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World Peace Foundation
Pamphlet Series

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

VOLUME III

1913

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
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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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World Peace Foundation
Pamphlet Series

THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

WORK IN 1912



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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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 propoganda 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 coöperate 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 Württemberg. 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, Nîmes, 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.

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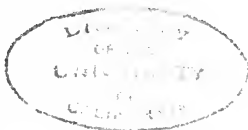
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PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

HON. ELIHU ROOT



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OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AS TO PANAMA CANAL TOLLS.

BY HON. ELIHU ROOT.

SPEECH IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, JANUARY 21, 1913.

Mr. ROOT. Mr. President, in the late days of last summer, after nearly nine months of continuous session, Congress enacted, in the bill to provide for the administration of the Panama Canal, a provision making a discrimination between the tolls to be charged upon foreign vessels and the tolls to be charged upon American vessels engaged in coastwise trade. . . . The provision has been the cause of great regret to a multitude of our fellow-citizens, whose good opinion we all desire and whose leadership of opinion in the country makes their approval of the course of our Congress an important element in maintaining that confidence in government which is so essential to its success. The provision has caused a painful impression throughout the world that the United States has departed from its often-announced rule of equality of opportunity in the use of the Panama Canal, and is seeking a special advantage for itself in what is believed to be a violation of the obligations of a treaty. Mr. President, that opinion of the civilized world is something which we may not lightly disregard. "A decent respect to the opinions of mankind" was one of the motives stated for the people of these colonies in the great Declaration of American Independence.

The effect of the provision has thus been doubly unfortunate, and I ask the Senate to listen to me while I endeavor to state the situation in which we find ourselves,—to state the case which is made against the action that we have taken, in order that I may present to the Senate the question whether we should not either submit to an impartial tribunal the question whether we are right, so that, if we are right, we may be vindicated in the eyes of all the world, or whether we should not, by a repeal of the provision, retire from the position which we have taken.

In the year 1850, Mr. President, there were two great powers in possession of the North American Continent to the north of the Rio Grande. The United States had but just come to its full stature. By the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842 our north-eastern boundary had been settled, leaving to Great Britain that tremendous stretch of seacoast including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Labrador, and the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, now forming the Province of Quebec. In 1846 the Oregon boundary had been settled, assuring to the United States a title to that vast region which now constitutes the States of Washington, Oregon and Idaho. In 1848 the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo had given to us that great empire wrested from Mexico as a result of the Mexican War, which now spreads along the coast of the Pacific as the State of California and the great region between California and Texas.

Inspired by the manifest requirements of this new empire, the United States turned its attention to the possibility of realizing the dream of centuries and connecting its two coasts—its old coast upon the Atlantic and its new coast upon the Pacific—by a ship canal through the Isthmus; but, when it turned its attention in that direction, it found the other empire holding the place of advantage. Great Britain had also her coast upon the Atlantic and her coast upon the Pacific, to be joined by a canal. Further than that, Great Britain was a Caribbean power. She had Bermuda and the Bahamas; she had Jamaica and Trinidad; she had the Windward Islands and the Leeward Islands; she had British Guiana and British Honduras; she had, moreover, a protectorate over the Mosquito coast, a great stretch of territory upon the eastern shore of Central America, which included the river San Juan and the valley and harbor of San Juan de Nicaragua, or Greytown. All men's minds then were concentrated upon the Nicaragua Canal route, as they were until after the treaty of 1901 was made.

And thus, when the United States turned its attention toward joining these two coasts by a canal through the Isthmus, it found Great Britain in possession of the eastern end of the route, which men generally believed would be the most available route for the canal. Accordingly, the United States sought a treaty with Great Britain by which Great Britain should renounce the advantage which she had and admit the United States to equal participation with her in the control and the protection of a canal across the Isthmus. From that came the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

Let me repeat that this treaty was sought not by England but by the United States. Mr. Clayton, who was Secretary of State at the time, sent our minister to France, Mr. Rives, to London for the purpose of urging upon Lord Palmerston the making of the treaty. The treaty was made by Great Britain as a concession to the urgent demands of the United States.

I should have said, in speaking about the urgency with which the United States sought the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, that there were two treaties made with Nicaragua, one by Mr. Heis and one by Mr. Squire, both representatives of the United States. Each gave, so far as Nicaragua could, great powers to the United States in regard to the construction of a canal, but they were made without authorization from the United States, and they were not approved by the Government of the United States and were never sent to the Senate. Mr. Clayton, however, held those treaties in abeyance as a means of inducing Great Britain to enter into the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. He held them practically as a whip over the British negotiators, and, having accomplished the purpose, they were thrown into the waste-basket.

By that treaty Great Britain agreed with the United States that neither Government should "ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the ship canal"; that neither would "make use of any protection" which either afforded to a canal "or any alliance which either" might have "with any State or people for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising dominion over the same," and that neither would "take advantage of any intimacy, or use any alliance, connection or influence that either" might "possess with any State or Government through whose territory the said canal may pass, for the purpose of acquiring or holding, directly or indirectly, for the citizens or subjects of the one, any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the said canal which shall not be offered on the same terms to the citizens or subjects of the other."

You will observe, Mr. President, that under these provisions the United States gave up nothing that it then had. Its obligations were entirely looking to the future; and Great Britain gave up its rights under the protectorate over the Mosquito coast, gave up its rights to what was supposed to be the eastern terminus of the canal.

And let me say without recurring to it again, under this treaty, after much discussion which ensued as to the meaning of its terms, Great Britain did surrender her rights to the Mosquito coast, so that the position of the United States and Great Britain became a position of absolute equality. Under this treaty also both parties agreed that each should "enter into treaty stipulations with such of the Central American States as they" might "deem advisable for the purpose,"—I now quote the words of the treaty,—“for the purpose of more effectually carrying out the great design of this convention, namely, that of constructing and maintaining the said canal as a ship communication between the two oceans for the benefit of mankind, on equal terms to all, and of protecting the same.”

That declaration, Mr. President, is the corner-stone of the rights of the United States upon the Isthmus of Panama,—rights having their origin in a solemn declaration that there should be constructed and maintained a ship canal “between the two oceans for the benefit of mankind, on equal terms to all.”

