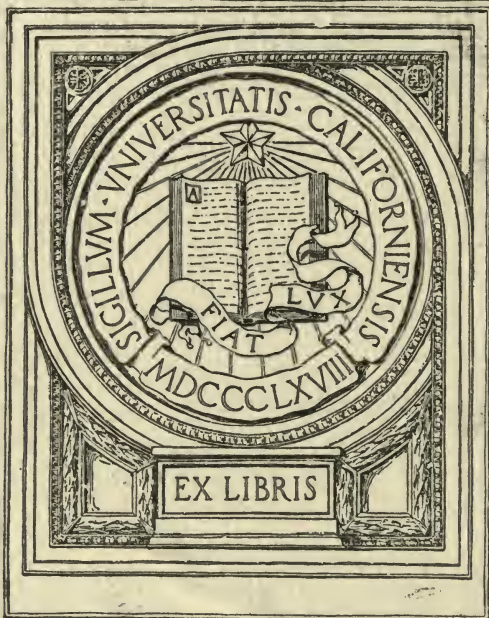


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World Peace Foundation
Pamphlet Series

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

21

VOLUME III
1913

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
40 MT. VERNON STREET, BOSTON

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The Pamphlet Series was issued monthly during the year 1913, instead of quarterly as in previous years.

In this volume, besides the Pamphlet Series, are included certain publications issued in the same format and of permanent value. With the exception of one that is closely related to an issue of the Series, these casual publications are gathered at the end of the volume.

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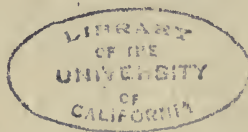
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World Peace Foundation

Pamphlet Series

THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

WORK IN 1912



UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
29A BEACON STREET, BOSTON

January, 1913
Vol. III. No. 1

Entered as second-class matter April 18, 1911, at the post-office at Boston, Mass.,
under the Act of July 16, 1894

THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

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ANNUAL REPORT TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION BY THE MANAGING DIRECTOR

The Budget for 1913 is separately submitted. The 1912 appropriations were on the basis of an income of \$50,000 from Edwin Ginn and \$825 interest on the invested fund from the bequest from the estate of Frederick B. Ginn. The Foundation has received during the year additional contributions of something over \$600, and the year's receipts from the sale of books will be about \$800, which item the coming year will be much increased. In 1913 the second quarter of the amount due Ginn & Company for the books taken over from them by the Foundation last year is to be paid, this payment being \$1,872.

Since the last annual meeting one volume has been added to the International Library,—the important volume presenting Senator Root's argument in the Newfoundland Fisheries Arbitration, edited by Dr. Scott, which work has been placed in the hands of all of the Trustees. Two other works are now in press, and will be issued in December,—Andrew D. White's work upon "The First Hague Conference," reprinted from his Autobiography, and a work upon "The New Peace Movement," by Prof. William I. Hull, whose valuable work upon "The Two Hague Conferences," published in our International Library four years ago, is the most popular and useful brief history of the Conferences which has been published. Professor Hull's new work is an impressive survey of the varied activities which during the period beginning with the First Hague Conference have given to the peace movement throughout the world an entirely new character. Dr. White's account of the First Hague Conference is of unique interest and value, as the journal written day by day by the head of our American delegation, performing an office in many respects like that of Madison's journal for our Constitutional Convention of 1787.

Our pamphlet series has been strengthened during the year by many new issues, all of which have successively been sent to the Trustees. These pamphlets, which have been circulated in editions of from 10,000 to 20,000, have been prepared with reference to the international exi-

gencies of the year and the needs of the various classes in the community among whom respectively they have been chiefly circulated,—educational, religious, commercial, agricultural, and other groups. Several of these pamphlets were prepared for special service in the campaign last winter in behalf of the arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France; and two of these were prepared by our own Trustees: the discussion of the legal aspects of the treaties by Mr. Pillsbury and the pamphlet upon "Arbitration and our Religious Duty" by Mr. Cummings. I may here say that no pamphlet in our series has aroused deeper interest or wider demand than the last issue, the address upon "Foreign Missions and World Peace," by Mr. Capen of our Board of Trustees.

The campaign for the arbitration treaties was the most strenuous and, perhaps, the most important single effort of the year on the part of the Foundation as well as of the other peace forces of the country. Besides constant work for the treaties through our pamphlet service and the press, Dr. Jordan, Dr. Scott, Dr. Brown, Mr. Holt and the writer, among our Directors, gave numerous addresses in many parts of the country; and the services of Mr. Pillsbury, Mr. Cummings, Mr. Capen, Professor Dutton and President Swain, among our Trustees, were hardly less constant. No man in Congress served the cause more persistently or more effectively than Mr. McCall, whose untiring service in our behalf, and especially his coöperation with the writer during his visits to Washington in behalf of the peace interests, make him always one of the most valuable members of our Board of Trustees. Although the treaties in the complete form submitted by President Taft failed to pass the Senate, they are, even as modified, an advance upon our existing treaties, and will undoubtedly be concluded by the President before the close of his administration, as the alternative would be the renewal of the existing treaties, which are of more limited scope. Whatever the particular conclusion of this matter, the indirect service of the long and earnest campaign was invaluable. No other campaign for our cause was ever so broadly conceived or so well conducted. There was no class to which our message was not carried; there was hardly any class whose influential representatives did not somehow declare themselves in behalf of the broadest possible provisions for arbitration; many new organizations were established which will endure; and vital impulses were given in a thousand places which will continue to operate until treaties of the broad scope proposed by Mr. Taft are ratified between all the great nations.

Hardly second in importance to the campaign for the treaties was

the movement to secure the noteworthy success for our cause which was achieved through the meeting in Boston in September of the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce; and in this effort the Foundation took a much more creative and responsible part. We have constantly recognized the fundamental necessity of securing the coöperation for our cause of the leaders of the business world and especially of our American commercial organizations; and many of our publications have been addressed expressly to this end. Three years ago we saw how much might be accomplished if the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce could be brought to the United States for its biennial session the present year; and it was through our initiative and prompting that the invitation for this was presented to the London Congress of 1910 by representatives of our Boston Chamber of Commerce, which undertook the provision for the Congress in the United States. The result is well known, as the Boston Congress in September was not only the most important commercial gathering ever held, but proved in many ways the most impressive peace demonstration ever seen. For three years, through correspondence with every important Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade in the country, and the careful circulation among them of our pamphlets and other literature, and latterly through the activity of the writer as a member of the Program Committee of the Congress, we did everything in our power during the period of preparation to strengthen the sentiment most favorable for the broadest influence of the Congress in the promotion of international good understanding and good will in the business world; and the Foundation devoted to the work during three years not less than \$8,000. At the Congress itself Mr. Ginn, Mr. Capen and the writer presented the special claims of the peace movement. The Congress was by far the largest and most important which has been held by this great organization, the most influential and representative commercial organization in the world. Over forty foreign countries were represented by more than 500 delegates, 300 American delegates also being present. The Congress was in session at the Hotel Copley-Plaza during four days, September 24-27; and the foreign delegates were then taken by special trains upon a tour to the leading commercial cities of the country as far west as Chicago, concluding their stay in America with a great meeting in New York.

The Congress was a great peace congress and a wonderful witness to the profound and pervasive conviction of the world's commercial leaders that the imperative interests of trade and industry to-day demand decisive action for the supplanting of the present system of

war and monstrous armaments by international courts and the judicial settlement of disputes between nations as between men. It took no other action which aroused such deep interest or such great enthusiasm as its endorsement unanimously of the effort to establish the International Court of Arbitral Justice and the united endeavor of the nations to prevent the atrocities of war. The resolution making this declaration of the sentiment of the Congress was offered by the President of the Congress himself, M. Canon-Legrand, in an eloquent address. The resolution was supported in earnest speeches by Sir John E. Bingham, former member of the British Parliament, representing the London Chamber of Commerce, and several other members of the Congress, and the scene of its adoption was the most stirring and impressive scene of the Congress. At the great banquet in the evening following this memorable demonstration President Taft, amidst prolonged and enthusiastic cheering, closed his impressive address with the following words:—

“I wish to speak of the influence upon the world by the coming of these delegates and these chambers of commerce to meet us and our meeting them. You come here for trade, to promote trade; and trade is peace. And if trade had no other good thing connected with it, the motive, the selfish motive in love of trade that keeps off war in order that trade may continue, is a sufficient thing to keep up trade for. I believe that we must have some escape in the future from the burden that is imposed by this increasing armament of nations. And you will never have the solution until you have furnished some means of certainly and honorably settling every international controversy, whether of honor or vital interest, by a court upon which all nations may rely. And if, as I believe, meetings like this stimulate the desire and the determination to reach some such result, I hope they may continue year after year until the dawn of permanent peace shall be with us.”

The promotion of the coöperation and friendship of the great commercial bodies of all nations, the advancement throughout the world of industry and trade of honor, integrity, high standards, good understanding, and good will,—these are the things which make these great international commercial congresses so beneficent and powerful. It is a good thing for the captains of industry and merchants of the world to get together to simplify and unify and make more intelligent their usages] about checks and bills of lading and calendars and systems of statistics; but far deeper than these things, and the sure guarantee that all these will be rightly and wisely settled in due time, is the feeling of mutual trust and common purpose and reciprocal

service strengthened by such great gatherings as that which made that September week memorable in Boston and throughout the commercial world. Mr. Ginn feels, as does the writer, and as all of us must feel, that the Foundation has rendered no single service more distinctive and far-reaching in its probable consequences than in its initiative of this Boston Congress and its long and generous work in preparation for it and in helping toward its signal success; and from our own point of view few things in connection with it are more hopeful than the large number of important connections which were established through it with influential leaders in England and other countries, whose coöperation in our work in the years immediately ahead of us will be of peculiar service. I hope that the day is not distant when we may see in England, with perhaps similar results afterwards elsewhere, a Foundation essentially like our own, independent, yet working in close and hearty coöperation with us; and, if this desirable organization is ever established, I believe it will be largely through the efforts of strong English commercial men who took part in this great Boston Congress.

It should in this connection be repeated that, by his express desire, the name of the founder is in no formal or public way ever associated with the Foundation by the administration. His strongest wish is that the work which he has begun will so approve itself that other able men will take as deep an interest in it as himself, increasing its resources commensurately with its growing demands and great opportunities, and especially ensuring affiliated Foundations in the other great countries of the world.

The work with our American Chambers of Commerce, almost all of which are in sincere sympathy with our movement, will be systematically continued. Many of these bodies, at their occasional banquets and other meetings, give prominent place to addresses in behalf of our cause. Mr. Albert G. Bryant, who comes to us from California early next year, with warm commendations, to act as our business agent, to promote our general financial interests and push the sale of our publications, will look particularly after this work, and may be regarded as the head of our *commercial department*.

Let me here say, with reference to our International Library and other publications, that the taking over of all of these by the Foundation from Ginn & Company, who had heretofore published them for us, while imposing upon us a great increase of detail duty, will, I believe, in the end be a distinct advantage. This will be true, however, only if we push the sale of our books as they have never yet been pushed, with booksellers and with libraries; and to do this will be one of Mr.

Bryant's special duties. While our desire always is to give many books away, as one of the best forms of propaganda, there is no reason why, with the rapidly growing interest in the peace movement, every new issue in our International Library should not, with proper business enterprise, be made to pay for itself.

Attention was called in an earlier report to the deep interest in the peace cause manifested by the National Grange and other organizations of our American farmers. The National Grange has for several years had a special committee upon the peace cause; and the resolutions of its conventions have been most pronounced in our behalf. I ask special attention to our pamphlet on "The Grange and Peace." This interest has been manifested especially during the campaign for the treaties; and there is now a strong desire that the peace cause shall be regularly presented to the different Granges in connection with their annual courses of lectures. The Grange is in many of our farming communities the place where the people meet most frequently and most freely together; and it offers an educational opportunity which has not been adequately utilized. One of the leading members of the American Forestry Association, whose practical services in the great movement which that organization represents have not been second in importance to those of any other American, has profoundly at heart the enlistment of the Granges in the peace cause, especially in connection with our Foundation, of which he has long been a warm and useful friend. If the work in this direction proves as large and successful as I hope it will, I may later suggest to the Trustees an invitation to him to become a member of our Board of Directors. There is perhaps no interest in the world to-day which is better organized internationally than the agricultural interest. The International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, with experts from over forty nations constantly at work in its bureau in standardizing and making uniform the crop reports of the world, with the issue of monthly bulletins in several languages sent to all countries, is rendering an incalculable service. The fact of its conception and founding by an American citizen, David Lubin, is something of which Americans may well be proud; and President Taft has just emphasized by his broad and earnest message the necessity of our farmers learning from other nations of the rural credit system, whose operations, especially in Germany and France, are so beneficent. The central aim in the founding of the International Institute of Agriculture was to bring the farmers of the world into closer, more intelligent, and more efficient coöperation; and the Institute in its activity, as was conspicuously true of its original motive,

is a great peace agency. So important is this broad interest that the wise establishment, as soon as it can be well done, of an *agricultural department* of the Foundation is something to be carefully worked for; and in this I hope for much help from the best men in the field.

No less important is the establishment, as soon as it can be deliberately and well done, of a department devoting itself systematically to enlisting and utilizing the interest of our *workingmen*. The workingmen of the world are in essential sympathy with the peace movement. Where they are not in sympathy with it, it is usually not their fault. The great Social Democratic parties of Germany and other European countries, made up almost entirely of workingmen, are everywhere anti-military parties, so earnest and active for peace that more than once in recent times their demonstrations in critical exigencies have had a clear and perhaps determining influence on governments; and the workingmen's organizations of this country have declared themselves repeatedly and emphatically for the peace and arbitration cause. These men are voters. They will largely determine the issues of our politics at home and abroad. We are at last securing their proper participation in our peace congresses; and a broad and systematic work of education in this field is one of the cardinal necessities of our movement. With individual leaders in the labor organizations I have long been in close touch, constantly placing our literature in their hands.

The National Federation of Women's Clubs, including a million women, which two years ago at its Cincinnati convention first gave our cause a place upon its program, has the present year, at its convention in San Francisco, committed itself definitely to work for our movement, creating a special committee to promote its interests, prepare programs for the clubs throughout the country, and carry on in its great membership a systematic work of peace education. This gives new importance and new opportunities for our own *department of women's organizations*, which, under the able and earnest management of Mrs. Duryea, has during the present year greatly increased its activity and its usefulness. Mrs. Duryea's report of her year's work will be separately submitted. Through the additions made by the late national election, in nine of our states women now have full suffrage; and this new political status gives new importance and urgency to work in this great field.

No other influence in behalf of our cause among the women's organizations of the country has during the year been more inspiring than that of the Baroness von Suttner, who came here from Austria in June and will return next month after a six months' campaign,

in which she has delivered nearly 150 addresses throughout the country from Boston to San Francisco. Her first address indeed was at the great convention of the National Federation of Women's Clubs at San Francisco, immediately after which she spoke at the convention of the National Education Association at Chicago. In the preceding two years we had had visits from Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and Count Apponyi, both of whom rendered our cause most significant service; but the longer campaign of the Baroness von Suttner has perhaps been even more fruitful. She came upon the invitation of an earnest group of women in the Chicago Woman's Club, who worked indefatigably for the success of her campaign during its whole period. They asked our coöperation at the start, and it was warmly given. The Foundation met the expenses of the Baroness and her companion from Austria to New York (\$500), and has contributed otherwise to her campaign. The American Association for International Conciliation contributed \$1,000. The Baroness's New England engagements were entirely arranged at our Boston headquarters; and throughout her stay we have coöperated in every way in our power to ensure for her work the fullest measure of success.

The work of Miss Anna B. Eckstein in the circulation of her World Petition in behalf of International Arbitration, which petition is to be presented to the Third Hague Conference, has been carried on untiringly throughout the year with the same zeal which Miss Eckstein had shown in the previous two years. She has spent the whole year in Europe, and has added millions of signatures to her great petition. This work, which is sustained by the Foundation, was earnestly supported by Mr. Ginn, and is carried on by the Foundation in fulfilment of his engagement with Miss Eckstein, because he felt that, aside from whatever direct influence the petition might have with the coming Hague Conference in the advancement of its immediate end, the agitation for it would have a pervasive indirect influence as a means of popular education, accompanied as it has been by innumerable enthusiastic meetings, and focusing the minds of the millions of signers, for the moment at least, upon the peace and arbitration effort, in so many cases also prompting them to definite reading and study concerning the cause. Miss Eckstein's report of her year's work will be submitted to the Trustees.

The work of Dr. Jordan, Dr. Macdonald, and Mr. Nasmyth during the year is so fully covered by their special reports presented herewith that it is hardly necessary to add anything to what they say.

Dr. Jordan has probably given a hundred important addresses during the year, before bodies of every character. His work through

the press has been constant and often of peculiar timeliness and value; and the results of his summer investigations in the South are sure to furnish a significant additional chapter to his impressive work upon "The Blood of the Nation." The Foundation is fortunate that it seems possible for him to devote the entire last half of the coming year to work in Europe and Asia, whence many invitations have come for him to speak. I wish to express particularly my sense of the value of the Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation, given at Stanford University by President Jordan and Professor Krehbiel, which Syllabus has just been issued in a volume of 180 pages by our Foundation. Nothing of the sort so thorough or so useful as this Syllabus has ever before been prepared. It covers with remarkable grasp and suggestiveness every aspect of our movement; and the Foundation will endeavor to secure its introduction into every university in the country as well as into other countries. Happily attention to our cause in the higher institutions of learning is spreading and deepening as never before; and this timely outline of study will meet the needs not only of university professors, but of lecturers and teachers everywhere.

Dr. Macdonald is one of the most stirring speakers upon the American platform. His address at Carnegie Hall in New York upon "William T. Stead and his Peace Message," given on the Sunday evening following the sinking of the *Titanic*, on which Mr. Stead was coming to New York to speak at this very meeting upon the world's peace, which address has been published in our pamphlet series and sent to the Trustees, is an illustration of the eloquence, pregnancy and force with which he is speaking before great assemblies all over the United States and Canada throughout the year. His position as editor of the *Toronto Globe*, the leading paper in Canada and preëminent in the service of international progress, gives him peculiarly auspicious ground for influence with the press; and he is no less influential with the religious world, being more constantly in demand for the great conventions of the churches than almost any other man among us. Important as Dr. Macdonald's journalistic services are, it is undoubtedly on the platform that he most helps our cause; and it is to his platform services that his accompanying report chiefly relates.

With respect to the regular presentation of our cause through the press of America and Europe, we count ourselves singularly fortunate in being able to expect to have with us from next summer on Mr. Norman Angell Lane, whose newspaper work in London and Paris in recent years has been no less valuable for our cause than the service

rendered by his noteworthy book, "The Great Illusion." Mr. Lane lived for many years in the United States, being here at the time that he prepared his first important book, "Patriotism under Three Flags"; and it is hoped that his experimental year with us will result in a permanent engagement.

Mr. Myers's service in our *publicity department* during the last year, which is summarized in the brief report which he submits, has been marked by the same intelligence, devotion, talent for research, and indefatigable industry which I have before had occasion to praise. The pamphlets in our series prepared by him, as well as the various bulletins of information which from time to time we are sending out, attest the quality of his work.

The extent of our publicity work altogether during the year is indicated by the fact that, besides circulating 200,000 copies of our various pamphlets, we have circulated also 200,000 copies of various broadsides and leaflets, many of them of course in editorial offices. Our publicity work is directed not only to the United States and Europe, but ever increasingly to South America, Australia and New Zealand, China and Japan.

Mr. Arthur W. Allen, the treasurer of the Foundation and the faithful manager of its business affairs, supplements his business services by constant contributions to the statistical information required by the Foundation; and no exhibit of the cost of war and the preparations for war has ever been made in brief more striking or more useful than that in Mr. Allen's pamphlet upon "The Drain of Armaments." I wish here to pay tribute to the young women associated with the work of the bureau, Miss Fraser, Miss MacDonald, and Miss Cord, whose interest in the cause and faithfulness in their duties contribute so largely to the efficiency of the work.

In my pamphlet upon "The Present Activities of the World Peace Foundation," issued soon after our last annual meeting, I outlined the remarkably hopeful and inspiring services of Mr. George W. Nasmyth in the German universities. His survey of his present year's work, which is submitted herewith, shows what he has accomplished during the year. It is a noteworthy work, and in a field which seems to me more fruitful and promising than almost any other. The International Students' Clubs, which Mr. Nasmyth organized last year in Berlin and Leipsic, have been reinforced this year by similar clubs in Munich and Göttingen, with others already in sight at Heidelberg, Marburg and Bonn; and the work in the British universities and in southeastern Europe is outlined in Mr. Nasmyth's report. The relations which he has succeeded in establishing with

student bodies in the Balkan States will prove especially valuable with regard to the closer general relations which it is incumbent upon international workers to establish with those nations as they now enter upon a period of such vastly greater influence. I have urged the directors of the important annual conferences at Clark University upon inter-racial fraternity—with which conferences the Foundation has earnestly coöperated, recognizing them as an integral and cardinal factor in the work for international good understanding and peace—to devote their conference next autumn to the peoples of the Balkan States. The revolutionary movements in the Balkans and in China during the present year enforce anew the peculiar importance of attention on our part to the student world, and emphasize especially the exceptional opportunity and power of this country for international progress. The young statesmen who first organized self-government in Bulgaria just a generation ago were educated at Robert College in Constantinople, like so many others of the young men who are to-day shaping public opinion and policy in the Balkan States. The revolution in China has been a revolution wrought mainly by scholars, largely by young Chinese scholars who have studied in American colleges and universities; and Dr. Sun Yat Sen, their leader, has publicly declared his ambition and purpose to be the establishment in China of a federal republic like the republic of the United States. One of the most flourishing Cosmopolitan Clubs organized by Mr. Nasymth during his campaign last spring in the Near East was at Robert College, which is indeed itself a Cosmopolitan Club; and the influence which will radiate from these multiplying clubs is incalculable. One of Mr. Nasmyth's young Berlin associates, Dr. Hans Vogel, a student in the university and an officer in the Berlin International Club, is about to visit all the universities in Spain and Portugal to prompt the establishment there of Cosmopolitan Clubs and secure delegations for the International Students' Congress at Cornell University in September. The Cosmopolitan Club movement in the United States itself has, during the year, grown steadily in strength. We had hoped that the general secretary, Mr. Louis P. Lochner, of the University of Wisconsin, would this year enter regularly the service of the Foundation for the student work, to which during the past two years, through provision by the Foundation, he had devoted half of his time. His duties at the university have made this for the present impossible; but in connection with those duties he still acts as secretary of the American Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs and editor of its magazine; and he is secretary this year of the International Association, as Mr.

Nasmyth is its president, it being a provision of the international organization that its executive officers for the year shall belong to the country where that year's Congress is to meet.* There are not in the whole student world two other young scholars who, to my thinking, are accomplishing so much for the cause of international peace and progress as Mr. Nasmyth and Mr. Lochner; and I trust that ultimately we may be able to secure their devotion exclusively to the work of the World Peace Foundation. I have no right to ask our Trustees to read too much; but if any of them should desire to see, in addition to Mr. Nasmyth's general survey of his service during the year, herewith submitted, his inspiring letters dealing particularly with his work in Germany, England and the Near East, copies of either or all of these special reports will be gladly furnished.

The chief need of the Foundation at the present moment is a strong man to take charge of the details of our general work in the colleges and universities, the proper organization of which, peculiarly imperative and peculiarly incumbent upon us, we have too long neglected; and I think that this need may in the near future be satisfactorily met.

Dr. Jordan, Dr. Macdonald and myself are the only regularly paid Directors of the Foundation. Mr. Holt serves as one of our paid lecturers, having during the year given ten lectures for us in colleges and universities. This, however, is but a slight part of his invaluable service for our cause. No speaker in the peace movement is in more constant demand, and he has given scores of addresses during the year, under various auspices; while the *Independent*, which has now come entirely into his hands, has long been the best weekly organ of our cause in the country. Dr. Brown, in his position as dean of the Yale Divinity School, is a most influential force in our American religious education, reaching hundreds of young men all over the country preparing for the ministry; and it is unnecessary to say that no man in our pulpit—and he is preaching every Sunday in New York or elsewhere—keeps our commanding cause more forcibly or more constantly at the front. Dr. Scott's regular activity is, of course, through the great Carnegie Peace Endowment, of which he is the secretary; but he keeps in close and helpful touch with the Foundation, and at this moment he is preparing for publication by us an English translation of the chapter from Prof. Otto Seeck's impressive history

* If any of our Trustees or any influential friends of our cause could secure a contribution of \$5,000 to place in our hands to promote the larger success of this coming International Students' Congress, thus facilitating the coming of representatives of various student bodies in European and other countries, who could not otherwise be present, it would do more for our interest than almost any other equal expenditure.

of "The Downfall of the Ancient World," to which Dr. Jordan makes such a strong appeal for confirmation of the central thesis of his "Blood of the Nation." Mr. Mott is untiringly devoted to his great work of inspiring the Young Men's Christian Associations of the world to constructive international service, working at this moment in Europe. The World's Student Christian Federation, of which he is the leading spirit, holds its next year's convention at Mohonk.

The various peace conventions of 1913 will altogether be of exceptional importance, and I bespeak for them your earnest interest. The International Peace Congress will meet at The Hague, which will be throughout the summer the central point of interest for our cause by reason of the dedication of the completed Temple of Peace. It is to be hoped that our American delegation at the International Congress may be large and representative. In no other country in the world has the organized peace movement made such strides in the last five years as in our own; yet our representation in the annual International Peace Congresses has been in no way commensurate with our activities, our importance, our responsibilities, or the expectations of our European associates. If any of our Trustees, or any friends of the peace cause in their respective circles, are to be in Europe the coming summer, we should be glad at the headquarters of the Foundation to confer with them with reference to the possibility of their attendance at the International Peace Congress at The Hague.

We must none of us forget that the Third Hague Conference itself is approaching, will undoubtedly be called for the summer of 1915. In that case the committee for the preparation of the program will be created by the various governments next year; and it is the strong effort of the friends of our cause here to create vital interest and a right public opinion which will alone ensure for the United States the position of influential leadership in the Conference and in the preparations for it which it is her duty to take.

My own duties during the year have been chiefly those of the general administration and editorship; but I have written constantly for the press in behalf of our cause and given more than fifty addresses before conventions, schools, colleges, churches and gatherings of every character.

Our work for the public schools has been carried on this year as heretofore through the American School Peace League, to which this year we have contributed \$2,500. The League raises about three times that amount otherwise, but our coöperation secures the League's affiliation with us and the best instrumentality at present available for our influence in the schools, which furnish a field second surely to no

other in importance. The work of the League has been broadly extended during the year, now reaching not only thirty-seven states in the Union, with branches well organized by the leading educators in those states, but awakening much interest in Europe, where Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, the efficient secretary, has spent the entire autumn. The British School Peace League is already doing admirable work, under the presidency of the Bishop of Hereford; and an International Council is now being created as a bond of union for the whole work, with such influential European leaders as Baron d'Estournelles, Count Apponyi and the Baroness von Suttner active in its interest. Copies of the last annual report of the School Peace League will be sent to all of the Trustees, as illustrating the public school work in which we are coöperating. It is not wise to create new machinery for any great department of the general work where there is good existing machinery which can be utilized and strengthened. A primary need in the whole peace work is that of economy and the prevention of duplication and waste; and to this end the various agencies should keep in close touch with each other, recognize clearly the fields which each can best occupy, and always cordially coöperate. Both Dr. James H. Van Sickle, the president of the League, and Mrs. Andrews, the secretary, are members of our Advisory Council. The secretary of the League is in constant touch with the Foundation's central bureau; and we supplement the League's efforts through the circulation of thousands of our pamphlets at its conventions and other meetings, and by mail among teachers and school superintendents. Dr. Claxton, our present national Commissioner of Education, is an indefatigable worker for the League, and has coöperated in the circulation of thousands of documents in its interest. Dr. Jordan, who is the president of the California branch of the League, presented its special claims, as well as the general claims of peace education, at the conventions of the National Education Association at Chicago and of the American Institute of Instruction at North Conway, in July; and the writer did the same at the conventions of the New Hampshire State Teachers' Association at Manchester and of the Rhode Island State Teachers' Association at Providence, this autumn.

With the American Peace Society, the Mohonk Conference, and the other peace agencies of the country the Foundation also constantly and heartily coöperates, several of its Directors and Trustees being officially identified with several of them. Mr. Ginn, Dr. Jordan, Dr. Brown, Dr. Scott and the writer are all vice-presidents of the American Peace Society, and Mr. McCall, Mr. Capen, and Professor Dutton

are among its directors. Mr. Capen is president of the Massachusetts Peace Society, and the writer is one of its directors; and, with offices immediately adjoining, the Society and our own Foundation are able to coöperate in very much here in Boston and New England to great mutual advantage. I gave addresses at the public meetings at both Manchester and Portland by which the new New Hampshire and Maine Peace Societies were inaugurated in February. In the new quarters which the Foundation is at the moment seeking, in the necessity of vacating its present rooms by reason of the growing needs of Messrs. Ginn & Company, I hope that accommodations may also be found for the Massachusetts Peace Society and the American School Peace League, thus bringing the various Boston agencies together in one Peace Building. To all the Peace Societies in the country, and to many in other countries, we are regularly sending our books and pamphlets, glad, in making our material available to them, and in knowing how largely they do avail themselves of it, to believe that we are serving the interests of our sister organizations at the same time that we are serving the interests of our own Foundation and our common cause.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

NOVEMBER 20, 1912.

NOTE.—The pamphlet upon "The Present Activities of the World Peace Foundation," issued early in 1912, briefly reviews the steps leading to the establishment of the Foundation, and more fully the work of 1911; and this pamphlet will be sent to any person applying for it. Complete lists of the publications of the Foundation are given in the pages at the end of the present report.

REPORT OF DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN

On returning from Japan in October, I spent the months of November and December in the field, giving lectures on "The Fight against War" and similar topics at Milwaukee (2), Racine, Rockford (2), Grand Rapids, Woodstock (Vt.), Worcester, Boston, Hingham, Salem, Buffalo (3), Yale University, Smith College, Montclair (N.J.), Swarthmore College, Washington, Atlantic City, Manhattan (Kansas), and Denver (2). The sum of \$500 was received from Mr. Frank A. Miller, of Riverside, to aid in this campaign, and \$25 from Dr. Webster Butterfield, of Pasadena.

Later, after my return to the University, lectures were given at Palo Alto, Berkeley, San Francisco, Watsonville, Oakland, San José, Fresno, Alameda, Los Angeles, and Pasadena. In the second semester 1911-12 a second course of forty lectures was given by Prof. Edward B. Krehbiel and myself on International Conciliation to about eighty of the advanced students of Stanford University. The Syllabus of this course of lectures has been published by the World Peace Foundation, as a basis for similar courses of lectures elsewhere.

