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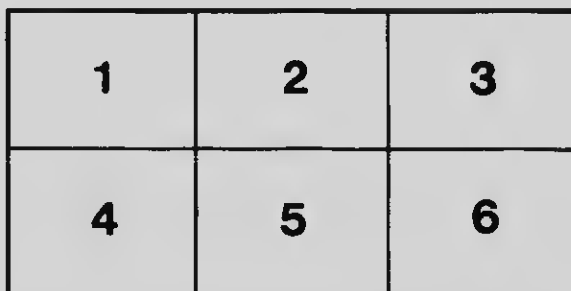
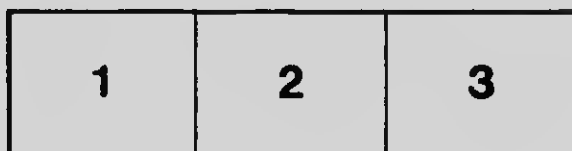
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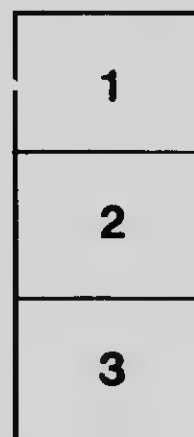
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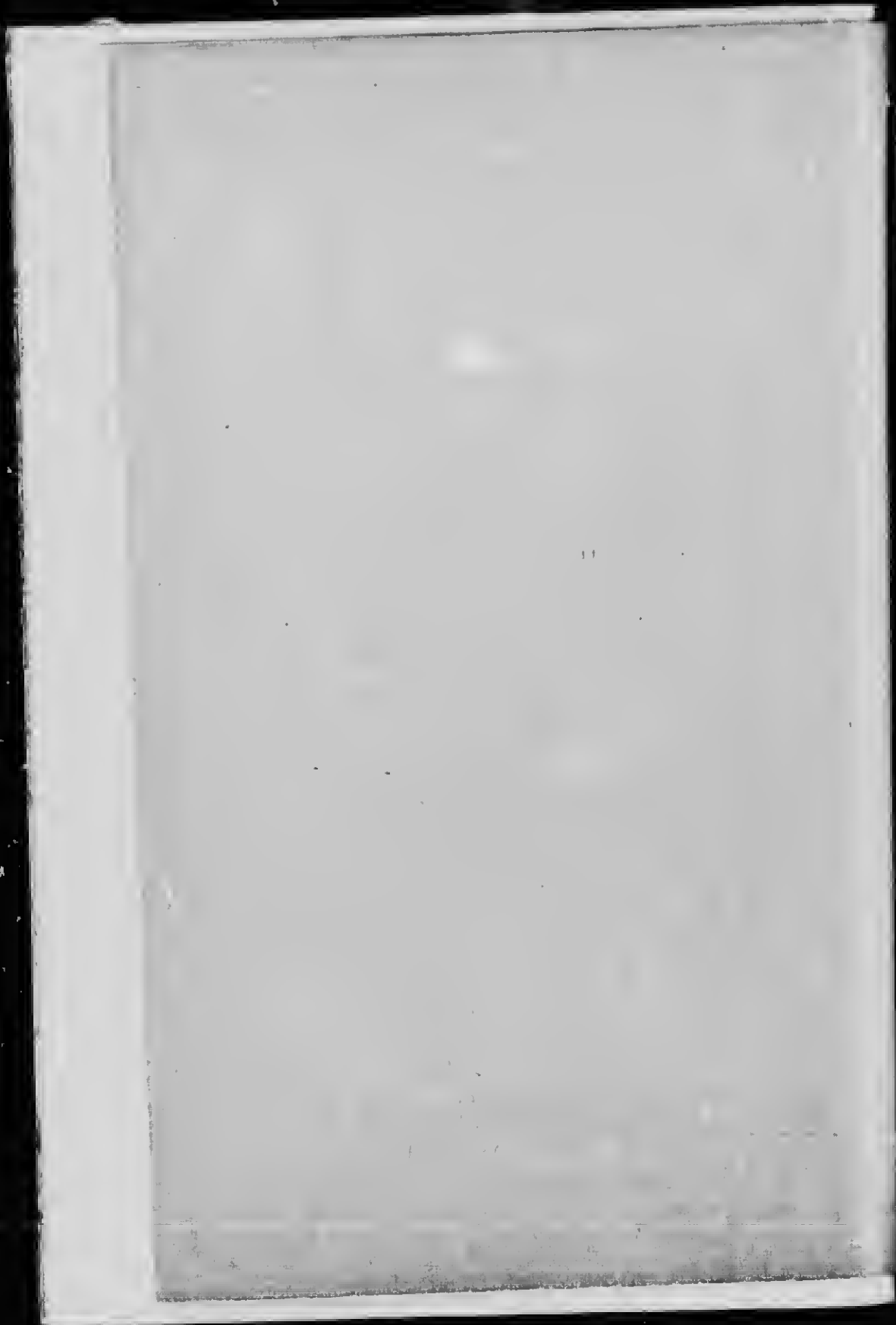
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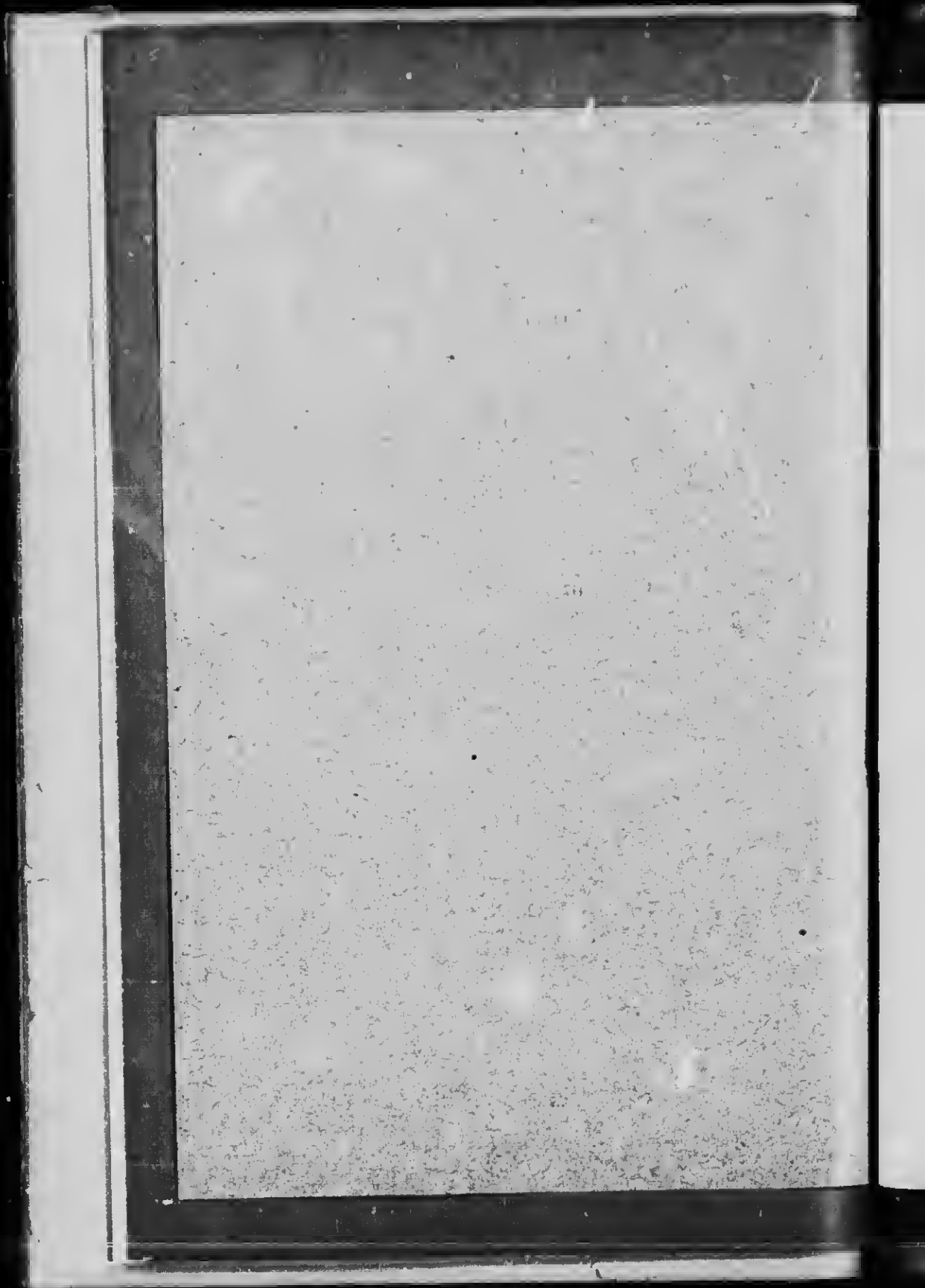
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FOUNDERS' DAY

