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THE RISE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT<sup>1</sup>

By James L. Tryon, Assistant Secretary of the American Peace Society.

The World-Peace Movement, the attempt to substitute law for war in the settlement of international disputes, to constitute a federation of the nations with a legislature, court and executive, to limit and gradually to reduce national armaments, transforming part of them into an international police force and thus doing away with the present costly system of war preparations known as "armed peace," is acknowledged to be the greatest reform of our time. It is a many-sided movement. It is humanitarian, economic, legal, political, and one might also say racial in its nature.

Before it became known as a movement, projects for the solution of its underlying problems were proposed by statesmen and philosophers. These schemes, for the most part, provided for better international organization and justice, usually with a view to the union of the states of Europe. Such were the Grand Design of Henry IV of France (1603), elaborated later by the Abbé Saint-Pierre, and William Penn's "Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe," (1693-94). Eméric Crucé, a Frenchman, whose book, *Le Nouveau Cynée*, was printed in 1623, before the plan of Henry IV was widely published, suggested a scheme for a court and congress of nations that included not only Europe, but the world. Rousseau and Bentham both drafted plans for an international tribunal. Kant, in his *Eternal Peace* and other writings, laid down as necessary preliminary conditions to the abolition of war a voluntary and revocable federation of free and independent republics with a common congress to establish the law of nations and a court for the judicial settlement of international questions. Kant's plan not only presupposed representative government, but looked forward to the abolition of standing armies.

The principles of the peace movement appeal on the one hand to high idealism and on the other to sound, practical sense. No nobler task than to teach them and to promote their acceptance

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<sup>1</sup> All rights reserved. This is the second of a series of seven articles by Dr. Tryon on subjects of present interest in International Law, which will appear in the JOURNAL during the present calendar year.

ever devolved upon the leadership of educated men. But to speak or write of them intelligently one must have some technical knowledge, and above all, must know what has been done in our own day. It is when we realize what has been accomplished that, whatever may be the obstacles in the path of the movement, we can believe its final success is assured.

The progress of the world as a whole in peace principles is registered by the Hague Conferences. Without knowing their work, appreciation of the strength of the peace movement is impossible. They are therefore to be made the centre of interest in setting forth its accomplishments and aims. But, first, it is well to know some of the preliminary steps in the development of sentiment in favor of the cause.

When the star of Napoleon set at Waterloo, the world was tired of war. The great powers of Europe banding together in the Holy Alliance, at the instigation of Alexander I, of Russia, resolved to avoid bloodshed in the future. It is true that in carrying out their ideas they restricted the liberties of their people and mercilessly put down revolutions against the despotism of their kings, but in their way they helped each other to keep the peace until the Crimean War involved them in 1854. During this generation of comparative international quiet the desire for peace was cultivated by another kind of Holy Alliance far more consistent in its methods than the first. This was the goodly company of thoughtful men and women who saw the folly of war and educated public opinion against it.

The peace movement in its present organized sense began in New York City in 1809, in a tract written by David Low Dodge, a business man, that was entitled, "The Mediator's Kingdom Not of This World." This pamphlet caused a lively controversy among religious leaders and was succeeded in 1812 by a more important contribution entitled, "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Noah Worcester, of Boston, however, published on Christmas Day, 1814, a sermon known as "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War,"<sup>3</sup> that did more to arouse

<sup>2</sup> Published by the World Peace Foundation, formerly International School of Peace, Boston. See generally the publications of this fund and its pamphlet, *The Literature of the Peace Movement*, by Edwin D. Mead.

<sup>3</sup> This sermon, still used as a tract, is published by the American Peace Society. See also the publications of the American Peace Society, a list of which may be obtained at its national headquarters, 31 Beacon Street, Boston. Its library of peace books and pamphlets is probably the most complete of any in this country.

the conscience of the world to the evils of the war system than any other appeal made up to that time. Like the peace advocate of to-day, he refused to wait for human nature to change before instituting his reform. Putting the responsibility for war on Christians, he urged them to work for its immediate abolition.

