

The accompanying diagram helps to explain the details of our frontispiece though allowances must be made for the different direction of points of the compass. In the center we have the Caaba, the building which contains the sacred black stone in its eastern corner. The south corner pointing in the direction of Yemen is called the Yemen corner. On the northern side are two slabs of greenish marble believed to be the tombs of Hagar and Ishmael. They are surrounded by *el hatim* which means "the broken," a semicircular wall supposed to mark the original extent of the Caaba. The whole is surrounded by a circle of columns surmounted by lamps. In front of the Caaba we see the *Babes-salam*, the Gate of Peace through which Mohammed entered when he was chosen to life the black stone into its proper place. Between this and the building itself is the *Makam Ibrahim* (the station of Abraham) where the patriarch's footprint is supposed to be preserved. It is a small building supported by six pillars. This is the station where the *imam* of the Shafi'i sect stands when he leads his fellow members in their prayers. There are three other stations (*makam*) on each of the other three sides for the *imams* of the other orthodox Mohammedan sects: To the right, the Makam Hanbali, to the left the Makam Hanafi, and the Makam Maliki opposite the first. At the east corner of the enclosure we find several small buildings the first of which covers the sacred *sam zam* well. A stairway leads to the upper story. Further out toward the east there are two ugly buildings called *el-Kubatain* which serve the purpose of store rooms for utensils used in the care of the masque. Not shown in the diagram but near the *makam Ibrahim* is a pulpit or *mimbar*.

THE PROBLEMS OF UNIVERSAL PEACE.

Mr. Victor S. Yarros of Hull House, Chicago, writes as follows concerning a recent American movement for international peace:

"A number of distinguished Americans have formed a League of Peace, or an American branch of what they hope may become in time a world-wide League of Peace. The platform adopted by the gentlemen at their Philadelphia meeting appears to be reasonable and moderate. It urges arbitration of all justiciable disputes while favoring discussion, investigation and earnest effort at the adjustment of non-justiciable controversies. Avoidable war is to be prevented by *force majeure*! that is, if any power or nation that voluntarily becomes a member of the League shall make war on any other member without reason or justice it will become the immediate duty of all the other members to punish and coerce that aggressor into surrender.

"There is no civilized man or group of men in the world that does not devoutly wish to prevent preventable war. Those who would fight for the sake of keeping alive the so-called military virtues are negligible alike numerically and morally. So far as the principle of the League is concerned, all should be plain and smooth sailing. No great nation should hesitate to join a league of peace that is really designed to discourage and restrain mere aggression or erratic, rash and impetuous Jingoism. But it is clear that before the great nations join the projected League and solemnly bind themselves to fight for peace, if necessary, many questions will have to be put and answered.

"Wherever the ultimate appeal is to force there must be a supreme tribunal to hear and determine controversies, to decide that this litigant is right

and that wrong, to render judgment and demand obedience. States and federations of states have their supreme tribunals; in forming a federation the constituent states agree to abide by the decision of the supreme federal tribunal. Where will supreme judicial authority be lodged in the League of Peace? Is an international tribunal to be created, and are the decisions of that tribunal to be final? If so, what if the judges disagree and there are majority and minority opinions filed? Is the majority opinion to prevail, and is a nation to make war even when its representatives on the tribunal hold that there is no occasion for war? Will parliaments and congresses and chief executives consent to abdicate, to surrender their own power and carry out the decisions of another tribunal? Will the nations consent to amend their respective constitutions to the full extent implied in the extraordinary proposal?

"If the true object of the League is peace propoganda, if no early practical results are expected by it, then the thought arises that the direction chosen by the founders of the League for peace propoganda is rather unpromising. It will not be easy to persuade any government to join the organization. The appeal will have to be addressed to public opinion, and, since this is the case, public opinion had better be addressed first with reference to deeper, underlying questions. In other words, leagues of peace should work for the removal of conditions that bring on war. What, in our day, are the causes of war? National arrogance, national jealousy, national greed and ambition, national suspicion and distrust. Kings and foreign ministers cannot make war unless they actually reflect public sentiment or have the craft and skill to make the nation believe they are serving, representing and reflecting its wishes and aspirations. Leagues of peace should determine in a thoroughly scientific and impartial manner what justice at any given time requires in international relations and affairs. They should then candidly and vigorously support those nations that ask and offer justice, and as candidly and vigorously assail those nations that demand too much for themselves and deny justice to other nations. Is a nation conspiring to close a door that should be open to all? Is a nation plotting to undermine another nation's commercial prosperity? Is a nation too ambitious and too selfish, and are its policies so unfair and dangerous that sooner or later they must lead to an explosion? Is any nation unjustly treated in connection with the development of new markets, the redistribution of colonial territory? Is any nation or group of nations seeking to isolate another nation or group and thereby stimulating military expenditures and measures of defense and offense? In any of these cases it would be the duty of a league of peace to expose and denounce the dangerous policies of the selfish, predatory or short-sighted and stupid governments.

"Such a program as this for a league of peace would tend to solve problems, to settle controversies, instead of breeding new problems and controversies. Such a program means hard and honest scientific study of knotty questions, and patient, unremitting efforts to develop a consensus of competent international opinion touching the "sore spots" of world politics and diplomacy. We greatly fear—or, rather, we have no doubt—that leagues of peace that ignore the deeper causes of war and neglect the spade work, the educational and scientific work above briefly outlined will be wasting their time and labor.

"We have had some fruitful investigations and studies of past wars. We have had fairly useful peace reports and pamphlets of a general character.

But this is not what is needed. Hindsight has its value, but foresight is better. The world has certain sore spots, as Bismarck called them, certain storm centers. Nations have grievances, actual or imaginary. Nations have complaints, causes of action, so to speak. Some of these are not in their nature arbitrable, and to ignore them is to endanger the peace and progress of the world. Let, then, an international league of peace undertake an earnest and unbiased study of these threatening complaints or causes of action, and let it work out, propose and energetically advocate just and reasonable settlements of these causes of action.

"Are we to take the position that national bias will bar the way to anything like a consensus of opinion on any question of the sort indicated? If so, leagues of peace are futile and vain enterprises. If scientific, philosophical, independent minds cannot agree on certain principles of international justice and right in the matter of colonial trade, open doors, protectorates, and buffer states, immigration and naturalization, and so on, how can any league or any tribunal created by it hope to enforce peace?"

"To put the matter most concretely, a league of peace should undertake to determine fearlessly what grievances Russia has, or Germany, or Austria, or Japan, or France, or Denmark, and what can and should be done by wise and honest diplomacy to remove these grievances. Such inquiries and findings would in truth powerfully contribute to the success of the peace movement."

* * *

Another writer in more or less the same vein is E. D. Brinkerhoff, who sends us for review a pamphlet bearing the ambitious title, *Constitution for the United Nations of the Earth*. The document is interesting but need not be treated seriously since neither Great Britain nor Germany nor the United States will accept Mr. Brinkerhoff's plan. The constitution is fashioned mainly after the pattern of the United States. The house of representatives is called by the Russian name "Duma"; their number is altogether 566, of whom the British Empire sends 143, the United States 36, France 32, Germany including all its colonies 25; Alsace-Lorraine-Luxemburg counts as a new state with the meager delegation of 1, while Belgium counts 10 and Abyssinia 4. The Senate is composed of two senators from each dominion. For some unknown reason the seat of the parliament of the United Nations of the Earth is not betrayed, nor is there any hint where the president will establish his abode.

The United Nations will keep a regular standing army and a navy. All its officers are required to speak "Esperanto, Ido, or other artificial language adopted by the parliament."

A president shall be elected, to be commander-in-chief of army and navy, and he shall have the appointing of "consuls, judges of the supreme court, ambassadors," etc.

The parliament shall not impose any income tax, nor capitation tax, nor make laws establishing patents or copyrights, nor interfere with the liquor or opium trade. Land would be taxed only "in proportion to the rental value." Freedom of speech and of religion is assured.

Section 11 sets forth the surrender of the rights of the present national powers (we refrain from following the reformed system of orthography in quoting):

"1. No dominion shall, without the consent of parliament, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace beyond its internal necessities.

"2. No dominion shall grant letters of marque and reprisal.

"3. No dominion shall engage in war with any dominion in or out of this Union unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

"4. The separate dominions shall not acquire or hold coaling stations outside of their own domain.

"5. No dominion shall enter into any treaty, alliance, *entente* or confederation; or enter into any agreement or compact with another nation except as to copyrights, patents, postal matters and extradition.

"6. All persons born or naturalized in the United Nations and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United Nations. No dominion shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United Nations.

"7. No nation shall secede from this Union."

We shall reserve further comments until Mr. Brinkerhoff's constitution shall have been adopted. People interested in his proposals should address the author directly, E. D. Brinkerhoff, 870 President Avenue, Fall River, Mass.

* * *

Still another plan to put an end to war has been suggested by General Harrison Gray Otis of California, in a pamphlet entitled "After the Great War—What?" It is similar to Mr. Brinkerhoff's proposal. A general government is to be established by an alliance of the great powers of the world which are to maintain a joint army and navy and will have a regular constitution to decide international questions. The armies and navies of the world would be allowed to remain as they are now, but if any one nation failed to obey, the universal government would suppress its ambition. The plan is very simple if you can establish such a general government. The pamphlet can be obtained from the "Press of Los Angeles Times," Los Angeles, Cal.

* * *

Some time ago there appeared in *Pearson's Magazine* an article by W. L. Stoddart entitled "On the Edge of a World Court,—A Chapter in Secret Diplomacy." This tells the story of the failure to establish a world's court on the very brink of the present world war, and expresses disappointment that an arbitral court had not been established to which the powers would have pledged their difference before going to war. But it is not likely that the present war could have been avoided even if such an arbitral court had been in existence, for the vote of the majority of the powers represented would have been predetermined before the question could have been laid before the judges.

The fact is that the proposition was made to let the great powers, England, France, Italy, Germany and Russia decide the quarrel between Austria and Serbia, but Austria could not accede to it because she knew that the majority of the judges would be against her whether right or wrong were on her side. The decision would have been a partisan vote in which the Austrian interests would be represented by the vote of Germany alone. Under these circumstances it is quite natural that Austria should have refused to recognize a court whose judges were determined to vote against her interests.

Such conditions would prevail constantly, and the present situation would

have been no exception. Therefore it is impossible for the powers to acknowledge an international court of justice. The nations and their governments are supreme and cannot submit to an international court without surrendering their own authority. The only form in which such a court could be established would be as council of advisers which could be appealed to in the case of justiciable quarrels among the powers. Such cases frequently turn up in history, and it is desirable even for great powers to avoid wars whenever possible; but in the present case it would have been hard, if not even impossible, to have the question settled by an appeal to an international court. The truth is that the quarrel between Austria and Serbia was a mere accident which served as a pretext for the war, for the real war is not directed against Austria so much as against Germany.

It is the phenomenal growth of Germany—or, as English diplomats express it, the aggressiveness of Germany—that is the reason of the war. German trade and commerce had begun to outstrip English industry and English trade all over the world. Germany was outstripping the English in iron manufacture and had become a dangerous competitor even in England's own colonies. At the same time the emperor began to build a German navy, and England foresaw danger. Although the German navy was only about one-half the size of the English navy her ships were good and all of the best and most modern type; her crews were at least as well trained as English sailors, and England had no means to prevent the further growth of Germany except by war, and under these conditions war could not have been avoided even by an international court of justice.

The occasion of the war was the assassination of the arch-duke, heir to the throne of Austria, combined with Russia's intention to protect the little Slav state of the Balkans; but after all that the war might have been averted if the powers had desired to do so. The real issue was the strain between England and Germany, and the decision of this does not involve the fate of Serbia but rather the question whether England or Germany will be the determinant factor in the future development of mankind.

An arbitral court of justice will be possible under one of two conditions: Either the influence of one power will predominate, or all must agree on the main principle and have the sincere intention to keep peace. It would have been possible to establish a lasting world peace if England, the United States and Germany had been able to come together and agree on the general principles of international justice. It would not have been impossible to establish an international court on that basis had not England seen a different chance of eternal peace which was to establish the British empire as the dominant power in the world. This would have established peace after the pattern of the *par Romana* which was the international court established for the world by the Romans in ancient Rome. The end of the war will be the beginning of a new era in history and the nature of that era will depend on the outcome of the war.

A WORLD UNION OF WOMEN.

Mention should be made of the commendable efforts of one international organization of women in the interests of world peace and amity. It is called "The World Union of Women" and has its headquarters in the neutral country