In the winter of 1912 I wrote a book on the finances of war, published in June by the American Unitarian Association under the title of "The Unseen Empire." Several magazine articles and letters to newspapers were also printed, the most important being "Concerning Sea Power" in the *Independent*, "Foreclosing the Mortgage on War," "The Perennial Bogey of War," and "The Rising Cost of Living," in the *World's Work*, and the "Relations of Japan and the United States" in the *Popular Science Monthly*.

In the summer vacation of 1912 I undertook, with the assistance of Dr. Edward B. Krehbiel, Dr. Harvey E. Jordan of the University of Virginia, and Mr. Laurence L. Hill, an investigation of the effects of the Civil War on the people of the South fifty years after.

This investigation is a very difficult one, especially on the most important side, the biological. It also very much needs doing, and a few years hence it will be too late. Intensive studies, covering almost the entire population, were made of Cobb County in Georgia, on the line of Sherman's march, and of Rockbridge, a typical county of Virginia. Studies less complete were made in Spottsylvania, Dinwiddie and Henrico Counties in Virginia, Wake County in North Carolina, Knox County in Tennessee, and Clark County in Kentucky.

It is evident that in the South the reversed selection, the destruction of the strong by war, cutting off a large part of the best from parent-hood, has been a large factor in retarding the progress of the generations after the war. While nothing sensational is developed and while no numerical estimates of general application are possible, the costliness of "human sacrifices" in political matters is greatly emphasized by these studies, the results of which will be duly published.

In the summer vacation, besides this work in the South, Professor Krehbiel gave a course of lectures on International Conciliation at Columbia University.

Lectures on subjects relating to Peace and War were given by me at:—

Monterey.	Erie.	San José.
St. Helena.	Chicago, 3.	San Francisco.
Portland, Ore., 2.	Culver, Ind.	Topeka.
Seattle.	Raleigh.	Lawrence.
Prescott, Ariz., 2.	Knoxville, 2.	Kansas City.
Indianapolis.	St. Paul.	Albuquerque.
Louisville, Ky., 2.	Minneapolis.	Quincy, Cal.
North Conway, N.H., 2.	Salt Lake City, 3.	Buena Vista, Va.
Chautauqua.	Pacific Grove, 2.	
Jamestown, N.Y.	Sacramento.	

For the current year I shall remain at the University with only brief absences. I am planning, however, to give the summer of 1913 and the first half of the coming academic year entirely to this work. I have been asked to give lectures in Scotland and in England, and especially to visit Persia, in the interest of the future welfare of that country. I believe that I can spend the time from July, 1913, to February, 1914, to better advantage in Europe and Asia than at home. The effectiveness of our propaganda is greatly increased by first-hand knowledge of foreign conditions.

NOVEMBER 1, 1912.

REPORT OF DR. JAMES A. MACDONALD

The past year has been for me in the work of the World Peace Foundation a time of exceptional opportunity and activity. The results, I feel confident, justify, and in the future will justify still more largely, both the time and the effort.

My efforts have been devoted mainly to awakening, organizing and

directing public opinion in Canada and in the United States on the peace problem. I have deemed it best to take an independent course and to work not as a professional peace society agent, but as a publicist.

Apart from the constant opportunities offered through the *Toronto Globe*, I have been in close relations with the leading journalists and press associations, and took advantage of every occasion to stimulate interest in the international problem. Notwithstanding the reaction in political bitterness through the reciprocity campaign and the determination that Canada shall take over from Britain the maintenance of naval defense on the North Atlantic and the North Pacific, there is growing up in the press of Canada an intelligent and positive opinion against the military spirit and against the burdening of industry by the impositions of the war syndicates. In this regard, however, a good deal remains to be done, as the subject is new and tradition is against reform.

The most useful instruments, I find, are the churches, the great educational institutions, the conventions of industrial, commercial, financial, social, and religious organizations, and other gatherings of strong and representative people. Invitations to address these important gatherings are many times more numerous than can be accepted. During the past year I have had opportunities to address the very largest and most influential national and international conventions held either in Canada or in the United States. Except during July and August, I made from three to five addresses every week, but on an average I had to decline two hundred invitations per month. Between October 1 and May 1 I declined 1,356 invitations from outside of Toronto.

The range and character of these activities may be judged from my program for the past ten days. On Friday night I addressed the Canadian Club of St. Thomas, Ontario, with its membership composed, as such clubs always are, of the most important men in the life of the city. Saturday night was given to the annual banquet of the Canadian Society of Chicago, and Sunday afternoon to a mass meeting of Chicago Baptist laymen. On Monday night I addressed 700 Detroit laymen at their annual dinner of the Laymen's Missionary Movement. Tuesday I spent at the University of Michigan. On Wednesday night and at noon on Thursday I addressed the Fifth National Convention of the Brotherhood of the United Presbyterian Church at their great meetings, 1,500 strong, in Pittsburg, and on Thursday night spoke for an hour at a banquet of the Canadian Society of Pittsburg. On Saturday night I addressed the Alma Mater

Society of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, and again on Sunday afternoon spoke to more than a thousand students and professors, and on Sunday night to a crowded congregation in the largest church in the city. On Monday noon I was the speaker at the Canadian Club of Montreal, and in the afternoon addressed the students of McGill University. On each one of these occasions the problem of war and peace was the essence of my theme, and in one way and another I pressed it home on the particular organization under whose auspices the meeting was held.

My discussions of these themes have been organized around such lecture subjects as "Some International Fundamentals," "Canada's Place among the Nations," "Shall it be War or Peace?" "The World Too Small for War," "University Men and the World Problem," "The Responsibility of the Church for Good Will among the Nations," "For the Brotherhood of the World," "War and the Human Breed," "The Christmas Evangel and the Christian Church," "The Fraternity of the Nations," "Anglo-American Fraternity."

During the year I addressed many Y. M. C. A. conventions as far separated as Roanoke, Va., and Winnipeg, Man. In connection with the Conservation Congress of the Men and Religion Forward Movement in New York in April, I spoke with Hon. W. J. Bryan on "Christianity and Governments"—that address has been widely published—and on "William T. Stead and his Peace Message." I also addressed five hundred clergymen in New York and the Baptist Social Union of Brooklyn. In May I attended the International Convention of the Advertising Clubs of America in Dallas, Tex., and gave a dozen addresses, all touching international problems. I also gave the Fourth of July address at Northfield on "The Anglo-American Fraternity." On both sides of the line I have addressed banquets of Boards of Trade and of Chambers of Commerce.

The prospects for the coming year are even more inviting. My time, as much of it as can possibly be spared from office work, is mortgaged in advance for significant occasions at strategic points. More and more the subject possesses me, and for its sake other things are sacrificed. A hard fight is on, but time and right and the currents of life are on the side of those who fight for peace.

REPORT OF MR. GEORGE W. NASMYTH

Since my return to Europe at the beginning of the year, I have concentrated a large part of my energy upon the organization of the international movement among the students of the German universities. In this I have been impelled by the same reasons which first led me to begin the work in Berlin. I believe Germany to be the strategic position of the peace problem of Europe, and I believe that the critical hour of the peace movement in Germany is at hand. Many indications point to the coming transfer of the power of government from the ultra-conservatives, who have been in control since 1878, into the hands of the liberal and progressive forces. Within the last two years the currents of international thought, as shown by the increase of international organizations and institutions in Germany, have made remarkable progress. If the force of these currents can be brought to bear upon the students in the German universities, if they can be taught to understand the ideals and the problems of other nations, to study international progress and to look upon the nations of the world as coöperating units of a larger whole instead of natural enemies or destructive competitors, the result of their later participation in public life will be of deep significance for the future of the world's peace movement.

Briefly summarized, the results of the work in Germany this year have been the strengthening of the international clubs which had been already established at Berlin and Leipsic universities, the founding of two new clubs at Munich and Göttingen, and the formation of an association of the international clubs of the German universities, the "Verband der Internationalen Studenten-Vereine an Deutschen Hochschulen," which held its first annual congress in Göttingen at the end of last July. This union of the international student forces of Germany was of special significance, not only on account of the strengthening of the existing movement which it produced, but also on account of the extensive plans for propaganda to which it gave rise and which are now being executed. The first number of the international student publication which was planned at this congress has been printed in an edition of 10,000 copies and distributed among the students of the German universities. Two new international clubs are in process of formation at the important university centers of Bonn and Heidelberg, and the definite plans for the future extension of the movement include not only the other universities of Germany, but also those of Switzerland and Austria.

I wish here to express the thanks due to Professor Muensterberg, of the Harvard Cosmopolitan Club, to whom belongs a large part of the credit for the remarkable growth of the international student movement in Germany which this publication of the "Verband" reveals. He was at Berlin as exchange professor at the time of the formation of the first club, in February, 1911, and was of the greatest service both there and at Leipsic.

One of the most encouraging aspects of the movement is the number of international student workers—organizers, editors, writers, and effective speakers—which it has already trained up or called into the service of the ideal of international understanding, friendship, and progress.

Although the active membership of the four international clubs does not exceed 500, their influence extends to a far wider and a rapidly growing circle. The international club at Göttingen, for example, which is the smallest of the four universities, has an active membership of only 95, but the average attendance at the six public meetings which were held last term was between 150 and 200. At the meeting of the Munich Club at which Professor Brentano discussed "The International Character of Modern Political Economy" the attendance was between 600 and 700, and the lecture by Professor Quidde in the same club on "The International Organization of Political Life" was also largely attended. Through their literature, which is distributed as widely as their financial resources will permit, as well as through the largely attended lectures which they arrange, the international clubs stimulate a discussion of international movements and an interest in the civilization and problems of foreign countries and in international subjects among a large proportion of the German students.

All four of the international clubs have made excellent beginnings this fall, and have outlined extensive programs for the work of the year. The next congress of the movement will be held at Leipsic, May 8-10, 1913, and by that time, from present indications, the number of international clubs, which increased from two to four last year, will again have doubled, Bonn, Heidelberg, Zurich and possibly Marburg sending their delegates to join forces with the international student workers of Göttingen, Munich, Leipsic, and Berlin.

During the vacation of the German universities I have devoted all the time which I could spare from my work in Germany to the organization or strengthening of the international movement among the students of other lands. With this object I have made at various times during the past ten months three visits to England, one to

France, two to Holland, a long tour to the universities of south-eastern Europe,—Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Constantinople, Greece, and Italy,—and a trip to America to assist Mr. Lochner and the Cornell committee in the preparations for the approaching International Congress of Students.

In England I have addressed student meetings at Oxford, Cambridge, and London on the international student movement, and have visited other universities to confer with the officers of various student organizations concerning plans for international activities. At Oxford I assisted in the reorganization of the Cosmopolitan Club, and at Cambridge I addressed the East and West Society. I came into especially close contact with the British student movement which has been started by Norman Angell in the form of a War and Peace Society at Cambridge and an International Polity Club at Glasgow for the study of international questions along the lines of the thesis of "The Great Illusion." It is probable that these organizations will spread to all the British universities within a few years, as Mr. Angell is devoting special attention to the student field. He is very much interested in the German universities also, and at an interview which I had with him in London tentative plans were worked out for coöperation between the international student movements in England and Germany which give promise of fruitful practical results.

At the close of an address which I made at Robert College in Constantinople last April a Cosmopolitan Club of forty members from ten nationalities was formed. This club showed a remarkable activity during the remainder of the year, and was in the direction of other strong movements making for a coöperation of all the progressive forces of the Turkish Empire, in spite of racial and religious differences, in the cause of unity, civilization and humanity. Plans had already been made to spread the movement to Beirut and other educational centers, and I hope to keep in touch with the development of this movement after peace is restored upon what, I hope, will be a permanent basis in the Near East. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Italian students have already begun, sincerely and earnestly, the reconstruction of their peace movement upon a more secure and lasting foundation.

My chief work in the other countries I have mentioned has been to interest leading students in international organization, to build up the organization of the International Federation of Students, or "Corda Fratres" movement, which is now the most important international student organization in the world, with the exception of the World's Student Christian Federation, and to secure delegates for the

International Congress of Students next year. The International Federation of Students includes student organizations in twelve countries of Europe and America, North and South, and is apparently entering upon a period of rapid expansion in its history. Negotiations are in progress with student organizations in the South American countries not yet in the movement, in Roumania and Bulgaria, and with the recently formed World's Chinese Student Federation, which has its headquarters at Shanghai. At the coming International Student Congress which the "Corda Fratres" movement is arranging for the end of next August at Ithaca, N.Y., it is planned to enlarge this movement to what will be in effect a confederation of all student organizations in the world for the purpose of coöperation in encouraging mutual understanding and international friendship, by means of international congresses, exchanges of visits, correspondence, and the establishment of an international student magazine.

It is a noteworthy indication of the growth of the international spirit in the universities that three international student congresses will be held next summer. The World's Student Christian Federation will hold its tenth biennial International Conference at Lake Mohonk, June 2-8. The International Federation of Students, or "Corda Fratres," as it is known from its device, "Corda sunt Fratres," will hold its eighth biennial International Congress at Ithaca, with visits, receptions, etc., at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. Finally, the Dutch students are arranging an International Reunion of Students, probably about the 1st of September, 1913, in connection with the International Peace Congress at The Hague, to celebrate the opening of the Temple of Peace.

HEIDELBERG, November 15, 1912.

REPORT OF MR. DENYS P. MYERS

In submitting my annual report, I would say that my researches and my publicity work have been mainly directed to gathering and imparting information touching the economic evils of war and the development of the legal solution of international problems. The peace worker to-day must base his efforts upon complete and accurate information and a proper appreciation of both facts and results.

The policy of bringing together the necessary books connected with the movement, with the purpose of establishing at the Foundation's

headquarters a valuable reference library, has continued, with special attention paid to the preservation of fleeting material. Books or pamphlets to the number of some 250 have been purchased or made up by binding. A proportion of these has been secured for definite uses at particular times, but the bulk of them has been bought because they were such books as were of permanent value in our work. A conservative policy has been followed in this regard, and purchases have not been made as a rule unless the book was an evident necessity or such a one as could not be secured in the Boston libraries.

Periodicals relating to the movement itself have been received during the year, and will be preserved in permanent form. By purchase from the American Peace Society we have secured 220 back numbers of the *Advocate of Peace*, completing the set for about ten years, with many volumes partially complete. We are also fortunate enough to possess a practically complete set of the early *Friend of Peace*. Our own publications have been collected and bound in annual record copies for office use, and a title-page permitting the binding of them by libraries and others has proved very popular. Effort has been made to complete sets of the peace publications of other organizations, and a number of volumes of these has been made, including publications of the American Peace Society, the American School Peace League, National Peace Council, The Hague Court, American Association for International Conciliation, and Conciliation International, Lake Mohonk reports, the Berne Bureau publications, and sets of all the peace publications issued within the past year.

A representative list of newspapers, eight in number, has been read daily, and material relative to our work taken therefrom for filing. Last year about 25,000 clippings were filed: this year probably 20,000 have been filed. The bulk of these is necessarily large, because their value consists in the completeness of the set on a given subject, and, while a single clipping may be of very small value in itself, it is frequently of great value when used with others on the same subject. The *Congressional Record* is being received, and our files contain the portions of it relating to such questions as the arbitration treaties of 1911, the Panama Canal, the Army and Navy Appropriation Bills, and minor questions relating to our work. This material piles up very rapidly, and a policy is followed of indexing and binding the excerpts on a particular subject, when the subject itself is among those in which we are permanently interested.

It is along these general lines that information for the use of the office has been collected, and the success of the efforts made has been very gratifying, in that office inquiries both from our own staff

and from outside inquirers have invariably been answered expeditiously.

Aside from the considerable amount of work done in connection with the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce and numerous articles and letters to various papers during the year, my public work has consisted of issuing accurate information of general interest or in reply to definite inquiries. Letters asking for definite facts or general assistance have averaged two or three a week during the year. Some of these have been notable in character, and a number of such letters have come from military and naval men who desired to be accurately informed on technical points. It has been our policy to provide the public with accurate information, and the present revised list of arbitration treaties and the bulletins tabulating The Hague cases, analyzing the convention ratifications and tabulating the same, illustrate this type of work. These have been distributed to professors of political science for use in their classes, and their appreciation of this phase of the Foundation work is very gratifying. They are also being sent to those newspapers with reference departments, so that it is hoped that our work along these lines will be successful in increasing the accuracy of all of those having to do with such matters.

During the year I have acted as the American agent of the Office Central, and I am preparing an article advocating the centralization of official international organs for its publication, *La Vie Internationale*. During the year an extensive study of the extinction of treaties has been made, the publication of which is being arranged. It is hoped that the conclusions of this study, which is based on historical facts and a study of technical conditions, will enable negotiators to appreciate the value of including in treaties definite articles relative to their periodicity.

In Morocco since 1906 there was in operation an internationalized control centered in the diplomatic corps of Tangier. This international régime was the result of Germany's intervention and the Algeciras Conference of 1906. Its failure by reason of Germany's own action in the Agadir incident constitutes one of the strikingly notable developments in international politics, with many lessons for the pacifist. I have made a study of the Moroccan question in this period, and am negotiating its publication as a book. This sort of work is both slow and laborious, but such of it as has practical application to the peace problem is certainly well worth doing.

REPORT OF MRS. ANNA S. DURYEA

My work this year has consisted as usual in sending out literature, corresponding with those interested and those not interested, in talking with individuals and lecturing to women's organizations, churches, high schools, normal schools, colleges, and college and university clubs. All the work except the lecturing has continued through the entire year. While popular lecturers, like Professor Zueblin, tell me they cannot extend their lecture season beyond the 1st of April, I carried mine up to the middle of June and did some lecturing during the summer. I spoke from the 1st of October till June 15 on an average every other day, but my dates were often crowded in at the rate of one or sometimes two a day for certain periods.

The organizations which call upon my services are as above mentioned, and I have reached this year many which were inaccessible last year, the Colonial Dames and Women Lawyers, and am on the way, with the help of Bishop Greer, to the women of the Episcopal Church.

My actual lecture work has been confined to New England and the eastern part of the Middle States. I have been obliged to refuse many Western engagements. I addressed the Vermont State Federation at Montpelier, and while there received an invitation from officers of the Vermont Peace Society to address them this winter while the legislature was in session. I have been as far south as Philadelphia in my work. I took a trip of some days into Maine, as far north as Bangor, addressing women's clubs and college clubs. Interest in our cause is growing, as shown by the fact that clubs which two years ago felt that they had done it justice by having one lecture in several years now realize it to be a subject of study and are to put it on their platforms at least once a year, which interest will of course be helped by the recent action of the National Federation of Women's Clubs. I am in close touch with the chairman of the Peace and Arbitration Committee of the National Federation, which now numbers over a million women. I am frequently asked to return and speak this year to clubs addressed last year, and especially on the "gentlemen's night." I always take literature with me when I speak, and often have to send more after my return. I never send it indiscriminately, but to special persons, in connection with letters and conversations, and accomplish much in this way in creating an intelligent interest in our subject. In ten days last winter our girls sent out, under my direction, forty-one thousand pieces of literature.

Because the Foundation has felt its interests to be centered more particularly in the educational field, I have devoted especial attention this year to high schools, normal schools, colleges, college clubs, and teachers' organizations, though this is a wide extension of my province. I could devote all my time profitably to this work. A high school of two thousand pupils, where I spoke four times last year, taking the pupils in sections of five hundred, has asked me for additional lectures this year. I have just sent out to schools about six hundred lecture announcements, accompanied by letters of commendation from Dr. Snedden, of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and Dr. Claxton, the United States Commissioner, and my mail is immediately crowded with answers. I have now engagements to speak to the women's colleges at Brown University and Columbia University, and have been invited to speak at Wells College in New York.

I have sent to the large Catholic schools and colleges a letter and my lecture announcements, accompanied by the slips giving the Pope's letter and Cardinal Gibbons's address on the arbitration treaties, and have just received my first invitation to speak at a Catholic college. Dr. Dyer, our new Boston Superintendent of Schools, promises me his written endorsement for my work. This is valuable, as all teachers are not yet alive to the commanding interest of our subject. A principal in Philadelphia recently refused our services because she considered the subject inappropriate for school-girls,—I am inaugurating a campaign of education with her. I meet much of this ignorance, though I have many letters of appreciation and gratitude from the most intelligent principals and teachers. There is an unlimited field among schools and colleges and teachers' organizations, and all efforts in this direction yield most satisfactory results.

I have given over a hundred lectures the expenses of which ranged from nothing to \$50; and these expenses, met by the societies, amounting to perhaps \$700, were their contribution to the cause. I have just returned from lectures in Wallingford and New Haven, Conn. (where I spoke in the house of the Lieutenant Governor), when I received enough to pay all expenses and the expense besides of a trip to New York for the cause, besides putting \$15 into the treasury, to which I have turned in during the year something over \$200 in fees. I have paid all expenses of a week in New York, several days in Maine, and a trip to Philadelphia, so that the financial contribution of the department to the work this year has fallen little short of \$1,000. I mention this to show that, while so much of the work is missionary work and must be free, the clubs are already waking to its importance and beginning to cooperate financially.

I hear repeatedly on all sides expressions of warm appreciation of the work the Foundation is doing. The encouraging expressions which people are generous enough to give me for my own work are very gratifying, and bring me great satisfaction in the work which I am permitted to do.

NOVEMBER 20, 1912.

REPORT OF MISS ANNA B. ECKSTEIN

The work for the World Petition has been continued by me, as in previous years, along three lines: (1) by lectures in public meetings, before societies, colleges, etc., at all of which petition forms were distributed to co-workers, signed, and collected; (2) by personal interviews with men of science, members of parliaments, teachers, editors, business men, leaders of social and religious organizations, etc.; (3) by letters of information in response to requests from individuals and organizations of different countries, and by writing articles for publication. Some of these were published in *The Christian Commonwealth*, London, *The Woman Teachers' World*, London, and *Friedens-Warte*.

While in 1910 my work was chiefly concentrated upon Germany, and in 1911 upon Great Britain and Ireland, most of my efforts in 1912 were devoted to France, although the work was carried on in other countries as well. In November, 1911, I gave addresses in the south of Germany, one at the large public meeting at Heilbronn in connection with the annual meeting of the peace societies of Würtemberg. An invitation to speak at a public meeting in London organized by the Women's Committee in Support of the International Arbitration Treaties, and presided over by Lady Courtney, and other engagements took me to London in December, 1911. (Among other accounts see that in the *Westminster Gazette*, December 22, 1911.)

In January and part of February I lectured in Germany, Holland and Belgium. The principal cities were Königsberg, the city of Immanuel Kant, Nuremberg, Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Brussels. In some places several public meetings were arranged, often brilliant gatherings socially and intellectually, with instructive debates; also drawing-room meetings, as at the homes of Mr. and Mrs. C. Bekker van Bosse in Scheveningen and Baron and

Baroness de Laveleye in Brussels. Interesting is the fact that a number of these meetings were arranged by organizations other than peace societies: in Nuremberg it was a commercial organization. One of the Amsterdam meetings was under the joint auspices of the Dutch Peace Society and the Society of Liberal Christianity; another, under the joint auspices of the Dutch Society of Rectors of Schools and of two Teachers' Associations. At one of the Brussels meetings I had again the pleasure, as in the previous year, of sharing the time of the programme with Senator Henri LaFontaine, the president of the International Peace Bureau. At The Hague some prominent members of parliament signed the petition in the Peace Palace built by Mr. Carnegie, a visit to it having been granted as an exceptional favor to the organization committee of the fine Hague meeting and to myself; and arrangements were made that those who are engaged in building the Peace Palace shall be asked to sign the petition. Excellency Asser, one of the delegates of the Dutch Government at the two Hague Peace Conferences, gave me valuable information.

From the latter part of February to the middle of June I worked in France. My campaign there was under the auspices of the French Peace Societies, the "Association de la Paix par le Droit," whose president is Professor Ruysen, and the "Société Française pour l'Arbitrage entre Nations," whose president is Prof. Charles Richet. These societies were aided by "La Société de l'Éducation Pacifiste," by many teachers' societies and other organizations. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, president of the European branch of the Carnegie Endowment, kindly placed the Paris office at my disposal for headquarters of my campaign in France. Much of my time was spent in Paris. (See *La Paix par le Droit*, March 10, 1912, article by Dr. J. Prudhommeaux, general secretary of the European branch of the Carnegie Endowment.) Other French cities where I gave lectures are Guise, Clermont, Ferrand, Lyons, Nimes, Montauban, Nantes, Parthenay, La Rochelle, Beauvais, Rouen, Bourges, Bordeaux, Limoges, etc. The local organization committees and the chairmen of the meetings were everywhere representative men and women; and the audiences, composed of various elements of society, were almost always inspiring. It was especially pleasant that the first public meeting of my French campaign outside of Paris was arranged under the auspices of the Peace Society of the Familistère at Guise. The Familistère of Guise being—thanks to the wisdom and generosity of the noble millionaire, J. B. André Godin—a model of perfect adjustment of the interests of capital and labor, it represents the complete and happy realization of a lofty ideal. The mayor of

Guisse presided, Dr. J. Prudhommeaux also addressed the meeting, and many new coworkers joined our ranks.

One of the very brilliant French meetings was that at Lyons. The large and beautiful hall of the Palais de la Bourse was so crowded that many gentlemen and ladies were obliged to stand throughout the whole evening. Mr. Vanderpol, the founder of the Catholic Peace League, presided. In several other cases, leaders of the peace movement added to the success of the meetings by eloquent addresses. Professor Ruysen, of the University of Bordeaux, delivered lectures jointly with me at Pau, Angoulême, and Bordeaux. In Clermont, at the University Hall, Professor Desdevises du Dezert presided; and in Paris, at the City Hall, Prof. C. Bougle, the sociologist from the Sorbonne, presided. In Limoges, at the new Examination Hall of the Prefecture, M. Crevelier, inspecteur de l'académie of the Dep. La Haute Vienne, presided, and Professor Allegret and the American consul, E. L. Belisle, of Worcester, Mass., were members of the local organization committee. At La Rochelle, in the large, fine Huguenot Oratoire, the American consul, Mr. Jackson, also from Massachusetts, was a delightful chairman. There would be much of interest and encouragement to report of every meeting, especially of addresses at colleges and teachers' meetings. Detailed reports of a number of the meetings were given in the fortnightly review, *La Paix par le Droit*, and in many of the French daily papers. In spite of the high wave of jingoism that prevailed, the daily press has been exceedingly sympathetic throughout: it has helped the cause of the World Petition very much by publishing clear and often full accounts of the meetings and lectures.

At the end of the French campaign there was a violent attack made upon the World Petition. The attempt was made to prevent individuals and societies from signing the petition, on the pretext that it stood for a rigid fixation of the boundaries of the nations. The fact that this attack came from two or three "pacifists" was a source of deep distress to our great and lamented Frederic Passy, as well as to other leaders and friends of the peace movement in France. For the sake of conciliation I agreed to a slight verbal change of the text of the petition for France, the sense remaining unaltered. The conflict cost a vexatious waste of time, money, and strength, so sorely needed for positive work. However, the polemics served to strengthen convictions in favor of the World Petition; and a further consequence is the realization of the necessity of defining "vital interests" and of finding satisfactory means for their protection. The hostilities thus resulted in education, and in giving evidence of what able and

stanch friends the World Petition has in France. My French campaign has filled me with deeper respect, affection, and gratitude than ever towards our French peace friends and the French people, and has inspired me with new courage and a firmer faith that the World Petition will attain its ends.

From France I returned to Germany. Here a lecture of far-reaching importance was one I gave in the University Extension Courses at Jena, where I had spoken previously, in 1911. This year the courses were attended by 746 students, many from all parts of Europe and from America; and those familiar with conditions in Germany will appreciate what a hopeful sign it is that a peace worker is accepted among the lecturers of these courses. In the debate which followed my lecture, Professor Weinel, the eminent liberal theologian, again supported the World Petition with the full weight of his deep thought and convincing eloquence, as he had done on previous occasions; and the hall was so crowded that many people were unable to find place. The evening was rich in results, as was the whole fortnight of my work in Jena.

I addressed at Magdeburg, by invitation, the large opening meeting of the national conference of the Monistenbund, at which its president, Professor Ostwald, of Leipsic, who has succeeded Professor Haeckel, joined me with warm and inspiring words in support of the World Petition. Here at Magdeburg also hundreds of petition forms found men and women who made it their duty to have them filled with signatures. My next lecture was again in French, at Lausanne, Switzerland, a public meeting having been arranged by the Peace Society of the Canton of Vaud. In September and October I attended three peace congresses: the Universal Peace Congress at Geneva, at which I represented the World Peace Foundation; the first Congress of the Verband für internationale Verständigung (German Association for International Conciliation) at Heidelberg; and the annual conference of the German Peace Society at Berlin. At Geneva Rev. Frank Thomas was among those who advanced the cause of the World Petition in an effectual way, the renowned preacher reading from his pulpit in the magnificent Victoria Hall the text of the petition, and urging his congregation to sign the forms distributed in the vestibule and to obtain the signatures and co-operation of their friends.

The committee of the International Peace Bureau, at its Geneva meeting on September 27, 1912, in order to clear up misunderstandings concerning the World Petition, passed a resolution declaring that the texts at present being circulated in the different countries nowise conflict with the principles of pacifist doctrine, since all these

texts recognize, either by implication or explicitly, that changes affecting the independence and territorial possessions of States ought not to be brought about by war, but by treaties to be concluded with the free consent of the nations and peoples concerned,—this without in any way excluding arbitration treaties. Furthermore, it again requested the friends of peace *to engage without delay in propaganda in favor of these petitions*, so that the signatures may be laid before the International Committee instructed to draw up the program of the next Peace Conference, as soon as it meets.

One of the fruits of the Berlin Congress is the co-operation of the editor of the *Ethische Rundschau*, and his request for 2,000 copies of the World Petition for distribution. At the Heidelberg Conference, which was inaugurated by Professor Nippold, and attended—among other prominent personalities, like Baron d'Estournelles de Constant—by seventeen leading men in international law, such as Professor Zorn, German delegate at both of The Hague Peace Conferences, Professor Niemeyer of Kiel University, Professors Schücking, Piloty, etc., the acquisition of signatures to the World Petition and of new co-workers was in quality remarkable.

Some time ago President Taft's and Mr. Knox's approval of and pleasure in the World Petition were expressed in letters signed by them and sent to an English gentleman in reply to his letter and a World Petition form with the signatures of seventeen members of the British Parliament. French students devoted their Easter vacation to addressing meetings in order to collect signatures for the World Petition. An Austrian inspector of schools has collected 1,462 signatures; a German gentleman, 1,035; an Alsatian lady recently wrote me that she regretted not to have been able to quite complete the second thousand; an English family sent in 4,575 signatures.

In spite of the Morocco crisis, the actual wars, and a mad jingoism everywhere, the signs of active interest in the World Petition continue to increase. Steadily the World Petition is making its way to the attention, the respect, and the coöperation not only of the masses, but also of the men of authority in science and politics. All signs indicate that the World Petition is bound to attain its ends, and that it will bring honor and joy to the World Peace Foundation and its noble founder.

COBURG, GERMANY, Nov. 20, 1912.