In the eighth article of that treaty the parties agreed:—

The Governments of the United States and Great Britain having not only desired, in entering into this convention, to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle, they hereby agree to extend their protection, by treaty stipulations, to any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the interoceanic communications, should the same prove to be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by the way of Tehuantepec or Panama. In granting, however, their joint protection to any such canals or railways as are by this article specified, it is always understood by the United States and Great Britain that the parties constructing or owning the same shall impose no other charges or conditions of traffic thereupon than the aforesaid Governments shall approve of as just and equitable; and that the same canals or railways, being open to the citizens and subjects of the United States and Great Britain on equal terms, shall also be open on like terms to the citizens and subjects of every other State which is willing to grant thereto such protection as the United States and Great Britain engage to afford.

There, Mr. President, is the explicit agreement for equality of treatment to the citizens of the United States and to the citizens of Great Britain in any canal, wherever it may be constructed, across the Isthmus. That was the fundamental principle embodied in the treaty of 1850. And we are not without an authoritative construction as to the scope and requirements of an agreement of that description, because we have another treaty with Great Britain,—a treaty which formed one of the great landmarks in the diplomatic history of the world and one of the great steps in the progress of civilization,—

the treaty of Washington of 1871, under which the Alabama claims were submitted to arbitration. Under that treaty there were provisions for the use of the American canals along the waterway of the Great Lakes, and the Canadian canals along the same line of communication, upon equal terms to the citizens of the two countries.

Some years after the treaty, Canada undertook to do something quite similar to what we have undertaken to do in this law about the Panama Canal. It provided that, while nominally a toll of 20 cents a ton should be charged upon the merchandise both of Canada and of the United States, there should be a rebate of 18 cents for all merchandise which went to Montreal or beyond, leaving a toll of but 2 cents a ton for that merchandise. The United States objected; and I beg your indulgence while I read from the message of President Cleveland upon that subject, sent to the Congress August 23, 1888. He says:

By article 27 of the treaty of 1871 provision was made to secure to the citizens of the United States the use of the Welland, St. Lawrence, and other canals in the Dominion of Canada on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion, and to also secure to the subjects of Great Britain the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States.

The equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion which we were promised in the use of the canals of Canada did not secure to us freedom from tolls in their navigation, but we had a right to expect that we, being Americans, and interested in American commerce, would be no more burdened in regard to the same than Canadians engaged in their own trade; and the whole spirit of the concession made was, or should have been, that merchandise and property transported to an American market through these canals should not be enhanced in its cost by tolls many times higher than such as were carried to an adjoining Canadian market. All our citizens, producers and consumers as well as vessel owners, were to enjoy the equality promised.

And yet evidence has for some time been before the Congress, furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury, showing that while the tolls charged in the first instance are the same to all, such vessels and cargoes as are destined to certain Canadian ports—

their coastwise trade—

are allowed a refund of nearly the entire tolls, while those bound for American ports are not allowed any such advantage.

To promise equality and then in practice make it conditional upon our vessels doing Canadian business instead of their own, is to fulfill a promise with the shadow of performance.

Upon the representations of the United States embodying that view, Canada retired from the position which she had taken, rescinded the provision for differential tolls, and put American trade going to American markets on the same basis of tolls as Canadian trade going

to Canadian markets. She did not base her action upon any idea that there was no competition between trade to American ports and trade to Canadian ports, but she recognized the law of equality in good faith and honor; and to this day that law is being accorded to us and by each great Nation to the other.

I have said, Mr. President, that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was sought by us. In seeking it, we declared to Great Britain what it was that we sought. I ask the Senate to listen to the declaration that we made to induce Great Britain to enter into that treaty,—to listen to it because it is the declaration by which we are in honor bound as truly as if it were signed and sealed.

Here I will read the report made to the Senate on the 5th day of April, 1900, by Senator Cushman K. Davis, then chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. So you will perceive that this is no new matter to the Senate of the United States and that I am not proceeding upon my own authority in thinking it worthy of your attention.

Mr. Rives was instructed to say and did say to Lord Palmerston, in urging upon him the making of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, this:

The United States sought no exclusive privilege or preferential right of any kind in regard to the proposed communication, and their sincere wish, if it should be found practicable, was to see it dedicated to the common use of all nations on the most liberal terms and a footing of perfect equality for all.

That the United States would not, if they could, obtain any exclusive right or privilege in a great highway which naturally belonged to all mankind.

That, sir, was the spirit of the Clayton-Bulwer convention. That was what the United States asked Great Britain to agree upon. That self-denying declaration underlaid and permeated and found expression in the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer convention. And upon that representation Great Britain in that convention relinquished her coign of vantage which she herself had for the benefit of her great North American empire for the control of the canal across the Isthmus.

Mr. CUMMINS. The Senator has stated that at the time of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty we were excluded from the Mosquito coast by the protectorate exercised by Great Britain over that coast. My question is this: Had we not at that time a treaty with New Granada that gave us equal or greater rights upon the Isthmus of Panama than were claimed even by Great Britain over the Mosquito coast?

Mr. ROOT. Mr. President, we had the treaty of 1846 with New Granada, under which we undertook to protect any railway or canal

across the Isthmus. But that did not apply to the Nicaragua route, which was then supposed to be the most available route for a canal.

Mr. CUMMINS. I quite agree with the Senator about that. I only wanted it to appear in the course of the argument that we were then under no disability so far as concerned building a canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

Mr. ROOT. We were under a disability so far as concerned building a canal by the Nicaragua route, which was regarded as the available route until the discussion in the Senate after 1901, in which Senator Spooner and Senator Hanna practically changed the judgment of the Senate with regard to what was the proper route to take. And in the treaty of 1850, so anxious were we to secure freedom from the claims of Great Britain on the eastern end of the Nicaragua route that, as I have read, we agreed that the same contract should apply not merely to the Nicaragua route, but to the whole of the Isthmus. So that from that time on the whole Isthmus was impressed by the same obligations which were impressed upon the Nicaragua route, and whatever rights we had under our treaty of 1846 with New Granada we were thenceforth bound to exercise with due regard and subordination to the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

Mr. President, after the lapse of some thirty years, during the early part of which we were strenuously insisting upon the observance by Great Britain of her obligations under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and during the latter part of which we were beginning to be restive under our obligations by reason of that treaty, we undertook to secure a modification of it from Great Britain. In the course of that undertaking there was much discussion and some difference of opinion as to the continued obligations of the treaty. But I think that was finally put at rest by the decision of Secretary Olney in the memorandum upon the subject made by him in the year 1896. In that memorandum he said:

Under these circumstances, upon every principle which governs the relation to each other, either of nations or of individuals, the United States is completely estopped from denying that the treaty is in full force and vigor.