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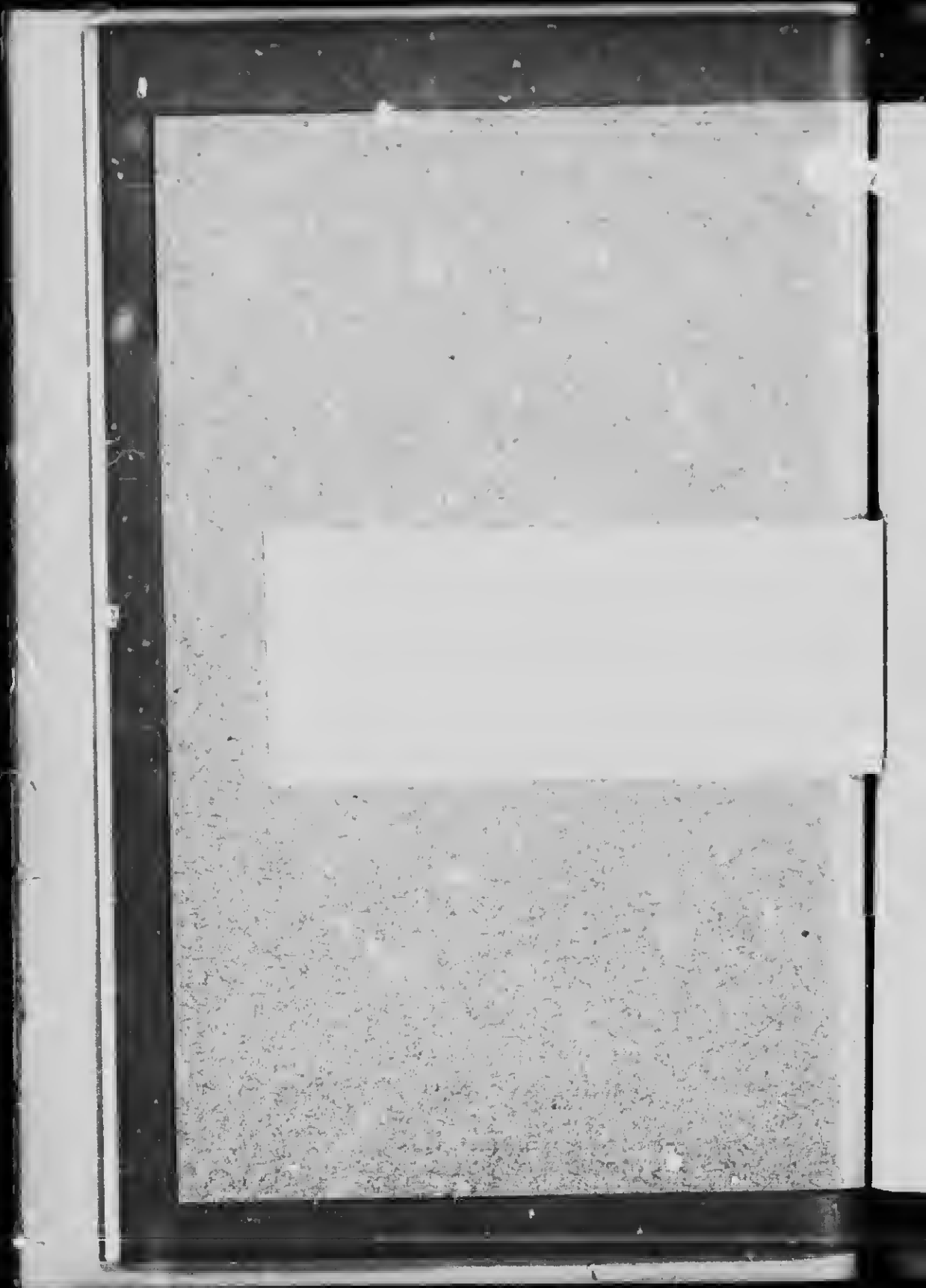
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WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