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

(Formerly the International School of Peace)

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THE FORCES WARRING AGAINST WAR

BY

HAVELOCK ELLIS



PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
40 MT. VERNON STREET, BOSTON

AUGUST, 1913, Vol. III, No. 8

Entered as second-class matter January 15, 1913, at the post office at Boston, Mass.,
under the Act of August 24, 1912

THE cause of peace is not the cause of cowardice. If peace is sought to be defended or preserved for the safety of the luxurious and the timid, it is a sham, and the peace will be base. War is better, and the peace will be broken. If peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, namely, the will to carry their life in their hand, and stake it at any instant for their principle, but who have gone one step beyond the hero, and will not seek another man's life; men who have, by their intellectual insight, or else by their moral elevation, attained such a perception of their own intrinsic worth, that they do not think property or their own body a sufficient good to be saved by such dereliction of principle as treating a man like a sheep. If the rising generation can be provoked to think it unworthy to nestle into every abomination of the past, and shall feel the generous darings of austerity and virtue, then war has a short day. Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation, we may be assured it will not be one that invites injury; but one, on the contrary, which has a friend in the bottom of the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race and has the blessings of mankind. — *From Emerson's Essay on War.*

A DAY will come when a cannon ball will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be amazed that such a thing could ever have been. A day will come when those two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, will be seen placed in the presence of each other, extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean, exchanging their produce, their industries, their arts, their genius, clearing the earth, peopling the desert, improving creation under the eye of the Creator, and uniting, for the good of all, these two irresistible and infinite facts, the fraternity of men and the power of God. — *Victor Hugo, President of Second General Peace Congress, Paris, 1849.*

IF a thousandth part of what has been expended in war and preparing its mighty engines had been devoted to the development of reason and the diffusion of Christian principles, nothing would have been known for centuries past of its terrors, its sufferings, its impoverishment and its demoralization, but what was learned from history. — *Horace Mann.*

WERE half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts. — *Longfellow.*

THE FORCES WARRING AGAINST WAR¹

By HAVELOCK ELLIS

The abolition of collective fighting is so desirable an extension of the abolition of individual fighting, and its introduction has waited so long the establishment of some high compelling power — for the influence of the Religion of Peace has in this matter been less than nil — that it is evident that only the coincidence of very powerful and peculiar factors could have brought the question into the region of practical politics in our own time. There are several such factors, most of which have been developing during a long period, but none have been clearly recognized until recent years. It may be worth while to indicate the great forces now warring against war.

(1) *Growth of International Opinion.* There can be no doubt whatever that during recent years, and especially in the more democratic countries, an international consensus of public opinion has gradually grown up, making itself the voice, like a Greek chorus, of an abstract justice. It is quite true that of this justice, as of justice generally, it may be said that it has wide limits. Renan declared once, in a famous allocution, that "what is called indulgence is, most often, only justice," and, at the other extreme, Remy de Gourmont has said that "injustice is sometimes a part of justice"; in other words, there are varying circumstances in which justice may properly be tempered either with mercy or with severity. In any case, and however it may be qualified, a popular international voice generously pronouncing itself in favor of justice, and resonantly condemning any government which clashes against justice, is now a factor of the international situation. It is, moreover, tending to become a factor having a certain influence on affairs. This was the case during the South African War, when England, by offending this international sense of justice, fell into a discredit which had many actual

¹ From Mr. Ellis's essay on "The War against War," in the volume on "The Task of Social Hygiene." By the kind consent of the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Company.

Mr. Ellis is one of the ablest of contemporary English writers, known best perhaps in our historical circles by his "Study of British Genius," but in scientific circles by his numerous sociological and psychological works. Long active in education, he has traveled widely and is broadly conversant with world affairs.

unpleasant results and narrowly escaped, there is some reason to believe, proving still more serious. The same voice was heard with dramatically sudden and startling effect when Ferrer was shot at Barcelona. Ferrer was a person absolutely unknown to the man in the street; he was indeed little more than a name even to those who knew Spain; few could be sure, except by a kind of intuition, that he was the innocent victim of a judicial murder, for it is only now that the fact is being slowly placed beyond dispute. Yet immediately after Ferrer was shot within the walls of Monjuich a great shout of indignation was raised, with almost magical suddenness and harmony, throughout the civilized world, from Italy to Belgium, from England to Argentina. Moreover, this voice was so decisive and so loud that it acted like those legendary trumpet-blasts which shattered the walls of Jericho; in a few days the Spanish Government, with a powerful minister at its head, had fallen. The significance of this event we cannot easily overestimate. For the first time in history, the voice of international public opinion, unsupported by pressure, political, social or diplomatic, proved potent enough to avenge an act of injustice by destroying a government. A new force has appeared in the world, and it tends to operate against those countries which are guilty of injustice, whether that injustice is exerted against a State or even only against a single obscure individual. The modern developments of telegraphy and the press — unfavorable as the press is in many respects to the cause of international harmony — have placed in the hands of peace this new weapon against war.

(2) *International Financial Development.* There is another international force which expresses itself in the same sense. The voice of abstract justice raised against war is fortified by the voice of concrete self-interest. The interests of the propertied classes, and therefore of the masses dependent upon them, are to-day so widely distributed throughout the world that whenever any country is plunged into a disastrous war there arises in every other country, especially in rich and prosperous lands with most at stake, a voice of self-interest in harmony with the voice of justice. It is sometimes said that wars are in the interest of capital, and of capital alone, and that they are engineered by capitalists masquerading under imposing humanitarian disguises. That is doubtless true to the extent that every war cannot fail to benefit some section of the capitalistic world, which will therefore favor it, but it is true to that extent only. The old notion that war and the acquisition of territories encouraged trade by opening up new markets has proved fallacious. The extension

of trade is a matter of tariffs rather than of war, and in any case the trade of a country with its own acquisitions by conquest is a comparatively insignificant portion of its total trade. But even if the financial advantages of war were much greater than they are, they would be more than compensated by the disadvantages which nowadays attend war. International financial relationships have come to constitute a network of interests so vast, so complicated, so sensitive, that the whole thrills responsively to any disturbing touch, and no one can say beforehand what widespread damage may not be done by shock even at a single point. When a country is at war its commerce is at once disorganized, that is to say that its shipping, and the shipping of all the countries that carry its freights, is thrown out of gear to a degree that often cannot fail to be internationally disastrous. Foreign countries cannot send in the imports that lie on their wharves for the belligerent country, nor can they get out of it the exports they need for their own maintenance or luxury. Moreover, all the foreign money invested in the belligerent country is depreciated and imperiled. The international voice of trade and finance is, therefore, to-day mainly on the side of peace.

It must be added that this voice is not, as it might seem, a selfish voice only. It is justifiable not only in immediate international interests, but even in the ultimate interests of the belligerent country, and not less so if that country should prove victorious. So far as business and money are concerned, a country gains nothing by a successful war, even though that war involves the acquisition of immense new provinces; after a great war a conquered country may possess more financial stability than its conqueror, and both may stand lower in this respect than some other country which is internationally guaranteed against war. Such points as these have of late been ably argued by Norman Angell in his remarkable book, "The Great Illusion," and for the most part convincingly illustrated.¹ As was long since said, the ancients cried, *Vae victis!* We have learnt to cry, *Vae victoribus!*

It may, indeed, be added that the general tendency of war — putting aside peoples altogether lacking in stamina — is to moralize the conquered

¹ The same points had previously been brought forward by others, although not so vigorously enforced. Thus the well-known Belgian economist and publicist, Émile de Laveleye, pointed out (*Pall Mall Gazette*, 4th August, 1888) that "the happiest countries are incontestably the smallest: Switzerland, Norway, Luxemburg, and still more the Republics of San Marino and Val d'Andorre"; and that "countries in general, even when victorious, do not profit by their conquests."

and to demoralize the conquerors. This effect is seen alike on the material and the spiritual sides. Conquest brings self-conceit and intolerance, the reckless inflation and dissipation of energies. Defeat brings prudence and concentration; it ennobles and fortifies. All the glorious victories of the first Napoleon achieved less for France than the crushing defeat of the third Napoleon. The triumphs left enfeeblement; the defeat acted as a strong tonic which is still working beneficently to-day. The corresponding reverse process has been at work in Germany: the German soil that Napoleon plowed yielded a Moltke and a Bismarck,¹ while to-day, however mistakenly, the German press is crying out that only another war — it ought in honesty to say an unsuccessful war — can restore the nation's flaccid muscle. It is yet too early to see the results of the Russo-Japanese War, but already there are signs that by industrial overstrain and the repression of individual thought Japan is threatening to enfeeble the physique and to destroy the high spirit of the indomitable men to whom she owed her triumph.

(3) *The Decreasing Pressure of Population.* It was at one time commonly said, and is still sometimes repeated, that the pressure of overpopulation is the chief cause of wars. That is a statement which requires a very great deal of qualification. It is, indeed, possible that the great hordes of warlike barbarians from the North and the East which invaded Europe in early times, sometimes more or less overwhelming the civilized world, were the result of a rise in the birth-rate and an excess of population beyond the means of subsistence. But this is far from certain, for we know absolutely nothing concerning the birth-rate of these invading peoples either before or during the period of their incursions. Again, it is certain that, in modern times, a high and rising birth-rate presents a favorable condition for war. A war distracts attention from the domestic disturbances and economic wretchedness which a too rapid growth of population necessarily produces, while at the same time tending to draw away and destroy the surplus population which causes this disturbance and wretchedness. Yet there are other ways of meeting this overpopulation besides the crude method of war. Social reform and emigration furnish equally effective and much more humane methods of counteracting such pressure. No doubt the overpopulation resulting from an excessively high birth-rate, when not met, as it tends to be, by a correspondingly

¹ Bismarck himself declared that without the deep shame of the German defeat at Jena in 1806 the revival of German national feeling would have been impossible.

high death-rate from disease, may be regarded as a predisposing cause of war, but to assert that it is the pre-eminent cause is to go far beyond the evidence at present available.

To whatever degree, however, it may have been potent in causing war in the past, it is certain that the pressure of population as a cause of war will be eliminated in the future. The only nations nowadays that can afford to make war on the grand scale are the wealthy and civilized nations. But civilization excludes a high birth-rate: there has never been any exception to that law, nor can we conceive any exceptions, for it is more than a social law; it is a biological law. Russia, a still imperfectly civilized country, stands apart in having a very high birth-rate, but it also has a very high death-rate, and even should it happen that in Russia improved social conditions lower the death-rate before affecting the birth-rate, there is still ample room within Russian territory for the consequent increase of population. Among all the other nations which are considered to threaten the world's peace, the birth-rate is rapidly falling. This is so, for instance, as regards England and Germany. Germany, especially, it was once thought — though in actual fact Germany has not fought for over forty years — had an interest in going to war in order to find an outlet for her surplus population, compelled, in the absence of suitable German colonies, to sacrifice its patriotism and lose its nationality by emigrating to foreign countries. But the German birth-rate is falling, German emigration is decreasing, and the immense growth of German industry is easily able to absorb the new generation. Thus the declining birth-rate of civilized lands will alone largely serve in the end to eliminate warfare, partly by removing one of its causes, partly because the increased value of human life will make war too costly.

(4) *The Natural Exhaustion of the Warlike Spirit.* It is a remarkable tendency of the warlike spirit — frequently emphasized in recent years by the distinguished zoölogist, President D. S. Jordan, who here follows Novikov¹ — that it tends to exterminate itself. Fighting stocks, and peoples largely made up of fighting stocks, are naturally killed out, and the field is left to the unwarlike. It is only the prudent, those who fight and run away, who live to fight another day; and they transmit their prudence to their offspring. Great Britain is a conspicuous example of a land which,

¹ D. Starr Jordan, "The Human Harvest," 1907; J. Novikov, "La Guerre et ses Prétendus Bienfaits," 1894, chap. iv; Novikov here argued that the selection of war eliminates not the feeble but the strong, and tends to produce, therefore, a survival of the unfittest.

being an island, was necessarily peopled by predatory and piratical invaders. A long series of warlike and adventurous peoples — Celts, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Normans — built up England and imparted to it their spirit. The English were, it was said, "a people for whom pain and death are nothing, and who only fear hunger and boredom." But for over eight hundred years they have never been reinforced by new invaders, and the inevitable consequences have followed. There has been a gradual killing out of the warlike stocks, a process immensely accelerated during the nineteenth century by a vast emigration of the more adventurous elements in the population, pressed out of the overcrowded country by the reckless and unchecked increase of the population which occurred during the first three-quarters of that century. The result is that the English (except sometimes when they happen to be journalists) cannot now be described as a warlike people. Old legends tell of British heroes who, when their legs were hacked away, still fought upon the stumps. Modern poets feel that to picture a British warrior of to-day in this attitude would be somewhat far-fetched. The historian of the South African War points out, again and again, that the British leaders showed a singular lack of the fighting spirit. During that war English generals seldom cared to engage the enemy's forces except when their own forces greatly outnumbered them, and on many occasions they surrendered immediately they realized that they were themselves outnumbered. Those reckless Englishmen who boldly sailed out from their little island to face the Spanish Armada were long ago exterminated; an admirably prudent and cautious race has been left alive.

It is the same story elsewhere. The French long cherished the tradition of military glory, and no country has fought so much. We see the result to-day. In no country is the attitude of the intellectual classes so calm and so reasonable on the subject of war, and nowhere is the popular hostility to war so strongly marked.¹ Spain furnishes another instance which is even still more decisive. The Spanish were of old a pre-eminently warlike people, capable of enduring all hardships, never fearing to face death. Their aggressively warlike and adventurous spirit sent

¹ "The most demoralizing features in French military life," says Professor A. L. Guérard, a highly intelligent observer ("Impressions of Military Life in France," *Popular Science Monthly*, April, 1911), "are due to an incontestable progress in the French mind — its gradual loss of faith and interest in military glory. Henceforth the army is considered as useless, dangerous, a burden without a compensation. Authors of school books may be censured for daring to print such

them to death all over the world. It cannot be said, even to-day, that the Spaniards have lost their old tenacity and hardness of fiber, but their passion for war and adventure was killed out three centuries ago.

In all these and the like cases there has been a process of selective breeding, eliminating the soldierly stocks and leaving the others to breed the race. The men who so loved fighting that they fought till they died had few chances of propagating their own warlike impulses. The men who fought and ran away, the men who never fought at all, were the men who created the new generation and transmitted to it their own traditions.

This selective process, however, has not merely acted automatically; it has been furthered by social opinion and social pressure, sometimes very drastically expressed. Thus in the England of the Plantagenets there grew up a class called "gentlemen" — not, as has sometimes been supposed, a definitely defined class, though they were originally of good birth — whose chief characteristic was that they were good fighting men, and sought fortune by fighting. The "premier gentleman" of England, according to Sir George Sitwell, and an entirely typical representative of his class, was a certain glorious hero who fought with Talbot at Agincourt, and also, as the unearthing of obscure documents shows, at other times indulged in housebreaking, and in wounding with intent to kill, and in "procuring the murder of one Thomas Page, who was cut to pieces while on his knees begging for his life." There, evidently, was a state of society highly favorable to the warlike man, highly unfavorable to the unwarlike man whom he slew in his wrath. Nowadays, however, there has been a revaluation of these old values. The cowardly and no doubt plebeian Thomas Page, multiplied by the million, has succeeded in hoisting himself into the saddle, and he revenges himself by discrediting, hunting into the slums and finally hanging, every descendant he can find of the premier gentleman of Agincourt.

It must be added that the advocates of the advantages of war are not entitled to claim this process of selective breeding as one of the advantages of war. It is quite true that war is incompatible with a high civilization,

opinions, but the great majority of the French hold them in their hearts. Nay, there is a prevailing suspicion among working men that the military establishment is kept up for the sole benefit of the capitalists, and the reckless use of troops in case of labor conflicts gives color to the contention." It has often happened that what the French think to-day the world generally thinks to-morrow. There is probably a world-wide significance in the fact that French experience is held to show that progress in intelligence means the demoralization of the army.

and must in the end be superseded. But this method of suppressing it is too thorough. It involves not merely the extermination of the fighting spirit, but of many excellent qualities, physical and moral, which are associated with the fighting spirit. Benjamin Franklin seems to have been the first to point out that "a standing army diminishes the size and breed of the human species." Almost in Franklin's lifetime that was demonstrated on a wholesale scale, for there seems little reason to doubt that the size and stature of the French nation have been permanently diminished by the constant levies of young recruits, the flower of the population, whom Napoleon sent out to death in their first manhood and still childless. Fine physical breed involves also fine qualities of virility and daring which are needed for other purposes than fighting. In so far as the selective breeding of war kills these out, its results are imperfect, and could be better attained by less radical methods.

(5) *The Growth of the Anti-military Spirit.* The decay of the warlike spirit by the breeding out of fighting stocks has in recent years been reinforced by a more acute influence of which in the near future we shall certainly hear more. This is the spirit of anti-militarism. This spirit is an inevitable result of the decay of the fighting spirit. In a certain sense it is also complementary to it. The survival of non-fighting stocks by the destruction of the fighting stocks works most effectually in countries having a professional army. The anti-military spirit, on the contrary, works effectually in countries having a national army in which it is compulsory for all young citizens to serve, for it is only in such countries that the anti-militarist can, by refusing to serve, take an influential position as a martyr in the cause of peace.

Among the leading nations, it is in France that the spirit of anti-militarism has taken the deepest hold of the people, though in some smaller lands, notably among the obstinately peaceable inhabitants of Holland, the same spirit also flourishes. Hervé, who is a leader of the insurrectional socialists, as they are commonly called in opposition to the purely parliamentary socialists led by Jaurès,—though the insurrectional socialists also use parliamentary methods,—may be regarded as the most conspicuous champion of anti-militarism, and many of his followers have suffered imprisonment as the penalty of their convictions. In France the peasant proprietors in the country and the organized workers in the town are alike sympathetic to anti-militarism. The syndicalists, or labor unionists with the Confédération Générale du Travail as their central organization, are not usually anxious to imitate what they consider the unduly

timid methods of English trade unionists;¹ they tend to be revolutionary and anti-military. The congress of delegates of French Trade Unions, held at Toulouse in 1910, passed the significant resolution that "a declaration of war should be followed by the declaration of a general revolutionary strike." The same tendency, though in a less radical form, is becoming international, and the great International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen has passed a resolution instructing the International Bureau to "take the opinion of the organized workers of the world on the utility of a general strike in preventing war."² Even the English working classes are slowly coming into line. At a Conference of Labor Delegates, held at Leicester in 1911, to consider the Copenhagen resolution, the policy of the anti-military general strike was defeated by only a narrow majority, on the ground that it required further consideration, and might be detrimental to political action; but as most of the leaders are in favor of the strike policy there can be no doubt that this method of combating war will shortly be the accepted policy of the English Labor movement. In carrying out such a policy the Labor Party expects much help from the growing social and political power of women. The most influential literary advocate of the Peace movement, and one of the earliest, has been a woman, the Baroness Bertha von Suttner, and it is held to be incredible that the wives and mothers of the people will use their power to support an institution which represents the most brutal method of destroying their husbands and sons. "The cause of woman," says Novikov, "is the cause of peace." "We pay the first cost on all human life," says Olive Schreiner.³

¹ The influence of Syndicalism has, however, already reached the English Labor movement, and an ill-advised prosecution by the English Government must have immensely aided in extending and fortifying that influence.

² Some small beginnings have already been made. "The greatest gain ever yet won for the cause of peace," writes Mr. H. W. Nevinson, the well-known war correspondent (*Peace and War in the Balance*, p. 47), "was the refusal of the Catalonian reservists to serve in the war against the Riff mountaineers of Morocco in July, 1909. . . . So Barcelona flared to heaven, and for nearly a week the people held the vast city. I have seen many noble, as well as many terrible, events, but none more noble or of finer promise than the sudden uprising of the Catalan working people against a dastardly and inglorious war, waged for the benefit of a few speculators in Paris and Madrid."

³ J. Novikov, "La Fédération de l'Europe," chap. iv. Olive Schreiner, "Woman and Labour," chap. iv. While this is the fundamental fact, we must remember that we cannot generalize about the ideas or the feelings of a whole sex, and that the biological traditions of women have been associated with a primitive period when they were the delighted spectators of combats. "Woman," thought Nietzsche, "is

The anti-militarist, as things are at present, exposes himself not only to the penalty of imprisonment, but also to obloquy. He has virtually refused to take up arms in defense of his country; he has sinned against patriotism. This accusation has led to a counter-accusation directed against the very idea of patriotism. Here the writings of Tolstoy, with their poignant and searching appeals for the cause of humanity as against the cause of patriotism, have undoubtedly served the anti-militarists well, and wherever the war against war is being urged, even so far as Japan, Tolstoy has furnished some of its keenest weapons. Moreover, in so far as anti-militarism is advocated by the workers, they claim that international interests have already effaced and superseded the narrower interests of patriotism. In refusing to fight, the workers of a country are simply declaring their loyalty to fellow-workers on the other side of the frontier, a loyalty which has stronger claims on them, they hold, than any patriotism which simply means loyalty to capitalists; geographical frontiers are giving place to economic frontiers, which now alone serve to separate enemies. And if, as seems probable, when the next attempt is made at a great European war, the order for mobilization is immediately followed in both countries by the declaration of a general strike, there will be nothing to say against such a declaration even from the standpoint of the narrowest patriotism, although there may be much to say on other grounds against the policy of the general strike.¹

If we realize what is going on around us, it is easy to see that the anti-militarist movement is rapidly reaching a stage when it will be easily able, even unaided, to paralyze any war immediately and automatically. The pioneers in the movement have played the same part as was played in the seventeenth century by the Quakers. In the name of the Bible and their own consciences, the Quakers refused to recognize the right of any secular authority to compel them to worship or to fight; they gained

essentially unpeaceable, like the cat, however well she may have assumed the peaceable demeanor." Steinmetz ("Philosophie des Krieges," p. 314), remarking that women are opposed to war in the abstract, adds: "In practice, however, it happens that women regard a particular war—and all wars are particular wars—with special favor"; he remarks that the majority of Englishwomen fully shared the war fever against the Boers, and that, on the other side, he knew Dutch ladies in Holland, very opposed to war, who would yet have danced with joy at that time on the news of a declaration of war against England.

¹ The general strike, which has been especially developed by the syndicalist labor movement, and is now tending to spread to various countries, is a highly powerful weapon, so powerful that its results are not less serious than those of

what they struggled for, and now all men honor their memories. In the name of justice and human fraternity, the anti-militarists are to-day taking the like course and suffering the like penalties. To-morrow, they also will be revered as heroes and martyrs.

(6) *The Over-growth of Armaments.* The hostile forces so far enumerated have converged slowly on to war from such various directions that they may be said to have surrounded and isolated it; its ultimate surrender can only be a matter of time. Of late, however, a new factor has appeared, of so urgent a character that it is fast rendering the question of the abolition of war acute: the over-growth of armaments. This is, practically, a modern factor in the situation, and while it is, on the surface, a luxury due to the large surplus of wealth in great modern states, it is also, if we look a little deeper, intimately connected with that decay of the warlike spirit due to selective breeding. It is the weak and timid woman who looks nervously under the bed for the burglar who is the last person she really desires to meet, and it is old, rich and unwarlike nations which take the lead in laboriously protecting themselves against enemies of whom there is no sign in any quarter. Within the last half-century only have the nations of the world begun to compete with each other in this timorous and costly rivalry. In the warlike days of old, armaments in time of peace consisted in little more than solid walls for defense, a supply of weapons stored away here and there, sometimes in a room attached to the parish church, and occasional martial exercises with the sword or the bow, which were little more than an amusement. The true fighting man trusted to his own strong right arm rather than to armaments, and considered that he was himself a match for any half-dozen of the enemy. Even in actual time of war it was often difficult to find either zeal or money to supply the munitions of war. The *Diary* of the industrious Pepys, who achieved so much for the English navy, shows

war. To use it against war seems to be to cast out Beelzebub by Beelzebub. Even in labor disputes the modern strike threatens to become as serious and, indeed, almost as sanguinary as the civil wars of ancient times. The tendency is, therefore, in progressive countries, as we see in Australia, to supersede strikes by conciliation and arbitration, just as war is tending to be superseded by international tribunals. These two aims are, however, absolutely distinct, and the introduction of law into the disputes between nations can have no direct effect on the disputes between social classes. It is quite possible, however, that it may have an indirect effect, and that when disputes between nations are settled in an orderly manner, social feeling will forbid disputes between classes to be settled in a disorderly manner.

that the care of the country's ships mainly depended on a few unimportant officials who had the greatest trouble in the world to secure attention to the most urgent and immediate needs.

A very difficult state of things prevails to-day. The existence of a party having for its watchword the cry for retrenchment and economy is scarcely possible in a modern state. All the leading political parties in every great state — if we leave aside the party of labor¹ — are equally eager to pile up the expenditure on armaments. It is the boast of each party, not that it spends less, but more, than its rivals on this source of expenditure, now the chief in every large state. Moreover, every new step in expenditure involves a still further step; each new improvement in attack or defense must immediately be answered by corresponding or better improvements on the part of rival powers, if they are not to be outclassed. Every year these moves and counter-moves necessarily become more extensive, more complex, more costly; while each counter-move involves the obsolescence of the improvements achieved by the previous move, so that the waste of energy and money keeps pace with the expenditure. It is well recognized that there is absolutely no possible limit to this process and its constantly increasing acceleration; and an increasing interest in the matter testifies to a vague alarm and anxiety concerning the ultimate issue. For it is felt that an inevitable crisis lies at the end of the path down which the nations are now moving.

Thus, from this point of view, the end of war is being attained by a process radically opposite to that by which in the social as well as in the physical organism ancient structures and functions are outgrown. The usual process is a gradual recession to a merely vestigial state. But here what may perhaps be the same ultimate result is being reached by the more alarming method of over-inflation and threatening collapse. It is an alarming process because those huge and heavily armed monsters of primeval days who furnish the zoölogical types corresponding to our modern over-armed states, themselves died out from the world when their unwieldy armament had reached its final point of expansion. Will our own modern states, one wonders, more fortunately succeed in escaping from the tough hides that ever more closely constrict them, and finally save their souls alive?

(7) *The Dominance of Social Reform.* The final factor in the situation is the growing dominance of the process of social reform. On the one hand, the increasing complexity of social organization renders necessary

¹ The author writes from the English point of view. — EDITOR.

a correspondingly increasing expenditure of money in diminishing its friction and aiding its elaboration; on the other hand, the still more rapidly increasing demands of armament render it ever more difficult to devote money to such social purposes. Everywhere even the most elementary provision for the finer breeding and higher well-being of a country's citizens is postponed to the clamor for ever new armaments. The situation thus created is rapidly becoming intolerable.

It is not alone the future of civilization which is forever menaced by the possibility of war; the past of civilization, with all the precious embodiments of its traditions, is even more fatally imperiled. As the world grows older and the ages recede, the richer, the more precious, the more fragile, become the ancient heirlooms of humanity. They constitute the final symbols of human glory; they cannot be too carefully guarded, too highly valued. But all the other dangers that threaten their integrity and safety, if put together, do not equal war. No land that has ever been a cradle of civilization but bears witness to this sad truth. All the sacred citadels, the glories of humanity, — Jerusalem and Athens, Rome and Constantinople, — have been ravaged by war, and, in every case, their ruin has been a disaster that can never be repaired. If we turn to the minor glories of more modern ages, the special treasure of England has been its parish churches, a treasure of unique charm in the world and the embodiment of the people's spirit: to-day in their battered and irreparable condition they are the monuments of a Civil War waged all over the country with ruthless religious ferocity. Spain, again, was a land which had stored up, during long centuries, nearly the whole of its accumulated possessions in every art, sacred and secular, of fabulous value, within the walls of its great fortress-like cathedrals; Napoleon's soldiers overran the land, and brought with them rapine and destruction; so that in many a shrine, as at Montserrat, we still can see how in a few days they turned a paradise into a desert. It is not only the West that has suffered. In China the rarest and loveliest wares and fabrics that the hand of man has wrought were stored in the Imperial Palace of Peking; the savage military hordes of the West broke in less than a century ago and recklessly trampled down and fired all that they could not loot. In every such case the loss is final; the exquisite incarnation of some stage in the soul of man that is forever gone is permanently diminished, deformed or annihilated.

At the present time all civilized countries are becoming keenly aware of the value of their embodied artistic possessions. This is shown, in the

most decisive manner possible, by the enormous prices placed upon them. Their pecuniary value enables even the stupidest and most unimaginative to realize the crime that is committed when they are ruthlessly and wantonly destroyed. Nor is it only the products of ancient art which have to-day become so peculiarly valuable. The products of modern science are only less valuable. So highly complex and elaborate is the mechanism now required to insure progress in some of the sciences that enormous sums of money, the most delicate skill, long periods of time, are necessary to produce it. Galileo could replace his telescope with but little trouble; the destruction of a single modern observatory would be almost a calamity to the human race.

Such considerations as these are, indeed, at last recognized in all civilized countries. The engines of destruction now placed at the service of war are vastly more potent than any used in the wars of the past. On the other hand, the value of the products they can destroy is raised in a correspondingly high degree. But a third factor is now intervening. And if the museums of Paris or the laboratories of Berlin were threatened by a hostile army it would certainly be felt that an international power, if it existed, should be empowered to intervene, at whatever cost to national susceptibilities, in order to keep the peace. Civilization, we now realize, is wrought out of inspirations and discoveries which are forever passed and repassed from land to land; it cannot be claimed by any individual land. A nation's art-products and its scientific activities are not mere national property; they are international possessions, for the joy and service of the whole world. The nations hold them in trust for humanity. The international force which will inspire respect for that truth it is our business to create.

There is to-day no country, however high it may stand in the comity of nations, which is not sometimes carried away by the blind fever of war. France, the land of reason, echoed, only forty years ago, with the mad cry, "*A Berlin!*" England, the friend of the small nationalities, jubilantly, with even an air of heroism, crushed underfoot the little South African republics, and hounded down every Englishman who withstood the madness of the crowd. The great, free, intelligent people of the United States went to war against Spain with a childlike faith in the preposterous legend of the blowing up of the *Maine*. There is no country which has not some such shameful page in its history, the record of some moment when its moral and intellectual prestige was besmirched in the eyes of the whole world. It pays for its momentary madness, it

may valiantly strive to atone for its injustice, but the damaging record remains. The supersession of war is needed not merely in the interests of the victims of aggression; it is needed fully as much in the interests of the aggressors, driven by their own momentary passions, or by the ambitious follies of their rulers, toward crimes for which a terrible penalty is exacted. There has never been any country at every moment so virtuous and so wise that it has not sometimes needed to be saved from itself. For every country has sometimes gone mad, while every other country has looked on its madness with the mocking calm of clear-sighted intelligence, and perhaps with a pharisaical air of virtuous indignation.

