1939

The history of organized peace movements in the United States

Kanaga, Keith Coldren

Boston University

http://hdl.handle.net/2144/6153

Boston University
Thesis

THE HISTORY OF ORGANIZED PEACE MOVEMENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES

by

Keith Coldren Kanaga

(A.B., Baker University, 1937)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

1939
APPROVED
by

First Reader

Profesor of Religious Education.

Second Reader

Professor Church History.
PREFACE

The purpose of this dissertation is to combine within one volume all the available information pertinent to a history of peace organizations in the United States. Such a need has existed for some time, since all the present source books are either limited to a few organizations or else include within their scope the treatment of pedagogical and propaganda methods as well as the history of the various organizations. This information is valuable, but for the student who wishes to obtain purely factual data on peace organizations it is necessary that he spend many useless hours in sifting the wheat from the chaff. The paper which I have compiled in this volume will make available to the one interested in factual history all the information which the history of the organized movement in America affords without the evaluations which make the ordinary history book so bulky.

It is because of this particular objective that I have limited my comments insofar as possible to the purely factual. I am not here interested in delving deeply into the educational techniques of the various groups, but will show the historical order of the movement since its inception in America in 1815. Evaluation will not be made excepting as figures quoted will enable the reader to make his own evaluations. Criticism will be avoided as well as commendation. I will have but the one
purpose in mind: to write the history of peace organizations in the United States.

I am indebted in my research to the invaluable personal aid which the following organizations have contributed in their personal letters answering inquiries made by me in the course of research: American Association for Adult Education, American Association of University Women, Bureau International d'Éducation, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Foreign Policy Association, Institute of International Education, The League of Nations Association, and National Council for Prevention of War. I am also indebted to the Library of Congress for bibliographical material, and to the Boston Public Library, the Boston University School of Theology Library, and the Doheny Memorial Library of International Relations at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, for patience and cooperation in the use of their volumes. I also wish to thank Mrs. Dorothy Beach for her secretarial aid.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Preface</strong></td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Introduction</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td><strong>Old Testament Peace Prophets</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Isaiah</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Micah</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Zechariah</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td><strong>The New Testament Prophet of Peace</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Chapters</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td><strong>Peace Movements and Personalities of the First Eighteen Centuries</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td><strong>Earlier Attempts</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Marcus Aurelius Probius</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The Truce of God</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Geroehus of Regensberg</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td><strong>The Middle Ages</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Pierre Dubois</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Marsiglio of Padua (Defensor Pacis)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Dante Alighieri (De Monarchia)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Podiebrad of Bohemia</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td><strong>The Sixteenth Century—Desiderius Erasmus</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td><strong>Five Peace Events of the Seventeenth Century</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Henry IV of France (Grand Dessein)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Emeric Crucé (Nouveau Cynée)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Hugo Grotius <em>(De Jure Belli et Pacis)</em></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>George Fox <em>(The Quakers)</em></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>William Penn <em>(&quot;Holy Experiment&quot;)</em></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>The Eighteenth Century</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Abbé Charles Irené Castel de Saint-Pierre <em>(Projet de la Paix Perpetuelle)</em></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Jean Jacques Rousseau</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Immanuel Kant <em>(Zum ewigen Frieden)</em></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**II. PERSONALITIES OF THE AMERICAN SCENE PRIOR TO 1815**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Anthony Benezet</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Benjamin Franklin</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Thomas Paine</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Benjamin Rush</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>Dr. George Logan</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Timothy Watrous</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>David Low Dodge</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>William Ellery Channing</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Nosh Worcester</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**III. FROM INCEPTION TO TEST BY FIRE--1815 to 1861**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Preliminary Agitation</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>The First Societies Formed</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>New York Peace Society</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Warren County, Ohio, Peace Society</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Massachusetts Peace Society</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Other Local Societies</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>In New England</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. In the South ........................... 41

c. Spreading to the North .................. 42

d. The Move Westward ....................... 43

C. The First National Peace Society .......... 44
   1. The American Peace Society .......... 45
   2. Founded by William Ladd .......... 46

D. Activities and Organization of Local Groups .. 47
   1. Hartford Peace Society .......... 48
   2. Connecticut Peace Society .......... 49
      a. Dominated by William Watson .......... 49
      b. Coordination with American Peace Society 50
      c. Death of Watson .......... 50

E. The Thirty Years Before the Civil War .... 51
   1. Routine Activity .......... 51
   2. Two Outstanding Events .......... 53
      a. New England Non-Resistance Society 54
      b. Elihu Burritt's Peace Work .......... 59
         (1). The League of Universal Brotherhood 63
         (2). Its Spread to Europe .......... 64
         (3). Death of the League .......... 65

   3. Massachusetts Society Merges with the
American Peace Society .......... 66

IV. BETWEEN TWO FIRES--1861 to 1898 .......... 69
   A. The Civil War a Testing Grounds .......... 69
      1. Capitulation of Most Societies .......... 69
      2. Spread of Political Peace Parties .......... 70
3. A Few Condemners of the War
   a. Elihu Burritt. .......................... 71
   b. Joshua E. Blanchard. ................. 72
   c. The Quakers. ......................... 73

B. Renewal of Activity After the Civil War. .... 74
   1. Founding of the Universal Peace Society .... 74
   2. Pacifist Leadership of Alfred Love. ....... 75
   3. Influence of the "Radical" Societies ....... 77
   4. International Congress of Peace Leaders,
      Brussels. ............................. 78
   5. Other Small Groups in the States .......... 79
   6. The International Peace Bureau .......... 81
   7. The Lake Mohonk Conferences ............ 83
   8. Increasing Prominence of Women in the Peace
      Movement. ............................ 85
         a. Received Little Recognition ......... 85
         b. First Women's Peace Society ......... 87
         c. Followed by Many Others ............ 89

V. TO THE HEIGHTS--TO THE DEPTHS: 1900 to 1917 .... 92
   A. The New Century Introduced New Outlooks. .... 92
      1. Tours of the U. S. by Foreign Peace Workers 93
      2. Optimism at a High Pitch ............. 95
         a. The Hague Conferences ............. 95
         b. "Goodwill Day," May eighteenth .... 94
         c. New Societies Formed ............. 95
         d. Rapid Growth of Older Groups .... 96
B. The Beginning of Large Endowments. ............... 98
   1. Edwin Ginn Endows the World Peace Foundation. 98
   3. Endowment of the Church Peace Union ....... 101
   4. Influenced the Formation of Many More Societies ............... 101

C. War Declared in Europe ............... 103
   1. Changed Attitudes of the Peace Societies ...... 103
   2. Increased Convictions of Some Peace Workers 104
      a. Organization of Women's Peace Party .... 104
      b. Henry Ford and the Oscar II .................. 105
      c. Settlement of Mexican Problem ............. 107
   3. New Peace Societies Formed ............. 107
      a. Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War, by Roger Babson 107
      b. League to Enforce Peace, Taft as President 108
      c. Collegiate Anti-Militarist League ...... 108
      d. World Court League .................. 108
      e. Fellowship of Reconciliation ......... 109
      f. People's Council .................. 109
   4. Increase of the War Spirit ............. 109
   5. War Declared by Wilson ............. 110
   6. Effect upon the Peace Societies .... 111
      a. Many Supported the War ............. 111
      b. Others who Fought Against the War .... 112
c. Treatment of the Conscientious Objectors... 112
D. Armistice and Peace.................. 114

VI. THE STRUGGLE RENEWED ONCE AGAIN--1918 to 1939 ... 117
A. Two Strains of Influence Came from the War... 117
   1. The Preparedness Conviction ............. 117
   2. Renunciation of War Conviction......... 118
B. Peace Organizations Strengthened by the War... 119
   1. Fellowship of Reconciliation .......... 119
   2. Women's Peace Society ................. 119
   3. Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere 119
C. New Movements Formed in the 1920's .......... 120
   1. War Resisters' League ................. 120
   2. Outlawry of War Agitation by Salmon O. Levinson. 120
   3. National Council for the Prevention of War. 121
   4. Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. 122
   5. National Study Conference on the Church and World Peace ....... 122
   6. World Federation of Education Associations. 123
   7. Other Peace Tactics and Programs ....... 123
   8. Agitation for a Federal Secretary of Peace .. 124
   9. The Churches and Peace Propaganda ...... 125
  10. Youth and Peace Organizations .......... 126
D. Contemporary Cleavage of Peace Attitudes .... 127
   1. Radicals: Absolute Pacifists ........... 127
   2. Conservatives: Preparedness .......... 127
SOCIETIES AND ACTIVITIES SINCE 1930
1. World Peaceways
2. American League Against War and Fascism
3. National Peace Conference
4. Memberships of Various Groups

APPENDICES
A. OFFICIAL HISTORICAL PEACE PUBLICATIONS, NEWSPAPERS
AND PERIODICALS
B. THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ENGLAND
NON-RESISTANT SOCIETY, 1836
C. CONTEMPORARY NATIONAL PEACE ORGANIZATIONS AND
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS WHICH PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL
CONCILIATION; WITH NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVING
ACTIVE PEACE COMMITTEES
D. CONTEMPORARY STATE AND LOCAL PEACE SOCIETIES
E. CONTEMPORARY NEWS PERIODICALS AND MAGAZINES DEV-
OTED TO PEACE PROPAGANDA

BIBLIOGRAPHY
INTRODUCTION

The history of civilization has indicated that once the desire for peace had become an integral part of a nation's or an individual's life, some plan for the attainment of this goal was sure to follow. Often the desire reached little more than the prophetic stage, as in the history of Israel which is recorded in the Old Testament books. It is not improbable that even some of these ancient prophets, however, might have advocated a plan had their existence been more conducive to peaceful living. The Israelitish prophets, Isaiah, Micah, and Zechariah, were unable to get much beyond the prophetic stage. Yet the fact that they desired peace was a tremendous step toward a more pacific life than the wandering tribes were accustomed to living.