DELIVERED AT LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

ON

FOUNDERS' DAY, OCTOBER 16, 1912





BULLETIN  
OF  
LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

ADDRESS

OF

HONOURABLE WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL,  
L.H.D., LL.D.

DELIVERED AT LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

ON

FOUNDERS' DAY, OCTOBER 16, 1912



## THE CENTURY OF PEACE

An Address delivered by The Honourable William Renwick Riddeil,  
L.H.D., LL.D., of Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylv-  
vania, on Founders' Day, October 16th, 1912.

I am come to you of the greatest Republic the world has ever seen, from one of the nations composing its greatest Empire—and I intend for a short time to speak to you of the international relations between Republic and Empire, and especially of the long period of peace.

And this is the time peculiarly fit for speaking of that peace, for just one hundred years ago on the 18th June was made the last declaration of war between these two peoples—almost to a day, a century ago, was the first real battle of that war fought at Queenston Heights.

True it is that before that time, Michillima-kinac had been taken, Hull had invaded Upper Canada and, retreating to Detroit, had capitulated to Brock with his whole army; but these had been but minor operations and skirmishes; and it was not till the 13th of October, 1812, that what could be called a battle took place between the separated brother nations.

I am not, however, to speak of deeds on the tented field and of horrid war but of peace—the last act in Canada of that fratricidal war was the raid of the Kentucky Mounted Riflemen from Detroit in November, 1814: repulsed at the crossing of the Grand River, they retreated,

plundering as they went, and left Canadian soil forever. The treaty of Ghent was signed on the twenty-fourth of December, 1814; and the attack on New Orleans took place on the eighth of the following January—in ignorance of the Peace.

Since that time the two peoples have not washed their bands in each other's blood, but have lived in peace if not always in harmony.

But it was not the treaty of Ghent which was the beginning of peace—the foundations of that peace had been laid broad and deep many long years before, and the Peace is but part of the wondrous fifth Act in the history of a people.

In 1752 Bishop Berkeley sang:

“Westward the course” of Empire takes its way,  
The first four acts already past  
A fifth shall close the Drama with the day,  
Time's noblest offspring is his last.”

That fair Island in the Northern sea lay invitingly open to the West of the haunts of Jute, Angle and Saxon, who were of that imperial and imperious race in Central Europe which had never bowed the knee to conquering Rome—a very different race from the older inhabitants of England—with all the virtues and the vices of a far more barbarous state, they killed instead of enslaving their enemies and scorned intermarriage with the alien, as some of their descendants in America do today. Less clever than the Celt, as the Englishman is to this day less clever than the Irishman or the Welshman, they were brave with a valour never excelled and seldom equaled.

Living in the peninsula of Denmark, the low-lying lands bordering the banks of the Elbe and the islands which stud that part of the Baltic Sea, they had, says Tacitus, "Stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, their bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts." Hemmed in by the legions of Rome to the South, seeing no land to the North which was to be desired, scorning to retrace their steps to the East, they sailed for the beautiful isle but a short distance away toward the setting sun; and this was the first Scene in the first Act of the splendid drama of Anglo-Saxon history. I know the word Anglo-Saxon is ill-chosen, but I do not know a better. I must not say English, because many will remind me that no small or unimportant part of those called Anglo-Saxon come from north of the Tweed—nor may I say British, for west of St. George's Channel lies the Emerald Isle and she spurns the very name, "British." I use the term Anglo-Saxon, wholly inappropriate as it is and insufficient, to denote those whose mother-tongue is English and those whose ideal of government and liberty corresponds with theirs.

