

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

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

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

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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