Isaiah was the first of these prophets to announce in clarion notes the desirability of peace. During the latter part of the eighth century B.C. he instituted a series of prophecies which even he must have little realized would become so apparently true. He heralded the "Prince of Peace," and predicted that "the stamping warrior's boot, the blood-stained war-attire, shall all of them be burnt, as fuel for the fire."¹ "None shall injure, none shall kill, anywhere

¹ Isaiah 9:5, Moffatt.
on my sacred hill," said the prophet. His voice was joined with that of Micah, who said that

... instruction comes from Sion, and from Jerusalem the Eternal's word. He will decide disputes of many races, and arbitrate between strong foreign powers, till swords are beaten into ploughshares, spears into pruning-hooks; no nation draws the sword against another, no longer shall men learn to fight, but live each underneath his vine and underneath his fig-tree, in terror of no one: for so the lips of the Lord of hosts decree.

Harry Emerson Fosdick has said in regard to this strange note of plaintive peace:

In view of the unquestioned prevalence of war, the inveterate conditions producing it, and the apparent necessity of success in it to preserve national existence, this new note was and is one of the most astonishing elements in the Old Testament.

But this was not to last for long. Indeed, the war propagandists were as active then as now, as witness the prophet Joel, writing some little time later, who took the peaceful phrases of Micah and Isaiah and reversed them, crying out with thirsty voice,

Proclaim this to the nations: 'Let it be war! Rouse up your warriors, muster your fighting men, march! Hammer your ploughshares into swords, your pruning-hooks into lances. Let your weaklings think them warriors, let your cowards think them heroes!'

Perhaps Zechariah had the combined feelings of Micah and Joel, for in his period (c. 590 B.C.) he preached hope of

---

2 Isaiah 11:9, Moffatt.
3 Micah 4:2-4, Moffatt.
4 Fosdick, GUB, 143.
5 Joel 3:9-10, Moffatt.
universal peace under one God, while he advocated wars of destruction wrought upon all peoples other than the Jews as the prelude to this universal peace, a necessary prelude from his point of view.

It is indeed unusual that such an early expression of peace sentiment should be found among the more or less warring peoples. There is no trace of such an attitude amongst the Greeks, for instance, until the appearance of Euripides (born before 475, died 406 B.C.), whose play "Trojan Women"—first performed in 415 B.C.—introduces the anti-war element into Grecian thought; and there is nothing at all in Egyptian or Babylonian literature to compare with the amazing conception of a warless world as stated by the prophets of Israel.

With the exception of the oriental world, there was little positive peace activity until the appearance of the Amphictyonic leagues of ancient Greece. Twelve tribes banded themselves together in 197 B.C., naming their league after King Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion. These twelve tribes were bound fraternally one with the others into an economic, political, and religious alliance. But even this seemingly
beneficial union was disrupted at times by the warring of the tribes amongst themselves. Likewise, they were prone at times to use their strength from union for the purpose of defeating other smaller tribes, hardly a worthy peace objective. They did develop, however, a highly democratic form of union:

They held an annual assembly at Anthela in the Pass of Thermopylae, where the rites performed in honor of Ceres gradually changed from a religious to a political character. Affairs common to the twelve tribes were managed by a Council, made up of deputies from each tribe, and by an executive assembly which carried out the Council's decrees. The tribes each took an oath to abstain from internecine plunder or destruction. In the Council each tribe had two votes on all questions discussed, and the Council's decrees were theoretically inviolable—though there was no organized means of enforcing them. Later the League and its machinery developed still further. By 191 B.C. there were seventeen members. Under Augustus the regulations were reorganized. The League is last heard of about A.D. 200.

There is ample proof that the Romans also held some concept of peace, as witness the writings of Cicero, Ovid, and Seneca, but most of this bore little fruitage in actual peace organization.

The first century A.D. saw the presentation of the most

11 Allen, FFP, 89.
cogent and forceful teachings in regard to war and peace that the world has ever witnessed, before or since. Jesus of Nazareth, however, was not expressly concerned with instituting an organization which would perpetuate world peace; rather, he was concerned with giving all men the Spirit of God, which is the spirit of peace and love. Fosdick has suggested that there were perhaps at least two good reasons why Jesus and the New Testament writers did not deal more specifically with the problem of international conflict: the apocalyptic expectations of Jesus and his followers, all of whom taught the end of the world in a very short time, and the further fact that the Jews had little or nothing to do with the governmental policies nor did they have an appreciable amount of influence with those who did determine what they would be. Jesus did teach, however, that "all who draw the sword shall die by the sword." Further, he preached that only by "soul force" could one be sure of victory for God and oneself.

The New Testament as a whole

... is so clearly committed to aversion against war that the thoroughgoing pacifism of the early church was in all probability a continuance of the common attitude of the first Christians... In the New Testament itself the universal fatherhood of God involves the universal brotherhood of man, and, so far as human agency is concerned, only moral forces are counted on to bring about the recognition of the one and the reformation of life to fit the other.

14 Fosdick, GUB, 147.
15 Matthew 26:52, Moffatt.
16 Fosdick, GUB, 148.
CHAPTER I

PEACE MOVEMENTS AND PERSONALITIES OF
THE FIRST EIGHTEEN CENTURIES

One of the earlier attempts to establish universal peace which gravitated from the highest governmental levels to the lower lay levels, unlike previous attempts which had usually been inaugurated by those of lesser political influence, was that of Marcus Aurelius Probus,\(^1\) Roman Emperor from A.D. 276 to 282. Unlike his predecessors, Aurelius attempted to employ his military forces in constructive governmental projects of rehabilitation while they were idle between campaigns. This constructive work went so well that he publicly expressed the hope of establishing universal peace, at which time he would no longer need standing and reserve armies, therefore he would abolish them. His soldiers, however, upon hearing of these plans of the Emperor, mutinied and slew their ruler. They afterwards repented of their deed, but the first great kingly proponent of universal peace was dead, and with him his plans died.

It was seven centuries before another significant peace advance was made in the form of the Truce of God, a product of the Council of Charroux (in Poitou) and proclaimed in

\(^1\) Boyle, HOP, 1-2.
Coming from the papal organization and the medieval church which he stood for, the Truce of God was an attempt to minimize the possibilities of warfare amongst the noblemen and feudal lords by prohibiting their fighting from sunset every Wednesday till dawn on the following Monday, and also on certain festival days. Absurd as it sounds, the Truce was a partial success, for it was renewed and extended in 1027, and again in 1040, when it was taken up and greatly furthered by Abbot Odilo. The motivating force was severe ecclesiastical punishment for offenders, which testifies to the great influence the Catholic church wielded in that age. Early in the thirteenth century, however, the Truce of God passed into the limbo which so many other plans were to inhabit, for the Papacy felt the need of unrestricted warfare in their campaigns against the Hohenstaufen. Simultaneously with the Truce of God there was proposed a somewhat more arbitrary plan from the papal standpoint by Gerohus of Hegenberg, who thought that

... the Pope should forbid all war, that differences between princes should be referred to Rome for decision, and that any party who rejected the Pope's award should be excommunicated and deposed.

This proposition, no matter how attractive it may have ap-

---

2 Beales, HOP, 21f.
4 Beales, HOP, 22.
5 Ibid., p. 22.
peared to the Papacy, could not possibly have been put into effect because of the already existing feuds between the Papacy and the princes in regard to political and temporal powers.6

One of the finest peace schemes of the Middle Ages was that of Pierre Dubois, who early in the fourteenth century drew up a constitution for a federation of Christian Sovereign States, which was to handle problems of international relations and settle them by peaceful arbitration.7 Dubois is a picture of the prejudice which so many proponents of peace plans unwittingly display, for he stipulated in his plan that France, his own country, was to dominate Europe. This alone would have been enough to nullify his proposal insofar as it depended upon the approval of the other nations. But it is significant to note that six hundred years later his plan for representative organization was almost duplicated by the first Hague Conference (1899).8

Another product of the fourteenth century was the joint effort of Marsiglio of Padua and John of Jandun, which they chose to call the Defensor Pacis. Insofar as they could determine, peace was a matter of "stability rather than abstention from war."9 Power should rightfully rest within

7 Galpin, TTP, 2.
8 Mead, OWS, 61.
9 Beales, HOP, 23.
the people themselves, they contended, both in matters temporal and spiritual. This dangerous view earned them the enmity of the Pope, who excommunicated them, although their Emperor, Louis the Bavarian, gave them asylum.\textsuperscript{10}

Yet a third contribution of the fourteenth century, although its actual publication was delayed until 1559, was that of Dante who wrote in refutation to the papal claims of Boniface VIII as expressed in the bull \textit{Unam Sanctam} (1302), "the high-water mark of papal claim to supremacy over civil powers."\textsuperscript{11} Dante's work, \textit{De Monarchia}, written by him in 1310-14,\textsuperscript{12} vindicated the primacy of the Empire, which he maintained had existed prior to and independent of the Church. Only one conclusion could be drawn from this historical fact: that the Emperor was absolute, while the Pope's authority extended to matters of the spiritual life alone. From this conclusion he further stated that the organization of the world should be that of a single empire based on a universal Law; this would assure "peace and calm", the only condition under which the human race could live life to its fullest.

