass the objections that have been made to the proposal, testing it out severely in the judgment of those in the midst of the European conflict. It has been argued that it is not the time at present to start such a process of negotiation, and that no step should be taken until one or other party has a victory, or at least until some new military balance is struck. The answer we bring is that every delay makes more difficult the beginning of negotiations, more nations become involved, and the situation becomes more complicated; that when at times in the course of the war such a balance was struck, the neutrals were unprepared to act. The opportunity passed. For the forces of peace to be unprepared when the hour comes, is as irretrievable as for a military leader to be unready.

It has been argued that for such a conference to be called at any time when one side has met with some military advantage, would be to favor that side. The answer we bring is that the proposed conference would start mediation at a higher level than that of military advantage. As to the actual military situation, however, we quote a remark made to us by a foreign Minister of one of the belligerent Powers. "Neither side is to-day strong enough to dictate terms, and neither side

is so weakened that it has to accept humiliating terms."

It has been suggested that such a conference would bind the neutral governments coöperating in it. The answer we bring is that, as proposed, such a conference should consist of the ablest persons of the neutral countries, assigned not to problems of their own governments, but to the common service of a supreme crisis. The situation calls for a conference cast in a new and larger mould than those of conventional diplomacy, the governments sending to it persons drawn from social, economic, and scientific fields who have had genuine international experience.

As women, it was possible for us, from belligerent and neutral nations alike, to meet in the midst of war and to carry forward an interchange of question and answer between capitals which were barred to each other. It is now our duty to make articulate our convictions. We have been convinced that the governments of the belligerent nations would not be hostile to the institution of such a common channel for good offices; and that the governments of the European neutrals we visited stand ready to coöperate with others in mediation. Reviewing the situation, we believe that of the five European neutral nations visited, three are ready to join in such a conference, and that two are deliberating the calling of such a conference. Of the intention of the United States we have as yet no evidence.

We are but the conveyors of evidence which is a challenge to action by the neutral governments visited—by Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. We in turn bear evidence of a rising desire and intention of vast companies of people in the neutral countries to turn a barren disinterestedness into an active goodwill. In Sweden, for example, more than 400 meetings were held in one day in different parts of the country, calling on the government to act.

The excruciating burden of responsibility for the hopeless continuance of this war no longer rests on the will of the belligerent nations alone. It rests also on the will of those neutral governments and people who have been spared its shock but cannot, if they would, absolve themselves from their full share of responsibility for the continuance of war.

Signed by

Aletta Jacobs [Holland].

Chrystal Macmillan [Great Britain].

Rosika Schwimmer [Austro-Hungary].

Emily G. Balch [United States].

Jane Addams [United States].

New York, October 15, 1915.

POINTS FOR AN ADDRESS.

(The suggestions presuppose the reading of the Manifesto.)

Fellow Citizens:

For over a year the greatest calamity in history has run its unchecked course. Millions of human lives already wiped out, other millions of men wounded or diseased, military costs aggregating nineteen billion dollars, and commercial losses of eleven billion dollars,—this, at a conservative estimate, is the present toll of the war, not to speak of the unfortunate non-combatants, the widows and orphans, the aged and infirm; nor the hunger, disease, privation and suffering of millions of innocents not even in the war zone.

In the face of such a tragedy, shall we rest content to say that nothing can be done? If a method can be devised by which the war can be shortened by but one day, is there a person in this audience who would not gladly make a supreme sacrifice to accomplish that worthy end?

There is a way. We are gathered today to register our approval, and to express that approval to the executive head of this nation, of a plan that not only promises to hasten the end of the conflict, but that will also make it possible to conclude a peace based upon international justice rather than upon military advantage.

Let us for a moment review the European situation in the light of the testimony of those who have had the opportunity to study conditions at first hand. Practically all thoughtful observers of the European situation agree that the old orthodox method of mediation, by which a neutral government says in effect to the belligerents, "As soon as either of you is ready to quit, just tell us, and we'll be glad to act as go-between and disinterested friend," is inadequate to cope with as stupendous a situation as confronts the world today. A sweeping victory on either side, even if attainable, would not contribute to the solution of the problems of Europe, being sure to leave an increasing legacy of hate with the seeds of future wars.