The organization of peace societies began almost simultaneously in America and England. The New York Peace Society, the first in the world, was formed in August and the Massachusetts Peace Society, in December, 1815. The British Peace Society, the oldest in continuous existence, was organized in June, 1816, and has always carried on its work in London. The movement grew rapidly in the United States, particularly in New England, where in the State of Connecticut alone there was at one time a peace society in every county. But nearly all the peace societies were absorbed by or affiliated with the American Peace Society, a national organization founded in New York City, May 8, 1828, which later moved its headquarters to Hartford and then to Boston.<sup>4</sup>

William Ladd,<sup>5</sup> the founder of the American Peace Society, though little known to-day, was one of the greatest men in the history of internationalism. He was born at Exeter, May 10, 1778, and graduated from Harvard in the class of 1797. After following the sea for a few years, rising from common sailor to captain, Mr. Ladd moved to Minot, Maine, where he lived on an estate that had belonged to his father. While there he became interested not only in the life of the farmer, but in literary pursuits and public questions. He became deeply stirred by reading Dr. Worcester's sermon. Work for international peace became to him a divine call. He gave his life and entire fortune to its promotion, preaching its lofty principles till, in his declining health, too weak to stand, he was obliged to address his audiences on his knees.

William Ladd was not simply an ethical enthusiast. He was a man of constructive political genius. He published in 1840 an essay on "A Congress of Nations," which is considered by many

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<sup>4</sup> A history of the early peace movement and of the more important peace societies of the world will be found in the report of the Universal Peace Congress, held in Chicago in 1893, published by the American Peace Society. See also *History of the American Peace Society and Its Work*, pamphlet, Boston, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> See *Memoir of William Ladd*, by John Hemmenway. Boston, 1872.

persons to be the best forecast of the Hague Court and Conferences on record.

Speaking of his prophetic essay, Mr. Ladd said:

My claim to originality, in this production, rests much on the thought of separating the subject into two distinct parts, viz.: 1st—A congress of ambassadors from all those Christian and civilized nations who should choose to send them, for the purpose of settling the principles of international law by compact and agreement, of the nature of a mutual treaty, and also of devising and promoting plans for the preservation of peace, and meliorating the condition of man. 2nd—A court of nations, composed of the most able civilians in the world, to arbitrate or judge such cases as should be brought before it, by the mutual consent of two or more contending nations; thus dividing entirely the diplomatic from the judicial functions, which require such different, not to say opposite, characters in the exercise of their functions. I consider the Congress as the legislature, and the Court as the judiciary, in the government of nations, leaving the functions of the executive with public opinion, "the queen of the world." This division I have never seen in any essay or plan for a congress or diet of independent nations, either ancient or modern; and I believe it will obviate all the objections which have been heretofore made to such a plan.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Ladd's essay on a Congress of Nations was written at a time when the American Peace Society offered a thousand dollars as a prize for the best article on the subject; so early did the peace workers recognize the necessity of putting the peace movement on a practical basis.

Among Mr. Ladd's contemporaries, some of whom became more distinguished than he, were William Ellery Channing, Judge William Jay, and Charles Sumner, all of whom wrote on the iniquity of war. Charles Sumner's addresses on "The True Grandeur of Nations," and the "War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," are among the greatest speeches ever delivered on the subject of war and peace. Judge Jay was a worthy son of John Jay, who negotiated the treaty called by his name. His most celebrated work on peace was his "Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War," 1849. But in a small book, "War and Peace," published by him in 1842, he suggested the idea of putting arbitration clauses into future treaties between the United States and other countries. This suggestion, which he thought might first be applied to the United States and

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<sup>6</sup> *Essay on a Congress of Nations*, by William Ladd, Boston, 1840. Introduction, p. iii.

France, took shape in a treaty made six years later between the United States and Mexico. Horace Bushnell, William Lloyd Garrison, John G. Whittier, Adin Ballou, and Ralph Waldo Emerson were strong peace men. Garrison, Ballou and Whittier may be classed as non-resistants. Bushnell left a memorable essay on "The Growth of Law," in which he, too, looked forward to a high court of nations.