If changed conditions now make stipulations, which were once deemed advantageous, either inapplicable or injurious, the true remedy is not in ingenious attempts to deny the existence of the treaty or to explain away its provisions, but in a direct and straightforward application to Great Britain for a reconsideration of the whole matter.

We did apply to Great Britain for a reconsideration of the whole matter, and the result of the application was the Hay-Pauncefote

treaty. That treaty came before the Senate in two forms: first, in the form of an instrument signed on the 5th of February, 1900, which was amended by the Senate; and, second, in the form of an instrument signed on the 18th of November, 1901, which continued the greater part of the provisions of the earlier instrument, but somewhat modified or varied the amendments which had been made by the Senate to that earlier instrument.

It is really but one process by which the paper sent to the Senate in February, 1900, passed through a course of amendment,—first at the hands of the Senate, and then at the hands of the negotiators between Great Britain and the United States, with the subsequent approval of the Senate. In both the first form and the last of this treaty the preamble provides for preserving the provisions of article 8 of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. Both forms provide for the construction of the canal under the auspices of the United States alone instead of its construction under the auspices of both countries.

Both forms of that treaty provide that the canal might be—
constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporations or through subscription to or purchase of stock or shares,—

that being substituted for the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty under which both countries were to be patrons of the enterprise.

Under both forms it was further provided that—

Subject to the provisions of the present convention, the said Government—
the United States—

shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal.

That provision, however, for the exclusive patronage of the United States was subject to the initial provision that the modification or change from the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was to be for the construction of such canal under the auspices of the Government of the United States, without impairing the general principle of neutralization established in article 8 of that convention.

Then the treaty as it was finally agreed to provides that the United States “adopt, as the basis of such neutralization of such ship canal,” the following rules, substantially as embodied in the convention “of Constantinople, signed the 29th of October, 1888,” for the free navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal; that is to say:

First. The canal shall be free and open . . . to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, "observing these rules on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any nation or its citizens or subjects in respect to the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise." Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable.

Then follow rules relating to blockade and vessels of war, the embarkation and disembarkation of troops, and the extension of the provisions to the waters adjacent to the canal.

Now, Mr. President, that rule must of course be read in connection with the provision for the preservation of the principle of neutralization established in article 8 of the Clayton-Bulwer convention.

Let me take your minds back again to article 8 of the Clayton-Bulwer convention, consistently with which we are bound to construe the rule established by the Hay-Pauncefote convention. The principle of neutralization provided for by the eighth article is neutralization upon terms of absolute equality both between the United States and Great Britain and between the United States and all other powers.

It is always understood—

says the eighth article—

by the United States and Great Britain that the parties constructing or owning the same—

that is, the canal—

shall impose no other charges or conditions of traffic thereupon than the aforesaid Governments shall approve of as just and equitable, and that the same canals or railways, being open to the citizens and subjects of the United States and Great Britain on equal terms, shall also be open on like terms to the citizens and subjects of every other State which is willing to grant thereto such protection as the United States and Great Britain engage to afford.

Now we are not at liberty to put any construction upon the Hay-Pauncefote treaty which violates that controlling declaration of absolute equality between the citizens and subjects of Great Britain and the United States.

Mr. President, when the Hay-Pauncefote convention was ratified by the Senate, it was in full view of this controlling principle, in accordance with which their act must be construed, for Senator Davis, in his report from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which I have already referred—

Mr. McCUMBER. On the treaty in its first form.

Mr. ROOR. Yes, the report on the treaty in its first form. Mr. Davis said, after referring to the Suez convention of 1888:

The United States cannot take an attitude of opposition to the principles of the great act of October 22, 1888, without discrediting the official declarations of our Government for 50 years on the neutrality of an Isthmian canal and its equal use by all nations without discrimination.

To set up the selfish motive of gain by establishing a monopoly of a highway that must derive its income from the patronage of all maritime countries would be unworthy of the United States if we owned the country through which the canal is to be built.

But the location of the canal belongs to other governments, from whom we must obtain any right to construct a canal on their territory, and it is not unreasonable, if the question was new and was not involved in a subsisting treaty with Great Britain, that she should question the right of even Nicaragua and Costa Rica to grant to our ships of commerce and of war extraordinary privileges of transits through the canal.

I shall revert to that principle declared by Senator Davis. I continue the quotation:

It is not reasonable to suppose that Nicaragua and Costa Rica would grant to the United States the exclusive control of a canal through those States on terms less generous to the other maritime nations than those prescribed in the great act of October 22, 1888, or if we could compel them to give us such advantages over other nations it would not be creditable to our country to accept them.

That our Government or our people will furnish the money to build the canal presents the single question whether it is profitable to do so. If the canal, as property, is worth more than its cost, we are not called on to divide the profits with other nations. If it is worth less and we are compelled by national necessities to build the canal, we have no right to call on other nations to make up the loss to us. In any view, it is a venture that we will enter upon if it is to our interest, and, if it is otherwise, we will withdraw from its further consideration.

The Suez Canal makes no discrimination in its tolls in favor of its stockholders, and, taking its profits or the half of them as our basis of calculation, we will never find it necessary to differentiate our rates of toll in favor of our own people in order to secure a very great profit on the investment.

Mr. President, in view of that declaration of principle, in the face of that declaration, the United States cannot afford to take a position at variance with the rule of universal equality established in the Suez Canal convention,—equality as to every stockholder and all non-stockholders, equality as to every nation whether in possession or out of possession. In the face of that declaration the United States cannot afford to take any other position than upon the rule of universal equality of the Suez Canal convention, and upon the further declaration that the country owning the territory through which this canal was to be built would not and ought not to give any special advantage or preference to the United States as compared with all

the other nations of the earth. In view of that report the Senate rejected the amendment which was offered by Senator Bard of California providing for preference to the coastwise trade of the United States. This is the amendment which was proposed:

The United States reserves the right in the regulation and management of the canal to discriminate in respect of the charges of traffic in favor of vessels of its own citizens engaged in the coastwise trade.

I say, the Senate rejected that amendment upon this report, which declared the rule of universal equality without any preference or discrimination in favor of the United States as being the meaning of the treaty and the necessary meaning of the treaty.