It is clear, then, that the first steps looking toward an approach to a settlement must come from some neutral agency, unless indeed the struggle is to continue indefinitely and the white race face virtual annihilation. What is more, such affirmative neutral action is prayerfully hoped for by Ally and Teuton alike. If there is any doubt about it in the minds of any of you, consult again the testimony of those who have recently been in the warring governments of Europe. Everywhere the story is the same, those high in power saying in effect: "We are just as anxious as anybody can be to see the ghastly game called off. No one among us desired this war, nor wishes for its continuance. But with us it must be a fight to a finish, *unless you neutrals step in and offer a solution.*" As Miss Addams put it in her Carnegie Hall address of July 9: "*There is none of the warring nations that would not be glad to receive such service. Now that came to us unequivocally.*"

What shall this neutral agency be that shall make the first approach to the complicated situation abroad? Far too little have we as Americans concerned ourselves with this thought. We have rested content to thank God and the President that this nation has kept out of war. We forget that this exceptional fortune imposes upon us exceptional responsibilities; that our nation, because of its mixed population, its size and its geographical isolation, is under obligation above all nations to face this question seriously. We forget that the neutral countries of northern and western Europe are putting America to shame by not only keeping out of the war under conditions far more trying than those confronting our nation, but by also focusing the collective thought of their entire peoples upon the one method still left to end the war by negotiation rather than exhaustion—that of a conference of neutral nations.

In Holland, in Norway, in Sweden, in Denmark, in Switzerland, in all these splendid little states have the peoples and the governments faced squarely the issue that we are facing today. "What can we do to save Europe from itself?"—king and peasant alike have asked it. And from each of these

countries has come the same answer: "Alone we are not influential enough to affect the situation decisively. This crisis calls for collective action. Like your President, our Government, too, has singly offered mediation, but the result has not been encouraging. No single nation, be it ever so powerful, can lift its voice above the din of battle."

And so each of them has intimated, nay frankly pledged, that it would gladly co-operate with other neutrals, provided only the greatest and most influential of the neutrals, the United States, intimated its willingness to join in the movement.

It comes, then, to this: The belligerent countries stand ready to accept collective action and the European neutrals are eager and ready to act; yet America alone keeps the world waiting by remaining apathetic. Do you realize what a tremendous burden of responsibility is thus thrown upon us? In an age in which all the world is our neighbor, shall we continue to stand aloof? Shall we justify the charge, already openly expressed by Teuton and Ally alike, that our greed for money and power prompts us deliberately to withhold our co-operation, so that a weakened and bankrupt Europe may assure our commercial and political supremacy?

Supposing the conference does not meet with instant success. Time is inexorable, and more and more the forces making for progress within the warring countries would rally to the support of the neutrals. For let us not forget that in each of the warring countries there are tremendous popular currents at work demanding an early peace. They have not been very successful thus far, because there was no concrete proposal to which they could direct the attention of their governments. Moreover, a strict censorship has made it impossible for these currents to find free expression. But once such an international conference of neutrals were in session, these democratic currents could reassert themselves with renewed force. Yes, self-interest and economic necessity, if no other motives, would lead the belligerents at least to listen to the solutions proposed by such a conference.

Even supposing that the conference made no impression whatever upon the warring governments, that all its efforts to bring the belligerents together failed. Still it would have tremendous value. For, even accepting for the moment the fallacious theory of "a fight-to-a-finish," the war cannot go on forever, and sooner or later negotiations must, after all, take the place of military action. When these negotiations begin there will be more need than ever of wisdom and constructive statesmanship to prevent a settlement along the lines that will merely mean the perpetuation of the conditions that led to the present war. A constructive peace program worked out by the conference proposed could not but be of far-reaching influence upon the men assembled around the green table.