Before the end of the century, Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, sought to establish a peaceful empire in Europe. His plan was very similar to that of Pierre Dubois, especially in

\textsuperscript{10} Walker, \textit{Ibid.}, 294.
\textsuperscript{11} Walker, \textit{Ibid.}, 291.
\textsuperscript{12} Beales, \textit{HOF}, 23-24.
his belief that the Christian nations should unite for Holy destruction of the infidels in Turkey.13 The plan never progressed beyond the suggestion level.

With the dawn of the sixteenth century it became apparent that while the past centuries had seen numerous plans and suggestions for universal peace, practically all of them had been based upon the idea of "Unity and Universality". With the passing of the fourteen hundreds, the prophets began to realize that states would from henceforth be more individualistic rather than more universalistic. Consequently they changed their aim from that of "Unity and Universality" to one of "Unity in Diversity".14 This in turn worked an almost revolutionary change in peace tactics and treatises, many of which have become classics in literature as well as historical landmarks.

One of the first of these classical contributors was Desiderius Erasmus, born out of wedlock in 1466. Consistent with this unorthodox appearance, he never did choose to enter into a state of conformity with customs and traditions, preferring rather to woo truth wherever he found her, which was usually somewhere outside the customary courting grounds. Erasmus did not propose any definite plan for universal peace, yet he did teach a universal, ethical religion.15

13 Allen, FFP, 90; Beales, HOP, 24.
14 See Beales, HOP, 25-26.
15 Walker, ibid, 330.
Not content with religion as the Church taught it, he proposed that we attempt living the ethical life, which reached its fullest perfection in Christ. Especially in the Sermon on the Mount did Erasmus find the ethical ideal expressed to its fullest. Influenced by John Sylvagius, Chancellor of Burgundy, who had earlier attempted to organize a congress of kings, Erasmus wrote The Complaint of Peace. Counted as the "greatest single influence north of the Alps," he perhaps contributed more to the philosophical and intellectual condemnation of war than any other man of his era. It has been said that:

More's Utopia furnishes occasional homilies on the vanity of war and the moral baseness of the spirit of conquest; Sebastian Franck taught the same lesson in his Kriegbüchlein des Frideres; Rabelais and Montaigne noisily scoffed at warfare as an unintelligent extravagance; but Erasmus, in his Laus Stultitiae (1510), elaborately condemned the whole concept of violence.

It is fitting that such a one should be the only outstanding representative of the sixteenth century.

Five peace events in the seventeenth century attract our attention. The first chronologically and in order of importance was the Grand Dessein of Henry IV (1589-1610), king of France, and one of his ministers, the Duke of Sully. Conceived and drafted in 1603, the Great Design was the fitting political child of such a man as Henry IV, of whom it

16 Allen, FFP, 90.  
17 Beales, HOP, 27.
has been said by another great fighter for peace, Benjamin Trueblood, 18

The greatest in the line of French kings, Henry seems to have combined in his person the extraordinary contradictions of his time. A Protestant and a Catholic, rich and powerful, yet simple in manners and devoted to the interests of the common people, a warrior and a genuine friend of the peaceful arts of life, a Frenchman to the core, he was nevertheless the first interpreter to his country of the larger ideal of international life and cooperation then struggling to the birth.

The Great Design embraced France, Great Britain, Sweden, Spain, Lombardy, Denmark, the Papal See, the Holy Roman Empire, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Venice and Central Italy. 19 Its primary objective was the overthrow of the House of Austria and thus the removal of the primary hindrance to peace; this achieved, Europe was to be divided amongst the fifteen states listed in equal proportions to do away with any future uneven balance of power. 20 An international council was to be formed, with proportionate representation and sharing of expenses, and most modern of all and the first proposal of its kind ever made, an international army and navy to force the compliance of unruly powers to its decrees! Although the Great Design has been of great influence on later international proposals, it must be said that the plan was full of con-

18 Trueblood, DPI, 16.
19 Allen, FFF, 90.
20 Beales, HOP, 28.
tradiuctions and had Henry not been assassinated by Ravaillac it would have doubtless caused much more confusion than it was intended it should eradicate. The crushing of the House of Hapsburg was not a very noble ideal nor would the carving of Europe into fifteen equal powers have been easily accomplished, if at all.

The second outstanding peace event of the seventeenth century was the publication in 1623 of Émeric Crucé's *Nouveau Cynée*. Molded somewhat along the same lines as Henry's *Great Design*, it was distinguished from the *Great Design* by the inclusion of non-Christian as well as Christian states in the League and by the outlawry of war, which would be replaced with a regulated system of arbitration. These nations were all to send ambassadors to a given city (preferably Venice), where they would be in continuous session. There the problems of international dispute would be argued and decisions rendered, to be enforced by "satisfactory means". The plan, although unusual in its proposal to substitute arbitration for warfare and modern in its suggestion of a world federation of individual states, would doubtless have split itself upon the rock of precedence, which Crucé assigned in the following order: the Pope, the Sultan, the Emperor, the

---

21 Trueblood, DPI, 16.
22 For a more complete outline of the plan, see *Grand Design*, ed. E. D. Mead (1909).
23 Beales, HOP, 29.
The third great peace event of the seventeenth century supplied the lacking quantity of the *Nouveau Cyngée*; rules of conduct which would determine the ordinary intercourse of nations from that of the crises. A Dutchman, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), made this contribution and laid the foundation for present day international law in his work, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, published in 1625. Although not essentially a pacifist himself, Grotius was able to foresee that international peace must rest upon some legal code which would give harmony to international intercourse. Consequently he strove for the regulation of international relations and the legalization of warfare, which meant its control and the abolition of certain of its more barbarous aspects. Insofar as present and future international law will be able to bring about peaceful relations between the nations, just so far can Hugo Grotius be counted a contributor to the cause of peace, for he fathered international legal codes and regulations.

For the fourth important peace event of the seventeenth century we include both England and the American Colonies:

---

24 Allen, FFP, 90.
26 Beales, HOP, 29.
George Fox (1624-1691) and Robert Barclay were spreading their "Quaker" pacifism, in England, ably aided and abetted in the Colonies by fearless leaders like Mary Fisher, Ann Austin, Mary Dyer, and William Penn. 28 Fox and the body of Friends who were his followers endured great hardship for the cause of pacifism, including prisons, whippings, and other more subtle persecutions, but all the while standing steadfast in their faith, grounded as it was in scripture and Christ and especially in the Sermon on the Mount; fighting with their tongues, which were at times rather sharp, and being called "Quakers" because they made the enemies of peace to quake. 29 They categorically ruled out war as a species of rightful Christian relationships between men so completely that they even frowned upon self-defense. 30 So convincing was their consistent practice of peace that they won many converts, even amongst the Indians, and have ever since been a bulwark upon which the peace movement has leaned with profit for itself. Trueblood memorialized Fox when he wrote of him: 31

Great as was the work of Henry IV in starting Europe to thinking on the subject of world-federation, or of Grotius in laying the foundations of international law, greater still was that of George Fox, because he not only declared

28 Galpin, PFP, 3.
29 Mead, SAP, 5.
30 Beales, HOP, 31.
31 Trueblood, DPI, 18-19.
his principle, but gave it in trust for the future to a living organism of men. His work has been in creative power what that of Grotius would have been if he had left a society of say a hundred thousand international lawyers possessed of more or less of his own faith and enthusiasm.

The last great contribution of the seventeenth century to the peace movement was that of one of George Fox's followers, William Penn (1644-1718). In 1682 the noble Quaker set up his "Holy Experiment in government on peace principles" in the new world, having successfully bartered with the Indians for land. This epoch making event marked the establishment of the first and only unarmed government in the world. He looked upon the Indians as brothers and paid them for all land which was settled upon by his colonists. He even went so far as to settle all arbitration disputes by means of a council composed of six Indians and six colonists. This venture was followed in 1693-94 by his Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe. Somewhat similar to the Great Design of Henry IV in the methods he suggested for the establishment of peace, his Essay proposed the establishment of an international tribunal which would arbitrate in all cases of dispute and be empowered to enforce their decisions. The plan was, however, free from the contradictions which so nullified Henry's proposal.

32 Trueblood, DPI, 19.
33 Beales, HOP, 32.
34 Galpin, EFP, 3.
35 Trueblood, DPI, 19.
Penn was first and last a pacifist, as were all good Friends, and while his Plan for the Permanent Peace of Europe, as it was sometimes called, did not reach actual fruition, his practical plan in peace government in the American colonies, lasting for more than half a century, has become almost an integral part of modern political thought, and tends to display the fact that men can live at peace with another if they sincerely wish to live in that state.