There was still more before the Senate, there was still more before the country, to fix the meaning of the treaty. I have read the representations that were made, the solemn declarations made by the United States to Great Britain establishing the rule of absolute equality without discrimination in favor of the United States or its citizens to induce Great Britain to enter into the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

Now let me read the declaration made to Great Britain to induce her to modify the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and give up her right to joint control of the canal and put in our hands the sole power to construct it or patronize it or control it.

Mr. Blaine said in his instructions to Mr. Lowell on June 24, 1881, directing Mr. Lowell to propose to Great Britain the modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

I read his words:

The United States recognizes a proper guarantee of neutrality as essential to the construction and successful operation of any highway across the Isthmus of Panama, and in the last generation every step was taken by this Government that is deemed requisite in the premises. The necessity was foreseen and abundantly provided for long in advance of any possible call for the actual exercise of power. . . . *Nor, in time of peace, does the United States seek to have any exclusive privileges accorded to American ships in respect to precedence or tolls through an interoceanic canal any more than it has sought like privileges for American goods in transit over the Panama Railway, under the exclusive control of an American corporation.* The extent of the privileges of American citizens and ships is measurable under the treaty of 1846 by those of Colombian citizens and ships. *It would be our earnest desire and expectation to see the world's peaceful commerce enjoy the same just, liberal and rational treatment.*

Again he said to Great Britain:

The United States, as I have before had occasion to assure your Lordship, *demand no exclusive privileges in these passages, but will always exert their influence to secure their free and unrestricted benefits, both in peace and war, to the commerce of the world.*

Mr. President, it was upon that declaration, upon that self-denying declaration, upon that solemn assurance, that the United States sought not and would not have any preference for its own citizens over the subjects and citizens of other countries that Great Britain abandoned her rights under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and entered into the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, with the clause continuing the principles of clause 8, which embodied these same declarations, and the clause establishing the rule of equality taken from the Suez Canal convention. We are not at liberty to give any other construction to the Hay-Pauncefote treaty than the construction which is consistent with that declaration.

Mr. President, these declarations, made specifically and directly to secure the making of these treaties, do not stand alone. For a longer period than the oldest Senator has lived the United States has been from time to time making open and public declarations of her disinterestedness, her altruism, her purposes for the benefit of mankind, her freedom from desire or willingness to secure special and peculiar advantage in respect of transit across the Isthmus. In 1826 Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State in the Cabinet of John Quincy Adams, said, in his instructions to the delegates to the Panama Congress of that year:

If a canal across the Isthmus be opened "so as to admit of the passage of sea vessels from ocean to ocean, the benefit of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon the payment of a just compensation for reasonable tolls."

Mr. Cleveland, in his annual message of 1885, said:

The lapse of years has abundantly confirmed the wisdom and foresight of those earlier administrations which, long before the conditions of maritime intercourse were changed and enlarged by the progress of the age, proclaimed the vital need of interoceanic transit across the American Isthmus and consecrated it in advance to the common use of mankind by their positive declarations and through the formal obligations of treaties. Toward such realization the efforts of my administration will be applied, ever bearing in mind the principles on which it must rest and which were declared in no uncertain tones by Mr. Cass, who, while Secretary of State in 1858, announced that "What the United States want in Central America next to the happiness of its people is the security and neutrality of the inter-oceanic routes which lead through it."

By public declarations, by the solemn asseverations of our treaties with Colombia in 1846, with Great Britain in 1850, our treaties with Nicaragua, our treaty with Great Britain in 1901, our treaty with Panama in 1903, we have presented to the world the most unequivocal

guaranty of disinterested action for the common benefit of mankind and not for our selfish advantage.

In the message which was sent to Congress by President Roosevelt on the 4th of January, 1904, explaining the course of this Government regarding the revolution in Panama and the making of the treaty by which we acquired all the title that we have upon the Isthmus, President Roosevelt said:

If ever a Government could be said to have received a mandate from civilization to effect an object the accomplishment of which was demanded in the interest of mankind, the United States holds that position with regard to the interoceanic canal.

Mr. President, there has been much discussion for many years among authorities upon international law as to whether artificial canals for the convenience of commerce did not partake of the character of natural passageways to such a degree that, by the rules of international law, equality must be observed in the treatment of mankind by the nation which has possession and control. Many very high authorities have asserted that that rule applies to the Panama Canal even without a treaty. We base our title upon the right of mankind in the Isthmus, treaty or no treaty. We have long asserted, beginning with Secretary Cass, that the nations of Central America had no right to debar the world from its right of passage across the Isthmus. Upon that view, in the words which I have quoted from President Roosevelt's message to Congress, we base the justice of our entire action upon the Isthmus which resulted in our having the Canal Zone. We could not have taken it for our selfish interest; we could not have taken it for the purpose of securing an advantage to the people of the United States over the other peoples of the world; it was only because civilization had its rights to passage across the Isthmus and because we made ourselves the mandatory of civilization to assert those rights that we are entitled to be there at all. On the principles which underlie our action and upon all the declarations that we have made for more than half a century, as well as upon the express and positive stipulations of our treaties, we are forbidden to say we have taken the custody of the Canal Zone to give ourselves any right of preference over the other civilized nations of the world beyond those rights which go to the owner of a canal to have the tolls that are charged for passage.

Well, Mr. President, asserting that we were acting for the common benefit of mankind, willing to accept no preferential right of our own,

just as we asserted it to secure the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, just as we asserted it to secure the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, when we had recognized the Republic of Panama, we made a treaty with her on the 18th of November, 1903. I ask your attention now to the provisions of that treaty. In that treaty both Panama and the United States recognize the fact that the United States was acting, not for its own special and selfish interest, but in the interest of mankind.

The suggestion has been made that we are relieved from the obligations of our treaties with Great Britain because the Canal Zone is our territory. It is said that, because it has become ours, we are entitled to build the canal on our own territory and do what we please with it. Nothing can be further from the fact. It is not our territory, except in trust. Article 2 of the treaty with Panama provides:

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said canal—

and for no other purpose—

of the width of 10 miles extending to the distance of 5 miles on each side of the center line of the route of the canal to be constructed.

The Republic of Panama further grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of any other lands and waters outside of the zone above described which may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said canal or of any auxiliary canals or other works necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said enterprise.

Article 3 provides:

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone mentioned and described in article 2 of this agreement—

from which I have just read—

and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said article 2 which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority.