Reduced to its very lowest terms, the proposal which we have come to endorse today could not do worse than fail of accomplishing its purpose. There is honor even in failure. On the other hand, there is everything to be gained from it. Indeed, the evidence which you have heard demonstrates how ready conditions are for the success of the plan proposed. If collective right thinking has any potency at all, the countless meetings which are being held simultaneously today to place this country squarely on the side of constructive action are bound to set in motion a popular demand for a peace based on justice, that will prove irresistible and compelling.

Citizens of....., as Americans and as men and women who desire to serve the highest interests of humanity, let us by word and action contribute our share toward fulfilling the hopes of those millions of unfortunate human beings throughout the length and breadth of Europe who are waiting for America to speak. Let it not be said of us that we had ears and heard not; that we had eyes and saw not. Let us accept the challenge of our neutral sister nations across the waters, and united with them immediately approach a situation that becomes more difficult and complicated every day, yes, every hour. *Before it is too late, let us act.*

VII.

THE CASE FOR CONTINUOUS NEUTRAL MEDIATION.

SCOPE OF WORK OF A CONFERENCE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS:

The work of the Conference should be to formulate concerted proposals of possible terms of peace as a basis for suggestions and objections on the part of the belligerent governments and for public discussion. In other words, it should frame the outline of a possible treaty to be submitted to the belligerent governments and to be publicly discussed in the different countries.

Further, on the basis of the suggestions and objections received from the belligerent governments, the Conference should modify the original proposals and submit them again to the belligerents in the modified form. It should in this way continuously develop the original proposals in the line of further suggestions and objections made by the belligerent governments, or arising out of the public discussion of the successive proposals in the different countries. It should continue in this way until the proposals have reached a point when the belligerents of both sides find in them sufficient common ground themselves to meet for the final settlement of the peace treaty.

THE NEED OF A SPECIAL METHOD:

This war is in every way unparalleled so that none of the methods applied to the settlement of previous wars are practicable. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to the future peace of the whole world that the method of bringing about the settlement of the present war should be adapted to its peculiar circumstances. Such a method is this impartial neutral conference, which would work towards a settlement without waiting to be officially asked by the belligerents.

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VIIa

WHY THE BELLIGERENTS CANNOT ACT:

It is useless to wait till one belligerent side asks for mediation, because however sick both sides may be of the war, they are too proud to accept mediation as commonly understood. None of the governments can afford as yet to go before its people with a virtual confession of defeat, such as would be implied in its official acceptance of mediation. The censored press in each of the belligerent countries leads each people to believe that victory is certain. Imagine, then, the popular outcry against any government that suddenly announced that it had told Uncle Sam or any other neutral that it was ready for a settlement!

It is clear, then, that the first steps looking toward an approach to a settlement must come from some neutral agency. Every day's delay means loss, irreparable loss, not only to the belligerents but to the whole world. This method provides the machinery for taking the first step towards a settlement. It is for the neutrals to put it into motion.

WHY MEDIATION SHOULD COME FROM A NUMBER OF NEUTRALS ACTING JOINTLY:

The necessity of mediation by a group of governments, instead of by an individual government, is that, on the one hand, the group acting jointly would give confidence to the belligerents of both sides, and, on the other hand, would help to safeguard the neutrality of the individual government co-operating.

This is necessary because the sensitiveness of the belligerents might lead them to suppose that some of the neutrals might lean to one side and some to the other, so that the co-operation of a group would assure the belligerents of the disinterestedness of all the parties.

VIIb

POSSIBLE METHOD OF CALLING THE CONFERENCE:

In order to make a start in forming such a conference some neutral State must issue the invitation to other neutral States to the Conference. Certain European neutrals have already intimated a readiness to help and a wish to co-operate when effective action should be taken. Moreover, the Governments of the Netherlands and of Sweden are seriously considering the question of taking the initiative. Our information leads to the belief that the Conference could be more efficiently and quickly got together if one of the European neutrals were to convene a Conference of the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Spain and the United States of America.