But the most successful of the American promoters of peace after Ladd, and his logical successor, was Elihu Burritt, who also wrote and spoke on a Congress and Court of Nations, promoting in Europe the plan of Mr. Ladd's essay. He distinctly stated, however, that this was not originally an American idea. He instanced practically as its starting point the work of Eméric Crucé and identified with it the name of Kant. "To France and Germany," he said, "belongs the joint honor of its paternity; to France and Germany belongs the joint duty of expanding it to the full stature and perfection of a world-embracing reality. . . . Whatever we have done in America in reference to this question, we have done as their disciples."<sup>7</sup>

International Peace Congresses were held in London, 1843; Brussels, 1848; Paris, 1849; Frankfort, 1850; London, 1851; Manchester and Edinboro, 1853. Of nearly all these, Burritt, tactful as he was indefatigable in getting the people of the nations together, was the leading spirit. The peace movement had in England at that time the staunch support of Richard Cobden, John Bright and Henry Richard. In France its most distinguished champion was Victor Hugo. It was at the Paris Conference of 1849 that Victor Hugo said:

A day will come when bullets and bombshells will be replaced by votes, by the universal suffrage of nations, by the venerable arbitration of a great Sovereign Senate, which will be to Europe what the Parliament is to England, what the Diet is to Germany, what the Legislative Assembly is to France. A day will come when a cannon will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be astonished how such a thing could have been.<sup>8</sup>

Victor Hugo looked forward to a United States of Europe, extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean to the United

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<sup>7</sup> Old South Leaflets, No. 146. *A Congress of Nations*, by Elihu Burritt, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Proceedings of the Second General Peace Congress held in Paris, 1849. Published in London the same year. Victor Hugo's speech is one of the classics of the peace movement.

States of America, and declared that in order to hasten their union the nations of the two continents must love each other. Great enthusiasm was produced by these words; the delegates embraced each other and, led by Cobden, gave rounds of cheers for the speaker.

The work of peace societies was interrupted as the result of the Crimean, the American Civil War, and the later wars of Europe, but the movement, leaving its humanitarian form, entered upon a more distinctively legal phase, for which the way had been prepared. Chief of these was the International Law Association, organized in 1873 by Elihu Burritt and Secretary James B. Miles of the American Peace Society, and presided over at first by the famous jurist, David Dudley Field, who formulated a code of International Law. This society had for its aim the reform and codification of International Law.<sup>9</sup> Contemporaneously with it, there grew up a society of experts under the inspiration of John Westlake, Professor Louis Renault, Thomas Asser, and others, that is known as the Institute of International Law, which, through its conventions and its studies, has developed International Law into a science and introduced into it important reforms.

A revival in the peace movement came in 1889. In that year a new series of international peace congresses began, which has continued with few interruptions until the present year. The chief promoters were Hodgson Pratt, of England, and Frederic Passy, of France.<sup>10</sup> In 1889 the Interparliamentary Union, an association of statesmen in the different congresses and parliaments of the world, was organized by William Randal Cremer, an Englishman, and friend of the cause of labor, who was also assisted by Mr. Passy. Mr. Cremer, towards the close of his life, was knighted for his services to the cause of peace by King Edward. He was a believer in the fraternity of the peoples and in the possibility of arbitration as a substitute for war. The Interparliamentary Union has had a profound influence upon the development of the arbitration and peace movement; its platform of resolutions has been influential in guiding the work of the Hague Conferences. It has now a membership of more than

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<sup>9</sup> For a good short sketch of the history of this society see Dr. T. Baty's article in the *Advocate of Peace*, July and August, 1910. The annual reports of the meetings of the association contain important papers.