During the single year of 1911 the process was unrolled in its most complete form. The first bad move — though it was a relatively small and inoffensive move — was made by France. The powers, after much deliberation, had come to certain conclusions concerning Morocco, and while giving France a predominant influence in that country, had carefully limited her power of action. But France, anxious to increase her hold on the land, sent out, with the usual pretexts, an unnecessary expedition to Fez. Had an international tribunal with an adequate force behind it been in existence, France would have been called upon to justify her action, and whether she succeeded or failed in such justification, no further evils would have occurred. But there was no force able or willing to call France to account, and the other powers found it a simpler plan to follow her example than to check it. In pursuance of this policy, Germany sent a warship to the Moroccan port of Agadir, using the same pretext as the French, with even less justification. When the supreme military power of the world wags even a finger the whole world is thrown into a state of consternation. That happened on the present occasion, though, as a matter of fact, giants are not given to reckless violence, and Germany, far from intending to break the world's peace, merely used her power to take advantage of France's bad move. She agreed to condone France's mistake, and to resign to her the Moroccan rights to which neither country had the slightest legitimate claim, in return for an enormous tract of land in another part of Africa. Now, so far, the game had been played in accordance with rules which, though by no means those of abstract justice, were fairly in accordance with the recognized practices of nations. But now another power was moved to far more openly unscrupulous action. It has long been recognized that if there must be a partition of North Africa, Italy's share is certainly Tripoli. The action of France and of Germany stirred up in Italy the feeling that now or

never was the moment for action, and with brutal recklessness, and the usual pretexts, now flimsier than ever, Italy made war on Turkey, without consent to mediation, in flagrant violation of her own undertakings at the Hague Peace Conference of 1899. There was now only one Mohammedan country left to attack, and it was Russia's turn to make the attack. Northern Persia — the most civilized and fruitful half of Persia — had been placed under the protection of Russia, and Russia, after cynically doing her best to make good government in Persia impossible, seized on the pretext of the bad government to invade the country. If the powers of Europe had wished to demonstrate the necessity for a great international tribunal, with a mighty force behind it to insure the observance of its decisions, they could not have devised a more effective demonstration.

The only question that remains — and it is a question the future alone will solve — is the particular point at which this ancient and overgrown stronghold of war, now being invested so vigorously from so many sides, will finally be overthrown, whether from within or from without, whether by its own inherent weakness, by the persuasive reasonableness of developing civilization, by the self-interest of the commercial and financial classes, or by the ruthless indignation of the proletariat. That is a problem still insoluble, but it is not impossible that some already living may witness its solution.

Two centuries ago the Abbé de Saint-Pierre set forth his scheme for a federation of the States of Europe, which meant, at that time, a federation of all the civilized states of the world. It was the age of great ideas, scattered abroad to germinate in more practical ages to come. The amiable Abbé enjoyed all the credit of his large and philanthropic conceptions. But no one dreamed of realizing them, and the forces which alone could realize them had not yet appeared above the horizon.¹ In

¹ The Abbé de Saint-Pierre (1658–1743), a churchman without vocation, was a Norman of noble family, and first published his "Mémoires pour rendre la Paix Perpétuelle à l'Europe" in 1722. As Siégler-Pascal well shows ("Les Projets de l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre," 1900), he was not a mere visionary Utopian, but an acute and far-seeing thinker, practical in his methods, a close observer, an experimentalist, and one of the first to attempt the employment of statistics. He was secretary to the French plenipotentiaries who negotiated the Treaty of Utrecht, and was thus probably put on the track of his scheme. He proposed that the various European states should name plenipotentiaries to form a permanent tribunal of compulsory arbitration for the settlement of all differences. If any state took up arms against one of the allies, the whole confederation would conjointly enter the field, at their

this matter, at all events, the world has progressed, and a federation of the States of the world is no longer the mere conception of a philosophic dreamer. The first step will be taken when two of the leading countries of the world — and it would be most reasonable for the states having the closest community of origin and language to take the initiative — resolve to submit all their differences without reserve to arbitration. As soon as a third power of magnitude joined this federation the nucleus would be constituted of a world state. Such a state would be able to impose peace on even the most recalcitrant outside states, for it would furnish that "visible power to keep them in awe," which Hobbes rightly declared to be indispensable; it could even, in the last resort, if necessary, enforce peace by war. Thus there might still be war in the world. But there would be no wars that were not Holy Wars. There are other methods than war of enforcing peace, and these such a federation of great states would be easily able to bring to bear on even the most warlike of states.

conjoint expense, against the offending state. He was opposed to absolute disarmament, an army being necessary to insure peace, but it must be a joint army composed of contingents from each power in the confederation. Saint-Pierre, it will be seen, had clearly grasped the essential facts of the situation as we see them to-day. "The author of 'The Project of Perpetual Peace,'" concludes Prof. Pierre Robert in a sympathetic summary of his career (Petit de Julleville, "Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française," Vol. VI), "is the precursor of the twentieth century." His statue, we cannot doubt, will be a conspicuous object, beside Sully's, on the future palace of any international tribunal.

Even at the beginning of the fourteenth century France produced an advocate of international arbitration, Pierre Dubois (Petrus de Bosco), the Norman lawyer, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas. In the seventeenth century Émeric Crucé proposed, for the first time, to admit all peoples, without distinction of color or religion, to be represented at some central city where every state would have its perpetual ambassador, these representatives forming an assembly to adjudicate on international differences (Dubois and Crucé have lately been studied by Professor Vesnitch, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, January, 1911). The history of the various peace projects generally has been summarily related by Lagorgette in "Le Rôle de la Guerre," Part IV, Chapter VI, 1906.

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World Peace Foundation

Pamphlet Series

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BY

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE



PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
40 MT VERNON STREET, BOSTON

November, 1913

Vol. III. No. 11. Part II

Entered as second-class matter January 5, 1913, at the post-office at Boston, Mass.,
under the Act of August 24, 1912

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THE FOUNDATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A COURSE OF LECTURES.

The purpose of these pages is to help, if possible, students and teachers of history and political science in the study of international relations. The phrase "international relations" presupposes among States a certain amount of organization for common purposes. There are many such organizations in existence, some public, or official, and more private, or unconnected with official administration. The last issue of the *Annuaire de la Vie Internationale*, which appeared for the years 1910-11 from the Office Central des Associations Internationales at Brussels, shows just how many ties of both classes, public and private, are now binding together the daily life, thought and action of the present world-family of States and nations. This huge work, giving in 2660 pages an account of 510 international organizations, cannot be adequately even summarized here. The next *Annuaire*, for the years 1912-13, will doubtless show 600 or more of these tissues of international life that cross all national boundaries and are rapidly creating a common acquaintance and solidarity of sentiment throughout the enlightened world. Out of this great number are selected here the principal national and international forces that are working to secure the substitution of peaceful, judicial methods of settling international disputes for the method of warfare. In connection with this list of associations will be found the essential statistical information concerning their publications, and also concerning other publications that deal with the same subject.

It should not be overlooked that the chancelleries of the enlightened world and the incumbents of chief executive chairs, whether royal or presidential, have now become almost universally eager and active friends of permanent peace. If philanthropic and religious motives have not impelled them to take this attitude, economic and financial conditions have compelled it. The empire of credit and the

vast expenditures in the mad race of armaments have together forced the rulers of the great powers to dread nothing more than the danger of using those armaments in the arbitrament of war.

In addition, these pages contain the outline of a course of at least six possible lectures on the organization of the world for peace with justice. The topics thus named will readily suggest many others. Under each subject is a brief list of references from which the material for a lecture or lectures can be derived. Classified among these references will be found the principal publications of the various organizations which promote world peace. The resources of local libraries are not always adequate for the preparation of addresses upon international relations. Persons interested in the subject may be pleased to learn from these pages how many valuable publications may be obtained for a moderate outlay and how much may be had merely for the asking. Some of the books mentioned in these lists are now out of print and are so designated, but they have been retained here because they are sometimes found in the markets and are useful to the student.

Although a main purpose of this work is to present a comprehensive view of the peace movement and to demonstrate inferentially that existing international relations must broaden into international peace and order, among the references all kinds of scholarly opinion are represented. The chief defenders of the theory that war is inevitable or even beneficial are entitled to their day in court, and General von Bernhardi and Admiral Mahan are placed here by the side of Norman Angell and Mr. and Mrs. Mead. The cause of World Peace with Justice under Law is sure to profit by the complete comparison of argument.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS CLOSELY CONCERNED WITH THE PROGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

American Association for International Conciliation, 1906. Dr. Frederick P. Keppel, secretary, 407 West 117th Street, Substation 84, New York City. This association is the American branch of Conciliation Internationale, *q. v.* There are also English, French and German branches. Pamphlet publications, beginning in April, 1907, are distributed free up to the limit of editions printed.

American Peace Society, founded 1815-1828. Secretary, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood; executive director, Mr. Arthur Deerin Call, Colorado Building, Washington, D.C. The *Advocate of Peace*, a monthly publication, is the organ of the society. The subscription price is \$1 per year. From this society also may be obtained the Proceedings of the National Peace Congresses of 1907, 1909, 1911 and 1913. Each volume is sold for 75 cents. The society publishes the report of the 13th Universal Peace Congress, held in Boston in 1904, a volume of 350 pages, price 10 cents.

American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, founded in 1910. Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C. The annual conferences of this society began in 1910. Volumes of proceedings are sent free to members. Pamphlet publications, now issued quarterly, are sent free to any address. Applications for them may be made to the assistant secretary, Tunstall Smith, The Preston, Baltimore, Md.

American Society of International Law, founded in 1905. Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C. Since 1907 the society has published quarterly the *American Journal of International Law*, \$5 per annum.

Association de la Paix par le Droit, founded 1887. M. Jules Prudhommeaux, secretary, 10 rue Monjardin, Nîmes (Gard), France. Bimonthly organ, *La Paix par le Droit*. See also *Société Française pour l'Arbitrage entre Nations*.

Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs, a league of students in colleges and universities in the United States. Mr. Albert F. Coutant, secretary, Cornell Cosmopolitan Club, Ithaca, N.Y. The first Cosmopolitan Club was founded at Cornell University in 1904 by Modesto Quiroga, a student from Argentina. In the preceding year an International Club had been founded at the University of Wisconsin by a Japanese student, K. K. Kawakami. This club later became a member of the association. The organ of the association, *The Cosmopolitan Student*, is published monthly at the Cosmopolitan Club of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The Cosmopolitan clubs are now affiliated with European and South American student organizations in the

Corda Fratres, Fédération Internationale des Étudiants.

Of the central committee of this federation the president is Dr. John Mez, "Die Bruecke," Schwindstrasse 30, Munich, Bavaria. The secretary is Mr. Miguel A. Muñoz, P.O. Box 1112, San Juan, Porto Rico. The American members of the committee are Mr. Louis P. Lochner and Dr. G. W. Nasmyth, director of the International Bureau of Students, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

Bureau International Permanent de la Paix, Berne, Switzerland. See below, International Peace Bureau.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C. Its *Year Books*, first issued in 1911, are sent free to any address. Its European Bureau is at 24 rue Pierre Curie, Paris.

Conciliation Internationale, founded in 1905 by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. Secretarial office, 78 bis Avenue Henri Martin (16°), Paris, France.

"**Corda Fratres**," **Fédération Internationale des Étudiants.** See above, Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs.

Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft, founded 1892. 86 branches and 5 affiliated societies. Dr. Arthur Westphal, secretary, Neckarstrasse 69a, Stuttgart, Germany. This society publishes monthly *Völker-Friede*, subscription one mark per annum.

Fédération Universelle des Étudiants Chrétiens. See World's Student Christian Federation.

Garton Foundation. An endowment for the study of international relations with especial reference to the teachings of the book

"The Great Illusion," by Norman Angell, who is one of the prime movers in the foundation. Capt. the Hon. Maurice V. Brett, secretary, Whitehall House, Whitehall, London, S.W., England. The Garton Foundation has several allied societies, and not less than 31 Study Clubs have been formed under its auspices. Its organ is *War and Peace*, published monthly from October, 1913, and sold for 3*d.*

Institut de Droit International, founded in 1873, is now closely associated with the Carnegie Endowment. The address of the secretary-general is 11 rue Savaen, Ghent, Belgium. The Institut publishes a valuable *Annuaire*, price 6 francs.

Institut International de la Paix. Gabriel Chavet, secretary, 4 rue de Greffuhle, Paris, VIII. Founded by Prince Albert of Monaco in 1903, to publish documents important for the study of international relations. It has published a voluminous bibliography of Peace and Arbitration, prepared by Henri La Fontaine, under the title "Bibliographie de la Paix et de l'Arbitrage International." Vol. I, "The Peace Movement," appeared at Brussels in 1904, price 5 francs. It includes publications prior to May 1, 1893. Its other publications are numerous.

Institutions Internationales, Office Central des, 3 bis rue de la Régence, Palais des Beaux Arts, Brussels, Belgium. Directors, Henri La Fontaine and Paul Otlet. This executive bureau, founded in 1907, is the organ of the World Congresses of International Associations, comprising nearly 600 organizations that are international in character and influence. It is supported by various governments, by the Institut International, and by the Carnegie Endowment. It publishes (1) the reports of the Congresses, (2) *L'Annuaire de la Vie Internationale*, which was founded by Dr. Alfred H. Fried in 1905, and now appears in alternate years (price varying; vol. for 1910-11, unbound, 40 francs) and (3) *La Revue de la Vie Internationale*, monthly, price per annum 25 francs, or \$5.

International Arbitration and Peace Association. Mr. J. Frederick Green, secretary, 40-41 Outer Temple, Strand, London, W.C., England. The organ of this association is *Concord*, published monthly, subscription 1*s.* 6*d.* per annum.

International Arbitration League. Mr. F. Maddison, secretary, 183 St. Stephen's House, Victoria Embankment, London, S.W., England. The organ of the league, the *Arbitrator*, is published monthly, 2*s.* 6*d.* per annum.

International Law Association, founded in 1873. 28 conferences. Secretary's office, 1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.

International Peace Bureau (Bureau International Permanent de la Paix). Dr. Albert Gobat, director, M. Henri Golay, secretary, Kanonenweg 12, Berne, Switzerland. Organ, *The Peace Movement*, published at least monthly in French, German and English. Price, 10 francs per annum; for subscribers to peace papers, 5 francs. The bureau publishes also an "Annuaire du Mouvement Pacifiste," which covers with admirable thoroughness nearly the same ground as the "Peace Year Book," published by the English National Peace Council.

Interparliamentary Union. Dr. Christian L. Lange, secretary, 251 Avenue du Longchamps, Uccle-Brussels, Belgium. The union has published since 1911 an "Annuaire de l'Union Interparlementaire," price 5 francs. It also publishes a series of "Documents Interparlementaires," beginning in 1910, 1 franc each.

National Peace Council. Mr. Carl Heath, secretary, 167 St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W., London. A central body, representing 180 organizations. Publications: "The Peace Year Book," beginning 1910, price 1 shilling; *Monthly Circular*, price 1s. 2d.; and many pamphlets.

Navy League of Great Britain, 11 Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., London. Publishes "The Navy League Annual," a complete review and critical study of naval conditions throughout the world, seventh year, 1913, 2s. 6d.

Nobel Institut, Drammensvei 19, Kristiania, Norway. Librarian and secretary of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, M. Ragnvald Moe. The library of the institute, founded in 1904, has been divided into four sections; viz., The Peace Movement, International Law, Political and Diplomatic History, and Social Sciences (Political Economy and Sociology). The institute has published a volume entitled "Bibliographie du Mouvement de la Paix," and a similar bibliography of international law is announced for 1913.

Pan-American Union (formerly International Bureau of American Republics). Hon. John Barrett, director-general, Washington, D.C. This organization is charged with the business of the quadrennial Pan-American Conferences (the last one at Buenos Aires in 1910), and it publishes a monthly *Bulletin* in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French, price of English edition per

annum \$2, single copies 25 cents. The Union also publishes books, pamphlets and maps upon Latin-American topics.

Peace Society, The, of England, founded in 1816. Dr. W. Evans Darby, secretary, 47 New Broad Street, London, E.C. 34 branches and affiliated societies. This society publishes monthly *The Herald of Peace and International Arbitration*, subscription per annum 1s. 6d.

Società Internazionale per la Pace—Unione Lombarda. Signor Doro Rosetti, secretary, Portici Settentrionali 21, Milan, Italy. This society publishes bimonthly *La Vita Internazionale*, subscription 12.50 lire.

Société Française pour l'Arbitrage entre Nations, founded in 1867. M. le Dr. J. L. Peuch, secretary, 24 rue Pierre Curie, Paris. Monthly publication, *La Paix par le Droit*, 3 francs 75 per annum.

Verband für Internationale Verständigung, German branch of Conciliation Internationale, but autonomous. Secretariate, Oberursel bei Frankfurt a. M., Liebfrauenstrasse 22. This society publishes "Mitteilungen des Verbandes für internationale Verständigung." Fee for membership, 3 marks.

World Peace Foundation, founded by Edwin Ginn of Boston in 1909 as the International School of Peace, reorganized and incorporated under the present name in 1910. Chief director, Edwin D. Mead, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass. This Foundation publishes a series of pamphlets, and in addition the volumes of an International Library. The lists of these publications down to date will be sent to any address, and single copies of the pamphlet issues may be obtained gratuitously.

World's Student Christian Federation (Fédération Universelle des Étudiants Chrétiens), the outgrowth of the international activities of the Y. M. C. A. The moving spirit is Dr. John R. Mott, and the central office is in the Y. M. C. A. Building at 124 East 28th Street, New York. Organ, *The Student World*, quarterly, per annum 25 cents. Dr. Mott is also president of the "continuation committee" of the World Missionary Conference of All Protestant Churches, office 100 Princes Street, Edinburgh, which publishes quarterly *The International Review of Missions*.

World's Young Women's Christian Association. Office of general secretary, 26 George Street, Hanover Square, London. Organ, *The World's Y. W. C. A. Quarterly*, subscription per annum 6d.

In addition to the publications referred to in the foregoing list the inquirer may be interested to note the following:—

- Australia:** *Pax*, the organ of the New South Wales Peace Society. Monthly, 2s. 6d. per annum. Foy's Chambers, 1 Bond Street, Sydney, N.S.W.
The Commonweal, monthly, 3s. 5d. per annum. Australian Church, Flinders Street, Melbourne, Victoria.
- Denmark:** *Fredsbladet*, monthly, subscription per annum 50 öre, Fælledvej 14, Copenhagen. Organ of the Danish Peace Society.
- England:** *The Peacemaker*. Organ of the British section of the Associated Councils of the Churches. 42 Parliament Street, London, S.W.
- France:** *Bulletin de la Ligue des Catholiques Français pour la Paix* (formerly the Society Gratry for advocating international peace). Organ of the French section of the International League of Catholic Pacifists. There are also Belgian, English, Spanish and Swiss sections. Quarterly, free to members of the society, 40 rue Franklin, Lyon.
Le Courrier de l'École de la Paix, 28 Boulevard St. Marcel, Paris. Occasional issues, each 15 centimes.
Revue Générale de Droit International Public, founded 1893, conducted by M. Paul Fauchille, published by A. Pedone, 13 rue Soufflot, Paris, 6 numbers yearly, price 20 francs.
- Germany:** *Die Friedenswarte*, monthly, 6m. 60 per annum. Edited by Dr. Alfred H. Fried, Widerhofergasse 5, Vienna; published by Pass & Garleb, Berlin, W 57.
- Holland:** *Vrede door Recht*. Organ of La Ligue Générale Néerlandaise, monthly, 1 florin per annum. Prinsessegracht 6, The Hague.
- Italy:** *Rivista di Diritto Internazionale*, conducted by Prof. D. Anzilotti, 8 via Bartolomeo Eustachio, Rome. Quarterly, per annum 16 lire.
- Sweden:** *Fredsfanan*. Organ of the Swedish Society of Peace and Arbitration. Regeringsgatan 74, Stockholm. Monthly, per annum 2k. 50.
- Switzerland:** *Les États Unis d'Europe*. Journal of La Ligue Internationale de la Paix et de la Liberté. Lausenstrasse 43, Berne. Monthly, price per annum 4 francs.

Der Friede. Organ of the Swiss Peace Society. B. Geering-Christ, Bäumleingasse 10, Bâle. Monthly, subscription 3 francs 60 per annum.

United States: *The Army and Navy Journal*, 20 Vesey Street, New York City, \$6 per annum. A journal which represents the sentiment of military and naval officers. Advocates of peace and students of international relations who read this publication will know the militarist point of view.

The student of international relations will occasionally need to use one or all of the following works of reference:—

Almanach de Gotha. Edited by Dr. Wendelmuth. A Year Book of Genealogical, Diplomatic and Statistical Information. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 151st year of publication. \$3.

The Statesman's Year Book. London and New York: Macmillan. \$3.
A work giving special prominence to the British Empire. Issued since 1863.

The American Statesman's Year Book. New York: McBride, Nast & Company. \$4.

The American Year Book. Begun in 1910. New York: Appleton. \$3.50.

Hazell's Annual Cyclopaedia. Begun in 1885. New York: Scribner (importer). \$1.50.

Contains an admirable account of all the important events of each year in each country on the globe, with summaries of political information and illustrative material.

Annuaire du Mouvement Pacifiste. Published by the International Peace Bureau at Berne, Switzerland.

Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909. Compiled by William M. Malloy. 2 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910. \$2.50.

There is also a supplementary volume, covering the years 1909-1913, compiled by Garfield Charles (Sen. Doc. 1063, 62d Cong., 3d Session).

Navy Year Book. Compilation of Annual Naval Appropriation Laws from 1883 to date. Issued annually. Washington: Government Printing Office. The volume for 1913 is U.S. Senate Doc. No. 955, 62d Congress, 3d Session.

The Naval Annual. By J. A. Brassey. Portsmouth, England: J. Griffin & Company; London agents, Simpkin, Marshall & Company; imported by Scribner. \$5.

This work is the most complete and scholarly presentation of naval conditions that is published in English.

Lecture I.

THE RELATION OF WAR TO CIVILIZATION IN ITS
VARIOUS STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT.

1. War as an historical institution. Progress from Fist-Right to Law-Right; the right of private war is no longer recognized.
2. War as an arbiter: a test of strength, not of justice.
3. War now always wasteful and injurious, to the victors as well as to the vanquished.
4. Biological results of warfare, the survival of the unfit.
5. The influence of warfare upon morals, public and private.
6. Preventives of warfare and substitutes for it:
 1. Good offices and mediation.
 2. Arbitration.
 3. Commissions of inquiry—the Bryan peace plan.
 4. Neutralization of territory.
 5. Refusal of financial support. Isolation and non-intercourse.
 6. Proposed establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice.
Cf. publications of the A. S. J. S. I. D.¹

Allen, Arthur W. *The Drain of Armaments.* P.,¹ W. P. F. Free.

Angell, Norman. *The Great Illusion; a study of the relation of military power to national advantage.* Latest edition, revised and enlarged. London: Heinemann, 1912. 2s. 6d. American edition published by Putnam, New York, 1913. \$1.

———. *War and the Essential Realities.* London: Watts & Company. 9d.

———. *Peace Theories and the Balkan War.* London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1912, paper, 1s.

Bloch, Jean de. *The Future of War.* W. P. F. 65 cents.

A translation of the more popular portion of the encyclopedic original work, "La Guerre," which was published in six volumes.

¹The following abbreviations are used:—

P. indicates pamphlet issues.

A. A. I. C. = American Association for International Conciliation; address, 407 West 117th Street, Sub-station 84, New York City.

A. S. J. S. I. D. = American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes; address, Tunstall Smith, The Preston, Baltimore, Md.

W. P. F. = World Peace Foundation; address, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass.

- Butler, Charles H.** Disarmament on the Great Lakes. P., W. P. F., 1910. Free.
- Chittenden, Gen. Henry M.** War or Peace, a Present Duty and a Future Hope. Chicago: McClurg, 1911. \$1.
A discussion of war by an army officer.
- Ellis, Havelock.** The Forces Warring against War. P., W. P. F., 1913. Free.
- Foster, John W.** War not Inevitable. P., W. P. F., 1911. Free.
- Hayward, Charles W.** War, Conscription, Armaments and Sanity. P. London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1913. 6d.
A bitter attack upon Lord Roberts's plea for compulsory military service.
- Hirst, F. W.** The Six Panics and Other Essays. London: Methuen & Company, 1913. 3s. 6d.
Contains an excellent analysis of six militarist panics in England since 1847.
- How War reaches into your Pocket.** P., W. P. F. Free.
Analysis of freight rates as affected by war.
- James, William.** The Moral Equivalent of War.¹ P., A. A. I. C., 1910. Published also in a volume of essays, "Memories and Studies." Longmans, 1911, \$1.75; and printed in *McClure's Magazine*, August, 1910, vol. 35.
- Jefferson, Charles E.** The Delusion of Militarism. P., A. A. I. C., 1909. Free.
- Jordan, David Starr.** Unseen Empire. Boston: American Unitarian Association. \$1.25.
- . Concerning Sea Power. P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.
- . What shall We Say? Comments on War and Waste. P., W. P. F. 35 cents.
- . The Blood of the Nation. P., W. P. F. 15 cents.
- . The Human Harvest. Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1907. \$1.
An enlargement of the pamphlet, "The Blood of the Nation."
- . War and Waste. A collection of essays. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913. \$1.25.
- and **Krehbiel, Edward B.** Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation, Lectures II.-XV., XXVIII.-XXXI. P., W. P. F., 1912. 75 cents.
- Kirkpatrick, George R.** War,—What for? Published by the author at West Lafayette, Ohio. 1910. \$1.20.
A violent attack upon militarism from the Socialist standpoint.
- Krehbiel, Edward B.** Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation, in collaboration with Jordan, David Starr, *q. v. passim*.
- . The Sixty-seven Reasons of the Navy League. P., W. P. F., 1913. Free.

¹ Out of print.

Mahan, Admiral Alfred Thayer. A defender of military establishments and expenditures. Of this author's voluminous works, the most significant in connection with our topics are the following:—

- . The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783. \$4.
- . The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire. 2 vols. \$6.
- . The Influence of Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812 2 vols. \$8.
- . The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future. \$2.
- . The Interest of America in International Relations. \$1.50.
- . Some Neglected Aspects of War. \$2.
- . The Problem of Asia and its Effect upon International Relations. \$2.
- . Lessons of the War with Spain, and other articles. \$2.

All of these books are published in Boston by Little, Brown & Company.

Massachusetts Commission on Cost of Living. The Waste of Militarism. P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.

Mead, Edwin D., ed. Shall Great Britain, Germany and the United States now unite for the Limitation of Naval Armament? Contains also excerpts from W. J. Bryan, N. M. Butler and others. P., W. P. F. Free.

Mr. Bryan's Peace Plan. P., W. P. F. Free. Address at the conference of the Interparliamentary Union, July 24, 1906, annotated.

Myers, Denys P. The Commission of Inquiry: The Wilson-Bryan Peace Plan. P., W. P. F. 1913. Free.

Novikov, Jacques. War and its Alleged Benefits. London: Heinemann, 1912. 2s. 6d. American edition published by Holt, New York, 1911. \$1.

Perris, George Herbert. A Short History of War and Peace. London: Williams & Norgate, 1911. American edition published by Holt. 50 cents.

A review of historical facts from the earliest times, with many suggestive generalizations.

Ralston, Jackson H. Some Supposed Just Causes of War. P., W. P. F., 1911. Free.

Root, Elihu. Causes of War. P., A. A. I. C., 1909. Free.

Stratton, Geo. M. The Control of the Fighting Instinct. P., A. A. I. C., 1913. Free.

What does Militarism mean to the Business Man? P., W. P. F. Free.

Wilkinson, Henry Spenser. War and Policy. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. \$3.50.

———. The Nation's Awakening. Dodd, Mead & Company. \$1.50.
A defender of the military system.

Lecture II.

THE INFLUENCE OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND IN THE SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CONTROVERSIES.

1. The principles of popular sovereignty and human fraternity. Ideals of public service.
2. Efficient organs of Public Opinion; the sovereign power in Democracy.
3. The federal principle as an ideal of government; its bearing upon questions of war and peace.
4. Attitude of organized Labor and of organized Capital.
5. Influence of Socialism.

Addams, Jane. *Newer Ideals of Peace.* New York: Macmillan, 1907. \$1.25.

Brewer, David J. *The Mission of the United States in the Cause of Peace.* P., W. P. F., 1911. Free.

Butler, Nicholas Murray. *The International Mind.* P., A. A. I. C., 1912. Free.

———. *The International Mind.* New York: Scribner, 1912. 75 cents.
The volume contains Dr. Butler's addresses at the Lake Mohonk Conferences.

Cary, Edward. *Journalism and International Affairs.* P., A. A. I. C., 1909. Free.

Coolidge, Archibald Cary. *The United States as a World Power.* Macmillan, 1908. 50 cents.

Croly, Herbert. *The Promise of American Life.* New York: Macmillan, 1911. \$2.

Cunningham, W. *An Essay on Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects; Medieval and Modern Times.* Cambridge: University Press, 1900. \$1.10.

Deming, William C. *The Opportunity and Duty of the Press in Relation to World Peace.* P., A. A. I. C., 1913. Free.

Egerton, Hugh E. *Federations and Unions within the British Empire.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911. 8s. 6d.

Begins with the New England Confederation of 1643 and ends with the South African Act of Union, 1909.

- Fiske, John.** American Political Ideas. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$1.50.
- Freeman, Edward A.** History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy. Edited by J. B. Bury. 2d edition. Macmillan, 1893. \$3.75.
- Gould, F. J.** Brave Citizens. London: Watts & Company, 1911. 1s.
- Grange, The, and Peace.** Committee Report adopted by the National Grange, 1907. P., W. P. F., 1911. Free.
- Hart, Albert Bushnell.** National Ideals. New York: Harper. \$2.
In American Nation Series.
- Hervé, G.** My Country, Right or Wrong. Translated by G. Bowman. London: Fifeild, 1910. 3s. 6d.
- Jordan, David Starr.** America's Conquest of Europe. Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1913. 60 cents.
- Kelly, Myra.** The American Public School as a Factor in International Conciliation. P., A. A. I. C., 1909. Free.
- Kirkpatrick, George R.** War,—What for? Cf. Lecture I.
- Kraus, Herbert.** Die Monroedoktrin, in ihren Beziehungen zur Amerikanischen Diplomatie und zum Völkerrecht. Berlin: J. Guttentag. Unbound, 9m.; bound, 10m.
- Latané, J. H.** America a World Power. New York: Harper. \$2.
In American Nation Series, edited by A. B. Hart.
- Low, A. Maurice.** The American People. Vol. I, The Planting of a Nation; Vol. II, The Harvesting of a Nation. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.25.
- Mead, Edwin D.** Washington, Jefferson and Franklin on War. P., W. P. F., 1913. Free.
- . Heroes of Peace. P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.
- Mead, Lucia Ames.** Patriotism and the New Internationalism. P., W. P. F. 20 cents.
- Moore, John Bassett.** American Diplomacy: its Spirit and Achievements. New York: Harper, 1905. \$2.
- . Four Phases of American Development: Federalism, Democracy, Imperialism, Expansion. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1912. \$2.
- Moritzen, Julius.** The Peace Movement of America. New York: Putnam, 1912. \$3.
A wide-ranging account of forces and personalities.
- Neill, Charles P.** Interest of the Wage-earner in the Peace Movement. P., A. A. I. C., 1913. Free.
- Novikov, J.** La Critique du Darwinisme Social. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1910. 7 francs 50.