Within the narrow bounds of England and southern Scotland, Angle and Saxon and Jute settled and labored and fought—fought with each other, every tribe and every clan full of that which is of the very genius of our race—determination to be self-governed. We refuse to be governed even by our brother, and we spurn the yoke of the stranger.

And their brother in blood—the Dane—came in, and they fought with each other till at length a semblance of peace came and England had become England with an

English language formed and in familiar use. But their determined particularism, individualism, would not down, and generation after generation of desperate fighting and terrible rapine had not taught them the necessity of obeying one central authority. There was also a division, not locally but in the very heart of the body politic, for half the people were villeins and no small number actual slaves. It is true that the condition of the villein was vastly different from that of the *servus*, but he fell short of all the rights and privileges of the free-born—and those above him looked upon him as not one of themselves.

Then came the second Act of the drama. William of Normandy led his hosts into England and conquered it for himself. He claimed not by free election as had the Saxon monarchs—although the form of election was gone through in his favor—but he claimed as the viceroy of God and by force of arms. He came, a man of middle age with matured views and knowing his own mind. He did not even speak the tongue of his new subjects.

English rebellion and opposition were met with confiscation of English lands, and the Saxon land-owner was driven out, homeless, to mingle with the villein and the slave he had formerly despised. As time went by, the King's authority took almost wholly the place of the limited authority of the Saxon local dignitary—all England became the subject of the one man, and all Englishmen were made to feel that they were one. Under the successors of the conquering Norman, this process continued, and the King's court took the place of the County Courts, and the King was the fountain of justice as well

as of honor. The Norman at length became almost more of an Englishman than the Saxon—the language of the Conqueror was forgotten, and that of the conquered, purified and strengthened, became again the language of the whole Island.

But kingly power, as all power, tends to encroach upon freedom—the old theory that the King of England is chosen by his people to reign over them had become obsolete, and the Kings at length claimed their crown as of divine right—"the right divine to govern wrong" was claimed—not that divine right of Kings which is but the divine right of anyone who can get uppermost, as Herbert Spencer puts it, but a right given by the Almighty himself to a certain determinate man and a certain determinate family to govern irrespective of character and ability. This made itself most conspicuous in the Stewarts—a race of winning manner but dishonest, treacherous, ungrateful. It is one of the marvels of history that a family such as this should have called forth the warmest loyalty and undying devotion of so many intelligent and common-sense people—a loyalty and devotion which has never been surpassed, and equaled but seldom.

During this Act, too, a Scene of no small significance was presented. England had never submitted in any civil respect to a ruler who did not live in England, but a claim was made and persistently pressed by an ecclesiastical prince to govern her in many respects which nearly touched her well-being. I do not propose to say anything about the theological side of the controversy, but the Reformation was at least this, if nothing else—it was the absolute prohibition of all but an English authority to



rule in England in any temporal matter. Then came, in close succession, two Scenes of startling vigor; King Charles lost his head and his son lost his throne: and in this the third Act the Anglo-Saxon again said, and with effect, "I shall govern myself."

True the lesson had been learned, and well learned, that there must be one central authority in each nation—the villein and the slave had disappeared—but now it was necessary to show that that one central authority must commend itself to the people and that the people must be heard.

Constitutional liberty was accomplished—the greatest human blessing a virtuous man can possess—and this the glory of our race is the shining achievement in this the third Act.

America had been discovered and many had made their homes in this new land—the eyes of some who had the prophetic vision were turned toward the glowing West, but the home-keeping Englishman had not fully appreciated its significance. "Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits." But the Colonist knew and appreciated the importance of his new continent, and he determined that that continent should be English.