The United States would probably find it difficult, if it took the initiative, to discriminate between the European neutrals and the South American Republics, with which it has so many close ties. The United States, however, would not be in the same difficult position in accepting the invitation of one of the European neutrals to join in a Conference with the European neutrals.

Were these European neutrals informed, officially or unofficially, that the United States would accept such an invitation it would be possible to set up the Conference in the near future. These smaller European neutrals would in this way be given the support which would make it possible for them to act.

NATURE OF THE CONFERENCE:

A confusion exists in the minds of some people as to the type of Conference proposed. Some have thought of it as a body like the Hague Conference, where the members voiced the opinions of their governments and in some sense committed their governments, while some have proposed a Conference of neutral nations whose business it would be to promote the interests of the neutral nations taking part.

It must be emphasized that it is essential to the success of the proposed Conference that its work should be restricted to the effort to settle the dispute between the warring peoples.

VIIc

MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE AND THEIR POWERS.

The type of persons appointed should be of broad international outlook. They should not, once appointed, require to refer back to their governments, but should act on their own responsibility as do the Judges of the Hague Court of Arbitration, who are appointed by their governments, but who, once appointed, act on their own responsibility. The work of the Conference, however, would be different from that of the Hague Court of Arbitration which deals only with justiciable questions. The proposed Conference would more resemble an International Court of Conciliation and its work would be analogous to that of a Board of Conciliation mediating between employers and employed.

SPECIAL INFORMATION:

Those with special information regarding the problems involved, whether from neutral or belligerent countries, would be willing to give it to such a Conference of neutral governments.

BASIS OF A LASTING PEACE:

By this method of continuous mediation, in which the proposals would be initiated by an impartial body, we can hope to see established the peace based on the principles of freedom and justice for which all the belligerents in their official statements, whether to the public or to private individuals, declare themselves to be fighting.

These declarations on their part of a desire for a peace based on freedom and justice give to the neutral conference the opportunity to draft its proposals on the basis acknowledged by the belligerents to be fundamental.

WHY NOT FIGHT TO A FINISH?

Those who advocate the postponement of any action toward the application of these principles till the end of the war fail to realize that the terms of peace are being decided now in the secret bayoues being made between one or the other belligerent side and the neutrals who are being urged to enter the conflict.

To suggest the postponing of action till after a problematic decisive victory, whether on one side or the other, is to go back to the exploded idea that peace must be dictated by the victor to the defeated.

IF YOU CANNOT ACT IN THIS MATTER, PLEASE BE SURE TO HAND THIS MATERIAL TO SOMEONE WHO WILL.

VIII.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN OTHER NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

SWEDEN:

On June 27, nearly 600 mass meetings throughout the Kingdom, with more than 100,000 people attending, urged their Government to co-operate in a neutral Conference.

HOLLAND:

On August 3, the Anti-Oorlog Raad (Anti-War Council) convened a national meeting at The Hague, at which hundreds of Dutch organizations were represented. The convention went on record in favor of a neutral Conference, and petitioned the Dutch Government accordingly.

SWITZERLAND:

Twenty-one organizations are now circulating a petition to encourage their Government to act with other neutrals.

As the result of all this agitation, "three of the European neutral countries are ready to join in such a conference, and two are deliberating the calling of it," as the envoys who personally visited the Governments were able to state.

IX.

WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE IN AMERICA.

The idea of a conference of neutrals has already received far more affirmative endorsement than is commonly supposed. But these endorsements have come spasmodically. Concerted, simultaneous action will rally such support around the President as will enable him to speak for a united America. In the following, a tabulation, by no means exhaustive, is made of significant endorsements:

ENDORSEMENTS BY POPULAR CONGRESSES, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL.

National Conference of the Emergency Peace Federation, Chicago, February 27-28, 1915.

International Congress of Women at The Hague, Holland, April 28 to May 1, 1915.

International Peace Congress, San Francisco, October 10-13, 1915.

ENDORSEMENTS BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

The Governors of Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, North Dakota, Vermont, Wyoming.