<sup>10</sup> Report of the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress, Boston, 1904. Introduction.

two thousand leading men associated together in their own countries as parliamentary groups. These groups are federated through a parliamentary bureau at Brussels, of which Mr. C. Lange is secretary. The United States and some of the European powers make appropriations for the support of the work of the Union.<sup>11</sup>

Within twenty years remarkable developments have taken place in the promotion of the peace idea in the United States. The American Peace Society, which has remained the historic peace organization in America for nearly a century, has worked steadily in State Legislatures and in Congress to secure an arbitral system between this country and other nations and to promote the Court and Congress advocated by its early leaders. It has given special attention to the relations between the United States and Great Britain, seconding efforts to secure a treaty of unlimited arbitration between them. It has been one of the most important agencies in stimulating interest in the celebration of the proposed century of peace that has elapsed since the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. It has also worked for the promotion of better relations between the United States and Latin-American countries. It has organized committees for work among churches, clubs and educational institutions; established a press bureau which has done an international work; adopted a system of branch societies for the different States of the Union and organized a field department in Chicago, with Charles E. Beals as secretary. It has established a Pacific Coast Agency in Los Angeles in charge of Robert C. Root. It has also furnished large quantities of pamphlet literature to libraries, schools and colleges. Its monthly magazine, the *Advocate of Peace*,<sup>12</sup> which,

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<sup>11</sup> *Tour of the Interparliamentary Union Tendered by the Government of the United States* (in 1904), Samuel J. Barrows, Washington, 1905. Also *Sir Randal Cremer, His Life and Work*, by Howard Evans, London, 1909. *The Interparliamentary Union and Its Work*, pamphlet, by J. L. Tryon, Boston, 1910. For sketches of some of its leading workers see *Among the World's Peace-Makers*, by Hayne Davis, New York, 1907.

<sup>12</sup> *The Advocate of Peace* is the best contemporary record of the peace and arbitration movement in this country. Its files run back to June, 1837, before which were published *The Friend of Peace*, 1816-27; *The Harbinger of Peace*, 1828-31; and *The Calumet*, 1831-35. Before its adoption by the American Peace Society the *Advocate of Peace* was published for a short time by William Watson, of Hartford, Conn. There is a complete file of all these papers in the national office of the American Peace Society.

from the first, has been recognized as the organ of the peace movement in America, has exerted a powerful influence over American public opinion under the editorship of Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, General Secretary of the Society.<sup>13</sup>

Other peace societies established in former years in this country have also been active, among them the Universal Peace Union, founded in 1866, by Alfred H. Love; the Friends' Peace Association of Philadelphia, the Peace Association of Friends in America, and the National Association for the Promotion of Arbitration, Washington. The Peace Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has been constant in its labors. Lucretia Mott, Julia Ward Howe, Hannah J. Bailey, Belva Lockwood, and Lucia Ames Mead have been foremost among the women workers for peace in the United States.<sup>14</sup>

Of the more recently founded agencies for the promotion of peace none has had more profound influence than the Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference organized by Albert K. Smiley in 1895. This has brought together every year between three and four hundred leading educators, clergymen, lawyers and business men who have discussed problems of international arbitration and peace from every point of view and formulated their conclusions in a platform of resolutions. At its meetings the late Justice Brewer and Edward Everett Hale have been great figures. The opening addresses of its Chairmen, Hon. George F. Edmunds, Hon. John W. Foster, and President Nicholas Murray Butler, have sounded notes of advance that have been heard in other lands.<sup>15</sup> The Conference has had for its guests ministers of Latin-American countries, European nations, and the ambassadors of Great Britain, China and Japan. It has promoted friendly relations with Canada by inviting representative Canadians to attend its sessions. It has rendered important service in initiating work among college students and in interesting students to write essays on arbitration for the Pugsley prize given by Chester D.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Trueblood's *Federation of the World*, Boston, 1907, will be found helpful in getting an understanding of the peace movement in its larger aspects and particularly in estimating the value of the indirect forces that make for peace, which are not taken up in this article, its object being to give a sketch of the organized peace movement only.

<sup>14</sup> *The Leaders of the New Peace Movement in America*, an article by Frederick Lynch, *New York Independent*, Sept. 22, 1910, contains a good account of the contemporary workers.

<sup>15</sup> The annual reports of the Lake Mohonk Conference on *International Arbitration* contain valuable addresses and papers.

Pugsley, of Peekskill, New York. Its secretary, Mr. H. C. Phillips, has supplied information to the press and to Boards of Trade. Up to the present time no other association has been so active in bringing business men into the peace movement as the Mohonk Conference.

National Congresses initiated by the American Peace Society were held in New York City in 1907 under the presidency of Andrew Carnegie, and in Chicago in 1909 under the presidency of Hon. Robert Treat Paine.<sup>16</sup> The first of these resulted in the formation of the Peace Society of the City of New York, which afterwards became the New York Peace Society;<sup>17</sup> the second in the re-organization of the Chicago Peace Society. The Chicago Peace Congress and the Chicago Peace Society were due mainly to the efforts of Rev. Charles E. Beals, Field Secretary of the American Peace Society. Both these Congresses had marked effect in drawing public attention to the importance of the peace movement as delegations attended them from various kinds of organizations, philanthropic, religious, commercial and educational, from all parts of the United States. Representatives were also sent from State and City governments.<sup>18</sup>

A work taking the form of an international society among the pupils of the schools was organized by Miss Mary J. Pierson, of New York City, in connection with the National Peace Congress, an inspiring feature of which was a children's mass meeting held under her direction. From the same Congress there developed the American School Peace League. Its secretary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, has secured the co-operation of some of the best known

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<sup>16</sup> Hon. Robert Treat Paine was for many years, until his death on August 11th, 1910, president of the American Peace Society.

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Carnegie, Esq., President; Rev. William H. Short, Executive Secretary.

<sup>18</sup> See the "Proceedings of the National Arbitration and Peace Congress," New York, 1907, and "Proceedings of the Second National Peace Congress," Chicago, 1909. They give a good idea of the extent of popular interest taken in the peace movement.

The first State Peace Congress was held at Baylor University, Texas, November 21-22, 1907; the second, the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Conference, at Philadelphia, May 16-19, 1908. See report of the latter (pp. 59-95) for an account of an interesting legal conference. The president of the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society is Thomas Raeburn White, a well-known writer on law; its secretary, Prof. William I. Hull, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College, author of *The Two Hague Conferences*.

educators in this country and, by means of conferences with teachers and the formation of State teachers' organizations, is preparing the way to inculcate peace principles into the minds of the coming generation. Her society is also extending to other lands. The eighteenth of May, the anniversary of the meeting of the First Hague Conference, is being observed in many countries by pupils and teachers as a day for special exercises calculated to teach peace and internationalism. In response to circulars of the American Peace Society, this day has been utilized by superintendents of many States of the Union.

The American Peace and Arbitration League was formed in 1909 with ex-Senator James B. McCreary as president. It has for the cardinal features of its platform the policy of "adequate armament and effective arbitration." The Intercollegiate Peace Association, founded in 1905, is organized chiefly in the Middle West, but promises to extend throughout the Union. Its secretary, George Fulk, who has been untiring in his efforts to promote oratorical contests and to secure the interest of students in the peace cause, presented a memorial at the Second Hague Conference which represented more than 22,000 students and 1,600 professors. Mr. Fulk also labored successfully for the union of the Corda Fratres of Europe, a body of students there, who believe in the principles of the peace movement, with the Cosmopolitan Clubs of the United States. The Cosmopolitan Club movement began in the University of Wisconsin in 1903. It consists partly of native Americans and partly of foreign students. In 1907 the Cosmopolitan Clubs of the various colleges were federated. They now have headquarters in Madison, Wisconsin, with Louis P. Lochner as secretary, and publish a monthly magazine, the *Cosmopolitan Student*, of which he is the editor. The words of Goldwin Smith, "Above all nations is humanity," are their motto. Their aim is to promote a better understanding and sense of fellowship among all nations by the exchange of ideas and by personal contact of friend with friend in the universities.<sup>19</sup>

The American Society of International Law, with a membership of more than a thousand lawyers and publicists, was organized in 1907, with Hon. Elihu Root as president, and Hon. James Brown Scott as secretary, and has since maintained the *American Journal of International Law*, a standard magazine for its subject,

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<sup>19</sup> See *Educational Organizations Promoting International Friendship*, by Lucia Ames Mead, pamphlet, Boston, 1910.

especially with reference to the development of the Hague Conferences. About the same time the American Association for International Conciliation was formed in New York City under the presidency of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. It publishes and sends monthly to libraries literature on the progress of international relations. It stands for the promotion of international visiting, the exchange of professorships and the bringing together of all nations in a friendly spirit. It is related to the movement of the same name on the continent of Europe, which is under the leadership of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, of France. The exchange of professors between the United States, Germany and the Scandinavian countries, together with the courses of American professors at the Sorbonne, has tended to promote friendly understanding.

The year 1910 was memorable in the peace movement in the United States. Within that year there were formed by Hamilton Holt and others, the World Federation League in New York City for the distinct promotion of world federation, and at Baltimore the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes with Hon. James Brown Scott as president, and Theodore Marburg as secretary. This society held a conference in Washington, at which the chief subject under consideration was the Court of Arbitral Justice recommended by the Hague Conference of 1907, which this society is especially designed to promote. It brought together eminent lawyers and publicists, and may be compared with arbitration conferences held in Washington in 1896 and 1904, which were also important in the annals of the American peace movement.<sup>20</sup>

The New England Arbitration and Peace Congress held in Hartford and New Britain, May 8-11, with Dean Henry Wade Rogers of the Yale Law School as president, brought together in a historic centre of the early peace movement a large number of friends of peace in the New England States and was notable for its papers on the ethical and historical aspects of the peace movement. On the third day of the Congress the anniversary of the birth of Elihu Burritt (1810-1910) was celebrated by a great civic procession, public exercises and addresses in New Britain.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The proceedings of the arbitration conferences are in print and those of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes are in process of publication.

<sup>21</sup> See *New England Arbitration and Peace Congress*, Boston, 1910.

But of more significance for the permanent success of the peace movement were the two great financial foundations laid within that remarkable year.<sup>22</sup> The first of these, known as the World Peace Foundation, formerly called the International School of Peace, was established by Edwin Ginn, of Boston, who provided it from the start with \$50,000 a year during his life, and by his will with the income of \$1,000,000 to be available after his death. The World Peace Foundation is the conception of a successful business man who has both genius and vision for doing large things. It contemplates the thorough organization and prosecution of the peace campaign by departments, such as the press, the schools, the churches, women's clubs, and business men's organizations, each in charge of a specialist. It has already issued an important book and pamphlet literature under the editorship of Edwin D. Mead, its director, who has long been recognized as one of the leaders of the peace movement in America.<sup>23</sup>

The second great gift, the Carnegie Peace Fund, the gift of Andrew Carnegie, of New York, amounting to \$10,000,000, was announced in Washington, December 14, 1910, at the time of the meeting of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. This fund is under the management of a board of twenty-seven trustees, who have discretion as to its expenditure on the cause. It is expected that it will be used in part to assist promising existing agencies and to institute entirely new work for peace. A constant friend of the cause and in recent years a generous supporter of peace societies, Mr. Carnegie, also made large gifts for the erection of the Pan-American Union building, the Courthouse for the Central American Court of Justice at Carthago, and the Palace of Peace at The Hague. He has also written and spoken on arbitration and the limitation of armaments. He has frequently suggested the formation of a league of the great nations for the preservation of peace.<sup>24</sup> His characteristic

<sup>22</sup> In 1909, at the Chicago Congress, Mr. John R. Lindgren gave to Northwestern University \$25,000 for the promotion of international peace and fraternity which is applicable also to the extension of unity among Christian bodies. Compare also the Sumner Prize for peace essays, a legacy left by Charles Sumner to Harvard University, and the sum of about \$100,000 bequeathed by Secretary George C. Beckwith to the American Peace Society.

<sup>23</sup> Publication office and headquarters, 29a Beacon Street, Boston.