Article 5 provides:

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity a monopoly for the construction, maintenance and operation of any system of communication by means of canal or railroad across its territory between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

I now read from article 18:

The canal, when constructed, and the entrances thereto shall be neutral in perpetuity, and shall be opened upon the terms provided for by section 1 of article 3 of, and in conformity with all the stipulations of, the treaty entered into by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on November 18, 1901.

So, Mr. President, far from our being relieved of the obligations of the treaty with Great Britain by reason of the title that we have obtained to the Canal Zone, we have taken that title impressed with a solemn trust. We have taken it for no purpose except the construction and maintenance of a canal in accordance with all the stipulations of our treaty with Great Britain. We cannot be false to those stipulations without adding to the breach of contract a breach of the trust which we have assumed, according to our own declarations, for the benefit of mankind as the mandatory of civilization.

In anticipation of the plainly-to-be-foreseen contingency of our having to acquire some kind of title in order to construct the canal, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty provided expressly in article 4:

It is agreed that no change of territorial sovereignty or of international relations of the country or countries traversed by the before-mentioned canal shall affect the general principle of neutralization or the obligation of the high contracting parties under the present treaty.

So you will see that the treaty with Great Britain expressly provides that its obligations shall continue, no matter what title we get to the Canal Zone; and the treaty by which we get the title expressly impresses upon it as a trust the obligations of the treaty with Great Britain. How idle it is to say that because the Canal Zone is ours we can do with it what we please!

There is another suggestion made regarding the obligations of this treaty, and that is that matters relating to the coasting trade are matters of special domestic concern, and that nobody else has any right to say anything about them. We did not think so when we were dealing with the Canadian canals. But that may not be conclusive as to rights under this treaty. But examine it for a moment.

It is rather poverty of language than a genius for definition which leads us to call a voyage from New York to San Francisco, passing along countries thousands of miles away from our territory, "coasting trade," or to call a voyage from New York to Manila, on the other side of the world, "coasting trade." When we use the term "coasting trade," what we really mean is that under our navigation laws

a voyage which begins and ends at an American port has certain privileges and immunities and rights, and it is necessarily in that sense that the term is used in this statute. It must be construed in accordance with our statutes.

Sir, I do not for a moment dispute that ordinary coasting trade is a special kind of trade that is entitled to be treated differently from trade to or from distant foreign points. It is ordinarily neighborhood trade, from port to port, by which the people of a country carry on their intercommunication, often by small vessels, poor vessels, carrying cargoes of slight value. It would be quite impracticable to impose upon trade of that kind the same kind of burdens which great ocean-going steamers, trading to the farthest parts of the earth, can well bear. We make that distinction. Indeed, Great Britain herself makes it, although Great Britain admits all the world to her coasting trade. But it is by quite a different basis of classification—that is, the statutory basis—that we call a voyage from the eastern coast of the United States to the Orient a coasting voyage, because it begins and ends in an American port.

This is a special, peculiar kind of trade which passes through the Panama Canal. You may call it “coasting trade,” but it is unlike any other coasting trade. It is special and peculiar to itself.

Grant that we are entitled to fix a different rate of tolls for that class of trade from that which would be fixed for other classes of trade. Ah! yes; but Great Britain has her coasting trade through the canal under the same definition, and Mexico has her coasting trade, and Germany has her coasting trade, and Colombia has her coasting trade, in the same sense that we have. You are not at liberty to discriminate in fixing tolls between a voyage from Portland, Me., to Portland, Ore., by an American ship, and a voyage from Halifax to Victoria in a British ship, or a voyage from Vera Cruz to Acapulco in a Mexican ship, because, when you do so, you discriminate, not between coasting trade and other trade, but between American ships and British ships, Mexican ships or Colombian ships. That is a violation of the rule of equality which we have solemnly adopted, and asserted and reasserted, and to which we are bound by every consideration of honor and good faith. Whatever this treaty means, it means for that kind of trade as well as for any other kind of trade.

The suggestion has been made, also, that we should not consider that the provision in this treaty about equality as to tolls really

means what it says, because it is not to be supposed that the United States would give up the right to defend itself, to protect its own territory, to land its own troops, and to send through the canal as it pleases its own ships of war. That is disposed of by the considerations which were presented to the Senate in the Davis report, to which I have already referred, in regard to the Suez convention.

The Suez convention, from which these rules of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty were taken almost—though not quite—textually, contained other provisions which reserved to Turkey and to Egypt, as sovereigns of the territory through which the canal passed,—Egypt as the sovereign and Turkey as the suzerain over Egypt,—all of the rights that pertained to sovereigns for the protection of their own territory. As when the Hay-Pauncefote treaty was made neither party to the treaty had any title to the region which would be traversed by the canal, no such clauses could be introduced. But, as was pointed out, the rules which were taken from the Suez Canal for the control of the canal management would necessarily be subject to these rights of sovereignty which were still to be secured from the countries owning the territory. That is recognized by the British Government in the note which has been sent to us and has been laid before the Senate, or is in the possession of the Senate, from the British foreign office.

In Sir Edward Grey's note of November 14, 1912, he says what I am about to read. This is an explicit disclaimer of any contention that the provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty exclude us from the same rights of protection of territory which Nicaragua or Colombia or Panama would have had as sovereigns, and which we succeed to, *pro tanto*, by virtue of the Panama Canal treaty.

Sir Edward Grey says:

I notice that in the course of the debate in the Senate on the Panama Canal bill the argument was used by one of the speakers that the third, fourth and fifth rules embodied in article 3 of the treaty show that the words "all nations" cannot include the United States, because, if the United States were at war, it is impossible to believe that it could be intended to be debarred by the treaty from using its own territory for revictualling its warships or landing troops.

The same point may strike others who read nothing but the text of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty itself, and I think it is therefore worth while that I should briefly show that this argument is not well founded.

I read this not as an argument, but because it is a formal, official disclaimer which is binding.

Sir Edward Grey proceeds:

The Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901 aimed at carrying out the principle of the neutralization of the Panama Canal by subjecting it to the same régime as the Suez Canal. Rules 3, 4 and 5 of article 3 of the treaty are taken almost textually from articles 4, 5 and 6 of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888. At the date of the signature of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty the territory on which the Isthmian Canal was to be constructed did not belong to the United States, consequently there was no need to insert in the draft treaty provisions corresponding to those in articles 10 and 13 of the Suez Canal Convention, which preserve the sovereign rights of Turkey and of Egypt, and stipulate that articles 4 and 5 shall not affect the right of Turkey, as the local sovereign and of Egypt, within the measure of her autonomy, to take such measures as may be necessary for securing the defense of Egypt and the maintenance of public order, and, in the case of Turkey, the defense of her possessions on the Red Sea.