Members of Congress from Alabama, Arkansas, California, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, Ohio, South Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin.

United States Senators from California, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

A former Secretary of War and a former Assistant Secretary of War.

A former Secretary of State.

The United States Commissioner of Education.

The Chairman of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

ENDORSEMENTS BY LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

The Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, in a Memorial to the President adopted in February, 1915.

In this connection, Senate Joint Resolution 234, introduced on February 8 by Senator LaFollette should also be mentioned. This resolution died in committee, but the discussions attending its introduction were highly significant.

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United States Senators from California, Wisconsin, Wyoming.
A former Secretary of War and a former Assistant Secretary of War.
A former Secretary of State.
The United States Commissioner of Education.
The Chairman of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

ENDORSEMENTS BY LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

The Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, in a Memorial to the President adopted in February, 1915.
In this connection, Senate Joint Resolution 234, introduced on February 8 by Senator LaFollette should also be mentioned. This resolution died in committee, but the discussions attending its introduction were highly significant.

IXa

ENDORSEMENTS BY SMALLER BODIES:

Appeal of over two hundred university and college presidents and professors.

National Women's Peace Party - 200 branches.

The Board of Directors of the American Peace Society.

The Christian Endeavor Society.

Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs - 10,400 members.

Chicago Commons (Settlement) - 3,000 members.

Central Howard Association, Chicago, Ill. - 2,500 members.

Woman's Peace Party, Grand Rapids, Mich. - 2,000 members.

Somerset Pomona Grange, Somerset Co., Me. - 844 members.

Monthly Meeting of Friends, Richland, Iowa - 800 members.

Frederick Douglas Center, Chicago - 500 members.

The Civic League, Keokuk, Iowa - 500 members.

Ladies' Auxiliary of Temple Shalom, Chicago - 400 members.

Seventh District M. F. W. C., Minnesota - 400 members.

Women's Trade Union League, Chicago - 400 members.

Woman's Peace Party, St. Louis, Mo. - 228 members.

Esther Falkenstein Settlement, Chicago - 150 members.

North Dakota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church - 150 members.

Political Equality Club of Independence, Iowa - fourteen members.

Welfare League of the Jesse Beery Co., Miami Co., Ohio - fifty members.

Santa Clara District, Woman's Peace Party, Santa Clara, Cal. - twenty-two members.

First Methodist Episcopal Church of Riverside, Ill. - 135 members.

Algood Book Club - twenty members.

Hungarian Literary and Singing Club, Chicago - 100 members.

Woman's Civic League, Grinnell, Iowa - 100 members.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Northfield, Minn. - 75 members.

Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations, Chicago, - 60 women's clubs.

Woman's Peace Party, Andover, N. H. - 50 members.

Nashville Chapter of Southern Ass'n of College Women - 40 members.

Nineteenth Century Club, Pueblo, Colo. - 30 members.

Chicago Vegetarian Club - 25 members.

Group of seven teachers in the Ethical Culture School, New York City.

National Peace Federation, Michigan.

North Dakota Synodical, Fargo.

Ohio State Federation of Women's Clubs.

South End Settlement Center, Chicago.

X-1

MEETING TO URGE PRESIDENT TO JOIN NEUTRAL CONFERENCE.

Similar Meetings all over Nation.

Since the startling evidence of the deputations which have visited the belligerent and neutral governments of Europe has been put before the people of our country, a growing feeling of impatience by men and women over the delay of our country to act in the name of humanity has finally resulted in a nation-wide movement. Everywhere people are clamoring for an opportunity to assert their feelings, and are besieging the centers of organization to give advice as to what can be done to help Europe out of the trap into which it has fallen. The organization of peace forces, the National Peace Federation, the President of which is Hamilton Holt of New York, Vice President Jane Addams of Chicago, and Secretary Louis P. Lochner of Chicago, will direct this national peace demonstration. On November 8, thousands of simultaneous meetings will be held all over the country, constituting an immense, gigantic appeal calling upon the President to lead the United States in fulfilling our solemn obligation. In our city the meeting will be held in.....Hall. The speakers will be
.....Mr. Mrs. Miss.....
will present a complete review of the situation and outline the exact duty of our country not only in keeping this nation out of the war, which in comparison with the same task of the European neutrals is very minor, but in directing Europe to the way out of the war.