- Perris, George Herbert.** *Pax Britannica, a Study of the History of British Pacification.* New York: Macmillan, 1913. 5s.
- Reinsch, Paul S.** *American Love of Peace and European Skepticism.* P., A. A. I. C., 1913. Free.
- Ross, Edward A.** *Social Control. A Survey of the Foundation of Order.* New York: Macmillan. \$1.25.
In Citizen's Library.
- Schäffle, A.** *Impossibility of Social Democracy.* New York: Scribner, \$1.25.
- . *Quintessence of Socialism.* New York: Scribner. \$1.
Keenly critical discussions of Socialist doctrines.
- Smith, J. A.** *The Spirit of American Government.* New York: Macmillan. \$1.25.
In Citizen's Library.
- Snow, Alpheus H.** *Development of the American Doctrine of the Jurisdiction of Courts over States.* P., A. S. J. S. I. D., 1911. Free.
- Sumner, Charles.** *Addresses on War.* W. P. F. 60 cents.
- Trueblood, Benjamin F.** *The Federation of the World.* 3d edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908. \$1.
- Walling, William English.** *Socialism as it is; a survey of the world-wide revolutionary movement.* New York: Macmillan. \$2.
A book by one of the most thoughtful Socialist leaders.
- Weyl, Walter E.** *The New Democracy.* New York: Macmillan, 1912. \$2.
Written from the Progressive standpoint.
- Wilson, Woodrow.** *The New Freedom.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913. \$1.
- Wylie, F. J.** *Cecil Rhodes and his Scholars as Factors in International Conciliation.* P., A. A. I. C., 1909. Free.

Lecture III.

INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE OF RELIGION, IN THEORY AND IN PRACTICE.

1. Principles of ethics for individuals and for nations.
2. Progress from physical to spiritual force.
3. "Am I my brother's keeper?" What principles caused the "Wars of Religion"?

4. Duty of Christian nations with reference to the injunctions in Matt. v. 9 and Luke v. 27.
5. The significance and influence of Christian missions.
- Barr, James.** Christianity and War. London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1903. 1s. 6d.
- Capen, Samuel B.** Foreign Missions and World Peace. P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.
- Channing, William E.** Discourses on War. Boston: W. P. F. 60 cents.
- Churches and the Peace Movement, The.** P., W. P. F. Free.
- Dodge, David L.** War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ. P., W. P. F. 60 cents.
- Essays towards Peace.** By John M. Robertson, Edward Westermarck, Norman Angell and S. H. Swinny, with an introduction by Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner. Published by the Rationalist Peace Society. London: Watts & Company. 9d.
- Grane, Canon William Leighton.** The Passing of War. New York: Macmillan, 1912. \$2.50.
- Kellogg, Vernon Lyman.** Beyond War. A chapter in the natural history of man. New York: Holt, 1912. \$1.
- Lawrence, T. J.** The Church's Duty in furthering International Peace. London: 167 St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W., National Peace Council. 1d.
- Mead, Edwin D.** Heroes of Peace. P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.
- Mott, John R.** Religious Forces in the Universities of the World. Report to the Conference of the Federation of Christian Students, 1913. New York: Y. M. C. A. Building, 124 E. 28th Street.
- Myers, Philip Van Ness.** History as Past Ethics. An Introduction to the History of Morals. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1913. \$1.50.
- Rauschenbusch, Walter.** Christianity and the Social Crisis. New York: Macmillan. \$1.50.
- . Christianizing the Social Order. New York: Macmillan. \$1.50.
- Simmons, Henry M.** The Cosmic Roots of Love. P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.
- Stratton, George M.** The Double Standard in regard to Fighting. P., A. A. I. C. Free.
- Sumner, William G.** War and Other Essays. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911. \$2.25.
- Walsh, Walter.** The Moral Damage of War. W. P. F. 90 cents.
A searching analysis with illustrations derived from the war between England and the Boers.
- Warner, Horace Edward.** The Ethics of Force. W. P. F. 55 cents.

Lecture IV.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF ARBITRATION, THE FACT AND THE FORMS.

1. Arbitration in its broadest sense is a plan for settling a dispute by obtaining and abiding by the judgment of a selected person or persons instead of taking the dispute to the national courts or to the battlefield.

2. Historical review of arbitration.

a. Influence of industrial and commercial arbitration, recognized in the Roman law, Pandects, Bk. IV, sec. 8, in the medieval Law Merchant, in the common law of Great Britain, and in voluntary and compulsory arbitration laws of modern times.

b. Public arbitration, a usage familiar among the cities of ancient Greece and in the Roman republic, in the Middle Ages usually a function of high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and of such monarchs as Louis IX of France.

17th century arbitration agreements were made between England, France, Holland and other powers; *cf.* Darby, *International Tribunals*, pp. 240-270.

18th century, 6 arbitrations; 19th century, 471 arbitrations. Since 1900 about 150 arbitrations; *cf.* Myers, *Revised List of Arbitration Treaties*, notes.

3. Arbitrations in which the United States has been a party. Disputes about boundary lines. The Geneva arbitration.

4. Should considerations of "national honor and vital interests" prevent recourse to arbitration?

5. Arbitrations under:—

1. Mutual agreements.

2. Clauses in commercial and political treaties; arbitration treaties.

3. The Hague conventions, by the Hague Tribunal, in operation since 1902.

4. Constitutional requirements, Brazil, Venezuela, San Domingo, Portugal.

Baty, T. *International Law*. New York: Longmans, 1909. \$2.25.

A misleading title. This is really a study of the progress of international relations from conditions of Independence toward conditions of Interdependence.

- Bourne, Randolph S.** *Arbitration and International Politics.* P., A. A. I. C., 1913. Free.
- Darby, W. Evans.** *International Tribunals.* 4th edition. London: J. M. Dent & Company, 1904. \$3.50.
An historical review with reprints of important documents.
- Fitzpatrick, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles.** *International Arbitration.* P., A. A. I. C., 1911. Free.
- Gibbons, James Cardinal.** *Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States.* P., A. A. I. C., 1911. Free.
- Hay, John, and Root, Elihu.** *Instructions to the American Delegates to the Hague Conferences, 1899 and 1907.* P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.
- Hyde, Charles Cheney.** *Legal Problems Capable of Settlement by Arbitration.* P., A. S. J. S. I. D., 1910. Free.
- Jordan, David Starr, and Krehbiel, Edward B.** *Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation.* P., W. P. F., 1912. 75 cents.
Especially Lectures XXI.-XXIII.
- La Fontaine, Henri.** *Pasicrisie Internationale.* Berne: Staempfli & Company, 1902. 40 francs.
A documentary history of international arbitrations since Jay's treaty, 1794.
- Lammasch, Heinrich, and Ralston, Jackson H.** *The Anglo-American Arbitration Treaties, and Forces making for International Conciliation and Peace.* P., A. A. I. C., 1911. Free.
- Mahan, Admiral A. T.** *Armaments and Arbitration, or the Place of Force in the International Relations of States.* New York: Harper, 1912. \$1.40.
A study of arbitration from the militarist point of view.
- Mead, Edwin D.** *The International Duty of the United States and Great Britain.* P., W. P. F., 1911. Free.
- Moore, John Bassett.** *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898. Out of print. 6 vols. 1-2, History; 3-4, Digest; 5, Domestic Commissions, Notes and Treaties; 6, Maps.
A new edition is being prepared, and will be published by the Carnegie Endowment. The new edition will include all arbitrations between all nations.
- Morris, Robert C.** *International Arbitration and Procedure.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911. \$1.45.
From the time of Herodotus to the Hague Conferences.
- Myers, Denys Peter.** *Revised List of Arbitration Treaties.* P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.
- Oppenheim, Lassa.** *The Panama Canal Conflict between Great Britain and the United States of America.* 2d edition. Cambridge: University Press. 75 cents.
- Phillipson, Coleman.** *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome.* 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1911. \$6.50.

- Pillsbury, Albert E.** *The Arbitration Treaties.* P., W. P. F. Free. An examination of the majority report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.
- Pius X, His Holiness the Pope.** *Letters to the Apostolic Delegate to the United States of America.* P., A. A. I. C., 1911. Free.
- Raeder, A.** *L'Arbitrage international chez les Hellènes.* Kristiania: Nobel Institut, 1912.
The best work on this subject yet written.
- Ralston, Jackson H.** *International Arbitral Law and Procedure.* W. P. F., 1910. \$2.20.
An exhaustive digest of arbitral procedure. See also under Lammasch and Ralston, "The Anglo-American Arbitration Treaties."
- Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations,** together with the Views of the Minority upon the General Arbitration Treaties with Great Britain and France, signed on August 3, 1911. With Appendices. Sen. Doc. No. 98, 62d Cong., 1st Session. Washington, 1911.
- Root, Elihu.** *Panama Canal Tolls: The Obligations of the United States.* P., W. P. F., 1913. Free.
See also under **Hay, John.**
- The General Arbitration Treaties of 1911.** P., A. A. I. C., 1911. Free.
- Tod, Marcus Niebuhr.** *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913. 8s. 6d.
A learned essay with a review of the epigraphical evidence.

Lecture V.

EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS. THE WORK OF THE HAGUE CONFERENCES AND COURT.

1. Modern business is international, ignores political boundary lines. The "Unseen Empire" of Finance.
2. Scope of the work of the Central Office of International Associations at Brussels.
 - a. International organizations not connected with any governmental activities. Among about 450 such associations there are:—
 - 41 international associations concerning labor, chiefly organizations of artisans;
 - 93 international associations of persons interested in the applications of scientific knowledge, as in medicine

and hygiene, chemistry, physics, engineering and agriculture;

110 international associations of persons interested in scientific research and education;

77 international associations of persons interested in philosophy, morals, religion and law.

b. Public international associations in which governments are represented, about 50 in number.

Hague Conferences; Pan-American and Central American Congresses; international conferences or committees for conservation, police administration, protection and promotion of commercial and business interests (as the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, founded in 1905, includes representatives of 48 countries); for scientific, educational and judicial purposes, and for the improvement of conditions of transportation and communication (as the Universal Postal Union).

3. "The Concert of Europe" as an international influence. Is there such a thing as Pan-Americanism? The Pan-American Union. The Central American Congresses (yearly since 1909). The Central American Court of Justice at San José, Costa Rica. The Inter-parliamentary Union.

4. The First Hague Conference, May 18, 1899. 26 states represented. Conventions:—

1. Concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes.

a. Mediation. *Cf.* President Roosevelt and the Portsmouth Treaty between Russia and Japan.

b. International Commissions of Inquiry. *Cf.* the Dogger Bank affair and the Bryan peace plan.

c. The Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration, organized 1901. First case between Mexico and the United States, 1902. A dozen cases have been tried and decided.

2. Concerning the laws and customs of war on land. A code of Articles of War, based on the Lieber Code, restricting warfare in the interests of humanity and health.

3. Concerning the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864 (the Red Cross rules).

The Conference also adopted three declarations, which prohibited the throwing of projectiles from balloons or other analogous means

of transportation (adopted for a term of five years); the use of projectiles having as their sole object the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases; and the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body.

5. The Second Hague Conference, 1907. 44 states represented. Conventions:—

1. Concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes. Rules of international procedure codified.
2. Concerning the limitation of the use of force for the recovery of contractual debts. Adoption of the Porter-Drago doctrine.
- 3, 4. Concerning rules of war. There must be a declaration of war before hostilities begin; areas of warfare defined and restricted.
- 5, 13. Rights and duties of neutral powers and persons defined so as to increase the protection of neutrals.
- 6-11. Rules for maritime warfare; unfortified places must not be bombarded; inviolability of neutral property favored, but subject deferred for the sake of England.
12. An International Prize Court agreed upon (*cf.* Declaration of London in 1908-1909).

The Conference also adopted a declaration prohibiting the launching of explosives from balloons and air-craft "until the end of the next conference."

The Conference also adopted a Draft Convention containing the constitution of a Court of Arbitral Justice, and called the attention of the powers to the advisability of adopting it.

The Final Act of the Conference recommends the assembly of a third Peace Conference and the preparation of a program for it.

35 of the 44 nations voted for a general treaty of obligatory arbitration.

6. Agenda for the Third Hague Conference. The question of expenditures for armaments. Significance of the Peace Palace at The Hague, opened August 29, 1913.

Annuaire du Mouvement Pacifiste. Published at Berne, Switzerland, by the International Peace Bureau.

Annuaire de la Vie Internationale. Published at Brussels, Belgium, by the Office Central des Institutions Internationales (1910-11). 40 francs.

Choate, Joseph H. The Two Hague Conferences. Princeton: University Press, 1913. \$1.

- Foster, John W.** *Arbitration and the Hague Court.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904. \$1.
Discusses the events which led to the First Conference.
- Hay, John, and Root, Elihu.** *Instructions to the American Delegates to the Hague Conferences, 1899 and 1907.* P., W. P. F. Free.
- Heath, Carl.** *The Peace Year Book.* (Issued since 1910.) London: The National Peace Council, 167 St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W. 1s.
- . *The Work of the Hague Tribunal.* P. London: National Peace Council. *id.*
- . *Cost of the War System to the British People for Fifty Years.* P. London: National Peace Council. *id.*
- Holls, Frederick W.** *The Peace Conference at The Hague and its Bearings on International Law and Policy.* New York: Macmillan. \$2.25.
- Hull, William I.** *The Two Hague Conferences.* W. P. F. \$1.65.
- . *The New Peace Movement.* W. P. F. \$1.
- Jordan, David Starr, and Krehbiel, Edward B.** *Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation, especially Lectures XXIV.-XXVII.* P., W. P. F., 1912. 75 cents.
- Lange, Christian L.** *Parliamentary Government and the Interparliamentary Union.* P., W. P. F., 1911. Free.
- . *The Interparliamentary Union.* P., A. A. I. C., 1913. Free.
- Lawrence, Thomas J.** *International Problems and Hague Conferences.* London: J. M. Dent & Company, 1908. 3s. 6d.
- Mead, Edwin D.** *The Results of the Two Hague Conferences and the Demands upon the Third Conference.* P., W. P. F. Free.
- . *The United States and the Third Hague Conference.* P., W. P. F. Free.
- Myers, Denys P.** *The Record of The Hague. Tables showing cases decided and Conventions ratified to November 1, 1913.* P., W. P. F. Free.
- . *Twelve Years of the Hague Tribunal.* P., W. P. F., 1913. Free.
- Politis, N.** *The Work of the Hague Court.* P., A. S. J. S. I. D., 1911. Free.
- Reinsch, Paul S.** *Public International Unions, their Work and Organization.* W. P. F., 1911. \$1.65.
- Scott, James Brown.** *The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1909. 2 vols. \$5.
Contains full text of conventions.
- Scott, James Brown, Editor.** *Texts of the Peace Conferences at The Hague.* W. P. F. \$2.20.
- . *American Addresses at the Second Hague Conference.* W. P. F. \$1.65.
- Tryon, James L.** *The Hague Peace System in Operation.* P., Massachusetts Peace Society.

- Whelpley, James D.** *The Trade of the World.* New York: The Century Company, 1913. \$2.
- White, Andrew D.** *The First Hague Conference.* W. P. F. 55 cents.
A diary, written during the Conference.
- Wilson, George G.** *International Justice.* American Baptist Publication Society, 1911. 10 cents.

Lecture VI.

HOW CAN A WORLD-ORGANIZATION SECURE AND INSURE PEACE WITH JUSTICE?

1. Problems of racial differences and antagonisms.
2. Problems of conflicting political and economic ambitions.
3. Problems of disarmament.
4. Rivalries in commerce and industry.
5. Common fundamental purposes and ideals.
6. Foundations of co-operation. The international State.

Andrews, C. M. *The Historical Development of Modern Europe, 1815-1897.* Students' Edition. 2 vols. in 1. Putnam. \$2.75.

Angell, Norman. *Peace Theories and the Balkan War.* London: Horace Marshall & Son. 1s.

Baldwin, Simeon E. *The New Era of International Courts.* P., A. S. J. S. I. D., 1910. Free.

Barclay, Sir Thomas. *The Turco-Italian War and its Problems.* With a chapter on Moslem Feeling by Rt. Hon. Ameer Ali, and appendices containing a full documentary history. London: Constable & Company, 1912. 5s.

Bernhardi, Gen. Friedrich von. *Germany and the Next War.* London: Edward Arnold, 1912. 10s.
The work of a sincere defender of warfare.

Bingham, Hiram. *The Monroe Doctrine, an Obsolete Shibboleth.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913. \$1.15.

Bishop, Joseph B. *The Panama Gateway.* New York: Scribner, 1913. \$2.50.

Bridgman, Raymond L. *World Organization.* W. P. F., 1905. 60 cents.
— *The First Book of World Law.* W. P. F. \$1.65.

Bryce, James. *The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902. 70 cents.

China Year Book, The. 1912 and 1913. London: Routledge; New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. 10s.

A complete analysis of Chinese conditions during the change from empire to republic with translations of original documents.

DeForest, John H. *The Truth about Japan.* P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.

Dole, Charles F. *The Right and Wrong of the Monroe Doctrine.* P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.

Eliot, Charles William. *Japanese Characteristics.* P., A. A. I. C., 1913. Free.

———. *Some Roads towards Peace.* A Report to the Trustees of the Endowment on Observations made in China and Japan in 1912. P., Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Free.

Finot, Jean. *Race Prejudice.* Translated by Florence Wade-Evans. London: Constable, 1906; New York: Dutton, importer. \$3.

• **Fish, G. M.** *International Commercial Policies.* New York: Macmillan. \$1.25.

In Citizen's Library.

Fullerton, William Morton. *Problems of Power.* A study of international politics from Sadowa to Kirk-Kilissé. London: Constable, 1913. 7s. 6d.
The work of a journalist who fears the ambitions of German statesmen.

• **Gannett, William C.** *International Good-will as a Substitute for Armies and Navies.* P., W. P. F., 1912. Free.

• **Haldane, Viscount, of Cloan.** *Higher Nationality.* A study in law and ethics. P., A. A. I. C., 1913. Free.

Also reprinted complete in a special bulletin.

•• **Hill, David Jayne.** *World Organization as affected by the Nature of the Modern State.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1911. \$1.50.

•• **Hirst, Francis W.** *The Logic of International Co-operation.* P., A. A. I. C., 1909. Free.

Hobson, John Atkinson. *Psychology of Jingoism.*² London: A. Moring & Company. 2s. 6d.

———. *Imperialism.* A study.² London: Constable. 2s. 6d.

———. *International Trade.*² An explication of Economic Theory. London: Methuen & Company. 2s. 6d.

Hull, William I. *The International Grand Jury.* P., A. S. J. S. I. D., 1912. Free.

International Conciliation in the Far East. Papers by five different authorities. P., A. A. I. C., 1910. Free.

Johnston, Sir Harry. *Common Sense in Foreign Policy.* London: Smith, Elder & Company, 1913. 2s. 6d.

A pragmatic study of present conditions in the British Empire.

²Out of print.

- Jordan, David Starr, and Krehbiel, Edward B.** Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation. Especially lectures XXXII.-XXXVII. W. P. F. 75 cents.
- Kraus, Herbert.** Die Monroedoktrin. See Lecture II.
- La Fontaine, Henri.** Existing Elements of a Constitution of the United States of the World. P., A. A. I. C., 1911. Free.
- Lange, Christian L.** Parliamentary Government and the Interparliamentary Union. P., W. P. F., 1911. Free.
- Loria, Achille.** Les Bases Économiques de la Justice International. Kristiania: Nobel Institut.
- Lorimer, James.** The Institutes of the Law of Nations. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1884. \$6.
Especially Book V. in Vol. II., "The Ultimate Problem of International Jurisprudence," pp. 183-299.
- Lowell, A. Lawrence.** Governments and Parties in Continental Europe. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1896-97. \$5.
- Macfarland, Henry B. F.** The Supreme Court of the World. P., A. S. J. S. I. D., November, 1913. Free.
- Mead, Edwin D.** The International Duty of the United States and Great Britain. P., W. P. F., 1911. Free.
- Mead, Lucia Ames.** Swords and Ploughshares. New York: Putnam, 1912. \$1.50.
- Nabuco, Joaquim.** The Approach of the Two Americas. P., A. A. I. C., 1908. Free.
- Novikov, Jacques.** La Fédération de l'Europe. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1901. 3 francs, 50.
There is an Italian edition, Milan, Verri, 1895, and a German edition, edited by Dr. A. H. Fried, Berlin and Berne, Edelheim, 1901. A careful consideration of the helps and hindrances and of the possibilities of realization.
- Osborne, John Ball.** Influence of Commerce in the Promotion of International Peace. P., A. A. I. C., 1909. Free.
- Pratt, Sereno S., and four others.** Finance and Commerce, their Relation to International Good-will. P., A. A. I. C., 1912. Free.
- Reinsch, Paul S.** International Political Currents in the Far East. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911. \$2.
- . World Politics as influenced by the Oriental Situation. New York: Macmillan, 1900. \$1.25.
- Reprints:** from the *London Economist*, "Profit and Patriotism"; from the *New York Evening Post*, "Money-making and War." P., A. A. I. C., 1913. Free.
Only the first article is commended to the student.
- Rowe, Leo S.** Possibilities of Intellectual Co-operation between North and South America. New York: A. A. I. C., 1908. Free.

- Sarolea, Charles.** *The Anglo-German Problem.* London and New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1912. 1s.
Written to prove that Imperialism is the enemy of World Peace, and especially German Imperialism.
- Spiller, Gustav.** *Inter-racial Problems.* W. P. F. \$2.40. Papers communicated to the first Universal Races Congress, London, 1911.
- Sumner, William G.** *Folkways.* Boston: Ginn & Company. \$3.00.
- Tryon, James L.** *The Proposed High Court of Nations.* P., American Peace Society, 1910. Free.
- Usher, Roland G.** *Pan-Germanism.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913. \$1.75.
A study of recent international politics.
- Wilson, President.** *On the United States and Latin America.* P., W. P. F. 1913. Free. Speech at the Southern Commercial Congress.

Among the pamphlet publications of the A. A. I. C. the following additional items may be here particularly noted:—

- Cole, Percival R.** *The United States and Australia,* 1910. Free.
- Douglas, James.** *The United States and Mexico,* 1910. Free.
- Hume, Martin.** *The United States and Spain,* 1909. Free.
- Ladd, George T.** *The United States and Japan,* 1908. Free.
- Von Lewinski, Karl.** *The United States and Germany,* 1910. Free.
- Wendell, Barrett.** *The United States and France,* 1908. Free.
- Willison, J. S.** *The United States and Canada,* 1908. Free.
- Yen, Wei-Ching.** *The United States and China,* 1909. Free.

Charles Scribner's Sons publish a series of volumes upon the history of our South American neighbors. Each volume costs \$3. The following are either ready or in press:—

- Dalton, L. V.** *Venezuela.*
- Dennis, Pierre.** *Brazil.*
- Eder, P. J.** *Colombia.*
- Elliott, G. F. S.** *Chile.*
- Enock, C. R.** *Mexico.*
" " " *Peru.*
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World Peace Foundation
Pamphlet Series

THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

WORK IN 1913

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
40 MT. VERNON STREET, BOSTON

December, 1913
Vol. III. No. 12

Entered as second-class matter January 15, 1913, at the post-office at Boston, Mass.,
under the Act of August 24, 1912

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

PAMPHLET SERIES

Volume I was issued quarterly from April to October, 1911, and sets as complete as possible may be had on request for binding. Pamphlets in the volume include:—

THE RESULTS OF THE TWO HAGUE CONFERENCES AND THE DEMANDS UPON THE THIRD CONFERENCE, by EDWIN D. MEAD; SIR EDWARD GREY ON UNION FOR WORLD PEACE, speech in House of Commons, March 13, 1911; THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION, by EDWIN GINN; THE INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN, by EDWIN D. MEAD; SOME SUPPOSED JUST CAUSES OF WAR, by Hon. JACKSON H. RALSTON; SYNDICATES FOR WAR (London correspondence of the *New York Evening Post*); WAR NOT INEVITABLE, by Hon. JOHN W. FOSTER; PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION, by Dr. CHRISTIAN L. LANGE; CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE FOR ARBITRATION; and THE MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE, by Hon. DAVID J. BREWER.

January

- No. 4. Part I. CONCERNING SEA POWER. By DAVID STARR JORDAN
 Part II. HEROES OF PEACE. By EDWIN D. MEAD
 Part III. INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR ARMIES AND NAVIES. By WILLIAM C. GANNETT

April

- No. 5. Part I. See Volume III, No. 6
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 Part III. THE COSMIC ROOTS OF LOVE. By HENRY M. SIMMONS
 Part IV. WORLD SCOUTS. By ALBERT JAY NOCK
 Part V. THE RIGHT AND WRONG OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. By CHARLES F. DOLE

July

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 Part II. NEUTRALIZATION: AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY. By IRVING WINSLOW
 Part III. WILLIAM T. STEAD AND HIS PEACE MESSAGE. By JAMES A. MACDONALD
 Part IV. EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP. By LUCIA AMES MEAD
 Part V. REVISED LIST OF ARBITRATION TREATIES. Compiled by DENYS P. MYERS

October

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 Part IV. THE LITERATURE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT. By EDWIN D. MEAD
 Part V. THE WASTE OF MILITARISM. From the Report of the Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living

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December

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 January, No. 1. AMERICAN LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE AND ARBITRATION. By CARL SCHURZ

Volume IV, 1914

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WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

40 Mt. Vernon Street

Boston, Mass.

We have before us a task that few comprehend. It is for us not only to institute the measures necessary to curtail this awful waste of life and property, but to bring conviction to the masses that this question cannot be handled successfully by a few people. It is a work for the whole world. We must do our part towards bringing the subject so forcefully before each and every one that all will feel that it is necessary to take a hand in it. We go about our vocations of every kind, giving ninety-nine per cent. of our time and money to them, with hardly a thought or a dollar to the greatest of all needs, and expect these terrible evils of war will be done away with,—that in some way the powers of the earth or the heavens will remove them. Great changes in the established order of things do not come about in this way. The All-wise Power has no hands or voices but ours. He must work through His creatures; and, if we fail to take up His commands, the work will have to wait. Latent feeling must be transformed into action. The peace leaders have not impressed the people sufficiently with the idea that this is a work that must be undertaken by the people as a whole in a large way if any great change is to be made, and that it will never succeed with an indefinite and uncertain source of supply. We must place responsibility as broadly as possible upon the people, and ask each to take a hand in contributions of both money and time. It is not enough for the minister in the pulpit to devote one Sunday in the year to a peace sermon; nor for the teacher in the school to give one day in the year to peace lessons; nor the newspaper one editorial in the year; nor for the men of business and finance to have a convention once a year to talk over these matters. All must be awakened to the necessity of taking a vital hand in this work. The future of our cause depends especially upon the co-operation of vigorous young men who wish to devote their whole lives to carrying it forward; and to such our schools and colleges and churches and the press should earnestly appeal.

EDWIN GINN.

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ANNUAL REPORT TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION BY THE CHIEF DIRECTOR

Early in 1913 the headquarters of the World Peace Foundation were removed from 29 Beacon Street, Boston, to 40 Mt. Vernon Street, at the corner of Walnut Street, where they are likely to remain for a long period. The new quarters are commodious and most satisfactory. The building, bought by Mr. Ginn, is the fine old mansion so long occupied by Mrs. Mary Hemenway. The Foundation occupies the first two floors of the house, and the upper floors, together with the whole of the adjoining house, the two being treated together, will be rented for office and residential purposes. The floors occupied by the Foundation furnish ample office and storage room, with good opportunity for expansion when necessary, and an admirable conference room, which well meets our multiplying educational and public needs. The Foundation takes satisfaction in the noble traditions of the house which now becomes its home. Mary Hemenway was the generous giver who secured the saving of the Old South Meeting-house for Boston and also founder of the Old South work for promoting attention to American history and good citizenship among the Boston young people. This was but one of her many inspiring and generous activities in behalf of education and patriotism. Her home was a temple of public spirit, and in the peace cause itself and in all that pertained to international progress she was profoundly interested. It would be an occasion of satisfaction to her that our sacred cause finds its home in her old home, as it is a satisfaction to us that the rooms where our work now goes on inherit the consecration of her spirit.

Provided thus with a new and permanent home, the Foundation has during the year largely added to its regular force of workers. Prof. Charles H. Levermore, for the five years preceding 1893 professor of history in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and since then the president of Adelphi College in Brooklyn, came to us in April to take charge of our department of work in colleges and universities. Dr. George W. Nasmyth, who for two years had been

devoting a large part of his time to our service in the German universities and elsewhere in the student field in Europe, and who served as president of the International Students' Congress which met at Cornell University at the end of August, came in September to join the regular office force in Boston, taking charge especially of the Foundation's work among the student bodies of the world. Mr. Albert G. Bryant of California, whose engagement was announced in my last annual report, who has so long been devoted to the peace cause, and who was highly commended by Dr. Jordan, came to us also in September, to work particularly among commercial organizations and to devote himself as well to the general business interests of the Foundation.

I spoke in the last annual report of our expectation that Mr. Norman Angell would become regularly attached to the Foundation some time during the present year. This expectation also has been partially realized. Mr. Angell will not spend his entire time with us in the United States, the development of the work during the last year having made it more than ever important that he should carry on his activities largely in London and Paris; but he will spend a portion of his time with us each year, being now numbered as a member of our staff, and his London headquarters will serve in many ways as our London headquarters. He spent the greater part of May and June with us here, giving many addresses in the United States and Canada, and he will return for an extended lecture tour early in 1914, under the joint auspices of the World Peace Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment.

Two volumes have been added to our International Library during the year,—Andrew D. White's work upon "The First Hague Conference" and Prof. William I. Hull's work upon "The New Peace Movement." We have now in press Immanuel Kant's "Eternal Peace and Other International Essays," continuing our work, begun with the publication of "The Great Design of Henry IV," of making the classics of the peace movement available to students and to the public; and we have in preparation a volume of the collected peace essays and addresses of Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, making a peculiarly strong appeal to the churches, and a volume containing many of the prize essays upon various aspects of the movement, prepared in the last few years by students in our colleges, accompanied by an introduction by Prof. S. F. Weston, the secretary of the Intercollegiate Peace Association, detailing the remarkable recent progress of our cause in this important field.