Now that the United States has become the practical sovereign of the canal, His Majesty's Government do not question its title to exercise belligerent rights for its protection.

Mr. President, Great Britain has asserted the construction of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901, the arguments for which I have been stating to the Senate. I realize, sir, that I may be wrong. I have often been wrong. I realize that the gentlemen who have taken a different view regarding the meaning of this treaty may be right. I do not think so. But their ability and fairness of mind would make it idle for me not to entertain the possibility that they are right and I am wrong. Yet, Mr. President, the question whether they are right and I am wrong depends upon the interpretation of the treaty. It depends upon the interpretation of the treaty in the light of all the declarations that have been made by the parties to it, in the light of the nature of the subject-matter with which it deals.

Gentlemen say the question of imposing tolls or not imposing tolls upon our coastwise commerce is a matter of our concern. Ah! we have made a treaty about it. If the interpretation of the treaty is as England claims, then it is not a matter of our concern: it is a matter of treaty rights and duties. But, sir, it is not a question as to our rights to remit tolls to our commerce. It is a question whether we can impose tolls upon British commerce when we have remitted them from our own. That is the question. Nobody disputes our right to allow our own ships to go through the canal without paying tolls. What is disputed is our right to charge tolls against other ships when we do not charge them against our own. That is, pure and simple, a question of international right and duty, and depends upon the interpretation of the treaty.

Sir, we have another treaty, made between the United States and Great Britain on the 4th of April, 1908, in which the two nations have agreed as follows:—

Differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of the 29th of July, 1899, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence or the honor of the two contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third parties.

Of course, the question of the rate of tolls on the Panama Canal does not affect any nation's vital interests. It does not affect the independence or the honor of either of these contracting States. We have a difference relating to the interpretation of this treaty, and that is all there is to it. We are bound, by this treaty of arbitration, not to stand with arrogant assertion upon our own Government's opinion as to the interpretation of the treaty, not to require that Great Britain shall suffer what she deems injustice by violation of the treaty, or else go to war. We are bound to say, "We keep the faith of our treaty of arbitration, and we will submit the question as to what this treaty means to an impartial tribunal of arbitration."

Mr. President, if we stand in the position of arrogant refusal to submit the questions arising upon the interpretation of this treaty to arbitration, we shall not only violate our solemn obligation, but we shall be false to all the principles that we have asserted to the world and that we have urged upon mankind. We have been urging it upon the other civilized nations. Presidents, Secretaries of State, ambassadors and ministers—aye, Congresses, the Senate and the House, all branches of our Government, have committed the United States to the principle of arbitration irrevocably, unequivocally, and we have urged it in season and out of season on the rest of mankind.

Sir, I cannot detain the Senate by more than beginning upon the expressions that have come from our Government upon this subject, but I will ask your indulgence while I call your attention to a few selected from the others.

On the 9th of June, 1874, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported and the Senate adopted this resolution:

Resolved, That the United States having at heart the cause of peace everywhere, and hoping to help its permanent establishment between nations, hereby recommend the adoption of arbitration as a great and practical method for the determination of international difference, to be maintained sincerely and in good faith, so that war may cease to be regarded as a proper form of trial between nations.

On the 17th of June, 1874, the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House adopted this resolution:

Whereas war is at all times destructive of the material interests of a people, demoralizing in its tendencies, and at variance with an enlightened public sentiment; and whereas *differences between nations should in the interests of humanity and fraternity be adjusted, if possible, by international arbitration*,—therefore,

Resolved, That the people of the United States being devoted to the policy of peace with all mankind, enjoining its blessings and hoping for its permanence and its universal adoption, hereby through their representatives in Congress recommend such arbitration as a rational substitute for war; and they further recommend to the treaty-making power of the Government to provide, if practicable, that hereafter in treaties made between the United States and foreign powers war shall not be declared by either of the contracting parties against the other until efforts shall have been made to adjust all alleged cause of difference by impartial arbitration.

On the same 17th of June, 1874, the Senate adopted this resolution:

Resolved, etc., That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and requested to negotiate with all civilized powers who may be willing to enter into such negotiations for the establishment of an international system whereby matters in dispute between different Governments agreeing thereto may be adjusted by arbitration, and, if possible, without recourse to war.

On the 14th of June, 1888, and again on the 14th of February, 1890, the Senate and the House adopted a concurrent resolution in the words which I now read:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President be, and is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any Government with which the United States has, or may have, diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two Governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration and be peaceably adjusted by such means.

This was concurred in by the House on the 3d of April, 1890.

Mr. President, in pursuance of those declarations by both Houses of Congress the Presidents and the Secretaries of State and the diplomatic agents of the United States, doing their bounden duty, have been urging arbitration upon the people of the world. Our representatives in The Hague conference of 1899, and in The Hague conference of 1907, and in the Pan American conference in Washington, and in the Pan American conference in Mexico, and in the Pan American conference in Rio de Janeiro were instructed to urge and did urge and pledge the United States in the most unequivocal and urgent terms to support the principle of arbitration upon all questions capable of being submitted to a tribunal for a decision.

Under those instructions Mr. Hay addressed the people of the entire civilized world with the request to come into treaties of arbitration

with the United States. Here was his letter. After quoting from the resolutions and from expressions by the President, he said:—

Moved by these views, the President has charged me to instruct you to ascertain whether the Government to which you are accredited, which he has reason to believe is equally desirous of advancing the principle of international arbitration, is willing to conclude with the Government of the United States an arbitration treaty of like tenor to the arrangement concluded between France and Great Britain on October 14, 1903.

That was the origin of this treaty. The treaties made by Mr. Hay were not satisfactory to the Senate because of the question about the participation of the Senate in the make-up of the special agreement of submission. Mr. Hay's successor modified that on conference with the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, and secured the assent of the other countries of the world to the treaty with that modification. We have made twenty-five of these treaties of arbitration, covering the greater part of the world, under the direction of the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives of the United States and in accordance with the traditional policy of the United States, holding up to the world the principle of peaceful arbitration.

One of these treaties is here, and under it Great Britain is demanding that the question as to what the true interpretation of our treaty about the canal is shall be submitted to decision, and not be made the subject of war or of submission to what she deems injustice to avoid war.