From 1613 when the Virginian, half-pirate, half-patriot (no uncommon mixture in any age of the world), drove out the French colony in Mt. Desert till 1759 when Wolfe planted the Red Cross banner upon the plains of Abraham, the English colonists kept up a constant warfare against the French to the North; and that not alone to prevent the French from annoying them but for themselves to possess the land—Canada—and thus came

about the first Scene of the fourth Act, and all North America then worth considering became English—no, British—for Scotland had joined her fortunes to England's half a century before.

The colonies had not been too busy to bethink themselves of their government or to insist from time to time upon the right to govern themselves, but the fear of invasion from French America had kept them from open rupture with the mother country. Now, however, all pressure was removed, fear of France had gone, and the Colonists determined to exercise their racial right. Those at home had not learned the lesson that "he who crosses the sea, does not change his soul"—that the Englishman in America was as tenacious as the Englishman in England of the right to govern himself—the inevitable conflict broke out and was terminated in the only way in which such a conflict could terminate: "Nothing is ever settled till it is settled right." Self-government was vindicated and the Colonies became the United States of America.

I have recently before another audience said:

"The embattled farmers of the American militia fought not alone for themselves and their children, but also for Canada and Australia and New Zealand and South Africa—nay, for England herself, and for all that has made England England, and the British Empire worth while. The lesson was learned by the Mother Country, once for all, that the colonies are not subject nations, but sister nations. And never since that time has a colony insisted upon aught that was ultimately denied her."

Let no man think, however, that liberty was not known before this continent was discovered and inhabited—

until this continent made a passion of liberty. Generation followed generation in the old land and the thought, the ideal of liberty was never absent from the mind of the Islander—he treasured that ideal as fondly as could any Continental. Let no man think that it was the levying of a tax, an impost, here and there, that was the cause of the American Revolution—this was made a pretext (I do not desire to speak discourteously or disrespectfully). Nor were the Fathers of the Revolution (*pace* the school histories), with one shining exception, greater, better or nobler than those who opposed them. The true cause was that the time had at length come when the American Englishman knew that he could stand alone, and he demanded his birthright of self-government. Let no man think, either, that this was a rebellion against England or the English people. The best of England sympathized with the American.<sup>1</sup> A half-crazed King, ill-trained, hearing ever the voice of a foolish mother, "George, be a King," was able to find instruments among the aristocracy—the governing classes—to carry out his will, and Rebellion must needs follow.

It was that same aristocracy, that same governing class, which drove out of the North of Ireland the virile, hardy, determined people without whom this part of the continent would not so soon have blossomed as the rose, without whom this Hall of Learning would probably not have come into existence, without whom the American Revolution might have languished and failed.

<sup>1</sup> Wraxall tells us that nothing ever made King George III unpopular with the English people but his resistance to the claims of the Americans—and that as soon as peace was declared his popularity revived—and, as we know, it never afterwards suffered diminution.

Perhaps there never was an instance in history where punishment and humiliation followed so speedily and so surely upon the sin and wrong-doing.<sup>1</sup> \* \* \* \*

The Fathers of the American Revolution ardently desired that Canada might become part of the Union; had she been, in reality, English, I cannot but think she must have accepted the urgent invitation of the Thirteen Colonies, so urgent indeed, that Montreal was taken by force and Quebec assailed—on a bold and brilliant scheme—but Montgomery fell and Canada remained British. I do not stay to ask why that was so.

Washington, first in peace as first in war, I am confident, foresaw the fifth Act, even while he was playing the fourth, for when the invasion of Canada failed and Lafayette's scheme of conquest by way of the Lakes had also met a deserved fate, he urged every objection and strained every nerve against Lafayette's new proposal; that is, that he should with troops from old France, conquer the new France for that land. Washington already felt that "blood is thicker than water" and that

<sup>1</sup> The determined attitude of the Scotch-Irish against British authority did not derive from any peculiarity in that people. The Irishman is no more likely than another to be "agin' the Government,"—the current gibe notwithstanding.