X-2

NATION-WIDE DEMONSTRATION FOR IMMEDIATE PEACE.

Meetings Calling on Wilson to Act.

The occasional and sporadic peace demonstrations which are recurring with increasing frequency will culminate in a nation-wide movement for positive action on the eighth of November. Simultaneous meetings will be held on the same day and, if possible, at the same hour, in every city and hamlet wherever a group of people can meet. The demand that our country participate in an united effort with other neutral countries to begin the process of continuous mediation, has such strong backing by large numbers of people that America's sense of duty to help war-ridden Europe can no longer be suppressed.

The evidence gathered from the belligerent governments of Europe, together with the assurances that the neutral governments are ready for action as soon as our government expresses its readiness for co-operation, indicates that the only way to end the greatest war of all history is through the channels of a neutral conference. This places a heavy responsibility upon the United States.

The meeting to be held on the eighth of November in at o'clock, when will speak, will demonstrate that our city feels this responsibility, regardless of whether we are pro-German or pro-Ally. This message coming from thousands of other meetings will be flashed over to Europe as a proof of our sympathy with all sufferers. The meeting will be open to the public free of charge. It is hardly necessary for the Committee to urge the people of.... to be present, for action in this matter is not only the noblest duty for every human being to perform at this time, but the highest expression of our sincerity.

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XI.

AN INDICTMENT.

By David Starr Jordan

Chancellor of Stanford University.

The Great War is bleeding Europe white. It is working havoc without parallel in the best racial elements in all nations concerned, thereby exhausting the near future and bringing subsequent impoverishment, physical and mental, to the race.

An intolerable burden of sorrow and misery is thrown on the women and children in the various nations — those who have no part in bringing on the war and no interests to be served by it.

No possible gain, economic or political (the integrity of invaded territory being assured), can compensate any nation for the loss, distress and misery involved in this war and aggravated by every day of its continuance.

No probability exists that military operations in any quarter, on land or sea, can of themselves bring the war to an end.

A sweeping victory on either side, even if attainable, would not contribute to the solution of the problems of Europe, being sure to leave an increasing legacy of hate with the seeds of future wars.

XII.

TO A FINISH.

By Senator Henri La Fontaine of Belgium

A fight to a finish! To the finish of what? Of militarism, will be the answer, but nobody reflects on the terrible sacrifices, the frightful massacres, the unheard-of ruin that this answer implies.

An end must be put to the young, the growing, and the adults in all the force of their experience and development. An end must be put to the savants, the thinkers, the highest intelligences, and the most brilliant artists. An end must be put to civilization, progress, inventions, and beauty. An end must be put to the age-long devotion of men in loving and trusting. An end must be put to shining prospects and splendid hopes. Under the impassive stars and the triumphant sun an end must be put to the human race. That is the real meaning of the fatalistic cry which is hypnotizing the world!

Indeed, if in the presence of the horrid spectacle of muddy trenches filled with putrefying corpses and wounded men awaiting tetanus and gangrene, humanity does not rise and shout, in an access of noble passion and clear vision, "Enough, enough!" it had better come to an end.

Better that the earth unencumbered with the dwellings of men, freed from the criminal multitudes who, thirsting for blood and murder, abuse it with their shells, delivered from the frightful cacophony of their war-cries, mingled with the deafening roar of cannons and the crackling of the mitrailleuses—better that the earth roll inert and verdant, inhabited by birds and filled with their songs, in the vast spaces restored to their eternal calm.

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Chicago, November 3, 1915

Dear Sir:-

Your favor of the 30th inst. with enclosure is received. It is not in accordance with the policy of the University to call its students together for the purpose of initiating any particular propaganda.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Mr. Louis P. Lochner,
116 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago.

Chicago, November 3, 1918

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