In response to the last resolution which I have read, the concurrent resolution passed by the Senate and the House requesting the President to enter into the negotiations which resulted in these treaties of arbitration, the British House of Commons passed a resolution accepting the overture. On the 16th of July, 1893, the House of Commons adopted this resolution:—

Resolved, That this house has learnt with satisfaction that both Houses of the United States Congress have, by resolution, requested the President to invite from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States have or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising between the two governments which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration and peaceably adjusted by such means, and that this house, cordially sympathizing with the purpose in view, expresses the hope that Her Majesty's Government will lend their ready co-operation to the Government of the United States upon the basis of the foregoing resolution.

Her Majesty's Government did, and thence came this treaty.

Mr. President, what revolting hypocrisy we convict ourselves of, if after all this, the first time there comes up a question in which we have an interest, the first time there comes up a question of difference about the meaning of a treaty as to which we fear we may be beaten in an arbitration, we refuse to keep our agreement! Where will be our self-respect if we do that? Where will be that respect to which a great nation is entitled from the other nations of the earth?

I have read from what Congress has said.

Let me read something from President Grant's annual message of December 4, 1871. He is commenting upon the arbitration provisions of the treaty of 1871, in which Great Britain submitted to arbitration our claims against her, known as the Alabama claims, in which Great Britain submitted those claims where she stood possibly to lose, but not possibly to gain anything, and submitted them against the most earnest and violent protest of many of her own citizens. General Grant said:

The year has been an eventful one in witnessing two great nations speaking one language and having one lineage, settling by peaceful arbitration disputes of long standing and liable at any time to bring those nations into costly and bloody conflict. An example has been set which, if successful in its final issue, may be followed by other civilized nations and finally be the means of returning to productive industry millions of men now maintained to settle the disputes of nations by the bayonet and by broadside.

Under the authority of these resolutions our delegates in the first Pan American conference at Washington secured the adoption of this resolution April 18, 1890:

ARTICLE I. The Republics of North, Central and South America hereby adopt arbitration as a principle of American international law for the settlement of the differences, disputes or controversies that may arise between two or more of them.

And this:

The International American Conference resolves that this conference, having recommended arbitration for the settlement of disputes among the Republics of America, begs leave to express the wish that controversies between them and the nations of Europe may be settled in the same friendly manner.

It is further recommended that the Government of each nation herein represented communicate this wish to all friendly powers.

Upon that Mr. Blaine, that most vigorous and virile American, in his address as the presiding officer of that first Pan American conference in Washington said:

If, in this closing hour, the conference had but one deed to celebrate we should dare call the world's attention to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of two great continents to peace and to the prosperity which has peace for its foundation. We hold up this new Magna Charta, which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American Republics, as the first and great fruit of the International American Conference. That noblest of Americans, the aged poet and philanthropist, Whittier, is the first to send his salutation and his benediction, declaring, "If in the spirit of peace the American conference agrees upon a rule of arbitration which shall make war in this hemisphere well-nigh impossible, its sessions will prove one of the most important events in the history of the world."

President Arthur in his annual message of December 4, 1882, said, in discussing the proposition for a Pan American conference:

I am unwilling to dismiss this subject without assuring you of my support of any measure the wisdom of Congress may devise for the promotion of peace on this continent and throughout the world, and I trust the time is nigh when, with the universal assent of civilized peoples, all international differences shall be determined without resort to arms by the benignant processes of arbitration.

President Harrison in his message of December 3, 1889, said concerning the Pan American conference:

But while the commercial results which it is hoped will follow this conference are worthy of pursuit and of the great interests they have excited, it is believed that the crowning benefit will be found in the better securities which may be devised for the maintenance of peace among all American nations and the settlement of all contentions by methods that a Christian civilization can approve.

President Cleveland in his message of December 4, 1893, said concerning the resolution of the British Parliament of July 16, 1893, which I have already read, and commenting on the concurrent resolution of February 14 and April 18, 1890:

It affords me signal pleasure to lay this parliamentary resolution before the Congress and to express my sincere gratification that the sentiment of two great kindred nations is thus authoritatively manifested in favor of the rational and peaceable settlement of international quarrels by honorable resort to arbitration.

President McKinley in his message of December 6, 1897, said:

International arbitration cannot be omitted from the list of subjects claiming our consideration. Events have only served to strengthen the general views on this question expressed in my inaugural address. The best sentiment of the civilized world is moving toward the settlement of differences between nations without resorting to the horrors of war. Treaties embodying these humane principles on broad lines without in any way imperiling our interests or our honor shall have my constant encouragement.

President Roosevelt in his message of December 3, 1905, said:

I earnestly hope that the conference—

the second Hague conference—

may be able to devise some way to make arbitration between nations the customary way of settling international disputes in all save a few classes of cases, which should themselves be sharply defined and rigidly limited as the present governmental and social development of the world will permit. If possible, there should be a general arbitration treaty negotiated among all nations represented at the conference.

Oh, Mr. President, are we Pharisees? Have we been insincere and false? Have we been pretending in all these long years of resolution and declaration and proposal and urgency for arbitration? Are we ready now to admit that our country, that its Congresses and its Presidents, have all been guilty of false pretense, of humbug, of talking to the galleries, of fine words to secure applause, and that the instant we have an interest we are ready to falsify every declaration, every promise and every principle? But we must do that if we arrogantly insist that we alone will determine upon the interpretation of this treaty and will refuse to abide by the agreement of our treaty of arbitration.

Mr. President, what is all this for? Is the game worth the candle? Is it worth while to put ourselves in a position and to remain in a position to maintain which we may be driven to repudiate our principles, our professions and our agreements for the purpose of conferring a money benefit,—not very great, not very important, but a money benefit,—at the expense of the Treasury of the United States, upon the most highly and absolutely protected special industry in the United States? Is it worth while? We refuse to help our foreign shipping, which is in competition with the lower wages and the lower standard of living of foreign countries, and we are proposing to do this for a part of our coastwise shipping which has now by law the absolute protection of a statutory monopoly and which needs no help.

Mr. President, there is but one alternative consistent with self-respect. We must arbitrate the interpretation of this treaty or we must retire from the position we have taken.