Among the pamphlets which have been added to our pamphlet

series during the year have been: Hon. Elihu Root's speech upon the Panama Canal Tolls; Instructions to the American Delegates to the Hague Conferences in 1899 and 1907, by Secretary Hay and Secretary Root; address at the Mohonk Conference of 1913 upon "Organizing the Peace Work," by Edwin Ginn; "Washington, Jefferson and Franklin on War," by Edwin D. Mead; "Internationalism among Universities," by Louis P. Lochner; "To the Picked Half Million," by William T. Stead; "The Forces Warring against War," by Havelock Ellis; "Outline of Lessons on War and Peace," by Lucia Ames Mead; and "The Record of The Hague," compiled by Denys P. Myers. In one pamphlet drawing lessons from the wars in the Balkans were included Noel Buxton's report upon "The Wounded" and Mrs. Stobart's paper upon "Women and War." Other pamphlets, not in the regular series, issued to meet various exigencies, have been: "The American Peace Party and its Present Aims and Duties" and "The United States and the Third Hague Conference," by Edwin D. Mead; "The Proper Attitude of the Hague Conference toward the Laws of War," by Jackson H. Ralston; "Mr. Bryan's Peace Plan"; "The Militia Pay Bill," by Hon. James L. Slayden; "After the Battle," a scene from Mrs. Trask's "In the Vanguard"; President Wilson's address to college students at Swarthmore; and his address at Mobile upon the relations of the United States to Latin America. Earlier issues of the regular pamphlet series, like "The Drain of Armaments" and the "List of Arbitration Treaties," have been revised and brought up to date, and large new editions of many of the earlier pamphlets have been demanded. Twenty thousand copies of many issues are necessary to meet the constantly growing needs. The pamphlets are prepared for many special classes, for schools, colleges, women's organizations, business men and political workers, as well as for the general public. It will be recognized that three of the new pamphlets mentioned, those by Mr. Stead and Mr. Lochner and President Wilson's Swarthmore address, were to meet the great demand of this year in the college field.

In addition to its pamphlet service the Foundation carries on a large and growing service through leaflets, broadsides, and slips of various kinds, generally prepared to meet immediate and pressing needs, and sent out largely to the press, to Congress, to conventions, to the peace organizations, and to various societies, to supply the information needed at the moment for agitation and for education. A score of such leaflets have been sent out in large numbers during the year.

Our relations to the southern American republics, kept constantly before us by the Mexican situation and the discussions prompted by the approaching opening of the Panama Canal, have persistently demanded much attention from us, through newspaper channels as well as through our leaflet service. The Conference upon Latin America at Clark University in November, giving to this great field the most thorough attention which it has ever received among us, had the Foundation's heartiest co-operation; and we are taking an earnest interest, in this case a responsible interest, in the plans for the next International Students' Congress, which is to be held in 1915 at Montevideo.

The strong agitation in England, still going on so widely and urgently, for international action for the joint limitation of the present monstrous naval armaments and expenditures is another commanding interest of the time which has prompted us to large activity in our leaflet service and our general publicity work. The declaration of Mr. Asquith in his Leeds address of November 27 that this portentous problem must be met by international action on the part of the governments having behind them the strong demands of the peoples is one of the many recent declarations in high places which call the American people especially, in their peculiarly auspicious position for leadership, to resolute and decisive action; and here every peace organization should make itself felt, as the Foundation constantly endeavors to do.

It will also be recognized, by a glance at its recent publications, that it endeavors to make itself felt no less with reference to the initiative to the Third Hague Conference and the timely and thorough preparation of the program for it, to insure for the Conference the broad and radical influence for which the whole world calls.

It was our government that not only took the initiative for the Second Hague Conference, which went so far to determine that these Conferences should be regular, but also, through its delegation at the Second Conference, secured the provision that a Third Conference should meet in or about 1915, with an international committee created two years before to prepare its program. The United States thus made doubly certain the regularity of these official international Peace Conferences. Our obligation is therefore paramount to see to it that the provisions made by the nations at our instance are observed efficiently. Our government is in a peculiarly propitious position to take the initiative for the Third Conference; and the International Peace Congress at The Hague in August last properly urged the American peace organizations to move in the matter. The

World Peace Foundation has already done so; but there should now be concerted demand for action, which is the more incumbent as there are intimations of an effort in influential European quarters to delay the Conference. Any such delay, unless for reasons not apparent, would be most prejudicial to the great interests which the Hague Conferences serve; and the peace party of America and of the world should unite to press action and especially to promote the most intelligent preparation for the Conference. With a view to this we have recently sent out to many quarters our collection of pamphlets relating to the Hague Conferences, with a statement as to the urgent importance of attention to the approaching Conference, and called renewed attention to the volumes in our International Library relating to the Conferences, including "The Texts of the Hague Conferences" and "American Addresses at the Second Hague Conference," both edited by Dr. James Brown Scott, "The First Hague Conference," by Andrew D. White, and "The Two Hague Conferences," by Professor Hull. The influential co-operation in this matter of all who are associated with the Foundation is earnestly asked for.

The four points which the American peace party should press at this time are: (1) international action for the joint limitation of armaments, with firm opposition meantime to any increase of our own naval program, (2) immediate and thorough preparation for the Third Hague Conference, (3) the prompt renewal in their original or an improved form of our arbitration treaties with Great Britain and other countries, which have expired, and (4) the repeal of the exemption of American coastwise shipping from tolls at the Panama Canal. As respects this last, the Foundation co-operated earnestly in the agitation so well organized by the committee in New York last spring; and, in addition to promoting the wide circulation of Senator Root's address upon the subject, we are now adding to our pamphlet series another powerful presentation of the issue, by Thomas Raeburn White, the able international jurist, president of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society, and by Charlemagne Tower, our former ambassador to Germany. It must not be forgotten that the renewal of our expiring arbitration treaty with Great Britain last summer was prevented by a group of senators whose motive was the distinct and discreditable desire to make the reference of the Panama tolls issue to arbitration more difficult.

All of these questions and others are being considered in a series of fortnightly "Peace Conferences for Peace Workers" now being held in the conference room of the Foundation. These conferences were

arranged primarily in response to the increasing need for the better information and education of leaders for societies and classes studying the international movement, groups in churches, schools, women's clubs, granges, patriotic societies, and other organizations; but it is hoped that they will lead the way and furnish the program for similar conferences in all the influential centers of the country. The present conferences are conducted in turn by members of the Foundation's own staff and other leading Boston peace workers; and the topics studied include the Nature of War, Common Fallacies about War and Peace, National Dangers and National Defense, the Modern War System and its Cost, the Great Illusion, Early History of the Peace Movement, the Two Hague Conferences, Arbitration and a World Congress, Various Ways of Preventing War, Patriotism and Internationalism, Education and the Peace Movement, the Moral Damage of War, and New Peace Agencies. The attendance is so large and the interest so deep as to show that this is a form of activity which can profitably be taken up in a hundred places; and it is earnestly commended to the attention of the peace organizations everywhere.

The point should again be emphasized that the World Peace Foundation will always render its best service, among the various peace agencies of the country, by clearly defining its own purpose and program, by working in intelligent co-operation with the other important agencies, and by maintaining such mutual understanding as shall prevent duplication and waste. The Carnegie Peace Endowment, with its great resources, is discharging with breadth and thoroughness certain lines of duties which we therefore are relieved from the obligation to undertake; the American Peace Society and its branches are the natural agencies for other activities, and it is for us to strengthen these in every way in our power; and other organizations fulfil their defined functions. While therefore there are certain influences which all the peace organizations must exercise alike, and while perhaps the cause distinctly gains from mutual reinforcement upon certain margins, the Foundation, like each of the other important agencies, should lay the emphasis upon its own special task. That task in our case is the educational work both in its broader and its stricter aspects, the work of informing and enlightening the general public, and the carrying of peace instruction and peace principles into the schools and colleges. Our own most satisfying advance during the last year has been in the great improvement of our facilities for this latter office.

Professor Levermore brings to the conduct of our department of

work in colleges and universities a broad knowledge of history and politics, a large and varied experience in the work of education, unusual acquaintance with the college and university men of the country, administrative and organizing ability, and deep devotion to the peace cause. I ask careful attention to his own report and suggestions, which will be printed with this statement. The critical analysis which he has made, through a thorough study of their catalogues, of the courses of study in all the important colleges and universities of the country, their courses especially in history and politics, is in some respects most encouraging. In many places, in entire independence of any distinct influence through peace agencies, simply in obedience to the new international spirit of the age affecting education as it affects our whole life, attention to world relations and the evolution of world organization is markedly manifest in the historical and political courses, and more or less considerable study of international law is recognized as a part of general culture. The colleges and universities are everywhere hospitable to us, and ready to arrange for addresses upon the cause where they have not yet resources to make regular provision for the study and teaching of international relations. Such regular provision in the curriculum is the thing everywhere to be desired and worked for. Professorships on international relations will only gradually come; but lectureships could be established immediately and universally if there were adequate financial resources for it; and one of our college presidents has recently emphasized the important results which we should see in every college where provision could be made for ten lectures each year on peace topics by a scholar of recognized ability and distinction, with the course open to all students and the public. The number of professors in some of our universities who, occupying different chairs, are conspicuous and influential workers for international friendship is large; and men like Professor Reinsch of the University of Wisconsin have made their chairs such true professorships of international relations that their influence has been widely felt. I spoke in my last annual report of the important course on international relations arranged at Stanford University by Dr. Jordan and Professor Krehbiel; and the syllabus of this course prepared by them and published by the Foundation has been of great service in many quarters during the past year. It is regular and systematic work that Professor Levermore will commend to our colleges and universities; and from the results of multiplying courses upon international relations we have much to hope. I unite with Professor Levermore in feeling that our pamphlet service should be vastly extended among

our college students. Indeed, there are few fields where it might not be most profitably extended, the limits of useful service here being simply limits of our resources. In a multitude of cases, where we now circulate twenty thousand pamphlets we could profitably circulate a hundred thousand.

Dr. Nasmyth's work is with the student bodies in our universities, as Professor Levermore's is mainly with the teaching force. Dr. Nasmyth remained in Europe until midsummer, chiefly continuing his work in the German universities along the lines detailed in last year's report, but doing important work also in Switzerland and England, besides visiting important student groups in the Scandinavian countries and in Russia, receiving there the impressions of great opportunities for the peace movement which he reports in his statement which will be printed herewith. For the important campaign of Norman Angell among the German universities last winter, Mr. Nasmyth chiefly made the arrangements. Throughout the year he was directing preparations for the International Students' Congress at Cornell University at the end of August, he having been elected president of that Congress at the session at Rome in 1911. To him in great measure was due the success of the Congress at Cornell, by far the most important Congress yet held in this international series. I leave to him further remarks upon it; but, having been present at the Congress as one of its speakers, I wish to express the profound impression which I derived of the significance and potentiality of this great student movement, the promotion of which in every aspect becomes now so important a part of the Foundation's work under Dr. Nasmyth's direction. It was a satisfaction to hear at Cornell his tribute to the Foundation for its continuous and decisive part in the promotion of the Congress; and I think that I may rightly say, as he said, that, but for the service of the Foundation at each critical stage in the preparation for it, its great success would have been impossible. I ask the attention of our Trustees, as well as of all who have at heart the progress of the peace movement in our universities, to the carefully prepared and richly illustrated handbook upon "The Students of the World and International Conciliation," published for the International Congress at Cornell and placed in the hands of all the delegates; and I ask special attention to the outline there given of work for the proposed International Students' Bureau, which important and inspiring program Dr. Nasmyth comes to the Foundation to carry out. I spoke at length in last year's report of the Cosmopolitan Club movement in our universities, with which for four years the Foundation has kept in such close connection; and I only

need to add that I have addressed several of these clubs during the year, and that Dr. Nasmyth will constantly serve them in every way, having himself formerly been the president of the American Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs.

Mr. Nasmyth's return from Europe imposes the duty of careful thought for the future of the student field there, in which he has worked with such encouraging results. We have secured the services of Mr. Edmond Privat, an able and devoted young Swiss scholar, for certain important work among the Paris students. In London important provisions will be made by Norman Angell and other friends; but we should have a good worker at Berlin associated with the Foundation, to follow up systematically the work among the students of the German universities which Mr. Nasmyth has so well begun.

While the Foundation does not stand in responsible relation to the Intercollegiate Peace Association, I wish to commend the work of that important organization most earnestly to all of our friends and helpers, because it promotes precisely the kind of education and inspiration with which the Foundation is primarily concerned. More than a hundred colleges and universities of the West are now united in this Association, and nearly four hundred college students prepared peace orations during the last year in connection with the competitions for prizes. The high order of some of the prize orations will appear when the collection of them which we have in preparation is published. The organization should be extended to include every college and university in the country. Its financial resources are utterly inadequate to its great opportunities and even for the limited work which it is doing at this hour; and there are few lines of work which I commend so earnestly for the financial assistance of generous friends of the peace cause, or which I could wish were more closely affiliated with the Foundation itself at this time of the large extension of its influence in the college and university field. I trust that the volume which we are about to publish will accomplish much in making this great work better understood.

But we must never forget that not one in ten of the pupils in our high schools enters college at all, and that hardly one in twenty of the pupils in the lower schools enters the high school. This shows us the stupendous importance of peace education in the public schools, if we are to affect ~~the immense majority of the rising generation.~~ This fact brings home to us the peculiar importance of the work of the American School Peace League, with which the Foundation is responsibly associated. We have from the beginning appreciated not

only the urgency of the field which the work of the League covers, but the fortunate character of its organization. It is most favorable to devotion and to efficiency that this organization for work in the public schools of the country should be in the hands of the public school leaders themselves, with Dr. Claxton, the National Commissioner of Education, co-operating in the work with such untiring zeal. The presidency of the League, until a year ago held by Superintendent Van Sickle of Springfield, is now held by Superintendent Condon of Cincinnati; while among the vice-presidents and councillors are such men as President Jordan, Professor Hull and the writer, of our own directors, President Swain and Professor Dutton, of our trustees, and such prominent school superintendents as Maxwell of New York, Dyer of Boston, Brumbaugh of Philadelphia, Blewett of St. Louis, Chadsey of Detroit, Emerson of Buffalo, Jordan of Minneapolis, Greenwood of Kansas City, Francis of Los Angeles, and Mrs. Young of Chicago. Its treasurer is Superintendent Spaulding of Newton, Mass.; and the secretary from the beginning has been Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews of Boston, to whose broad outlook, devotion and organizing power too high tribute cannot be paid. Branches of the League are now established in 37 of our 48 States. The annual conventions of the League are held regularly at the same time and place as the annual conventions of the National Education Association, which latter organization has so warmly indorsed the work and co-operates so cordially with it. The League's great meetings at Salt Lake City last summer were, as is always the case, among the most impressive of the convention week. The valuable program pamphlet prepared by the secretary of the League for the use of the schools of the country in their Peace Day celebrations, May 18, was published by the National Bureau of Education, which itself distributed 7,500 copies, and altogether nearly 60,000 copies were used by teachers. The annual report of the League covering the work of the present year will be sent to our trustees next month, and they are asked to consider it as supplementary to this statement, as it is through the School Peace League that our own work in the public schools is so largely done. This great organization of our public school leaders themselves must remain the great agency for work in this broad field, and I cannot emphasize too strongly my feeling that there is no field more important. I am glad to say that the receipts of the League for the year have been about \$14,000, more than \$5,000 above the receipts of the preceding year; but this is a most inadequate income for this immense field of work, for which the organization furnishes such admirable machinery. Here, as

elsewhere, there should be no duplication of machinery where there is now efficiency; and all the peace agencies of the country should reinforce the League in every possible way. I wish that our own annual contribution of \$2,500 might be greater, as with additions to our resources may be possible. The present affiliation is of large mutual benefit, bringing us into close and influential touch with the great body of public school leaders, enabling us to make suggestions which, I trust, are as useful as they always seem welcome, and opening wide and varied avenues for our literature to places where it is calculated to render the best possible service. I spoke last year of the extension of the work to Great Britain, and this British League is steadily growing in influence, while the earnest attention of the educational public in many of the European countries has been enlisted.

Distinctly educational is the Foundation's work among women's organizations of the country, carried on under the efficient direction of Mrs. Duryea, whose report will be printed with this. During the present year that work has been greatly broadened. The National Federation of Women's Clubs, which last year made the peace cause one of its own regular causes, has, through its standing Peace Committee, warmly supported by the president of the Federation, Mrs. Pennybacker, a devoted friend of our cause and an impressive speaker in its behalf, done much to enlist the attention of the local clubs in systematic study of the cause. The Foundation has published a pamphlet, prepared by Mrs. Mead, entitled "Club Women and the Peace Movement," officially approved by the Federation, with many useful suggestions for that study, which has been supplemented by important sections of her later and larger "Outline of Lessons on War and Peace." These reinforce Mrs. Duryea in her lectures and work in a hundred places; and from all places to which she goes warm reports come here. Although she has been to Chautauqua and to various conventions, her work has necessarily been mainly in New England, New York, Philadelphia and Washington; although she deals as she can with the large correspondence from the West—and, if there were two of her, one could be kept hard at work in Chicago. We must not forget that the National Federation alone includes a million women, and that the organized women of the country are becoming a force in the creation of public opinion such as we have never seen before in this country or in the world. The girls' schools and colleges are more and more asking for peace addresses, and, in addition to her work with women's organizations during the year, Mrs. Duryea has spoken to a score of schools. The

State Federations of Women's Clubs are now making regular place for the presentation of the cause in the programs of their annual conventions. There has been no more impressive peace meeting in Boston during the year than the great meeting in Tremont Temple last spring, arranged by the Massachusetts Federation, for the success of which Mrs. Duryea and the Foundation earnestly co-operated; and it was to us a pleasing coincidence, although an undesigned one, that the three speakers at this stirring meeting were a trustee and a director of the Foundation and a member of its Advisory Council, Hon. Samuel W. McCall, Rev. Charles R. Brown and Prof. George H. Blakeslee, its presiding officer being Mrs. Mulligan, the president of the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs.

Miss Eckstein, although at one time breaking down as a result of too close application, has carried on indefatigably in Europe during the year her zealous campaign in securing the millions of signatures to the petition to be presented to the next Hague Conference in behalf of international arbitration, to which work she has already consecrated long years of effort,—effort of no more significance in its possible direct results than in securing the distinct personal attention of so many persons to the cause and leading them to reading and study concerning it.

I cannot praise too highly the work of Mr. Myers of our publicity department. I wish to express anew my constant obligation to him and my personal gratitude for the thoroughness, accuracy and untiring industry with which he does his work. He is a repository of knowledge upon which we all constantly draw, and he has a genius for research. His long journalistic experience stands him in stead in his present work, and few men follow more closely the utterances of the American and European press concerning whatever touches the international problems. His masses of carefully classified clippings, as well as the Foundation's library, are at the service of all students of the cause as freely as at the service of our own force; and there are few places where knowledge of all that is going on in the international field is more exact or more available than in the corner which Mr. Myers occupies.

The work of Mr. Albert G. Bryant, our new business director, while primarily concerned with local organizing and the promotion of our financial and general business interests, will also at many points have to do with educational activities. For the varied services which Mr. Bryant is called to perform for the Foundation he has had a peculiarly propitious preparation, for his life hitherto has been associated both with business and with the pulpit. His work

as a preacher has made him a warm and ready speaker, and in business he has achieved success. From this success he comes to us through his great devotion to the peace cause. He has already, during the brief period of his association with the Foundation, demonstrated unusual organizing capacity, which promises much for the future. Beginning in Colorado, he has visited a dozen states, bringing together in conference at their chief centers leaders in education, in politics and in business, often the governors of states and the mayors of cities, to create from such groups the beginnings of strong state commissions, to co-operate in their respective places in the Foundation's various activities and in the better organization of the peace cause. Commercial leaders, men of affairs, will take especially conspicuous part in these organized groups, which, it is hoped, will gradually contribute distinctly to the larger resources of the work. While developing these local centers of activity, Mr. Bryant also establishes connections with leading booksellers in various cities to extend the sale of the Foundation's books, promotes closer relations with the press, the churches, the educational institutions, the women's clubs, and other organizations in the centers which he visits, and does whatever seems most practical and promising to fertilize the fields in which the Foundation's various departments work. He will, in due course, cover all sections of the country by his visitations, while doing everything in his power at the central office, by correspondence and otherwise, to keep the whole field vitalized.

On certain business sides the work of Mr. Bryant will touch the work of our treasurer and accountant, Mr. Arthur W. Allen; but their provinces are distinct. Mr. Allen is the Foundation's faithful housekeeper, supervising the endless business details at headquarters with an accuracy and care which make us all his debtors. A scholar as well as a business man, competent and ready upon occasion to prepare pamphlets as well as to balance books, he furnishes steadily much of the mortar which holds our bricks together. Nor must I fail, in this survey of our office force, to name every one of our other helpers,—Miss Fraser, Miss Macdonald, Miss Cord,—for my personal obligations to every one are constant. All are devoted, all are efficient, all loyal to our great cause, and all work harmoniously together in the place to which all come together each day with enthusiasm and joy.

Dr. Jordan, during his last year, has entered into a new relation with Stanford University, of which he has been president from the beginning. A new office, that of chancellor, has been created for him by the university, while Dr. Branner succeeds him in the active

duties of president. The university will continue his former salary, while allowing him one-half of the year for whatever public service he elects, recognizing that the country and the world have proper claims upon him, and that in such public service he truly serves the high interests of the university itself. This public-spirited action is deserving of public recognition and public gratitude. Dr. Jordan is the type of scholar and of publicist in honoring whom by such provision of freedom for largest service our universities honor themselves. President Eliot is pre-eminently such a man, and such is President Butler of Columbia. There is not in the world to-day any man who is rendering the peace cause larger service by voice and pen than President Jordan. It is not simply the scholar's service, although it is emphatically that, but the service of the prophet and of the hot hater of injustice, ignorance and the wild waste of the precious resources of men. To the peace cause, therefore, under the auspices of the World Peace Foundation and as one of its directors, Dr. Jordan will continue to devote substantially all the time which he is free to take from the university, upon most generous conditions, the Foundation simply providing for his expenses in such service. How large and varied that service has been during the year, both in the United States and in Europe, his own statement, which will be printed with this report, indicates. The Foundation has published during the year a collection of his peace papers, entitled "What shall We Say?" many of which papers are included likewise in his later volume entitled "War and Waste." He has also lately published another little peace volume, "America's Conquest of Europe," uniform with his "Unseen Empire" and earlier books.

If Dr. Jordan has, in "The Blood of the Nation" and "The Human Harvest," shown more convincingly than any other that war, with "the fighting edge," so far from being the great gymnasium for a nation and the promoter of its virility, as is recklessly asserted and often believed, has really been the chief occasion of national drain and ruin, Norman Angell has brought home to serious men more powerfully than any other the fact that, in the transformed modern world, where industries, commerce and investments are ever more international and peoples ever more interdependent, war can no longer bring any material gain even to the victor, comparable with the loss arising from the catastrophes involved. "The Great Illusion" is the most significant and most beneficent arraignment of the war system since Bloch's "The Future of War"; and it has been followed up by numberless essays and addresses by its author, now supplemented by a special journal, "War and Peace," devoted to its doctrine,

which constitute a distinct new factor in the peace movement. Mr. Angell's identification with the Foundation has been noted; and in connection with this report will be printed a statement by him indicating something of his more recent activities in Europe. In addition to other expenses in connection with his work, the Foundation provides for a secretary in his London office, where our publications will always be available; and in every possible way we co-operate with him, as he co-operates with us. We met a portion of the expenses of one of his London helpers, Mr. Langdon-Davies, on a visit to this country during the autumn, in which he has given many addresses both in the United States and Canada, primarily to make the arguments of "The Great Illusion" better known and to prepare for Norman Angell's own coming here early in 1914.

Dr. Macdonald, although suffering from a serious accident a few months ago, has done splendid service for the Foundation throughout the year by his stirring addresses to religious and educational conventions and gatherings of every character, which work is detailed in his own report. Mr. Holt, in addition to many lectures otherwise arranged and to his constant service for the cause in the pages of the *Independent*, has given a dozen addresses before colleges and universities under the auspices of the Foundation. Dean Brown is always serving the cause in the pulpit and with great student bodies as influentially as any man in the American Church. He was the moderator of the recent National Congregational Council at Kansas City, at which Rev. Charles E. Jefferson was also present, which passed strong resolutions pledging the churches of that great body to earnest activity in behalf of the peace cause; and it may here be noted that the National Unitarian Conference, at its session in Buffalo at almost the same time, took similar action. The activities of Professor Hull, of our board of directors, and of President Swain, of our board of trustees, always keep Swarthmore College at the front in the peace movement. We have just published for our student work the recent address of President Wilson at the Swarthmore celebration. Professor Hull is the secretary of the Pennsylvania Peace and Arbitration Society. Our recent publication of his volume upon "The New Peace Movement" has already been noticed; and there is no other brief history of the two Hague Conferences so good as that by him, previously published by the Foundation.

The services of many of our trustees in behalf of the peace cause are almost as constant as those of our directors. Mr. Ginn gave an admirable address at the Mohonk Conference in May upon "Organizing the Peace Work," which we have widely circulated. President

Faunce returned from what may be called his Sabbatical year abroad, as Dr. Jefferson returned shortly before, with a deepened sense of the wickedness and waste of militarism and the war system, to which feeling he has given repeated powerful expression; and he is always the earnest peace advocate. Professor Dutton, in addition to his regular services as director of the New York department of the American Peace Society and his constant devotion to the Foundation's interests, was a member of the commission recently sent by the Carnegie Peace Endowment to investigate the causes and consequences of the Balkan wars. Mr. Capen is now upon a tour around the world in the interest of foreign missions, as president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The Foundation utilized this mission to enlist his special activity during it, also in behalf of the peace cause, which he has already strongly presented in Rome, Cairo and elsewhere. To say that Mr. Cummings faithfully sustains in Dr. Hale's pulpit its great traditions affecting our cause is to say that he is one of the most devoted of American preachers of peace. Mr. Pillsbury has lately written most wholesomely upon our relations with South America. I have spoken of Mr. McCall's address at the great Tremont Temple meeting of the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs. He was also the chief speaker at the peace session of the Massachusetts State Grange at its recent annual convention at Faneuil Hall.

I spoke last year of the deepening interest of our American Granges in the peace cause, which they had already had at heart for several years, the National Grange maintaining its standing Peace Committee. The interest in the cause in the Massachusetts State Grange is conspicuous, the master of the Massachusetts Grange, Charles M. Gardner, being a devoted friend of the peace movement. Provision was made at a dozen of the large field meetings of the Granges in Massachusetts last summer for presenting the peace cause; and the speakers were furnished by our Foundation upon request from the State Grange. We were also requested to arrange for speakers for the afternoon session of the State Grange's annual convention at Faneuil Hall in October, as above mentioned, Mr. McCall and Mr. Tryon kindly accepting invitations to address the meeting, which was a large and enthusiastic one, and which followed their addresses by adopting strong resolutions condemning the present inordinate armaments and expenditures and calling upon our government to lead in a policy of limitation. I was invited to address the annual convention of the National Grange at Manchester, N.H., in November; and my address there was followed by equally strong peace resolutions. The

Peace Committee of the National Grange has asked the Foundation for regular assistance in its work; and the co-operation of this great organization of a million farmers in behalf of our cause may be steadily counted on. In hundreds of places the Grange is the place where the people of our rural communities come together most regularly and in largest numbers; and the desire on the part of many of their leaders to give conspicuous place to the peace cause in the larger educational work which they contemplate for the Granges is most hopeful.

The American Federation of Labor, at its recent convention in Seattle, expressed itself upon no subject more strongly than upon international peace. It adopted resolutions sharply condemning any thought of armed intervention in Mexico and urging international action for the limitation of naval armaments. "It is not lack of love of country," it declared, "which prompts the toiler to protest against international fratricide, but they are unwilling to be exploited or killed for the promotion of selfish ends. The constantly growing system of the international acceptance and recognition of trade union cards is another influence that is quietly and surely creating a fraternal spirit among workers of all lands. Labor organizations the world over have committed themselves to the policy of international peace." I wish in this connection to express my obligations to Mr. James Duncan, the Massachusetts vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, with whom I keep in useful touch, supplying him and others in the organization with our literature, and always finding them most friendly and co-operative. Mr. Duncan's last letter to me, a month ago, speaks warmly of the devotion to the peace cause which obtains among the Labor Unions of Massachusetts, and of the work in its behalf which is being done among them; and I believe that this is representative of the general spirit of organized labor in all our states. I emphasize anew my deep sense of the importance of this great body to the influence and success of our cause.

We must never overlook, while utilizing in fullest measure the platform and the pamphlet, the varied popular educational methods which appeal to the hearts and the eyes of the people. In the anti-slavery conflict "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was as potent as Garrison or Phillips. Story and song and drama and picture are coming to our service also. Verestchagin preaches as forcibly as Bloch. The Baroness von Suttner's "Lay down your Arms" has been called the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of our own struggle; and who can overestimate the influence in the present year of "The Human Slaughter House" and "Pride of War"? Mrs. Trask's drama, "In the Vanguard," is rendering as great service through being read aloud to

popular audiences as it renders through individual reading at the fire-side. Mayor Lunn of Schenectady has read it with deep effect to a dozen Sunday congregations; and the Foundation recently arranged for half a dozen readings of the drama by Mr. Alfred H. Brown, head of the dramatic department of the Brooklyn Institute, before audiences of various kinds in Boston. The effect of the reading before 600 girls of the Girls' High School was so profound that he was persuaded to return the next day to read it to 600 more; and I wish that it might be read before hundreds of schools and churches throughout the country.

The possibilities of pageantry to enforce our lessons are no less, and we have not utilized them enough. For the recent Columbus Day parade in Boston the World Peace Foundation and the Massachusetts Peace Society united to contribute two of the picturesque floats. Our own, with the motto "Forty-four Nations at The Hague," presented that number of bright Boy Scouts, each waving the flag of a different nation; and the other, with the motto "Law replaces War," contrasted by striking figures the old method and the new. Few floats in all the long parade attracted more notice, and none certainly enforced more salutary lessons.

Of my personal activities for the year it is not necessary to speak in great detail. They have consisted largely in the general direction and correlation of the activities of the Foundation here outlined. I have perhaps devoted more attention to writing and general publicity work than to any other particular activity, preparing large numbers of newspaper and other articles, often editorial articles, and leaflets and broadsides for newspaper use, in addition to the Foundation's general editorial work; but I have also given a hundred or more addresses. My longest trip took me as far as Omaha and Lincoln, Neb., twenty-five addresses being given during the three weeks, before universities, chambers of commerce, churches and other organizations. Mrs. Mead and I have campaigned together in New Hampshire, Vermont and Buffalo, in Buffalo addressing eight meetings. Affairs at Washington have commanded much of my effort, especially in this latest time. I gave two addresses at the National Peace Congress at St. Louis, addressed the Mohonk Conference and the International Students' Congress. I was chairman of the Boston committee which received the German delegation which spent a week here on its way to the Congress; and I was chairman of the Boston committee that received the British delegation which came to the United States last spring for the conference to prepare for the approaching centennial of peace. I represented the Foundation at

the recent conference in Richmond, Va., upon the centennial program. My duties as a director of the American Peace Society, as a director of the Massachusetts Peace Society and as one of the American members of the International Peace Bureau at Berne, have claimed time and attention; but all of these services, like my more regular duties for the World Peace Foundation, are parts of one and the same service, of promoting by all means the peace and better organization of the world. A matter to which I attach significance is my careful proposal to the president of the Berne Bureau last summer for the creation of a regular standing International Committee of the ablest men, commanding universal confidence, to investigate every threatening international situation thoroughly and betimes and submit its conclusions to the world while it is yet possible for enlightened public opinion to exert influence.