These plans of the seventeenth century are surely indicative of the awakened interest which thoughts for the establishment of universal brotherhood had made. While none of the plans, with the possible exception of Penn's, had any immediate effect upon their contemporary world it is easy to perceive that they have all had a profound influence upon political thinkers even to this day. Nor may we be far wrong to contradict what we have just said and suggest that perhaps there was an almost immediate effect upon the world, at least upon the thought of statesmen. The eighteenth century produced many of the world's great minds, who contributed their share to answering the question of how best obtain international amity. Penn's experiment and Henry's Design were more or less perpetuated in theory by the Abbé Charles Irenée Castel de Saint-Pierre (1658-1743), who in

---

36 Beales, HOP, 31.
37 Trueblood, DPI, 19.
1713 published at Utrecht his *Projet de la Paix Perpetuelle*. Embodying many of the points which the two former plans had put forward, the Abbé's plan was most minute, even to the smallest details, one of which was the answering of sixty-two objections to the plan by the Abbé at the close of his proposal, before they were asked. There were, however, two objections to this exposition which was perhaps the greatest up to that time: it was essentially merely another "coalition" of the kings for the purpose of protection from other governments, and secondly, it was therefore very naturally deeply rooted in the status quo of the early eighteenth century. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was deeply influenced by Saint-Pierre's writing and borrowed many of the Abbé's ideas for his own writings. This was chiefly true of the writing which Rousseau published in 1761, *Judgment on a Plan for Perpetual Peace*. To some extent Jeremy Bentham was also influenced by the Abbé during his writing of the Fragment of an Essay on International Law, from 1786-89, although it did not find publication until in 1839. Adam Smith and David Hume, English economists, and the French Physiocrats, Quesnay and Turgot, were also filling this period with more concrete grounds for an united world.

---

38 Allen, *FFE*, 91.
39 Beales, *HOP*, 34.
40 Allen, *FFE*, 91.
42 Beales, *HOP*, 35.
while the poets Lessing and Herder rhymed the new thought in verse. Then toward the close of the century Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), in splendid irony, wrote an essay whose title he filched from an inn sign slogan which was printed above a graveyard scene, Zum ewigen Frieden, "To Eternal Peace." In brief, Kant proposed a world federation built upon republican principles, for which foresight he was labeled a Jacobin (1795). He was closely followed in thought by Fichte and Schelling, who not only sustained the principles Kant had laid down but developed them still further. However it must be said that to the master credit is mostly due, for Kant's

. . . enduring contribution to the theory and literature of this problem was not so much the foundations of his plan as the fact that he lifted the discussion of war and peace far above the level of politics. . . and exalted it into a question of ethics and social conscience.47

But the century closed as most profitable periods for peace activities have always closed, with war still on the throne as Napoleon overshadowed a worried Europe.

With the opening of the nineteenth century the world witnessed Napoleon's overthrow and exile, the establishment of a virtual oligarchic state of Europe from the Treaty of

43 Trueblood, DPI, 20.
44 Allen, FP, 92.
45 Beales, HOP, 36.
46 Trueblood, DPI, 21.
47 Beales, HOP, 37.
Toeplitz in September 1813 to the Second Treaty of Paris in November 1815; the building up of the Concert of Europe, the Holy Alliance conceived by the Tsar Alexander I of Russia in 1815, and finally the Treaty of Vienna. Although Europe maintained a state of peace until 1854, she was a very sick country all the time. 48

It is now our plan to desert the European scene and shift our investigations from the Continent to the American Colonial stage, grounded as we are with the background of peace movements throughout the ages which will make more intelligible the almost magical and mystical appearance of the organized peace movement in the new little United States.

48 Beales, HOP, 37-41.
CHAPTER II

PERSONALITIES OF THE AMERICAN SCENE PRIOR TO 1815

Mention has been made earlier in this paper on the contribution which George Fox, William Penn and other Friends had made to the American Colonies on the ideal of peace. The single outstanding group which steadfastly held to pacifism as the best means of force, it is fitting that we should open consideration of the American struggle with reference to another one of the "Quakers," Anthony Benezet. The middle of the eighteenth century he wrote a small volume entitled Thoughts on the Nature of War, followed in 1780 by The Spirit of Prayer, and again in 1782 by The Plainness and Innocent Simplicity of the Christian Life, both of which restated his earlier view of the Christian's obligation to have nothing at all to do with war.¹ Contemporaneous with these publications was Benjamin Franklin's tractate On War and Peace, written on the eve of the Revolution, a rationalistic and humanitarian indictment of war, although one of his earlier essays, Plain Truth; or, Serious Considerations (1747), seems to have stirred up the spirit of military preparedness amongst Pennsylvanians, which reached its climax in an organization initiated by Franklin in Philadelphia in

¹ Galpin, PFP, 3.
1765 composed of a thousand citizens armed to protect the city against invasion by frontiersmen.\(^2\) Also writing in this period and wielding perhaps more influence than Benezet was another Quaker, Thomas Paine. In his *Age of Reason and The Rights of Man*, he "fearlessly ploughed through land that had been blessed by the Church and protected by the State."\(^3\)

When the heat of revolutionary sentiment began to approach the melting stage where action occurs, Benezet tried to stem the tide by urging the rebel leaders to forsake force as the means of obtaining their ends; Franklin stood by the revolutionaries and urged them on; while Paine declared that England had betrayed the principle of peace, and that it would be well for the colonies to secede and fight for liberty in order that peace might be enjoyed thereafter, the first "war to end war".\(^4\)

When actual conflict became a reality most of the country's leaders as well as the clergymen lined up on one side or the other. Exceptions were the few ministers who, like John Sayre of Connecticut,\(^5\) declared the war to be a

---

\(^3\) Galpin, *TP*, 3.
\(^5\) Curti, *POV*, 22.
carnal affair, and were severely treated for their convictions; and the Quakers, who for the most part stood fast, refusing aid for either side. With the close of the war sentiment ran high, as is customary after a period of war, that never again should this method be used for the settlement of disputes. Even before the Constitution had been adopted Samuel Adams wrote a letter from the Massachusetts Assembly to his state's representatives in Congress to urge them to take any steps possible to assure the government's abolition of war. John Adams expressed the wish that his epitaph contain mention of his efforts to prevent war with France in 1798; Franklin wrote that "there has never been, nor ever will be, any such thing as a good war or a bad peace." George Washington spoke against war in no uncertain terms, followed by more denunciations from Thomas Jefferson, Josiah Quincy, David Low Dodge, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt, Noah Worcester, William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Edward Everett Hale, and many others of the nineteenth century thinkers. To some extent the views expressed by these men were also those of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, for in

---

6 Boeckel, TTP, 139.
8 Mead, OWS, 62-63.
The Federalist they urged citizens to support the new Constitution on the grounds that it would prevent wars from breaking out between the states and thus insure the blessings of peace.9

In 1793 there appeared in Banneker's Almanack the suggestion by Dr. Benjamin Rush that there be established a Peace Office in the United States; a Secretary of Peace was to be appointed, free schools were to be founded throughout the nation to teach religion and morals as well as the three R's, every family in America was to be given an American edition of the Bible, the statement "The Son of Man came into the world, not to destroy Men's lives, but to save them" was to be put in gold letters over every house door, all laws fostering a passion for war were to be repealed, titles, dress, and military equipment were to be done away with, for "were there no uniforms, there would probably be no armies," over the secretary's office door was to be hung a sign bearing a lamb, a dove, and an olive branch as well as the statement "Peace on Earth--Good Will to Man", and a large room was to be set aside as a museum in which would be stored ploughs made from spears while in an adjacent room a chorus of young women would sing odes and hymns of peace.10 The

---

10 Galpin, FFP, 4-5.
plan never got out of the Almanck!

One of the most politically expedient and yet unofficial peace efforts was made by Dr. George Logan, a Pennsylvania Quaker, who set sail for Paris in 1798 as a peace envoy from the United States, armed only with a letter of introduction from Jefferson. He was received by Talleyrand and dined by Merlin but refused to compromise on his primary objective: amicable relations between France and the new nation. This involved in particular the cessation of high-handed seizures of American sailors by the French warships, the acceptance of an American minister to the French government, and the lifting of the French embargo. When he had accomplished these objectives he again set sail for America, where he found that Federalist newspapers had labeled him a "wily intriguer," ready and willing to sacrifice his country to the pro-French party of Jefferson. Talk ran so high and feverish that Congress in 1799 passed a bill making it a misdemeanor for a citizen of the United States to carry on unauthorized negotiations with any foreign power for the purpose of settling a dispute. This act has never been repealed, nor has it been matched with another making it a misdemeanor for citizens of the United States to carry on

12 Ibid.
unauthorized negotiations with any foreign power for the purpose of stirring up a dispute!

But all the writing of this period was by no means unfavorable to peace sentiments. From 1783 to 1815 the literary output of the friends of peace was remarkable when one considers the mechanical handicaps of the times as well as the expenses involved. The Reverend Samuel Fish of Connecticut issued a tract entitled An Humble Address to every Christian of Every Nation . . . Shewing an effectual Means to prevent Wars among all nations of the Earth, published in 1795, and followed the next year by a published sermon entitled A New Year's Gift to the United States of America, a dissertation on war and peace.¹³ In 1801 the Reverend Job Scott, a Quaker, published a tract entitled War Inconsistent with the Doctrine and Example of Jesus Christ, in a Letter to a Friend, which in the next third of a century reached at least five editions in this country and England.¹⁴