Compare the revolutionary feeling of those who had been driven out by tyranny with the feeling and sentiment of the Irishmen brought into Upper Canada in 1824-25 by Peter Robinson and settled in Peterborough. Receiving proper treatment, they were warmly attached to the government; and upon the outbreak of the Rebellion in 1837, they marched in the depth of a Canadian winter to Toronto, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, to support the administration—to the Lieutenant-Governor they said "that they felt grateful to the Government and had come to fight for the British Constitution." *O si sic omnes.*

As Sir John Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, well says: "It did honour to Ireland, and it showed that whatever may be the failings of the Irish, hatred to their sovereign and ingratitude to their Government are not among the number."

it would be infinitely better for the nascent Republic, the new Anglo-Saxon power, that she should have as masters of the neighboring land, people of her own race.

When peace was declared began the fifth Act in the Anglo-Saxon drama—and that is still being played, it is not finished.

Shall I briefly run over the principal Scenes in this Act? In 1794 the disputes between the two peoples in regard to their boundaries and also the amount to be paid to the citizens of the two countries for damage done were referred to arbitration, and since that time no less than eighteen matters have been referred to the adjudication of arbitrators or judges—matters involving land, money and national territory, questions of the most varied character; and most of these references have been successful.

The defeated party indeed sometimes grumbled—that is the inalienable privilege of a freeman. The litigant has the right when a case goes against him either of appealing, or of abusing the judge.

When we could not agree about the boundary between Maine and Canada, it was left to Commissioners, and when they could not agree it was left to the King of the Netherlands, and when his award was satisfactory to neither party, we settled it by negotiation—indeed we tried every course but war. The settlement by Lord Ashburton, it must be said, did not please our people; but there is and was no disposition to attempt to get out of it \* \* \* So when the northwestern boundary was to be settled, war was terribly near; but again the common

sense of the Anglo-Saxon came into play. Until 1818 Britain claimed all the territory down to the Columbia River, which is, at its mouth, between  $46^{\circ}$  and  $47^{\circ}$  N.L., but the United States claimed up to the line  $54^{\circ} 40'$ . In that year an agreement was made for joint occupation for ten years; and both during this period and after it, efforts were made to settle the dispute—in 1827 the agreement for joint occupation being renewed indefinitely. The Democratic party in 1844 chose as the party slogan: "Fifty-four forty or fight." Polk was elected, but the United States got neither fifty-four forty nor fight. Pakenham, the British ambassador at Washington, heard that the salmon would not rise to the fly in the Columbia River, and access to that river thereupon became valueless in his eyes; the Americans found, as they thought, that the land north of the 49th parallel was practically worthless; and so the offer of Pakenham to draw the boundary line at the 49th parallel was accepted—land worth today billions was not then thought worth talking about.

But there was still a little chance to quarrel—the boundary at the Pacific was the middle of the channel between Vancouver Island and the Continent. There are three channels and an island of some size between two of them. This had been occupied by our people. An American commander, Harvey, took possession of it. British men of war were sent out and it looked like war; but the two people simply could not fight, so they left the decision of the true boundary to the Emperor of Germany. He gave the Island to the United States—and the United States wishes that he had not.

The foolish attempt a hundred years ago of the United States to take Canada failed, as did the equally foolish attempt of Great Britain to conquer the United States—and thank God for both results.

We have an agreement that there shall be no armed ships in the international waters, and while there is no agreement to that effect, we have sense and good feeling enough to keep our long international boundary clear from fortification and armed force. Our disputes we have heretofore settled by diplomacy or arbitration; and war is unthinkable.

During this century of peace, we have settled, by peaceful means, what fish from Canadian waters the Americans can take and what amount they should pay for those they took without right; what seals the Canadians cannot take and what they should be paid for those they should have been permitted to take; what Britain should pay for allowing the Alabama to escape and for Canada allowing the St. Albans Raid (we have not yet successfully pressed a claim against the United States for permitting the two Fenian Raids into Canada). We have settled what the United States should pay for land in Oregon taken from the Hudson Bay Company and others, and how far Alaska may stretch its tail down the Pacific Coast, cutting off Canada from the ocean.

And all this without war. "WAR" is the true "short and ugly word"—war is the curse of the ages.

How, then, do we now stand? The Rush Bagot arrangement I have already spoken of; then we have the Waterways Treaty of 1909, which is specially for the United States and Canada. It provides "for the

establishment and maintenance of an International Joint Commission of the United States and Canada—three appointed by each government—which commission should (Article VIII) have jurisdiction over and pass upon all cases involving the use, obstruction or diversion of the waters between the United States and Canada. But Article IX contains an agreement that all matters of difference between the countries involving the rights, obligations or interests of either in relation to the other or to the inhabitants of the other along the frontier shall be referred to this commission for inquiry and report. Article X provides that any questions or matters of difference involving the rights, obligations or interests of the United States or of Canada, either in relation to each other or to their respective inhabitants may be referred for decision to this International Joint Commission. If the commission be equally divided, an umpire is to be chosen in the manner provided by Act 45 of the Hague convention of October 18, 1907. This may be called a miniature Hague tribunal of our own just for us English-speaking nations of the Continent of North America." It was thus I described it a year or so ago at Washington.

Then the broader more comprehensive treaty of 1908, affecting Britain at large and not Canada specially, "provides that differences which may arise of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of July 29, 1899, provided nevertheless that the differences do not affect



the vital interests, the independence or the honor of the two contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third parties."

A still more comprehensive treaty has been negotiated; but as yet it hangs in the balance and it would be an impertinence for me to discuss it in this land.

But the other day a difference of opinion arose between the Government of Great Britain and that of the United States about the Panama Canal. Some harsh words were said by a section of the English press, but not nearly so harsh as those said by most respectable papers in the United States taking the same side. It would ill become me, your guest, to express here an opinion as to the merits of the controversy. What I do wish to say is that a matter which is of vastly more importance than many which have caused long and bloody wars has no more chance of bringing about such a terrible result than the canal itself has of destroying New York or Easton.

The feeling for war between the two branches of English-speaking peoples has become atrophied for want of use during a hundred years. The sentiment of solidarity is growing, a solidarity which has its roots in times long before the Angle and the Saxon saw England, a solidarity which grew with the race in the Island, which was strengthened by the Norman, felt itself under the Stewarts, but which received an apparently fatal wound when the Guelph resisted the demands of his American subject. Washington, indeed, rebated England, but many of his contemporaries and many of their descendants did—and the feeling is not wholly dead, even yet. For, as some in the more remote regions, it is said, still vote for

Jackson, so some have not yet learned or appreciated that Britain is not an enemy of the United States.

But you and we are one in everything but the accident of political allegiance—that separation is itself but of yesterday compared with the centuries of glorious and, on the whole, happy history we have in common—and that separation is but skin-deep when compared with our fundamental and essential unity.

When the peace is carried to its logical conclusion and when the English-speaking world has determined finally and irrevocably that there shall be no more war among and between the English-speaking, the end of war is in sight. Who so proud or so powerful as to refuse to follow that example? And not alone will blood cease to be shed—taxation must diminish; the poor, the common man will come into his own; he will have some part of his Heaven in this world. No longer will those who lead him in his aspirations but

“ \* \* \* \* mark off so much air

And call it Heaven, place bliss and glory there,

Plant perfect homes in the unsubstantial sky,

And say what is not shall be by and by.”

He will not need to wait for the sky to have some chance of a perfect home—at least a home approaching perfection—but his life will be sweetened by enjoyment of all he earns by his toil. “The poor shall never cease out of the land, but rich and poor shall meet together, for the Lord is the maker of them all.”

This will be said to be but a dream—be that as it may, can there be any doubt that these peoples who are of the same origin, who speak the

same language and worship the same God under the same forms, whose ideals and aspirations are as alike as are their laws and customs, who have the same courage and the same inspiration from heroic deeds of heroic ancestors, that these peoples must forget the petty or even the great differences which have separated them in the past, and stand side by side for freedom and right?

The one century of peace among and between your people and mine—may it extend to a millennium: yea, *in aeternum*. May it be but the harbinger of that era to which the prophet looked forward, that happy time when "they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; and nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."



