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SUPPLEMENT TO
THE PATH TO PEACE



From the London "Times" and "Westminster Gazette"

By
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THE PEACE SOCIETY
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NEW YORK

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SUPPLEMENT

The following reference to the preceding letter was made in a leader of the same date. "Mr. Andrew Carnegie, whose letter we publish to-day, even thinks the present a favourable moment to propose that Great Britain should invite the other Powers to agree to abolish naval warfare. He forgets that the suggestions our Government has made before with a view to a mutual limitation of naval armaments met with no response, and he makes no proposal with regard to land warfare. We are apparently to scrap our Navy and thus lay down our most formidable weapon, while the great military Powers retain their armies intact. This country is not in the least danger of being infected with any evil spirit of militarism, but it is even less disposed to shrink from any sacrifices which may be necessary, in the present state of Europe, to maintain its naval supremacy unimpaired."

The *Times* of Saturday, 3d July, 1909, publishes the following letter from Mr. Andrew Carnegie:—

The only objection one has to "taking in" the *Times* is that he has to spend so much time upon it or miss so much that is of value. I missed your editorial comment upon the letter you did me the honour to publish until yesterday, when my attention was called to it.

Of course a Conference, if called, even if dealing with Peace upon the seas, would necessarily have to survey the whole field of International relations and study every phase of the present unfortunate situation, naval and military, in every part and also as a whole—welcoming every suggestion. Your presenta-

tion of this feature of the case is unanswerable. The important matter is to get the Powers together. We have just had a remarkable proof of the efficacy of conference in that of the eight naval Powers recently assembled in London—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, France, Japan, Britain, and America.

It not only succeeded in establishing an International Marine Prize Court to deal finally with all disputes arising in that domain, but is also to be credited with another great achievement. It will be remembered that the last Hague Conference unanimously agreed to establish a judicial International Court comprised of legal authorities before which international disputes might be laid, thus securing purely judicial judgments similiar to those of our present national Supreme Courts, free from political bias or compromise. A serious obstacle arose in deciding how this Court should be composed, the smaller Powers claiming equal representation with the greatest, which meant a bench of 46 judges; and, besides, the small could have outvoted the Great Powers; and the problem remained unsolved. The Marine Conference solved it by giving to each of the eight Great Powers the appointment of one judge, and reserving seven judges to be hereafter apportioned among such of the smaller Powers as may apply for and obtain admission to the Conference Court, these judges, however, to serve for shorter terms than the others, so that the small Powers will always be represented in turn. Meanwhile the eight Great Powers decided to go forward without them, and the cause of international Peace secures another decisive victory.

Mark the statesmanship here displayed. Another International Court, whose judgment is final, now graces the earth, which overrules, if necessary, the decisions of the highest Courts of any of the countries. Nor is this all. The problem of appointing judges having thus been solved, the next Hague Conference may

be enabled to establish the International Judicial Supreme Court of Nations.

Now these eight are the very same Powers, and why not the same delegates who might meet again in friendly conference in London and endeavor to come to such an agreement for the consideration of the Powers in the realm of Peace as they have just reached as fair and satisfactory to all in the hitherto most complicated and unsatisfactory realm of marine prizes? Now is the time to remember the motto—"First all means to conciliate." The nations are playing with fire. I trust the commanding influence of the *Times* will be exerted in this direction.

Much has been gained when all the great naval Powers of the world, European, American, and Asiatic, unanimously create a tribunal for the final settlement of all disputes within one domain of human affairs. Amid all the arming of nations for each other's destruction in true savage fashion and "the thunder of the captains and shouting," peaceful settlement of international disputes makes steady progress toward civilization. Belgium and the Netherlands have just concluded such a treaty covering all disputes, making thirteen nations that have done so; five of these are Central American Republics, which have created a Supreme Court to settle all disputes.

FROM THE "WESTMINSTER GAZETTE."

THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS.

To the Editor of the Westminster Gazette:

Dear Sir:—In Saturday's issue I read that I "return in the *Times* this morning to his (my) theme of an International Court for the limitation of armaments."

This is not correct. I am one who has seen from the beginning that the limitation of armaments by a con-

ference of the Powers is impossible. Sir Edward Grey, in his lucid manner, explained to his countrymen the "great difficulty of approaching Germany upon a basis of superiority" involved in the two-Power standard.

Your Government is on record as having already tried every means in its power to come to an understanding with Germany, and no doubt the secret ways of diplomacy advocated by you as a recognised means have been called into play and failed.

The declared purpose of Governments to go on adding to their armaments as never before can only be arrested by an agreement which goes to the root of the trouble. Strange as it may appear to you, I believe that it would be easier today to get the unanimous consent of the eight Powers named hereafter to declare that "the peace of the civilized world, being a matter in which all nations are deeply interested, shall not be broken, but disputes must be settled by peaceful arbitration," than it would be to get them to formally agree that any Power should have the right to put upon the seas two warships as against one by each of the others. Great nations in conference must be treated as equals.

My first letter to the *Times* suggested a conference of the Powers to consider "Peace upon the seas." Since then the success of the London conference of Germany, France, Russia, Japan, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Britain and America led me to suggest that the same agency might be utilized to consider the existing relations between the nations in all their phases, with the hope that they could agree upon making certain suggestions to the powers which might prove valuable.

Arbitration is making great strides. Already thirteen nations have agreed by treaty to submit all disputes, and now almost every civilized nation has treaties with other nations agreeing to submit all questions except such as touch "their honor or independence," or, in some cases, "vital interests or independ-

ence." Seldom do disputes affect one or the other. The United States has made twenty-three such treaties during the past few years—all signed by the same Secretary of State, Hon. Elihu Root.

In short, the proposed conference, if unrestricted, would probably succeed in submitting something which would mitigate the intensity of the present rivalry, certain to lead to disaster if persisted in; nor is it impossible that it might produce a satisfactory mode of settlement. There is a very easy one—arbitration; that is the key.

In civilized lands no man is allowed, and no nation should be, to sit in judgment upon his own cause. The eight nations named could enforce that decree. Nations have now their Supreme Courts; the time has come for an International Supreme Court. The last Hague Conference voted unanimously to establish one, and only failed to agree upon the manner of choosing the judges. The Marine Conference of the eight Powers, however, solved this problem, and established such a Court, supreme even over the Supreme Courts of each nation in one domain.

The path is now clear before us.

Yours &c.,

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

*Skibo Castle,
Dornoch, Sutherland,
July 7th, 1909.*