O Senators, consider for a moment what it is that we are doing. We all love our country; we are all proud of its history; we are all full of hope and courage for its future; we love its good name; we

desire for it that power among the nations of the earth which will enable it to accomplish still greater things for civilization than it has accomplished in its noble past. Shall we make ourselves in the minds of the world like unto the man who in his own community is marked as astute and cunning to get out of his obligations? Shall we make ourselves like unto the man who is known to be false to his agreements, false to his pledged word? Shall we have it understood the whole world over that "you must look out for the United States or she will get the advantage of you"; that we are clever and cunning to get the better of the other party to an agreement, and that at the end—

Mr. BRANDEGEE. "Slippery" would be a better word.

Mr. ROOT. Yes; I thank the Senator for the suggestion—"slippery." Shall we in our generation add to those claims to honor and respect that our fathers have established for our country good cause that we shall be considered slippery?

It is worth while, Mr. President, to be a citizen of a great country, but size alone is not enough to make a country great. A country must be great in its ideals; it must be great-hearted; it must be noble; it must despise and reject all smallness and meanness; it must be faithful to its word; it must keep the faith of treaties; it must be faithful to its mission of civilization in order that it shall be truly great. It is because we believe that of our country that we are proud, aye, that the alien with the first step of his foot upon our soil is proud to be a part of this great democracy.

Let us put aside the idea of small, petty advantage; let us treat this situation and these obligations in our relation to this canal in that large way which befits a great nation.

Mr. President, how sad it would be if we were to dim the splendor of that great achievement by drawing across it the mark of petty selfishness; if we were to diminish and reduce for generations to come the power and influence of this free Republic for the uplifting and the progress of mankind by destroying the respect of mankind for us! How sad it would be if you and I, Senators, were to make ourselves responsible for destroying that bright and inspiring ideal which has enabled free America to lead the world in progress toward liberty and justice!

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SUGGESTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BY

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE



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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 Bernhardt 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

Concordia 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.

"Concordia 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 Commonwealth, 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 Cyclopedia. 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.

¹Out 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: Fifield, 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. 1d.
- . Cost of the War System to the British People for Fifty Years. P. London: National Peace Council. 1d.
- 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.¹ London: A. Moring & Company. 2s. 6d.

———. Imperialism. A study.¹ London: Constable. 2s. 6d.

———. International Trade.¹ 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.

¹Out 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.
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- Dalton, L. V.** *Venezuela.*
- Dennis, Pierre.** *Brazil.*
- Eder, P. J.** *Colombia.*
- Elliott, G. F. S.** *Chile.*
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- “ “ “ *Peru.*
- Hardy, M. R.** *Paraguay.*
- Hirst, W. A.** *Argentina.*
- Redway, James.** *Guiana, British, French and Dutch.*

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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.

DECEMBER 10, 1913.

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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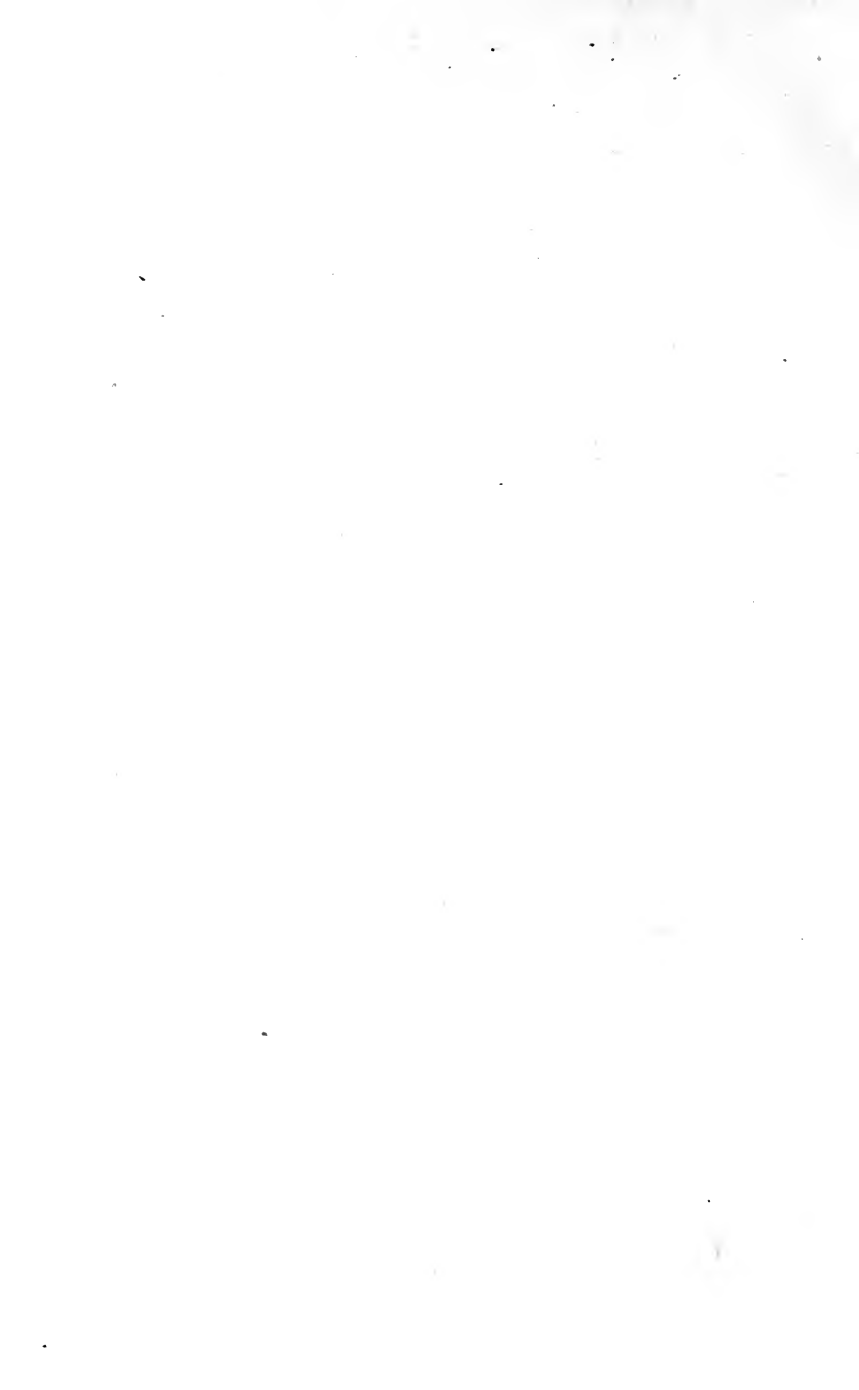
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