Still another source of anti-war talk was the lucid pen and press of Timothy Watrous, whose pamphlet, The Battle Axe, was so fiery in its denunciation of war that the rejoicing victors of the Revolution refused to print it for him. None daunted, his son Timothy revised the manuscript while yet another son, Zachariah, devised a printing press of his own

¹³ Galpin, PFP, 7-8.
¹⁴ Allen, PFP, 6.
making on which to print this scathing attack against war. 15

The ferment of peace propaganda was beginning to work, for in 1809 a New York merchant, well-to-do David Low Dodge, wrote a tract on the cause of peace entitled The Mediator's Kingdom Not of This World. William Ladd, writing in 1836, makes comment upon this pamphlet: 16

The author—who was a professor in the Presbyterian Church—had his attention called to the subject by some interesting circumstances in his life, during the year 1804, and had sought for information in books, but found none, except those of the Friends, against whom he was then strongly prejudiced; and it was not until after mature deliberation of five years, that he ventured to appear before the public in the above named tract; which called forth a reply—the joint work of three literary men, one a clergyman!—entitled—"The Duty of a Christian in a Trying Situation." This was followed by a rejoinder from the merchant, who labored incessantly among his friends and acquaintance, a few of whom at length openly avowed the pacific principles.

Ladd neglects to mention that the "merchant" wrote another tract the year after the "three literary men, one a clergyman!" brought out their reply to his first tract, the second being called Remarks on the Pamphlet entitled, "The Duty of a Christian." 17 Both of Dodge's articles received wide circulation, partly because he was always stuffing a handful of them into the boxes of merchandise which went out over the

15 Allen, PFP, 6.
17 Galpin, PFP, 9.
country from his dry goods store. 18

Dodge seems to have started the deluge of peace propaganda which then descended upon the American public from 1809 until far after the first peace organizations were founded. He himself from 1809 until 1815 "spent much of his time, strength, and money in propagating pacific doctrines," 19 culminating in 1815 with a small volume of one hundred and thirty pages entitled War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ. During 1811 and 1812 a number of pamphlets appeared, while William Ellery Channing blasted the war system from his Unitarian pulpit in Boston in his sermons on "The Military Despotism of Napoleon." 20 John Lathrop, Otis Thompson, David Osgood, J. Scott, Samuel Whelpley, and Jacob Catlin all condemned the war with England on Christian grounds and were consistent in their arguments for peace. 21 During the War of 1812 Noah Worcester preached and wrote along with David Low Dodge. Of Worcester, it has been said that he was "King of the pamphleteers." 22 On Christmas Day, 1814, he began distribution of his potent pamphlet, A Solemn Review of the Custom of War; Showing that War Is the Effect of

19 Curti, APC, 7.
21 Curti, PFP, 35.
22 Allen, PFP, 9.
Popular Delusion and Proposing a Remedy, the most effective piece of literature ever written on the peace idea. The cogency and frankness with which Worcester discusses the war system in this tract prompts Devens Allen to say: 23

So strong was even Worcester's pamphlet, that one shudders to think what a dressing-down this Revolutionary War veteran would receive from the super-patriotic spirits of the D.A.R. and other effervescent loyalists in the present time, should they ever fall upon his writings. Happily for the public accord, original copies of this tract are as scarce as saints, and the edition brought out in 1904 by the American Peace Society is minus most of the frank strictures on war-making governments.

Inside of three years the tract had passed through ten or twelve editions, two editions of which amounted to 22,000 copies. 24 The liberal Congregational minister of Brighton, Massachusetts, had added the needed last stick to the flame which leaped into expressive fire with the beginnings of the organized peace movement in America in 1815, to which we now turn.

---

23 Allen, FFP, 10.
CHAPTER III

FROM INCEPTION TO TEST BY FIRE—1815 to 1861

Whether the immediate possibility of another war hastened or retarded the actual beginnings of the organized peace movement in the eighteen hundred and ten's is a moot question which doubtless will always have supporters pro and con. We do know, however, that the volume of peace propaganda took a turn upwards with the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that when it became apparent another war was in the offing those peace advocates made of weaker stuff deserted the field and left their weapons behind them to be used by the sterner men of peace and the political opportunists who saw in the war issue a chance to defeat Madison. There may have been some little cause for the war: especially was this the feeling of the frontiersmen;¹ but there were many who opposed it vehemently. The Reverend Brown Emerson of Salem was but one of many New England clergymen who denounced the war in no uncertain terms,² while the governors of states refused to call out the militia on the grounds that invasion alone was sufficient cause for such a measure. English sympath-

izers were rampant, trade being carried on surreptitiously while American bankers allegedly loaned more money to the enemy than to their own government. The Massachusetts Legislature advised the organization of a peace party and urged its constituency to voice their opposition loud and long; a spokesman for the Essex Junto, one John Lowell, published a pamphlet in which he declared the war unjust and urged that all citizens refuse having anything to do with it. A convention of fifty-three towns was held in Northampton, Massachusetts, in July of 1812, where it was decided that the war was "neither just, necessary, nor expedient." In Rhode Island, a section of the country which was strongly anti-war, a group of those opposed to the war for varying reasons met at Providence in November of 1812 and organized the "Friends of Peace" party, nominating for the presidential electors the "peace candidates," Christopher Fowler, Samuel G. Arnold, William Rhodes, and Uphraim Bowen. These candidates actually won their election in Rhode Island, as did similar candidates in certain other states, but they were not suf-

3 Curti, PCW, 31-32.
6 Galpin, PEP, 35-36.
7 Ibid, Rhode Island American, November 6, 10, 13, 20, 1812.
ficient in number to outvote the Republican electors who re-instated the Republican incumbents. But not all the political opponents of the Republicans left the cause of peace when they were defeated at the elections: Rhodes became a member of the state peace society when it was organized, as well as George Benson, William Jones, Nathan Waterman, Stephen Wardwell, Nicholas Brown and a few others, all men who had signed their names to a printed address supporting the "Friends of Peace" candidates.

On the first of June, 1815, William Pitt Scargill sent a letter to William Ellery Channing, Unitarian minister in Boston, along with his essay on The Impolicy of War. He also included in the letter the suggestion that since projects for the formation of a peace society in England were afloat it would be wise to exert similar pressure in Boston. Channing took the suggestion seriously, but not soon enough to obtain honors for forming the first peace society. This privilege went to the New York merchant who had been devoting so much of his time, money and effort to the cause of peace. On the 14th day of August, 1815, David Low Dodge formed the New York Peace Society, consisting of twenty members and in order of time "the first Peace Society in the world, embracing men of all sects, denominations, and

8 Galpin, PPP, 36.
9 Beales, HOP, 45.
Within two years the society had increased to over sixty members and was busy spreading peace tracts of all kinds.  

Simultaneously with these activities of the New York Society was the founding of the Warren County, Ohio, Peace Society on the second of December, 1815. Second in the order of time, this Society was formed by two Quakers, who stated in a letter to Noah Worcester that they had read the *Solemn Review of the Custom of War* and decided it would be a good idea to form a peace society, which they did. The group soon grew to more than a hundred members, and by 1819 they were able to report that they had one hundred seventy-five members, while three years later they had similar groups planted in Leesburg, New Lebanon, Cincinnati, and other towns, all of which were a part of the Ohio Peace Society. The climax seems to have been reached in 1823, after which date the work in Ohio took a decided decline.

By far the most important early peace society was not formed until later in the year of 1815. Noah Worcester had

---

10 William Ladd, *ibid.*, 175.
become increasingly interested in the peace idea, and in May of 1815 he put out the first issue of a quarterly magazine he had undertaken to publish at his own expense, the Friend of Peace. 15 Again in September of the same year another issue of the same quarterly was put on the market. Results were not long in forthcoming, for on the twenty-sixth of December, 1815, "the constitution of the Massachusetts Peace Society was signed by twenty-two members." 16 Open to men of all creeds or parties, 17 the Massachusetts Society was "less doctrinaire and more catholic" than that sponsored by Dodge in New York city. 18 It had as its active co-founder the Reverend William Ellery Channing, in whose study the eventful meeting at which the Constitution had been signed was held. By the end of the first year the Society had a total of one hundred and seventy-three "respectable members," including "more than fifty ministers of religion." The next year the membership reached three hundred and four, of which eighty were clergymen. 19

15 Galpin, FFP, 23: Columbian Sentinel, May 27, 1815, for an advertisement of this periodical which was assigned as the work of the author of the Solemn Review.
16 Ladd, ibid; Curti, APC, 11, assigns the date as December 23th, 1815, as does Galpin, FFP, 23, although Galpin adds the footnote, "E. D. Head in his Discourses on War, p. xvii, states that the Society had its first meeting Dec. 26th, 1815. The fact that annual meetings for some time were held on Dec. 26, would seem to endorse Head's view."
17 Galpin, FFP, 24: Boston Recorder, Feb. 28, 1816.
18 Curti, APC, 11.
19 Allen, FFP, 15.
These three Societies were the first organized peace
groups in the world. Despite Scargill's pert warning, or
perhaps because of it, the American movement preceded that
of the English movement by almost a year. The "Society for
Promoting Permanent and Universal Peace" was formed in London
on the 14th of July, 1816, thus making the fourth Peace Soci-
ety formed within eleven months of the first, each far re-
moved from the others and probably unaware of each other's
existence until a later date.\textsuperscript{20}