<sup>24</sup> See *A League of Peace—A Rectorial Address Delivered to the Students of the University of St. Andrews*, October 17th, 1905. By Andrew Carnegie.

phrase, "the killing of man by man," as a definition of war, indicates his intense moral conviction against the cruelties of the war system and places his views on high humanitarian grounds. Mr. Carnegie believes "that the crime of war is inherent, since it decides not in favor of the right, but always of the strong."<sup>25</sup>

But if the record of peace societies and philanthropists who have devoted fortunes to peace has been inspiring, so also has the record of the United States Government. Throughout the year 1910 the efforts of the State Department were exerted to get the nations to accept the plan of Secretary Knox for a combination of the functions of the Court of Arbitral Justice proposed at the Second Hague Conference with those of the International Prize Court adopted at that time. Congress in June passed a resolution authorizing the appointment of a commission of five members to investigate means for the abolition of war, the reduction of armaments and the promotion of international economy and peace, a report to be made within two years. It is understood that the Secretary of State has opened communications with other governments with a view to ascertaining whether they are ready to appoint similar commissions. This is one of the most progressive steps in international peace ever taken by any nation.

But the peace movement has extended in Great Britain and Europe. The activities of the London Peace Society have been constant and effective for nearly a century. Like the American Peace Society, it has been active in encouraging the observance of the third Sunday in December as Peace Sunday by clergymen. It has carried on its campaign in the schools, in public meetings and in Parliament. Its distinguished Secretary, Dr. W. Evans Darby, has done a good work in publishing the *Herald of Peace*, and reports and articles on peace of great value in promoting public opinion. His *International Tribunals* was used by members of the First Hague Conference in their deliberations upon the subject of arbitration and an international court. Other societies like the International Arbitration League founded by Sir William Randal Cremer, in 1870, the journal of which is the *Arbitrator*, and the International Arbitration and Peace Association, the journal of which is *Concord*, have also been distinct forces in educating British public opinion in peace ideas. In Germany the

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<sup>25</sup> Andrew Carnegie's "Announcement of His Great Peace Fund," *Advocate of Peace*, January, 1911. Mr. Carnegie's stirring words as chairman of the New York National Arbitration and Peace Congress should be read, if one would catch his peace spirit.

movement has been led by Dr. Adolf Richter and Dr. Ludwig Quidde; in Austria by Baroness Von Suttner<sup>26</sup> and Alfred H. Fried;<sup>27</sup> in France by Frederic Passy,<sup>28</sup> Emile Arnaud, Professor Richet, and others. In Italy the leading worker has been Signor Moneta, of Milan. In Belgium, Senator La Fontaine and Auguste Beernaert have distinguished themselves by the services they have rendered in the study and promotion of arbitration. In Switzerland, Elie Ducommun and Dr. A. Gobat have served as heads of the International Bureau of peace.<sup>29</sup> This bureau was established in 1891 and is the means by which about five hundred peace societies throughout the world are federated. The Scandinavian countries have made progress in a practical way by the adoption of arbitration treaties and the principle of neutralization. Norway is the home of the Nobel Institute<sup>30</sup> founded by Alfred Nobel, who left funds from which a prize of about \$40,000 a year is awarded to men who have rendered distinguished services in the peace cause. But the East as well as the West has taken up the peace movement. The Chinese are by tradition a peace-loving people. The Japanese have organized two peace societies at home and by means of delegations of business men, lecturers and students, have promoted friendly relations between their country and the United States. The Oriental Information Bureau recently established in New York City is for the purpose of interpreting the Orient and Occident to each other.

There now remains the task of tracing the peace movement through its culmination in the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 and to discuss measures that may be considered by the Third Hague Conference which is expected to meet in 1915.

*Boston, Mass.*

*James L. Tryon.*

<sup>26</sup> Author of *Lay Down Your Arms*. Translated by T. Holmes, New York, 1908. See also, *Memoirs of Bertha von Suttner*. 2 vols., Boston, 1910.

<sup>27</sup> Mr. Fried is the author of several works on the peace movement and the editor of *Die Friedens-Warte*, a monthly peace magazine published at Vienna.

<sup>28</sup> See *Historique du Mouvement de la Paix*, par Frederic Passy, Paris, 1904, for the story of the peace movement in Europe.

<sup>29</sup> This bureau is a center of information as to the peace movement, societies, pamphlets, reports of congresses, etc. Current events are covered by its periodical *Correspondance bi-mensuelle*.

<sup>30</sup> This is another center of information. The library of the Institute, which is at Christiania, is very complete.