The year which is closing has enforced, like few years in recent history, the solemn lessons of the futility of war as a means to the settlement of the disputes of peoples, the growing burden and menace of armaments, the dangers which continually beset the world while its organization is yet so imperfect, and the urgency of broader efforts to establish the principles of international order. Three hundred thousand men, the flower of youth, have been swept to death or ruin in the Balkans, no man to-day knows for what end. The heritage is not only unexampled rivalry and hatred between all the nations directly involved, but unexampled increase of armaments, of taxation, and of distrust among the greater European powers. The chronic disorders in Mexico not only paralyze that most unhappy country, but burden and alarm the whole family of American republics. Surely there is a more excellent way than this for the world; and surely the sum total of intelligence and of conscience in the world must be sufficient to find it and prescribe it, if it will. The Third Hague Conference offers the greatest opportunity in the immediate future for united action. It is for the world's peace party and peace agencies to rise to the occasion.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

DECEMBER 10, 1913.

REPORT OF DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN

Permit me to present the following as my annual report in behalf of the activities fostered by the World Peace Foundation. For the first half of the year, until the first of June, I was engaged in my duties as president of Stanford University. On August 1, 1913, the duties of the president of the university were divided between the president and the chancellor. I was appointed to the latter position, with freedom from desk work at the university, and was granted leave of absence until September 1, 1914. This period of absence on leave I have given thus far to the study of conditions in Europe as related to problems of war and peace and of social economics as affecting these problems.

In April I attended the National Peace Congress in St. Louis. In July I was present at the World's Peace Congress at The Hague, acting there as a member of the Berne Bureau, and being elected as vice-president of the World's Congress, representing the United States. In September I attended the gathering of the coworkers with Norman Angell, called at Le Touquet in France, under the auspices of the Garton Foundation. In October I was present at the Congress of the German Friedensfreunde at Nuremberg. I was present also at the Congress of Liberal Religions in Paris, speaking there on the "Federation of Europe," and at the Congress of Directors of Education at Brussels and Ghent, speaking at Ghent on the significance of the Treaty of Ghent. I have also made, with the valuable aid of Prof. Albert Léon Guérard, of the Rice Institute of Texas, a somewhat extended study of the actual conditions in Alsace and Lorraine and their relation to the peace of Europe. I have also made a visit to Montenegro and Albania. Later it is my purpose to visit Bulgaria, Servia and Rumania, with a view to the study of the later effects of war.

During the year I have written about forty editorial articles, published in various papers of America, Europe and Asia, under the heading of "What shall We Say?" I have prepared for the *Atlantic Monthly* an article on "The Spirit of Alsace-Lorraine"; one for Holt's new review on "The Machinery for Peace"; one for the Norman Angell journal, *War and Peace*, on the "Eugenics of War"; and one (in French), in the *Vie Internationale* at Brussels, on "What America may teach Europe" (*Ce que l'Amérique peut enseigner à*

l'Europe). I have also written an article for the *World's Work* on the "Interlocking Syndicate" in its relation to international disputes. I have prepared for the Bulgarian press an article on "Bulgaria, as seen by Europe." Other articles have been published in *Harper's Weekly*, the *Independent* and *Life*. Several of these essays, addresses and editorials have been gathered together in a volume called "War and Waste," published by Doubleday, Page & Company. The Unitarian Association has in press a volume on "America's Duty toward Europe." In conjunction with Prof. Harvey E. Jordan, of the University of Virginia, I have ready for the press a volume called "War's Aftermath," a study of the effects of the Civil War in Virginia, fifty years after. A Phi Beta Kappa poem at Stanford University has been published under the title "In the Wilderness."

I have spoken, when favorable opportunity offered, in behalf of World Peace and International Co-operation. Since my last report I have given addresses, mostly before university audiences or before chambers of commerce, in the following towns:—

Topeka, Kansas City, Lawrence (2), Albuquerque, San Francisco (6), Oakland, Berkeley, Palo Alto, Omaha, Salt Lake City (3), Provo, Denver, Greeley (3), Klamath Falls, Valley City, St. Louis (3), Fargo, Grand Forks, Casselton, Morehead, Winnipeg, Lincoln (2), Ghent, Paris, Wiesbaden, Frankfort-am-Main, London (3).

I propose to give the time from November 9 to the middle of December to lectures on different phases of the problems of peace. At the present time I have engagements before university or other audiences in the following towns: London (4), Cambridge (2), Oxford, Brighton (2), Hastings, Lewes, Birmingham (2), Edinburgh, Dundee, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow (3), Darlington, Manchester (3), Liverpool, Stuttgart and Munich. In this work, I shall have the invaluable help as secretary and assistant of Dr. John Mez of Freiburg, in Breisgau, president of the Corda Fratres, or International Association of University Cosmopolitan Clubs.

The primary purpose of these lectures is to test for my own instruction the feelings of the people in different regions, with a view to making my own work and perhaps that of my colleagues in America more effective. The United States, free from the burdens of aristocratic domination and relieved from its traditions, must take a leading part in the peace work of the world. As this work is mainly educational, the formation of sound public opinion and the undoing of the perverted teachings of history, morals and patriotism fostered by the war system, it is necessary that it should be well grounded in actual knowledge. Our antipathy to war is primarily a moral one,

but there is no moral issue that is not at bottom and to an equal degree an intellectual or scientific issue also.

In January I intend to sail for Australia, returning by way of China and Siberia to Europe. I have various invitations to lecture in these regions, and, so far as time and strength permit, I shall accept these.

WIESBADEN, GERMANY, November 6, 1913.

REPORT OF PROF. CHARLES H. LEVERMORE

Entering the service of the World Peace Foundation in April, 1913, I was requested to study the ways and means of developing close and fruitful relations between the Foundation and members of the faculties of colleges and universities throughout the country. At that time the office possessed little information of value concerning collegiate instruction in subjects related to our work. There are in the United States about 750 colleges and universities, 596 of which are listed in the latest report of the United States Commissioner of Education (1912). In Canada and Newfoundland there are 57 more, many of which are subordinate members of McGill University, Toronto University, and especially of L'Université Laval. With the latter are affiliated also 15 seminaries, which do some collegiate work.

My first action was to send for the official publications of the 750 institutions of higher education in this country and for all the important ones in British America. Time and repeated effort have been necessary to secure returns in many cases, but at the present date 600 of the 750 have communicated with us. The missing ones are all obscure and small, but their reports are still coming in, and eventually we shall obtain practically every one that has anything more than a paper existence. As these documents were received, a careful study of them was made in order to discover:—

First, What is the character and extent of all instruction offered in International Law and Politics and the History of Diplomacy?

Second, What courses are offered in the departments of History and Political Science (including Economics and Sociology) that are likely to kindle and direct student interest in international relations—any courses in Comparative Government, Comparative Politics, Asiatic and South American History and Politics, and Current Problems and Events, being particularly noted?

Third, What courses are offered in connection with the study of Psychology and Education, Religious History, Missions and Social Ethics, that will be likely to develop "the international mind"?

Fourth, Who are the chief executive officers of each institution, who are the responsible instructors in the departments named, and especially any members of the faculties who by official utterances in the announcements of their courses, or otherwise, reveal their opinion of the cause in which we are engaged?

The results of this analysis have been recorded upon a card catalogue containing now, in round numbers, 2,500 names of members of college faculties. The only states of our Union in which there is no evidence of positive collegiate instruction in the field of International Law and Relations are Arizona and Delaware. In the former there is but one degree-granting institution: in the latter there are two. 195 colleges and universities maintain one or more courses in International Law. 44 of these fortify their instruction in International Law with one or more courses in the History of Diplomacy. Eight other institutions offer courses in the History of Diplomacy and, although International Law is not mentioned, it must inevitably be included to a considerable extent in the historical study. It appears, therefore, that in 203 of our institutions of higher education the students may obtain instruction in the legal or diplomatic phases of international relations. It should be remembered that in four-fifths of these institutions these studies are elective, so that only a fraction of the total number of students in the larger institutions are likely to avail themselves of this instruction. In the small colleges the study is more often required. In this scrutiny no attempt has been made to include law schools not connected with colleges or universities, although several important schools of that sort offer instruction in International Law, as their circulars testify.

Eighty-eight out of the 600 colleges and universities in the United States offer courses or maintain departments which are devoted to some form of world politics, and which might fairly be called courses in International Relations, 57 of the 88 having courses especially adapted to evoke "the international mind". Of this number 26 offer no instruction in International Law or Diplomacy, so that the total number of our colleges and universities which now maintain, in one form or another, at least the nucleus of a department of International Relations is 229, a little more than one-third of all that have come under scrutiny.

It should be noted that 102 of these institutions offer courses in the comparative study of the governments and political systems of

Europe and America, courses in which the books of President Lowell and James Bryce are usually mentioned among the guides. Although these courses do not directly deal with International Relations, they are obviously most valuable auxiliaries to such studies. All but 28 of the 102 are among those that give instruction in International Law or Diplomacy. Of the 229 institutions that direct their students to the study of International Relations in some form, there are no fewer than 86 in which one or more of the instructors pay especial attention to the organization of the world for peace with justice under law; and in 48 cases formal reference is made to this movement in the official outlines of courses offered. Of course these figures give no idea of the number of the friends of our cause among the teachers in our colleges and universities. These figures relate to institutions, but my belief is that nearly all of the professors whose work touches our subject are either actively or potentially in sympathy with us.

Of the 57 colleges and universities in Canada, returns have been received from 33. Eleven of these offer courses in International Law, six of them only in their law schools. In addition, Queen's University in the province of Ontario offers a course in Comparative Government, and Toronto University offers courses in Comparative Politics and in International Trade. McGill University at Montreal offers a course in Recent Political Problems and Arbitration, and the far-away University of Saskatchewan presents a course in International Relations. Three-fourths of the catalogues on file in our office give the complete post-office addresses of all students as well as instructors, and more than one-fourth of them contain complete directories of all graduates.

Without considering the latter class, it is evident that we have here a correct mailing list for more than 150,000 young men and women whom we could reach with our literature whenever we please. It is a great privilege to address at will so many young people, and I believe that three or four of our pamphlet issues should be sent annually to some or all of this great college audience.

The surest method of arresting attention is by the picture. I believe that we should be prepared to offer lectures illustrated with well-chosen lantern-slides, and that films containing pictures that preach our gospel should be prepared and placed in every moving-picture show. That is a language universally understood in every country. In the belief that such lantern-slides and films could derive effective material from the cartoons that have appeared from time to time in the public press, I have made an exhaustive examination

of the files of London *Punch* and New York *Life*. The former journal yielded but nine suitable cartoons, but the latter publication was a mine. The incomplete files in the Boston Public Library showed in 14 years no less than 30 cartoons upon our subject, many of them admirable for any use that we may wish to put them to. And these are but two of many files to which we could go.

My scrutiny of the courses of study in our colleges and universities has convinced me that we must direct our energies toward the stimulation, expansion and perfection of the study of International Relations. As my figures show, of the 229 institutions that offer instruction in some aspect of International Relations there are only 88 that aim more or less directly at the center of that subject.

In general, the collegiate instruction upon which we base our hopes consists of fragments from several departments. The courses now offered in Current Problems and Events, International Politics, Law and Diplomacy, Colonization and Social Ethics need to be grouped together in a Department of International Relations or International Sociology. Perhaps the department of International Civilization would be a fairly descriptive title. Text-books for the work of such a department are already provided except in the central subject of International Relations. We should have a text-book there, presenting a sympathetic analysis of the needs, duties and ideals of the great races, proceeding to a comparison of their mutual influence in politics, religion and the arts, and of their various associations for common action since the French Revolution, concluding with a study of the gradual emergence of various forms of world-organization, of the peace movement and of the financial, commercial and industrial developments that have already provided the world organism with a single, sensitive, nervous system.

I have sketched the outline of such a text, have invited a famous scholar and publicist to prepare the book, and am now awaiting his answer. In any event we shall need to accompany such a volume with a book of "Readings," containing the essential "Sources." An important chapter of such a text-book, or an indispensable adjunct to it, will be a carefully studied, modern bibliography of International Relations. This bibliography I have already outlined, and have made some progress in its preparation.

Such a work will consume much time. As a preliminary step, I have made ready the manuscript of a pamphlet containing the outline of a half-dozen lectures on the Foundations of International Relations, with suitable references, largely drawn from the publications of the American Association for International Conciliation, the

American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes and the World Peace Foundation. With these I have joined some pages giving a sort of bird's-eye view of the peace movement and of its periodical literature. This pamphlet has been prepared in the hope that it may be useful in the 500 colleges and universities in our country that are not now offering any instruction in this subject, and perhaps also in the 141 institutions that give courses in International Law or Diplomacy, but make no further incursion into the international field. It is hoped that the course of lectures thus outlined may awaken interest, be adopted for immediate use, and prove an entering wedge for a later, more formal and systematic study.

It seems reasonable to hope that this pamphlet invitation to the study of International Relations may also be fruitful in the hands of the professors of history and politics in many of our normal schools and colleges. I have already communicated with 277 of these institutions, which have enrolled 90,000 students. Up to this date 190 of them have responded. It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the importance of bringing the "international" message into these professional schools, where the great army of our public school teachers is trained for its life-work.

The virtual completion of our collection of official information concerning colleges and universities in this country and Canada, and the study of the possibilities involved therein, not only for my own work, but for that of Dr. Nasmyth, have convinced me that the Foundation should justify its title by securing similar knowledge of the institutions for higher education throughout the world. I have, therefore, initiated a correspondence with every such institution in the British Empire, and also with the ministries of education in all other countries. I expect these inquiries to result in the acquisition of a complete file of official returns, which should hereafter come to us every year.

During the summer I secured the consent of 28 able speakers to appear as advocates of the peace movement under the auspices of this Foundation. Information concerning these speakers, the subjects on which they will speak, and the rates of compensation will be sent promptly to any inquirer. I have corresponded about them extensively with various Chautauqua managers and lecture bureaus, and could undoubtedly send many speakers to such platforms if we were ready to assume all or a large part of the expense.

I have also come into touch with all the institutions that participate in the competitions conducted under the auspices of the Intercollegiate Peace Association. The principal result of this effort

thus far is the placing of our literature in the libraries and reading-rooms of many institutions that were not previously familiar with it.

The college world in this country is undoubtedly ripe for our propaganda. Wherever sentiment has been formulated, it is usually favorable. We do not so much need to convert opponents as to convince indifferent friends that something can be done, and to put into their hands the tools for the performance.

DECEMBER 9, 1913.

REPORT OF DR. GEORGE W. NASMYTH

The universities of Germany, so important for the triumph of the peace movement in the world, have been the chief field of my work for peace in the past year, as in the two previous years. In addition to the important work in Germany, I have been able to establish a strong International Club in Switzerland, and to make a tour of propaganda through the universities of Scandinavia and Russia, conferring with student leaders, writing articles for the student magazines, giving addresses on peace, and establishing valuable connections for future work. The organization of a study tour of 35 German students to the United States in connection with the International Congress of Students, and the preparation and work of the Congress itself, have also claimed a large share of my time and energy during the past year.

The results of the work in Germany have been most encouraging. The International Student Clubs, which last year increased from two to four, have again been doubled in number. To the clubs at the strategic centers of Berlin, Leipsic, Munich and Goettingen have been added strong organizations at the important universities of Heidelberg, Bonn, Freiburg and Zürich. The Association of International Clubs formed last year has grown in strength and activities. Two publications have been maintained, and a powerful propaganda has made its influence felt in every corner of the university field. The movement, after occupying the most important university centers in Germany, has spread to those of Switzerland, and a beginning has been made toward the establishment of similar centers of activity in the Austrian universities.

Lectures, personal conferences with student leaders and writing articles for student publications have each claimed a portion of my time; but the greater part of my energy has been devoted to organization. This is by far the most effective form of propaganda, because,

when it is thoroughly done, the organization multiplies many times the activity of the individual, and continues to spread its influence and make new converts after the organizer has gone on to establish other centers of activity.

The remarkable activity maintained by the eight international clubs, the formation of which marked the first entrance of modern international and peace ideals into the German universities, is shown by the detailed reports of all the clubs published in the propaganda organ *Zur Internationalen Kultur-Bewegung*, which is distributed in an edition of 12,000 copies to the students of the German universities at the beginning of each semester. The clubs have also created a monthly organ, *Vaterland und Welt*, which serves as a bond of unity and a stimulus to all the members of the individual clubs. The mental horizon of thousands has been widened, chauvinism has been replaced in many cases by the international mind, and a better understanding of the people and civilizations of foreign countries has been spread among the German students by hundreds of "National Evenings," and lectures on international subjects, by debates and discussions, prize competitions and literature, and by the national conventions of the movement.

One of the most important events of the year was the lecture tour through the largest German universities which I arranged for Norman Angell in February. In connection with this tour a great stimulus was given to the study of international problems by the distribution of 40,000 copies of an "Open Letter to the German Students," pleading for a scientific study of international relations along the lines laid down in "The Great Illusion." This "Open Letter" of fifteen pages contained the essential arguments of "The Great Illusion," and was sent to every student and member of the Faculty in the Universities of Berlin, Leipsic, Munich, Goettingen, Würzburg and Heidelberg, together with an invitation to attend a meeting of the International Club at which Norman Angell would speak. This literature and the lecture tour produced a great intellectual ferment all over Germany. 20,000 copies of the German edition of "The Great Illusion" were sold within a month; and practically every important German work on war which has appeared since this campaign shows the influence of this attack on the current axioms and fallacies concerning war. Prizes have been offered for essays on the economic and financial interdependence of nations, open to students in the German universities both inside and outside the International Clubs, and a new interest has been awakened in the economic significance of the peace movement among business men and the

universities of Germany, which is leading to a re-examination of international relationships and the old axioms and theories of war and peace in the light of modern facts.

The annual conventions of the International Clubs are growing in importance and attendance, and furnish a most promising beginning for what may develop into international congresses of European students as soon as funds become available for the necessary expenses. The last convention, held at Leipsic May 14-18, 1913, was attended by 70 representatives from the eight German International Clubs, and by delegates from English, Swiss and Austrian student organizations as well. The approaching third annual convention at Munich, June 4-6, 1914, will be still more international in scope.

With my own return from the German field, my longing has increased to see the work, begun with such promise and so pregnant with results for the peace movement of the world, continued through the critical years of the immediate future in Germany. "Send us another like yourself in your place," were the last words I heard, as I said farewell to a group of the leaders of the movement at the station after the convention in Leipsic. The greatest need of the German movement, if it is to reach its fullest development and take advantage of the opportunities before it of bringing the great currents of international thought to bear upon the present generation of German students, is a paid secretary who can devote a large share of his time to the work of organization and the strengthening of the whole German movement. The international peace work must be internationally done, and we must develop a powerful peace missionary spirit, and use the resources of countries like America, where the movement is strong, to establish new centers of activity and strengthen the peace movement in countries like Germany where it most needs development.

In no country in the world can limited funds accomplish so much directly for the educational work for peace as in Germany in the student field. For \$750 a year a devoted worker and a permanent center of international activity could be maintained at the important University of Berlin, with its 10,000 German students and 1,500 foreign students. A part-time or full-time secretary could greatly strengthen the Berlin International Club and permeate the whole student field with the modern international and peace ideas by means of literature, lectures by prominent men, discussions and prize essay competitions, and at the same time could act as general secretary for the whole German movement and be a source of strength to all the other clubs. For \$250 enough publicity could be secured

for the annual conventions to make them representative pan-European student congresses, and thus contribute greatly to the movement toward international conciliation and understanding which is beginning to lessen the strained relations of the European countries. A small amount for traveling expenses and international literature, placed at the disposal of the president of the International Federation of Students, one of the splendid German peace leaders who has been trained up in the work of the International Clubs, would enable him to spread the new international and peace ideas among the students of all the neighboring countries.

Although Germany is the center of gravity of the international peace movement at the present time, Russia, with its 165,000,000 people, immense area and rapidly developing natural resources, is still more important for the future. My experience in the Russian universities has convinced me that a great opportunity awaits the international student movement in this country, so important for the future peace of the world. At the universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow and Warsaw, where I addressed various groups of students and conferred with some of the leaders, I met with a most sympathetic and enthusiastic response. The Russian students, shut out from political activity, and from religious work on account of the superstition and the alliance of the Russian Church with the political forces of reaction, are seeking an outlet for the idealism of their nature, and are ready to throw themselves without reserve into a great movement, such as the peace cause, fraught with so much promise for the future of humanity. Great changes are impending in Russia, and this student field should be the center of concentration for some of our most earnest efforts within the next few years. The thousands of Russian students who are compelled to seek an education in the universities of other countries can be reached in part through the international student movement in Germany, Switzerland and other countries, and I am in correspondence with a score of Russian student leaders, both inside and outside Russia, who are trying to spread the modern international ideas among their comrades. As soon as opportunity offers, student peace workers should be sent to St. Petersburg and other great university centers, in order that the powerful currents of international thought and the modern peace ideals may be brought to bear upon the new generation in Russia.

In Great Britain most effective work is being done in the student field by the International Polity Clubs and War and Peace Societies established by the Garton Foundation for the study of the economic facts concerning the futility of armed aggression on which Norman

Angell has focused attention in "The Great Illusion." The relation between this British student movement and the German International Clubs has been increasingly intimate during the past year. Members of the War and Peace Societies of Cambridge and Manchester have arranged study tours of English students to Germany, and delegates from the Garton Foundation, which is in such close relations with the World Peace Foundation, have taken a leading part in the conventions of the German movement. In return the Garton Foundation has been the host of the German students on the study tour arranged by the International Student Clubs in co-operation with other German student organizations. The president of the International Federation, Dr. John Mez of Munich, is now preparing for a lecture tour of all the British student organizations, and plans for more effective co-operation in the future are being outlined.

The success of the Eighth International Congress of Students, held at Ithaca, N.Y., August 29 to September 3, was made possible by the strong support of Mr. Mead and the World Peace Foundation and the American Association for International Conciliation. It was by far the largest Congress ever held by the International Federation of Students, and was attended by 200 representatives of student organizations from 30 countries. The Chinese, South American and German delegations were especially large, and a striking feature of the gathering was the presence of nearly every student leader of the world who has made important contributions to the cause of international friendship and understanding. The time of the Congress was chiefly taken up with constructive plans for strengthening the organization of the international student movement in the countries in which it already exists, and extending it to new countries. Notable addresses, which made a deep impression upon the members of the Congress, were those made by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, by the Commissioner of Education, Philander P. Claxton, by President Thwing, Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt and Dr. John R. Mott at Ithaca; by President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan at Washington; and by Hamilton Holt in New York. The contributions made by students already enlisted in the peace cause were exceptional, and many members of the Congress who had not before come into direct contact with the peace movement were brought to realize its importance for civilization and humanity. This was especially true of the German delegates, several of whom have told me that they were returning as converts to work with new energy for the peace cause in Germany. One of the most gratifying results of the Congress was the election of Dr. John Mez, the

founder of the International Student Club at Freiburg and now president of the International Student Club at Munich and a devoted worker in all branches of the international and peace movements, as the president of the Central Committee of the International Federation.

As a result of the Congress, there will be a great stimulus to the international student movement which has already been started with such great promise in South America. It was decided to hold the next International Congress of Students, August 15-30, 1915, at Montevideo, Uruguay; and a Latin-American student in close sympathy with both South American and North American feeling, Mr. Miguel A. Muñoz of Porto Rico, was elected secretary of the Central Committee. In connection with the Congress two important publications have been issued: "The Students of the World and International Conciliation," which gives the most comprehensive survey of the history of the international student movement which has yet been published; and the "Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Students."

Another important action of the Congress was the decision to establish an International Bureau of Students for the purpose of strengthening the international organization of the Federation and bringing the new international influences to bear upon all parts of the world's student field. The objects are: to unite student movements and organizations throughout the world, and to promote among them closer international contact, mutual understanding and friendship; to encourage the study of international relations and problems in the universities and colleges; to encourage the study of the culture, problems and intellectual currents of other nations, and to facilitate foreign study and increase its value and effectiveness. The Bureau seeks to co-operate with all organizations having similar objects in all countries. Mr. Lochner and I were elected secretary and director, respectively, of this Bureau, and as rapidly as the funds can be raised the various activities of the Bureau will be entered upon. The opportunities open to it are unlimited, and with the establishment of the International Student review, which the Congress authorized the Bureau to publish, it will become a center of international effort from which powerful influences will go out to carry the new international ideals into every part of the student field.

At present, in connection with my work for the Foundation, I am carrying on special studies and research in economics and international relations in the graduate school of Harvard University, laying the

foundations for the new science of international relations which is slowly taking form, and preparing for the increased demand for experts which the scientific trend of the modern peace movement is making upon all workers in the cause.

For the immediate future, besides serving the International Student movement in other countries and building up the activities of the International Bureau, I expect to devote a large part of my time to the peace work in American universities and colleges. Wherever possible, I shall strengthen the existing Cosmopolitan Clubs and the Cosmopolitan Movement, which has already achieved notable results in breaking down race prejudice and creating a new sense of the unity of the world and a devotion to the ideal of humanity among American as well as foreign students. In other places I hope to co-operate with peace workers among the faculty and students in building up study groups and clubs for the intensive study of modern international relations. The student field is so important for the future of the peace movement that an effective program for reaching every student in the United States within the next three or four years should be outlined. With the co-operation of all the peace agencies, the chambers of commerce and business men, the churches and every person interested in the peace cause and international conciliation, a thorough campaign should be carried through in one state after another. Literature in the form of a plea for the study of modern international relations and giving the essential facts of the peace cause should be sent to every student in each university, together with an invitation to attend a meeting to be addressed by a noted speaker and followed by the organization of a study circle or International Polity Club. The study circles or clubs should be strengthened by traveling libraries and by a well-planned series of booklets exposing the common fallacies of militarism and dealing scientifically with various aspects of the peace movement. On the foundations thus broadly laid and the interest created, lectures on the economic interdependence of nations, international law and other aspects of international relations should be arranged, thus greatly stimulating the demand for regular university instruction in these subjects. Then at the apex of a broadly conceived educational policy should come the prize competitions for essays and for orations, such as those of the Mohonk Conference, the Intercollegiate Peace Association, and Oratorical League.

Since in the student field we are dealing with the sources of power, a comprehensive plan such as this, placing in the hands of every student a statement of the ideals and the essential facts of the peace

movement, followed up by organization and the more intensive work of study and propaganda, would weave the peace ideal into the mental tissue of the new generation, and assure in the future a public opinion which can be relied upon to settle every international question in the right way, the way of justice, and which would make the United States the leader and the most powerful force in the movement for the organization of the world.

REPORT OF MR. DENYS P. MYERS

During the year since my last report my energies have been devoted to five fields of work: (1) the office routine activities in my particular province; (2) studies and investigations with the general purpose of broadening the basis of our movement; (3) purely technical studies to promote advance along our lines, the results of which are being communicated to those able to act officially; (4) a service of information through which serious students may obtain material for their own work; (5) actual propaganda.

1. The office routine for which I am responsible is described somewhat at length in my previous report (Work in 1912, p. 25), and its earlier features have been continued in practically the same form. Additions to our working collections of printed matter naturally divide into two sections, general publications of many types necessary for the work and the publications of organizations similar to our own. Owing to the richness of the libraries of this vicinity, it has not been the policy of the Foundation to attempt a complete collection of the publications of service in our work, because so large a number of them are of infrequent use, and it has been felt that casual consultation of many series can be satisfactorily made in the general libraries. Our aim is to make our own collection supplement in a specialized sense the general libraries. It is significant that, even with this restricted purpose, it has been necessary to add some 250 books. Pamphlets, brochures, unbound publications of governments, etc., have been added to the number of 950, a large part of which have been obtained by exchanges, through personal connections or at the nominal government prices. The result in the year is that the library, though small, is now remarkably serviceable; and, as it now contains a large proportion of the older works necessary to our use, the future increases will have, to a greater extent, only to keep abreast of current publications.

The policy regarding strictly peace publications has been very

different. It is the desire to have our collection in respect to these as complete as possible. The co-operative interchange between organizations throughout the world provides us with most of this material, as it provides them with ours. It is desirable that this co-operation should be even more efficient and much more rapid, in order to avoid, so far as possible, duplication of work and effort. This can be secured by establishing a central mailing office for each country; and correspondence to this end has been initiated. Some success has attended the completing of the sets of peace organization issues by securing back numbers.

The principal basis of our propaganda work must remain the daily journal, whose reports of events affecting our work are at once quicker and fuller than those from other sources. All material relating directly or indirectly to our work as reported in a representative selection of newspapers is filed, and constantly proves its value in affording detailed information for all phases of our activity. The work connected with these activities requires much of the time devoted to routine, and much is given to the direction of the sending out of our publications. Requests are ordinarily of a very general character, and hundreds necessitate time and thought to determine what the writer really wants. Since it is generally my office to put our publications through the press, the requisite detailed knowledge of their contents is naturally acquired; and many requests that are not clear are referred to me for elaboration of the writer's wants. In order to encourage the making of requests by title, pamphlet lists are issued; and now a list of the miscellaneous publications has been prepared, to bring these also to the wider knowledge of the public. The decision to print all miscellaneous broadsides, etc., on a standard size will increase their influence by making them more easily kept for reference.

The Pamphlet Series title-pages have made it possible for libraries to bind these varied and valuable publications, and thus to make their influence permanent. Over 900 sets are bound in the libraries of this and other countries. A quadrennial or quinquennial index would enhance their use in this permanent form. Almost daily evidence indicates that libraries appreciate and desire the volumes of pamphlets.

As the office force has increased, the number of requests for information has risen. Almost daily conferences with others regarding such information have now become the rule, and frequently special investigations are undertaken for results not otherwise available.

2. In my responsibility for the advance of the peace movement in

relation to our own Foundation, I come most directly into contact with the world's body of facts. Unless these are interpreted in our own terms, their value to us is lost. There are, of course, many phases of the work that he who runs may read; but even these require accuracy. The not uncommon old opinion that the peace movement smacks of impracticality is of course rapidly changing; and certainly it is daily belied by all in this office. It is my own pleasure and duty to add to its practicality by doing what is possible not only to make our material absolutely accurate from our own point of view, but from every point of view. It is of little purpose to draw facts and figures from economics and point a moral that the economist would not recognize or accept. There is waste of effort if we use military material with conclusions that an auditor or a strategist must, from specialized knowledge, reject. In dealing with military and naval budgets, for instance, one must not only recognize totals, but take account of expenditures that are illogically charged to such accounts, American rivers and harbors construction being an illustration. Multiply such technicalities for each nation, and some conception of the labor involved may be obtained. Mr. Arthur W. Allen, the treasurer of the Foundation, has done much of this work with the same care that I always aim to exercise, and the illustration here given comes from his study. See his pamphlet upon "The Drain of Armaments." It may be said with satisfaction that no capital errors have ever been called to our attention. It is also notable that the statistical support of the peace movement becomes steadily stronger, the deeper one goes into it.