The peace movement was now in full swing. In 1816 the
Massachusetts Society petitioned the state legislature for
the exemption "not only of Friends and Quakers but of all
that believe with them that war is inconsistent with Chris-
tianity."\textsuperscript{21} In May of the same year a convention of Congre-
gational ministers listened to Channing's thought-provoking
address on war and recommended that all of its attendants
join the Massachusetts Society and influence their people
to follow their example.\textsuperscript{22} The efforts of the Massachusetts
group resulted in the founding of the Maine Peace Society on
January thirty-first, 1817.\textsuperscript{23} Although many prominent men
were members, including the president of Bowdoin College,

\textsuperscript{20} Ladd, \textit{ibid}, 176.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Friend of Peace}, vol. I, no. 5, pp 31-32.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Ibid}. Also \textit{The Works of William Ellery Channing}, Boston,
1886, pp 642-652.
\textsuperscript{23} Galpin, PFP, 58: \textit{Boston Intelligencer}, April 12, 1817;
\textit{Boston Recorder}, April 22, June 17, 1817; \textit{Portland Gazette},
Reverend Jesse Appleton, no great progress took place and
signs of life were almost absent.24 This apathy can be over-
looked however when one learns it was through the Maine Peace
Society that an early leader whose influence upon the peace
movement has been profound was introduced into the work. This
man was William Ladd, former commander of one of the largest
sailing vessels ever to leave the harbor of Portsmouth, but
a Maine farmer at the time of his conversion to peace.25 He
had forsaken the sea because of the War of 1812 and settled
on his farm, but not until he stood by the deathbed of Jesse
Appleton, president of the Maine Society, did he hear for
the first time of the peace group to which Appleton was
leader. His interest aroused, Ladd read Worcester's *Solemn*
Review and his mind was made up. From then on he devoted
the major portion of his life to the peace cause, organizing,
speaking, writing, and encouraging.26

In Rhode Island a state Peace Society was formed on the
twentieth of March, 1818, many members being Quakers.27 Two
members of this Society, Moses Brown and Thomas Arnold, gave
it enough money to enable the publication of 28,704 tracts

no. 7, p 212.
26 Ibid; *John Hemmenway, Memoir of William Ladd, Boston*,
1872, pp 9, 38, 142-143, 51.
within a period of three years. This Society continued being one of the best groups and lasted for many years. On November nineteenth, 1818, the Massachusetts Society was able to found a local branch of their group at Portsmouth, which had distributed over two hundred tracts by the time of its first annual meeting on November third, 1819, and had thoroughly indoctrinated the community with the peace idea. After this date, however, enthusiasm seems to have waned, for it became necessary for Ladd to reorganize the unit on February seventeenth, 1826. When the national organization took shape in 1828, the Portsmouth Peace Society became an auxiliary to the larger unit.

The South began lining up with the movement when a society was formed at Raleigh, North Carolina, on April twenty-first, 1819, with "a number of respectable gentlemen of the town and its vicinity" meeting at the state capitol, adopting a constitution and electing officers for the

31 Ibid, 58; *Portsmouth Journal*, March 18, 1826; *Friend of Peace*, vol. IV, no. 9, pp 236, 287.
"Raleigh Peace Society." Enthusiasm seems to have run high for a time, but the membership never went over thirty-eight and finance was a constant source of embarrassment to them. Consequently the society soon dwindled away and its last meeting was held July third, 1822. At Augusta, Georgia, the Reverend W. T. Brantly found space in the *Georgia Advertiser* to recommend a volume of peace sermons written by the Reverend Henry Holcombe of Philadelphia, which resulted in the sale of some five hundred copies of the book and the founding of the Augusta Peace Society, an affiliate of the Pennsylvania society. There were also hopes that a society might be founded somewhere in Kentucky, but nothing seemed to materialize.

In the meantime the peace movement had also spread north into Vermont, where late in January of 1819 public notice was made of an unsigned and undated constitution, apparently an unfortunate procedure for it aroused greater criticism than it did approbation. On October eighteenth of 1819 a

---

statewide meeting was held at Montpelier and the society formally put under way with some fifty persons joining. Little was ever heard of the society after this date, indicating that if it did not actually die at birth it was at least a rather delicate infant. Local societies fared somewhat better, one being organized at Rupert in 1825 and another at Dorset the following year, the former being the stronger and lasting until around 1834.39

Organized peace had also begun to move westward. In Indiana the Quaker sentiment was behind attempts to organize groups in Vigo County and at Richmond and New Salem.40 And strangely enough, there was organized "The Female Peace Society of Cincinnati" in the state of Ohio, mention of which was made by William Ladd in his crusading talks for more women in the peace movement:41 Mention has already been made of the Warren County (Ohio) Peace Society, as well as of the groups instituted at Leesburg, New Lebanon, and other small towns, all of which became members of the Ohio Peace Society.42

39 Ibid: Friend of Peace, vol. IV, no. 3, p 95; no. 9, p 258; Journal of the Times, January 16, 23, 1829; Vermont Chronicle, January 30, 1832. The Dorset group was alive as late as 1828.
41 Allen, PFP, 266.
42 Page 37.
The Reverend Henry Holcombe, whose volume of peace ser-
mons we have mentioned before, a Baptist minister with great
enthusiasm for peace, was instrumental in the founding of the
Pennsylvania Peace Society in Philadelphia, December, 1822. Semi-annual meetings were held on July fourth and Christmas
Day, with the membership of a hundred odd doubling within a
year's time. Perhaps it was this Baptist preacher's influence
and the influence of his society which prompted the African
Baptist Association of Philadelphia to reorganize itself into
the Africa Peace Society, numbering around one hundred and
twenty colored members. While in Connecticut, the Windham
County Peace Society came into being on August eighteenth,
1826, largely through the efforts of Reverend Samuel J. May
and George Benson, whose daughter, Mary Benson, married
William Lloyd Garrison, one of the early firebrands for peace.

It is evident by now that while there was much enthui-
siasm regarding the peace movement the organizations lacked
the unified stimulus and enthusiasm which must be present to
assure not only unanimity of action but also the very life
of the group. We have seen how many of the state or local

43 Page 42.
44 Curti, APC, 32-33.
46 Galpin, FFP, 52-53: further facts about the Society may
be found in T. J. Ramford, Memoirs of Samuel Joseph May,
Boston, 1873, pp 102-103; and T. D. Larned, History of
societies blossomed forth with a great burst of enthusiasm, only to become faded and wan after a few years of desultory activity, eventually passing into the void of inactivity and oblivion. The leaders of the American peace crusade realized this almost as soon as they effected local organization. Ladd, Worcester, Channing, and many others were able to see that only by a coordinated effort could any appreciable degree of public influence be wrought by the isolated societies.

William Ladd, writing in 1836, gives a resumé of the activity which preceded the formation of a national peace society, when this objective was still but an erstwhile dream of the far-sighted dreamers:

The first motion toward this great object was made in the peace society of Maine, on the 10th of February, 1826. It was then voted—"That it is expedient to adopt measures for the formation of a National Peace Society"; and similar votes were passed by the peace societies of Portsmouth, N.H., of Massachusetts, of Windham county, of New York, and of Pennsylvania. It was understood that the peace societies of Vermont and Rhode Island also concurred. The first four named societies appointed an agent to go to New York and Philadelphia, to confer with the peace societies there located, on this subject; in consequence of which a constitution, indited by the corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, was, with a few alterations, adopted on the 18th of February, 1828, by the peace society of Pennsylvania, as a provisional constitution, which has since received the approbation of all the other peace societies in this country, to which it has been presented.

By this constitution provision was made for the

47 Ladd, ibid, 178.
first meeting of the American Peace Society, which took place at New York, on the 8th day of May, 1828; and on the next day the society was organized, and the above mentioned constitution, with a few alterations, was finally adopted.

Ladd is naturally modest in his concise statement of the case. The American Peace Society was his child: he not only fathered it but he mothered it from infancy, and always he refused to assume that he had done more than anyone else would have. It was he who visited the local societies, at his own expense, and it was after his visit with the New York Peace Society, the oldest organized peace society in the world, that he wrote a typical letter to Samuel J. May about the reception he had received in New York. Out of the five audiences to which he spoke there, the largest numbered only seven! And of the New York Peace Society, he said that it was "dead as a herring."

Ladd refused the presidency of the new national society which he had formed, but did accept the chairmanship of the Board of Directors. During the first year of the organization some $618 was paid into its treasury, which would seem to indicate that despite all the local groups which had affiliated themselves with it, the membership of active and supporting members could not have been more than three hun-

---

48 Curti, APG, 42-43; Galpin, EPB, 16-19; Ladd to May, January 1, 1827, February 12, April 28, 1828, in William Ladd Letter Book.
dred. During the first four years the income averaged less than four hundred dollars annually, but by 1838 it had jumped up to three thousand six hundred dollars annually; during the year 1841-42, the year Ladd died, 1,500,000 tract pages, or sixty times the number circulated during the first year of the Society, were distributed; and while there had been but seven life members of the group in 1829, by 1842 there were two hundred and thirty-two.

