

ment may be adequately administered to those who undertake to counsel, or aid in, its violation. At the same time it must be recognized that a whole nation cannot very well be brought to judgment any more than you can hang a whole mob engaged in a riot. In such a case as you cannot bring all who have been engaged in it to the bar of justice, the ringleaders are selected, and they have to bear in their own persons the punishment for the crimes which they have incited.

The knowledge that this penalty awaits riotous proceedings has a wholesome deterrent effect, and in the same way the existence of a court for the trial of the violators of international law would have the like effect. If sovereigns, statesmen, and military leaders, placed their necks in jeopardy whenever they counselled the violation of international law, they would be slow to incur the penalty which might possibly overtake them; an ambitious monarch, statesman, admiral, or general, would not look forward to the possibility of being hanged as a desirable termination of his career. Such tribunals have, it is true, never before been known in history, and yet, if the cause of law and order is to be advanced in the world, the necessity for such a tribunal seems imperative, for it is plain that it is only by giving to international law a coercive effect that it can be made a reality.

In the present war, at its very beginning, we had the frank admission of the leading statesman of Germany that that country was about to do, what it recognized to be, a wrongful act. Everything done, therefore, in furtherance of that wrongful act was also itself wrongful. Every person killed in defence of his country thus wronged was murdered, every outrage committed was a felonious act and a violation both of international law and the civil law of the aggrieved nation.

What, therefore, more just and fitting than, at the conclusion of this war, that the Emperor of Germany, his general staff and chancellor by whom all this abominable wickedness was designed and under whose authority it was carried out should be handed over to an International Court to be convened for the occasion and tried for their lives as international criminals. It might be said that for the breach of international law no penalty has ever been prescribed, and to impose a penalty after the com-