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Pamphlet Series

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WORK IN 1913

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WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

PAMPHLET SERIES

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

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

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 Part V. THE RIGHT AND WRONG OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE. By CHARLES F. DOLE

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WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

40 Mt. Vernon Street

Boston, Mass.

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

EDWIN GINN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Among the pamphlets which have been added to our pamphlet

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Professor Levermore brings to the conduct of our department of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.