All this while the sister society to the New York Peace group, the Massachusetts Peace Society, had been functioning more or less regularly. The peak of its activities was around 1818, at which time it had approximately fifteen auxiliaries with a total membership of around one thousand.

The highwater mark of publications was 1820, when the circulation of tracts and copies of the Friend of Peace reached 13,940. The figure declined, however, to 10,327 units in 1826, and never improved over that number again. The Friend of Peace, Noah Worcester's quarterly journal largely maintained by both his pen and his purse, was published from 1815 to 1828. The Society also conducted a statistical

49 Curti, APC, 43.
survey of the cost in men and money of past wars as well as on the cost of maintaining various armies; was interested in the Holy Alliance, the Rush-Bagot Convention of 1817, the governments policy toward the Seminoles and Cherokees, privateering, military service exemptions, better codes of international law, and many and sundry other issues of the day. Dr. Noah Worcester retired from active work in the Society in 1828 due to advanced age, and from that date on the group declined rapidly. In 1830 the membership was only about one hundred and sixty-eight. In 1828 it was decided to become an auxiliary of the American Peace Society and advised its auxiliaries to do the same, but for some reason or another the alliance was not actually completed until 1845.

Peace sentiment had existed for some time in the eastern and central portions of the state of Connecticut. We have spoken of the Windham County Peace Society and how it was influenced by Ladd. Brooklyn and Hartford also felt the enthusiasm of this crusader who never seemed to tire. Many of the clergymen of the state were peace advocates and even local politics had taken it up to some extent. Early in

---

54 Curti, AFO, 26.
56 Page 44.
57 Galpin, PP., 85; Hartford Times, Jan. 17, 1831; Connecticut Observer, March 24, August 16, 1830. Late in September of 1827 the consociation of Tolland county had voted for the creation of a state peace organization.
1828 Ladd paid another visit to Hartford, and from then on the movement spread rapidly. On March tenth, 1828, a group of interested persons, inspired by Ladd's lectures, formed the Hartford Peace Society. The membership of one hundred and two rose to three hundred and seventy-one, and the treasury receipts of 1833 amounted to $157.38. It was in this year that their activities slumped a trifle, probably due to the fact that they severed relationships with the American Peace Society and allied themselves as an auxiliary to the newly formed Connecticut Peace Society. This society was evidently the result of the opinion amongst peace leaders in the state that a coordinating society could do more for the cause of peace by relating the peace activities of the several local groups than these individual groups could ever hope to accomplish alone. At any rate, on May twenty-third, 1831, sixty-four people met at the Hartford Central Church and organized the Connecticut Peace Society. The leaders of the group included the Reverend Samuel J. May, Thomas Gallaudet, the Reverend Francis Fellows, C. R. Henry, and most important of all, William Watson, general agent of the

58 Galpin, FPP: An earlier meeting had been held on Feb. 29th, 1828. This new society was to be an auxiliary to the American Peace Society; see Friend of Peace, vol. IV, Appendix II; Harbinger of Peace, vol. I, no. 5, p 138.
59 Ibid.
Society and the one chiefly responsible for its brief but active work.\(^61\) It was through his efforts that every county in Connecticut had a peace organization by 1834,\(^62\) and the program of the state group remained so active and vital that between twelve and fifteen hundred people attended the annual meeting of the Society in May, 1833.\(^63\) Soon after the inception of the group, sentiment was fostered for the publication of a quarterly magazine and overtures were made in May of 1832 to the American Peace Society for a consolidation of forces and a better quarterly journal. They were refused cooperation and two years later, in June, 1834, the Connecticut Society displayed its independence by issuing the first number of their own quarterly, the American Advocate of Peace.\(^64\) The work of Watson soon began showing concrete results, for on July seventh, 1835, a joint meeting of the directors of both the American and the Connecticut Peace Societies was held at Hartford, the American Society having moved its headquarters to Hartford where Watson soon dominated the work of both groups.\(^65\) For a year the American Society was pushed into near oblivion; then the untimely death of Watson in November, 1836, brought to an abrupt close

---

\(^{61}\) Curti, APC, 47.

\(^{62}\) Ibid, 48.

\(^{63}\) Galpin, EFP, 87.

\(^{64}\) Ibid, 87-91: Calumet, vol. I, no. 8, p 244-245.

\(^{65}\) Ibid: Minutes of the Executive Committee, July 7, 1835; Connecticut Observer, June 29, 1835.
the enthusiastic work which had been carried on by both Societies. As if by magic the Connecticut Society seemed to vanish into thin air, leaving the field open and unchallenged to the American Society once again. In 1837 this group voted to move its home office to Boston, where it remained until its removal to Washington, D.C., in 1911.

The thirty years from 1830 to 1860 found little in the peace line to upset the steady grinding out of commonplace history. A short spasm of activity more or less important was experienced in the middle years, but aside from these flurries the atmosphere of peace organization was rather calm and subdued. Outside of New England and New York there was very little done for peace. In Ohio, societies were formed at Worthington, Cincinnati and at Lane Seminary, with anti-war addresses being given at Kenyon College, Mount Vernon, Cohocton and Jamesville in 1832. North Carolina, Georgia, Indiana and Kentucky were inactive, while the only signs of life in Michigan was the declaration of a synod meeting at Adrian, October first, 1835, that all war was wrong and that Christians should "decline military service on conscientious

66 Curti, APC, 48; Galpin, PFP, 91; Connecticut Observer, November 19, 1836, carried notice of Watson's death and mention of his peace work.
68 Galpin, PFP, 97-98.
grounds." In New York City we find that the New York Peace Society had been absorbed by the American Peace Society in 1828, which then moved to Hartford in 1835, never to return to New York. Elsewhere in the state were small local groups with intermittent bursts of activity, the least inactive being at Schenectady, Auburn, Utica, Ridgeway, Troy, Rome, and Whitesboro. In Maine the story was about the same; societies were founded at the Bangor Theological Seminary, Waterville College, and Pownal, with the Minot group continuing until about 1830; the Bowdoin College Peace Society was alive in 1838 but functioned only locally. In New Hampshire the story was the same; Lempster, Concord, and Dartmouth College had tepid local societies. In 1837 the New Hampshire Non-Resistance Society was formed, more or less of an outgrowth of the active and open warfare between those with conservative peace convictions and those with the radical non-resistance viewpoint. A similar antagonism is found in the background of the founding of the Bowdoin Street Peace Society in Boston, January, 1835. Heated discussions had been

71 Ibid, 177.
73 Ibid, 103.
carried on in 1835-36 through the medium of the Calumet by William Allen of Bowdoin College, representing the conservative point of view, and Thomas Grimke. The young men of the Bowdoin Street Church came out strongly in favor of the radical viewpoint as presented by Grimke and founded their Society on the grounds of opposition to and abolition of all wars. These, however, were but superficial indications of the real struggle going on underneath the surface, which was to finally break forth in raucous expression, the first of the two outstanding developments in this thirty year period.

If we were to look for surface motivations, we would suggest that the great struggle between the conservative peace men and the radicals was brought to a timely head by the death of Elijah Lovejoy, killed by a mob at Alton, Illinois, while attempting to defend by arms the fourth anti-slavery printing press that he had set up there. The conservatives rose up as one with sympathetic laments, as did the radicals, the difference between the two being that the radicals, as represented by William Lloyd Garrison, also lamented the fact that

... our martyred coadjutor and his unfaltering friends in Alton should have allowed any provocation, or personal danger, or hope of victory, or distrust of the protection of Heaven, to drive them to take up arms in self-defense.

74 Allen, Pp. 391.
75 Ibid.
Contrarily, the abolitionists and the conservative pacifists had justified his use of arms and scored the unruly mob for its violent action. Garrison wrote to Ladd and asked for the American Peace Society to call a convention at Boston to discuss peace work and tactics, and in May, 1838, at the Society's annual meeting, it was voted so to do. 76

The line-up on the field of battle consisted of Garrison in the non-resistance camp, George Beckwith in the conservative camp, and in between on the misty flats but looking in Beckwith's direction, was William Ladd. On the evening of September seventeenth, the night before the opening of the convention, Beckwith called a private session of the conservative men, including Ladd, who did not attend. There, in the Eagle Bank, Boston, the men agreed to support Beckwith and elect a moderate as chairman of the convention and also to place as many friends on the important committees as possible. He also asked them to support his idea of not allowing votes to women to which they all, excepting two, agreed. 77 The convention was opened the following morning by Samuel J. May and the first completed business was the choosing of two men as president and secretary that were known to be kindly disposed to Garrison and his faction!

76 Curti, APC, 80-81: Minutes of the Executive Committee, American Peace Society, May 30, 1838.
77 Galpin, PP, 127: only Beckwith and two other men actually attended the convention, or at least voted.
When Garrison suggested that women be allowed full voting privileges as well as representation on committees, Beecher and some of his men could not stand it any longer and asked to have their names rubbed from the roll.\textsuperscript{78} Amasa Wright, non-resistant, then opened the discussion by offering a resolution declaring that it was contrary to the teachings of Christ

\ldots for man to take the life of man in any case, as a penalty for crime, or in defense of property, liberty, life, or religion;--and that consequently to threaten or endanger human life, or make preparation for its destruction is a sin against God and detrimental to the best interests of individuals and nations.\textsuperscript{79}

The rest of that day and up until noon the next the discussions raged, fierce and heated, but in the end a committee of those favorable to Walker's views was appointed, with Garrison as chairman, to whom was entrusted the task of writing a constitution and a declaration of sentiments.\textsuperscript{80}

According to Garrison, writing in a letter to his wife,\textsuperscript{81} he

\ldots first wrote the Constitution, radical in all things, and presented it without delay. It created much discussion, which lasted during the evening, but was adopted by a decisive majority (28 to 15).

Yesterday forenoon \ldots I absented myself to write the Declaration. In the afternoon, it was reported to the Convention, and never was a more "fanatical" or "disorganizing" instrument penned

\begin{thebibliography}{8}
\bibitem{78} Curti, APC, 81-82; Galpin, FFP, 128.
\bibitem{79} Galpin, FFP, 128: Non-Resistant, January, 1839.
\bibitem{80} Curti, APC, 82.
\bibitem{81} Allen, FFP, 394: William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879, the Story of His Life Told by His Children, vol. II, p. 227ff.
\end{thebibliography}
by man. It swept the whole surface of society, and upturned almost every existing institution on earth ... to my astonishment, (it) was adopted by those present by a vote of more than five to one. (The vote was 26 to 5; but over a dozen conservatives had departed just before it.) ... By this procedure your husband will have subjected himself afresh to the scorn, hatred, and persecution of an ungodly world; but my trust is in the God of Jacob. I know that the sentiments of the Declaration are of God, and must prevail.

When thinking of a name for the group, Garrison having no liking for the name "peace" as being too vague for the definite principles which the society professed, he hit upon "non-resistance." The New England Non-Resistance Society forthwith became a reality, the super-pacifist peace organization without bars of sex or color.\textsuperscript{82} William Ladd's heated evaluation of the newly-formed movement was as follows:\textsuperscript{83}

On the whole, if I were asked if the Non-Resistant Society were more likely to do good than hurt, I should answer, not much of either. I have no doubt of their sincerity and integrity. They mean to do good, and make great sacrifices to do it. There are some minds so constitutionally ultra, that they will never undertake anything without going beyond the truth. ... I do not think that the Society will ever produce any great effect. When they began, they thought they were as ultra as possible; but the convention to be called will go beyond them, and they will start off together in a tangent from this sublunary sphere, and will either explode or be lost in the limbo of vanity, among gone-by chimeras and abortions, and the odd ends and bits of creation.

In commenting upon the convention which produced this stream-lined group and the views which the opposing camps held,

\textsuperscript{82} Allen, \textit{FTP}, 395.
\textsuperscript{83} \textit{Ibid}, 398.
Devere Allen has said: 84

The convention was the greatest imaginable combination of nobility, pettiness, high principle, low manipulation, comedy and tragedy. It seems incredible that two such contradictory versions of it could have been given as the reports of Garrison and Ladd.

Ladd's predictions seem to have been the most accurate, for the Society did not enjoy very prosperous health nor a long life. 85 The Non-Resistant, their official monthly paper, began publication in 1839 but was stopped in 1842 due to a lack of funds. The American Peace Society lost no time in rejecting this unwanted relative of theirs; at an executive committee meeting held October ninth, 1838, they disclaimed all connection with the non-resistants, public notice being given the decision. 86 In 1843 Garrison himself admitted the work of the group had been "little more than nominal;" in 1844 Adin Ballou consented to editing the rejuvenated Non-Resistant, which lasted but one year. The annual meeting in 1845 accomplished little but the election of officers; nothing was accomplished in 1846, and by 1849 the New England Non-Resistant Society was officially defunct, its leaders, especially Garrison and Wright, having become more interested in the slavery question and its accompanying practical prob-

84 Allen, PEP, 393.
85 See Galpin, PEP, 124-151, for a complete history of the organization.
86 Ibid: Minutes of the Executive Committee, Oct. 9, 1838.
Nevertheless, this ultra-pacifist organization of the mid-nineteenth century is a classic example of the early left-wing point of view, and its Declaration of Principles is a jewel whose radiance is just as great today as when Garrison sweat out his life's thought upon its composition.

Between the time of the founding of the Non-Resistant Society and the next event of importance in this period there was no more than the usual haphazard sprouting of peace groups in widely separated locales. At Quincy, Illinois, there was reported a branch of the American Peace Society in 1839 and again in 1845, with occasional bits of peace propaganda appearing in the Iowa and Michigan papers. In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, there was enough sentiment aroused by the impending war over Texas and Oregon to organize a society in April of 1842, although it evidently didn't last long since there are no more records of its meeting. At Oberlin, Ohio, a peace society was formed by Amasa Walker, who for a time was professor of economics at Oberlin University; this group, organized as an auxiliary to the American Peace Society in May of 1843, sent a delegate to the London Peace Con-

---

88 The text is given in full in Appendix B.
90 Ibid, 177; Portsmouth Journal, July 25, 1849.
ference but no records of meetings after the summer of 1845 are reported.\textsuperscript{91} Nothing more of importance occurred. It is rather ironic to note that the second movement of significance was instigated by a man who had never heard a peace advocate speak nor read any of the contemporary peace propaganda which the organized movement was distributing. Yet this man, Elihu Burritt, so stirred an audience at Tremont Temple, Boston, 1841, in a lecture on the organic oneness of the earth that he was never forgotten and soon became the most important pacifist and peace propagandist in the United States.

Burritt was an almost legendary figure of amazing intellectual conquests and abilities. A blacksmith, self-educated, shy and retiring, he was a small man of average height, narrow shoulders, muscled arms and large hands. He worked at blacksmithing from ten to fourteen hours a day, a majority of the time with a book propped in front of the anvil so that he could study as he worked. Before he was thirty he could translate fifty languages and before he died he had increased this number to a hundred. He spent the first thirty years of his life in almost complete ignorance of the peace movement and the last thirty years as its greatest prophet and leader. He never married, yet he was a

\textsuperscript{91} Galpin, FWP, 180.
keen defender of women's rights and a believer in their intellectual equality with men. In short, Elihu Burritt was a profound study in contrast and stupendous mutual exclusives.92

In June of 1843, Burritt was again in Boston and this time he held his audience at attention for one and a half hours. Beckwith and the American Peace Society soon saw what an invaluable ally this man would be, so in 1845, at the age of thirty-five, Elihu Burritt became a member of the executive committee of that Society.93 Beckwith, who had assumed full individual control of the Society upon William Ladd's death in 1841, soon came into opposition with Burritt, who found Joshua P. Blanchard, Amasa Walker and S. E. Coues more to his own tastes and opinions than he did the mild Beckwith. Burritt's ideas of peace embraced the same ultra pacifism which Walker and the others had been fighting for, and to this end he devoted the Christian Citizen, a weekly paper which he had begun publishing privately in 1844. It quickly became and remained the most powerful organ of American pacifism until 1851.94 At the same time he opposed Beckwith in his capacity as editor of the Advocate of Peace, resulting in Burritt's appointment as editor in 1845. The

92 See Allen, FFP, 399ff: The Life and Labors of Elihu Burritt, Charles Northend, 1879; Burritt, Ten Minute Talks on All Sorts of Topics, 1874.
93 Galpin, FFP, 163.
94 Beales, HOP, 71.
first issue he put out was published under the name of *The Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood*, with its columns reflecting the international, pacifistic character of the editor's peace convictions. Unfortunately, however, Burritt's enthusiasms ran away with him, for in a year's time he had run the publication so far into debt that he was forced to turn its management back over to Beckwith while he remained as editor.  

Burritt was none daunted, for he then began sending short articles on peace to various editors who had agreed to print them in their local papers. These "slips," subsequently circulated as "Olive Leaf" paragraphs, grew so in popularity that by 1846 it was estimated they reached hundreds of thousands of people.

But Burritt's opposition to Beckwith was not to be stopped merely on the question of who should edit the paper. The attitude of the whole American Peace Society is what he wished to change; a change which would see abandonment of the meek and conservative views as expressed by Beckwith, who was content to have the Society strive merely for the condemnation and abolition of all international war. He wished to promote the view that any type of resistance which involved physical violence was not only un-Christian but un-

---

worthy of support by a peace society. The climax of this struggle in the Society between Beckwith and Burritt came with the annual meeting held the twenty-fifth of May, 1846, in the Central Church of Boston. In the course of the first day's business a non-resistance resolution was offered to the assembly. Amasa Walker, Burritt, the Reverend Frederick Holland of Rochester, Walter Channing, and Stephen Foster each spoke in turn for the resolution. Night fell, and with it came the machinations of the conservative group, who outnumbered the ultras. The next day when votes were taken the radical resolutions were lost and the reaffirmation of the single opposition to international war was approved by almost ten to one.\(^{97}\)

The reaction was too much for Burritt and those of his mind. At the June meeting of the Executive Committee he, S. E. