

known by those to whom I speak. Let me repeat the names of Mr. Veeder, the chairman; of the two gentlemen whom I have named; of Messrs. Rogers of Buffalo, Gilbert of Malone, Deshon and Whittaker of Boston; of Messrs. Robertson and Davison. When I say that Mr. Chauncey Depew and Professor Moore are advisory members of the committee, I have certainly named persons whom you do not think of generally as swinging upon rainbows, or as lying in hammocks writing sonnets to their mistresses' eyebrows. I think, if any one of us here had important business in hand, he would be glad if he could enlist Mr. Depew, Mr. Logan, or any of these gentlemen in his business. This committee prepared a plan which received the approval—unanimous or almost unanimous—of the full meeting of the association. They addressed it to the President of the United States. Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney both expressed interest in the project and proposition.

The plan is so simple that it does not need a long statement, and I will not read it here. It proposes that, if nine nations can be induced to combine in the great combination, the highest court of each one of them shall be empowered to name one of its own members for life as a permanent member of the great national tribunal. If only two nations or three agree to the plan, it can begin.

These lawyers are practical men, who do not mean to compel a nation to appear before the tribunal any more than you compel a man, a private citizen, to come to law, if he does not want to. They do propose, as one of the wisest and wittiest said to me not long ago, to "hang up their shingle," and write on it the words, "International Justice administered here."

A court to consist of two nations, or three, or nine, would be looked upon with certain doubt. The least important cases would be submitted to it first. Some question as to whether there shall be a seal left in the world, or a seal-skin sacque for our grand-daughters to wear in 1950, would be submitted to it. The diplomats of Russia, England, Canada, and the United States, under great pressure, have not succeeded in determining in thirty years whether this interesting race of animals,—our nearest kin, as Mr. Darwin has it,—shall exist a century longer. If there were this international court, the diplomats would be glad to turn over to it for an answer to the questions which are involved. Or, for a good instance, the question whether a lobster be a fish or not,—a question which the newspapers told us six weeks ago was going to bring the nations of England and France into collision.

As the central tribunal decided such lesser questions, it would be gaining prestige and authority. It would have a right to call for witnesses, perhaps from all parts of the world, and for experts on questions of science; and it would decide them, and on such a decision the nations of the world would wait. I do not say they would always obey, but here would be time given for consideration; and the opinion of a board of honor, integrity, and impartiality, would be very difficult for any nation to evade.

Let me suppose that in the harbor of one nation the warship of another should be destroyed by some explosion. Let me suppose that such a permanent tribunal

as the Bar association proposes has been in existence, under favorable prestige, for ten or twenty years. Does any one doubt that to such a tribunal both nations thus involved would gladly have referred all the questions of the duties, effects, and responsibilities of the two nations concerned?

I speak with some care of the power of this Supreme Court to compel the attendance of witnesses, because even in great international arbitrations there is, in practice, no such power. In the eighty-four years since the Treaty of Vienna, there have been more than eighty-four cases where questions in contention were decided by special boards of arbitration. So much have we gained, and we may thank God for the gift. Eighty-four wars prevented for the nations involved! So many years of peace where there might have been years of bloodshed. But—it is a pity to have to say it—each one of these courts of arbitration has been dissolved as soon as it has done its work. The great tribunal of Geneva, which decided the "Alabama claims," may be spoken of with the highest respect as perhaps the most distinguished tribunal which has existed in centuries. The character of the judges, their learning and ability, the well-earned distinction of the counsel, the importance of the questions at issue, all gave to the decisions of this court the greatest interest. The court made its decision, and the nations obeyed; and then this distinguished court dissolved, its powers melted into thin air, it was nowhere. It had no precedents to govern it, I might say it had no future before it; and it had no power to call a witness to testify as to the expense of a pin though the witness lived in the building in which the court was sitting. It was obliged to act upon the statements put in by the respective governments. It could hardly inquire where they received their information. It could not test that information by cross-examination or by any additional testimony. Indeed, the tribunal may be compared to the simple arrangements of the frontier, where two quarrelling neighbors agree to "leave out their case to men," and where these men, poor fellows, cannot summon a witness, perhaps cannot order the production of a title, and can ask for no information but that which the prejudiced parties give them.

In place of this the Bar Association proposes a Permanent Tribunal, to be in session from the first moment of one century to the last moment of the next, ready to hear any nation which wishes to bring its questions for decision, to hear the arguments of their counsel, to possess itself of all the facts, and then, without prejudice, to decide.

Such is the great opportunity which is given to the next century,—a presage, as the czar says so well, for the beginning of the century new born.

As Americans, we may well be proud that a commission of our most distinguished lawyers have connected themselves with the details which treat of such a possibility. It ought to be said that the great lawyers always understand and recognize such possibilities. I am tempted to read you a part of the magnificent speech of Chauncey Depew when he gave his approval to the plan of the Bar Association as between England and America.

He speaks of the lawyers of Charles I.'s time, and of their leadership in that advance which England and the world made in the English rebellion and revolution. "We remember that, even in the days of almost universal assent to the divine authority of kings, Justice Coke could boldly challenge and check the autocratic Charles with the judgement that the law was superior to the will of the sovereign. Christian teachings and evolution of two thousand years, and the slow and laborious development of the principles of justice and judgment by proof, demand this crowning triumph of ages of sacrifice and struggle. The closing of the nineteenth, the most beneficent and progressive of centuries, would be made glorious by giving to the twentieth this rich lesson and guide for the growth of its humanities and the preservation and perpetuity of civilization and liberty."

As Americans, I say that we are proud that such an initiative should be given by the great lawyers of our own country. But, in truth, as I have said already, the American Union is itself an object-lesson, showing what a "supreme tribunal" is. It is an example of authority to examine and to decide the questions which arise between so many States, stretching from ocean to ocean, among men of every pursuit and different interests and all religions. Thus has the supreme tribunal of America shown to the world what is possible in maintaining the peace of "the United States of America." With this object-lesson, we are able to make a step forward, which shall lead to what Henry IV. called "the United States of Europe," and to what we will yet call, not the United States of Europe, but the "United States of Christendom."

And as Christian men and women, as we read every prophecy of the past, we have a right to look forward with the eye of those who believe that the good God made of one blood "all races of men." We see the prophecy of the past accomplishing itself more and more distinctly, as every year comes forward of what we now call the future. More and more confidently do we thank God that our children, if not we ourselves, shall live in the century

"Where the common sense of most shall hold a fretful world in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapped in Universal Law."

"Earth, wise from out the foolish past,
Shall peradventure halt at last
The advent of that morn divine,
When nations shall like forests grow,
Wherein the oak hates not the pine,
Nor birches wish the cedars woe;
But all in their unlikeness blend,
Confederate to one golden end."

Below is a correct translation of the Czar's peace circular.

The maintenance of general peace and the possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations present themselves in the existing condition of the whole world as an ideal towards which the endeavors of all governments should be directed. His Majesty the Emperor, my august master, is wholly possessed by such views. In the conviction that this lofty aim is in conformity with the most essential interests and legitimate wishes of all the powers, the imperial Government thinks the present moment would be very favorable for an inquiry, by means of international discussion, as to the most effective means of insuring to all the Peoples the benefits of a real and durable Peace, and, above all, of affixing a period to the pro-

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