A very valuable portion of our work consists not simply in increasing the accuracy of information, but in broadening the bases of the movement and widening the field of its attack. Such work involves the making precise what has been hazy. An analysis of Black Sea freight rates during a normal period and a period of war, making a direct appeal to the shipper in his own language, is a case in point. Another investigation, covering months, has strongly fortified the general conclusion that a modern war really involves the neutral world as truly as the two belligerents. The neutral has heretofore been too much considered a passive and negative factor, but the evidence to the contrary now rapidly accumulates. To interpret this condition to the public and secure action is one most important means of broadening the bases of the peace movement. On this line I have written several articles for general publication, and am continuing the study. A third such investigation has been partly completed from the point of view of the total investment in military

and naval establishments, as distinguished from annual budgets. A fourth concerns the responsibility for declaring war in all countries. Still another now under way will make clear the extent of the foreign financial stake in various portions of the world; while one just begun compares existing arbitration treaties respecting the extent of their terms of reference.

Mention was made in my last report of a study of the extinction of treaties. It was decided to make this work complete, and during the year much new material has been added, though the actual completion of the study has not yet been reached. The other study mentioned, on the Moroccan problem and its international crises, has advanced rapidly and is approaching completion.

We are constantly halted in our advance by encountering obsolete conceptions of statecraft in both official and popular quarters. Mr. Angell has very forcibly called attention to this. More could and should be done, for, when the people in general see public questions in terms of interdependence, as do we in our work, the ideals and results for which the peace movement stands will gradually determine the people's attitude. History itself should be made a diagnosis rather than an autopsy. Wars receive exceptionally rapid historical attention, but it is almost useless to expect an authentic history of a war in less than ten years after its close. Wars themselves often have not half the potency for creating bad feeling that the crises of foreign policy have through which almost all nations pass, and an instance of which occurs every year or so. Usually, public opinion on such crises is based on what information the periodical press has been able to give. Opinions thus built up from day to day are sure to become distorted, and the origin of many a traditional national enmity can be traced to such distorted opinions. The actual history of international crises is invariably written long after the lessons are directly applicable to current affairs. If provision were made at a university like Harvard or Yale or Columbia for an annual series of lectures on some topic of international politics resulting in a crisis, and if these lectures were regularly published in book form, the progress toward sanity in international relations would be greatly accelerated. Such subjects as the Agadir crisis, the concert of Europe and the Balkans, the Mexican problem, the Persian problem and the foreign relations of the Chinese Republic would, under such provision, be diagnosed at a time when other patients might at least be saved thereby.

3. The result of some of the studies outlined above are being prepared both for general propaganda work and for submission in

quarters capable of acting upon them directly. During the year I have published in *La Vie Internationale* a project of a convention on the "Concentration of Public International Organs," providing for the consolidation of some thirty-five administrative organs conducted by the governments themselves. The French text of the project is now with the various ministries of foreign affairs and with many publicists.

One of the phenomena of the present time is the break-up of sovereign states into articulate though connected parts. The self-governing dominions of the British Empire show the highest form of this development; and Great Britain has pledged herself to these dominions to consult them before action in any international diplomatic conference. In international administrative organs it is customary to give colonies autonomous membership. All of this is a direct attack upon the sovereign-state idea that is now the basis of international relations. The prospect of the movement increasing rapidly is great, and its significance for the peace movement in its official phases can scarcely be exaggerated. For these reasons I have studied "Non-sovereign Representation in Public International Organs" in a somewhat lengthy paper contributed to the proceedings of the Deuxième Congrès mondial des Associations internationales (Actes, pp. 753-802), which has since been published in pamphlet form.

Every ministry of foreign affairs should in these days of the increasing interdependence of nations and multiplying international conferences have a bureau qualified to deal with those special relations. International conference technique is extensive, and the very number of such meetings held annually should warrant special provision for handling official business connected with them. Such a provision would be of great service in encouraging the development of such institutions. Studies along this line are being made for submission to the governments, France already having such a sub-bureau.

4. One of the most interesting and, I hope, a valuable feature of my work consists in answering inquirers definitely interested in phases of the peace movement, in which I like to include all activities making for better international relations. Care is taken, of course, not to do their work for contestants in prize competitions. To indicate the nature of these questions, I note a few which have been answered:—

Will you please send me a list of the bills pending in Congress which favor or endanger the cause of peace?

What is being done to arbitrate between Persia and Russia?

What was the opinion of the negotiators of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty on the question of free Panama Canal privileges for American vessels?

Has the Senate ratified the Hague Convention for an International Prize Court? and, if not, why?

What is the extent of international co-operation?

Is there a federal law against dissuading men from enlisting in the army?

Can you direct me to publications setting forth how the laws of war were observed by belligerents in the various wars in which the United States has been engaged?

The samples could be extended to several hundred for the year, but the questions quoted will show the range of inquiries. Such questions originate from outside the office, but information required by us within the Foundation is equally diverse.

5. Though routine and the broader phases of work already dealt with occupy much space in the relation, I never lose sight of the fact that the essential purpose of our Foundation is to reach the people with our message. The activities outlined indeed have for the most part been undertaken to insure that our message should be not only vital, but accurate, not only good propaganda for the moment, but for all time. The spirit of our whole office is a responsible one, and the frequent office conferences have enabled us all to exchange ideas and to avoid errors.

During the year I have put through the press practically all of our publications, and have used all possible care, not only in matters of typography, but in regard to questions of fact and clear statement. From time to time material on public events has been prepared and circulated, many special bulletins being issued on the underlying conditions of the Balkan War, the advances made in arbitration, the Hague machinery for international justice, etc.; and on numerous occasions I have prepared material of special appeal to newspapers.

A lecture has been prepared for presentation with lantern-slides which is intended for the convenience of those organizations which desire entertainment without the necessity of securing or bearing the expense of an outside speaker. The lecture covers the peace movement and its principles, and copies of it will be loaned for local delivery, organizations bearing the expense of transporting slides. I have myself during the year had occasion to accept several invitations to speak.

REPORT OF MR. ALBERT G. BRYANT

Having been actively connected with the Foundation only since September 1, it may be that the most valuable feature of this report will consist in the statement of a few general impressions which have been the source of encouraging promise and the inspiration of several suggestions which I modestly propose, being aware that I make them to men who have made a longer study of the peace movement and whose devotion and ability have been so strongly demonstrated. During the past two years I have been increasingly confident that the securing of a basis of justice and friendliness in international relations offers one of the widest fields of service for humanity; and for this conviction I am in a large degree indebted to Dr. David Starr Jordan. It is a source of deepening satisfaction that any effort of mine in this direction is to be in connection with this organization; for I believe that no man has had a larger vision or been prompted by a more unselfish purpose than is expressed in the gift of Mr. Ginn and also in his well-formulated ideas of the methods by which that international understanding is to be secured. My faith in the contribution to the peace movement rendered by the Foundation has been strengthened by my association with Mr. Mead, and I am happy that this enterprise is being directed by so able a man and one who is given to the work with such consecration. It will be a constant joy to work with him in such entire harmony.

The general departments and activities of the office clearly indicate the character of the service rendered in the propaganda of the peace work and the creation of a wide-spread right sentiment. Through its various efforts the education of the general public has been advanced, and a more intelligent understanding of international affairs promoted. The work done by each person on our staff in his particular line has been valuable and efficient, and, now that the force is increased, much good would result from regular and frequent conferences, so that each might be informed with reference to what the others were doing and the work of each dovetail into and supplement that of the others. By such close touch we might keep steadily and definitely in mind exactly what is proposed in each department, and the efforts of the entire force would be united and systematized.

With reference to outside organization, it would be well to have committees appointed in connection with commercial bodies in as

many large cities as possible; for our business men are alive to the situation, and through organization they can do much to create an active sentiment in their various localities, can arrange for lectures, and be of assistance to us in countless ways. Such committees I have already created in seventeen cities; and they should be multiplied as fast as possible. We are also taking steps to organize the Granges and to introduce into their programs a stereopticon lecture prepared in this office and delivered by members of the Grange throughout the state. The warmest support is promised by this order.

While these things and many similar activities are important, my journey from California to Boston and my recent trip of five weeks through the South and West have served to strengthen my conviction that we need to aim at a much more comprehensive organization, through which the Foundation may become a greater power in the nation and the world at large. We can bring to our support the interest and influence of the most representative men of every state in the nation. On account of the long habits of party politics these men have been so segregated that they have supported their own administrations respectively in all state and national issues. Because of this very division into parties, there has been no adequate way in which the strong men who make our national policies could give expression to their views and convictions as to how our international relations should be determined. When we leave our own shores, party lines disappear, and we who are devoted to the work of international peace must secure and retain the organized support of these men, regardless of politics, in all our endeavors to influence the national administration to adopt the foreign policies in which we believe. To this end it is necessary to select from 25 to 50 of the strongest and most influential men in every state, to be connected with our office, and to whom may be referred all propositions which we think ought to be advanced for the consideration of the administration; and, so far as possible, we should seek to have the same carefully considered and reported upon, so that the result of such reference may be expressive of the best judgment of the leaders of the people.

By each state board there should also be appointed a board of lecturers, five or seven of the most trusty speakers, who shall, with the approval of this office and the authority of the state board, speak throughout the state on the various aspects of the international situation. In such a manner we shall have throughout the country, instead of the few whom we are now able to send out, a large number

of voices proclaiming world peace and the evils of the present gigantic waste. Each state would be responsible for its own lectures and expenses.

With these and other functions in mind, I endeavored to ascertain the possibility of such organizations when on my way through the South and West. On a rapidly planned trip I was able to stop for only one or two days in each place, and was compelled to introduce the idea after my arrival, which should rather be done prior to the visit. In each of the following states I was fortunate in meeting men who made it possible for me to meet and speak to a group of the most representative men, through whom there was started the organization of state boards: Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska and Iowa, eleven in all. These boards are composed of members of the supreme bench, presidents of the leading colleges and universities, state officials, editors, attorneys, clergymen, business men and bankers. In all of the states but two I went in company with a committee of these men appointed at the meetings to confer with the governor, before whom we laid our plans. In every instance he was not only interested in, and in support of, the proposition, but frequently was a member of the committee to select the state board. In each state the governor was requested and agreed to appoint the board from his office and advise the gentlemen that they were invited to serve for his state on the Board of Commissioners of the World Peace Foundation.

In each state there is selected a chairman, who becomes by virtue of this appointment a member of the national board of commissioners of this office, and through whom we can keep in touch with each state board. This national board should be made a part of our organization and so recognized. The most encouraging sign evident on this trip was the fact that these men who count so largely in our national life are so heartily with us, and are ready to accept responsibility and to unite their influence for the carrying out of those principles for which this Peace Foundation exists. Through these men, who have been tried and have been recognized by their fellows, we can do much to mold the future foreign policy of this country; for they are the men who control our national life. It will require time and careful consideration to perfect the organization of these boards; for, in order to appeal to this class of men, our message must be virile, and they must be persuaded that there is a worthy work for them to do, and that in these world affairs our office stands for the highest type of efficiency. When such a national organization is completed, it may not be too much to hope that we shall exert a growing influence

in the determination of the foreign policies of this country and in encouraging our administration in taking the initiative in much-needed world reforms.

Since October I have traveled 6,300 miles, spoken at the Southern Commercial Congress in Mobile, and introduced there a peace resolution following the President's address, which was unanimously passed by the congress and the women's auxiliary, delivered 40 addresses, 20 of which were before colleges and universities, interviewed 9 governors, started the organization of 11 state boards and 14 local committees. The organization of other states should be pushed with the greatest possible speed; for the forces back of the old war system and armaments are too strong to be greatly affected or modified by anything but this combined effort of our strongest leaders in the country, whose expressed will may ultimately become the law governing our foreign relations.

DECEMBER 10, 1913.

REPORT OF MRS. ANNA S. DURYEA

The Department of Women's Organizations has during the year sent out letters of information and advice by thousands, and pamphlets by tens of thousands, and arranged a lecture for every alternate day of the entire lecture season, refusing many opportunities to speak on account of distance and conflicting dates. I have at present on my calendar lecture engagements which extend my season to June 1. While the work of the department, being confined essentially to New England and the Eastern Middle States, has kept my hands full, we are steadily drawn to extend our borders, and are constantly doing so in the matter of giving assistance and advice and sending literature. Sooner or later we should have another worker in this department in the West. My earlier efforts were devoted largely to New England, but the past year I have given more attention to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and their vicinities. Three different periods were spent in these localities, giving lectures, stimulating interest and planning future work. One of my regrets was in my inability to accept an invitation from Mrs. Owen, president of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Southern Commercial Congress, which met at Mobile in October. As head of this department, I was invited to speak at one of the sessions of the Congress and "plant"

a peace flag. Fortunately, Mr. Bryant was to represent the Foundation at the Congress, and was at my suggestion invited to present the flag. In this, as in many other cases, we have had only to let the purpose of our work be known to meet with a cordial response.

Through the effective operation of the many peace influences, as well as through those of this department, understanding of our work and active interest in it are steadily increasing among the women's organizations of the country. Owing to the large demand for information regarding the purpose and development of peace work and because of plans made by many organizations for definite study of the subject, the character of our own efforts this year has been somewhat varied from that of previous years. We are more and more giving suggestions and advice, directing and helping all sorts of organizations in the systematic study of the movement. Since the purpose of this department is to act mainly through already existing channels, we are not required to spend much time in organizing work itself, but devote ourselves to getting into closer and more influential touch with those bodies of women, multiplying so rapidly, which adopt and advance peace work as one of their appropriate and regular interests. The women of the country are now so thoroughly organized in national, state, and local bodies that we are directly provided with numerous and effective channels for furthering our efforts. We find a cordial spirit of co-operation in all quarters where our purposes are understood, and we are working constantly through the National and State Federations of Women's Clubs and the local clubs, through church and patriotic organizations, preparatory and normal schools, Parent-Teachers Associations, women's colleges, college and university clubs, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, these organizations reaching altogether several millions of the representative women of this country.

The publication by the Foundation of the pamphlet of "Lessons on War and Peace," prepared by Mrs. Mead, has greatly simplified and fortified my own work; and we are now sending it with a letter of explanation and suggestion to several thousand clubs. Mrs. Mead's pamphlet upon "Club Women and the Peace Movement" has also been of distinct service. The great growth of interest and of opportunity for the department shows itself in the rapidly increasing number of calls for advice, for literature and lectures, from large central organizations and those as well in remote country towns, and in the fact that our lecture season begins earlier and continues later every year. We find encouragement in the fact that many organizations are having more frequent lectures for the purpose of keeping

abreast of the subject, many are doing more definite and continuous work, and more are planning to pay for what they get. We realize the growth of work among women when we receive an appeal from an officer of the Congress of Women's Clubs of Western Pennsylvania, who has secured an affiliated membership of 1,600 women devoted to the peace cause, the purpose of the organization being to introduce our subject into every woman's club, public and private school in the district. To show how far our service reaches, let me say that we are in cordial co-operation with the able chairman and five district chairmen of the Peace Committee of the State Federation of California, and are providing them with material for study and offering them our continued help. The organizations through which we work are not, of course, officially connected with us, and are not under obligation to report their activities to us; but every day shows the results of the work. The constant question which follows lectures and letters, "What can we do?" is answered by a list of specific things that can be done in the home, school, club, church and community and through influence on legislation; and we receive continuous assurances of many forms of definite achievement. We are continually realizing, however, how wide-spread is the ignorance of the real meaning and purpose of our movement, and how persistent and sustained must be the effort to bring even the intelligent and educated public to a thorough understanding of the subject.

The department owes especial thanks for hearty co-operation in various ways to Mrs. Stanley Plummer of Maine, the Eastern member of the Arbitration and Peace Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, to Mrs. Arthur W. Lane, chairman for Massachusetts, and to Mrs. Charles H. Bond, vice-president-general from Massachusetts of the National Association of Daughters of the American Revolution. Our thanks are also due to those who have helped us in emergencies with lectures,—besides Mr. Myers and Mr. Nasmyth of the Foundation's own staff, Mr. Moorfield Storey, Rev. Charles F. Dole, Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole and Miss Lucile Gulliver. I have myself given about 80 lectures during the year, and arranged for 20 by others. Among my lecture subjects oftenest called for by the clubs are "Women and the International Movement," "World Peace through World Union," "What the Hague Conferences have Done," "The World Peace Foundation," "The Story of Baroness von Suttner," "The Economics of Internationalism," and "Recent Advances in the Peace Cause."

The decision of the General Federation of Women's Clubs last

year to make the peace cause one of its own regular interests, and to urge attention to it upon all the clubs of the country was of the highest moment to this department. The creation of the special national committee for the work, with Mrs. J. E. Cowles of California at its head, was the guarantee of systematic care for the interest; and all peace workers feel a constant sense of gratitude to Mrs. Pennybacker, the president of the Federation, for her warm personal interest in the cause.

It is never to be forgotten that the peace cause has from the beginning been one of the leading interests of the International Council of Women. The meeting of the peace department at The Hague last spring to plan for its part at the quinquennial convention of the Council at Rome next May was presided over by its head, our veteran American peace worker, Mrs. May Wright Sewall; and Mrs. Proudfoot, another American worker, acted as its secretary. The meetings in Rome should be of distinct importance in promoting devotion to the cause among the women of all nations.

DECEMBER 10, 1913.

REPORT OF DR. JAMES A. MACDONALD

The past year presented features of exceptional significance in the world-peace program all over the world. In America the reflex of the wars in Europe was more distinct and more effective than that of any similar experience in past history. In my journeyings over Canada and the United States, both in the East and in the West, I found the average man growingly intelligent and more thoughtful concerning the bearing of foreign international complications,—the war between Italy and Turkey and the wars among the Balkan States,—upon the financial and industrial situation in America, than would have been possible even a few years ago. This experience has made clear and emphatic to the man in the street the fact of the growing interdependence of all the nations. The withdrawal of thousands of Europeans, upon whose work on great constructive undertakings and industrial operations the people of the United States and Canada had come to rely, brought home the fact and the burden of those European wars to thousands in America who formerly thought of war as something remote from the average American's life. The money stringency resulting from the drain of European wars and warscares on the money markets of the world has been a wholesome

lesson to many Americans who thought of themselves and their interests as isolated and free from the burdens and the barbarisms of Europe and the world.

The past year afforded many timely and useful opportunities for interpreting to the American people these world events. On all hands I found the people not only interested in world affairs, but eager to have some clue to the confusions and the complications of home incidents with world currents. I found it easier than ever before to correlate world events into a world-wide social movement in which is involved all that is progressive in science and education and religion and industry and finance. As never before, the world is beginning to see itself as one great social organism in which all the members suffer or rejoice together. The growing socialization of the nations is the idea taking shape in the common mind the world round.

During the year, at great conventions under various auspices, educational, political, social, religious, I had opportunities to present the international idea in its essential relations to the great human interests. At great anniversary celebrations, like Washington's Birthday and the centennial of events in the War of 1812, the unity and fraternity of the English-speaking peoples was utilized to crowd out and to cancel the hoary falsifications of history on both sides of past conflicts. Great assemblies and representative conventions of religious denominations and other convocations, in Toronto, in Atlanta, in Los Angeles, in Portland, Ore., in Kansas City, in New York, in Chicago and other centers, through the most prominent places in their programs afforded large opportunities for creating and organizing public opinion on questions fundamental to international good relations.

During the year two things, two currents from opposite directions, the two sides of a struggle in which the issue is clearly joined, have greatly impressed me. On the one hand is this responsiveness of the great body of the people to the international appeal, this growing horror of war and hatred of war ideals. On the other hand, the militarists and the military interests are unusually active and loud, as though they had begun really to fear that their craft is in danger. The attempt is made with new vigor to capture the schools, to seduce the Boy Scouts movement to the military ideals and purposes of the Big Army and Big Navy agitators. The struggle is on, but the activity of the military-minded is a tribute to the effectiveness of the peace argument.

Educationists as never before are beginning to face the question of the educational effect of guns and cartridges and military uniforms,

and all the accompaniments of the cadet movement on the minds and characters of boys who in a democracy are supposed to be trained in public schools for peaceful and constructive citizenship, and not for suspicion and strife. If the law of suggestion plays any part in education, the military features in the public school program in the United States and Canada contradict and tend to subvert the most distinctive characteristics and the most hopeful purposes of true democracy. This question is now raised. It cannot be evaded or frowned down or bluffed out of countenance. Once raised, it will not down.

TORONTO, December 10, 1913.

REPORT OF MR. NORMAN ANGELL

The work of educating public opinion in Europe upon the question of War and Armaments, so far as it has been affected by my recent activities and those of my associates here, may be summarized as follows:—

Great Britain. About forty International Polity Clubs and Study Circles have been formed for promoting the study of the relationships between nations, which have, I believe, really been effective in bringing the whole question of whether war is worth while, of the armament business and whether it cannot be stopped in Europe, before groups that would not otherwise have asked themselves such questions at all. These organizations have sprung up all over the country, especially in academic centers and in great commercial towns. The members of them have shown great interest in the subject, and many of them are doing useful work. The Manchester Norman Angell League, which was founded by the president of the Chamber of Commerce, the lord mayor and other leading citizens, and the Cambridge University War and Peace Society, which includes the keenest men in the university, are particularly active; while the A. R. U. I. I. (Association for the Right Understanding of International Interests) is doing valuable propaganda work of a more popular character than that undertaken by the Garton Foundation.

The lecture courses, which have been given under the ægis of the Garton Foundation, have in many cases been followed by the formation of permanent bodies for further study of the subject. Many other lectures are also being arranged by the various organizations, and I personally receive many applications for lectures, which I am

enabled to fill by sending one of the men associated with me in the work. Lectures are being arranged for teachers.

A number of influential men have been induced to offer prizes for essays and examinations on subjects bearing upon our thesis, and it is hoped by this means to awake what may prove a permanent interest in the subject in many intelligent young men.

Several of the societies have produced booklets, pamphlets and leaflets of a useful nature.

Germany. In Germany prizes are being offered to students at the universities for essays on subjects connected with international relationships and the interdependence of nations through the Verband für internationale Verständigung, which has been induced to undertake the management of the scheme. These prizes are about to be announced, eminent professors have been induced to act as judges, and it is confidently believed that the result will be very greatly to stimulate the study of these subjects by the best minds of the German universities. At some of the universities study clubs have been founded on the lines of those already at work in England. The funds for the prize scheme have been voted by the Garton Foundation.

France. In France we are getting into working order a somewhat similar plan of prizes among university students to that arranged for Germany. We are hoping also to start a lecture scheme by which men of the standing of Lord Esher and Mr. Balfour will give a lecture in Paris and Berlin on some international subject, and some eminent Frenchman, like Anatole France, will deliver a similar lecture at London or Cambridge or Oxford. Funds for this scheme have been offered by an Englishman.

The whole organization of these societies, the teaching of lecturers, the co-ordinating of the literature published, need linking up; and it has fallen to me to undertake a large share of this work.

Conference at Le Touquet. The first step toward the co-ordination of the whole of the work in Great Britain (both within and without the sphere of the Garton Foundation's activities), in Germany and in France was taken by the holding of a Conference at Le Touquet, near Boulogne, which was a European equivalent of the Lake Mohonk Conference. This inaugural Conference was attended by about sixty guests, who included Prof. David Starr Jordan, Professor Sieper of Munich, M. Prudhommeaux, M. Dumas, Sir John and Lady Barlow, Sir John Bingham, Sir Richard Garton, Captain Brett (the secretary of the Garton Foundation), Mr. Arnold Rowntree, M.P., Sir Herbert Raphael, M.P., Professor Sarolea, Principal Graham

of Manchester, Mr. E. D. Morel, Sir Robert Hadfield, Professor Guérard, and others, whose names appear in the little printed report. The Conference was really most successful, and I believe it has given a very valuable stimulus to the work.

Professor Guérard writes concerning it: "I have never attended any meeting that seemed to me so earnest, so practical, so whole-heartedly devoted to a high ideal."

M. Dumas says: "During the twenty-five years that I have been present at assemblies of this kind, I have never seen one so marvelously organized. Each person and each thing were in their place and remained there. Neither bore nor windbag nor *blouffeur*, but a gathering of men which, though including extreme differences of opinion, were able to agree together in the service of a common cause. Never surely was there such a choice of speakers of the first order and of business men of great capacity gathered together in a pacifist meeting. A statistician present estimated that Norman Angell's guests represented £20,000,000 sterling of money; but their wealth was not the outstanding feature,—that was the talent and goodwill which they all showed. . . . There was disposed of in forty-eight hours a program much heavier than the average program of a congress of six or eight days; and, while in the average congress the most essential points are sometimes ignored and the best speakers condemned to silence, at Le Touquet all the questions were debated and no one could complain that he had not an opportunity of contributing to the debate."

I may perhaps add that among the most cordial of the letters of regret written by those who were unable to be present were those from Lord Esher, Lord Weardale, Sir William Mather and the Bishop of Oxford. In the addresses of Captain Brett and Mr. John Hilton there was given a summary of what is being done by the Garton Foundation and the allied bodies, and in the speech of Dr. Warden an outline of the plan upon which we propose to proceed in France. But the whole proceedings were of peculiar interest, as showing the attitude taken up by this very diverse group of people toward the common object.

Monthly Review. Since the holding of the Conference at Le Touquet a monthly review, entitled *War and Peace*, has been produced by a group of Cambridge men interested in the movement, and it has had what in the circumstances is a really extraordinary success. Within a week of its publication they had booked subscriptions paid in advance for about 800 copies; and, although they printed 10,000 copies, they have since had to print more. It looks as though this

would be a commercial success on its own merits, and it will have great propaganda value as a means of linking up the various organizations.

What is mainly needed now is help in organization, in such matters as keeping in touch with the various societies and their activities, keeping them in touch with one another, seeing that their work does not overlap, seeing that their literature is suitable, seeing that they are pushing the distribution of literature that we or you may produce, arranging that their lecturers are efficient, and so on. Part of this work is done by the Garton Foundation, but a large part of it has to be done by me personally, because it does not fall within the scope of the Foundation's work. For the present this kind of work must be done by my own assistants. In the mean time all this work of organization delays original book work and articles for the general press, etc., the phase perhaps in which I can do the most good. The school text-book, which I have so much at heart, has to wait. Yet this organization work is most necessary. England is a great place for debating clubs, mutual improvement societies, mock parliaments, lectures in small towns, etc. This body of agencies is the natural and most easily available medium for the dissemination of ideas, but to use it means just that sort of detailed organization which I have indicated. To see that lectures are properly reported, that the propositions at debates are properly presented by the right men, and that our case gets the chance of a good statement instead of a weak one easily demolished, is a work of organization as difficult as the running of a great department store; and at present we are trying to do it with an inadequate although enthusiastic little force. The additional assistance which the Foundation is now to provide will here be an immense help.

LONDON, October, 1913.

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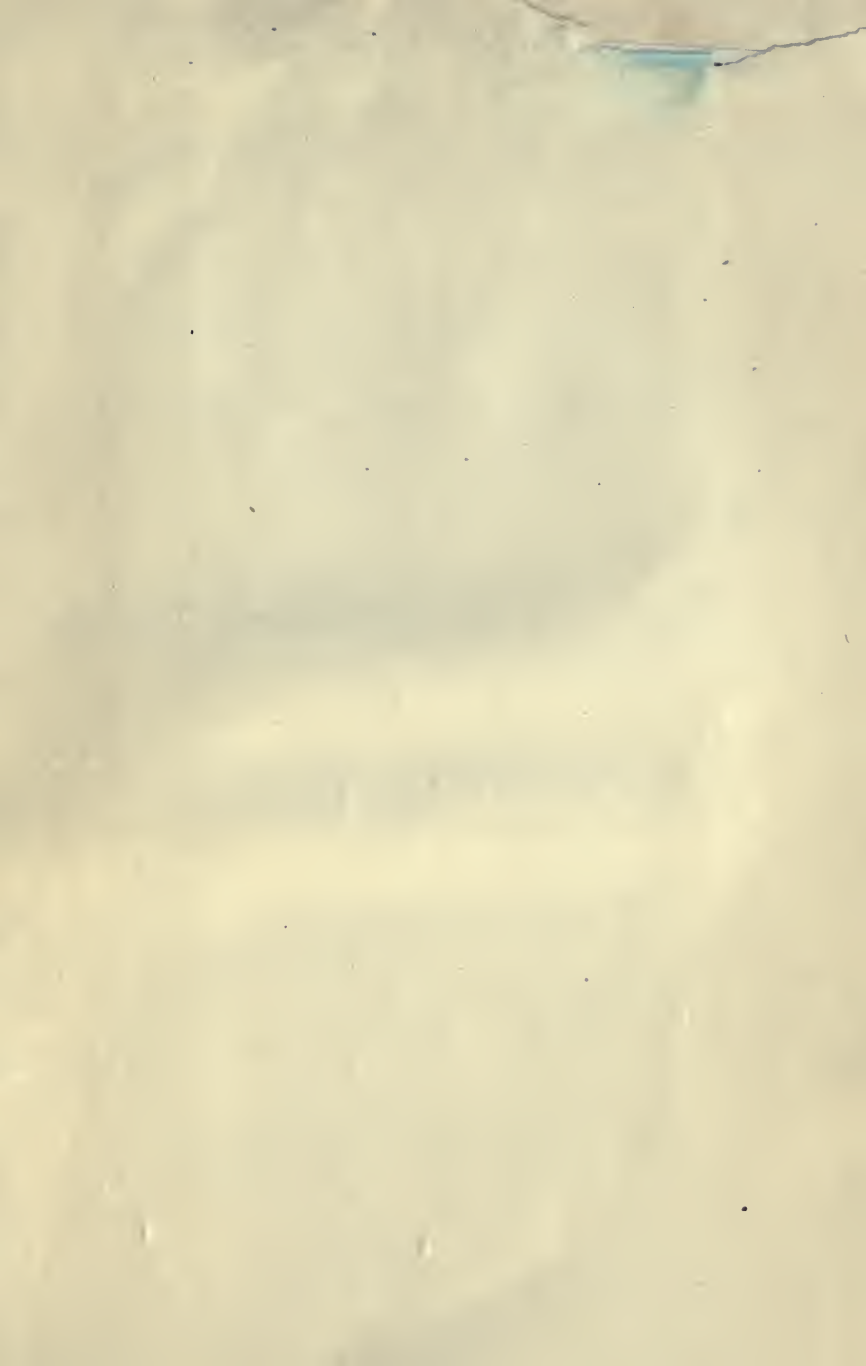
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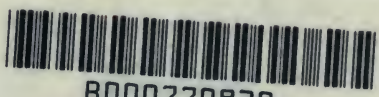
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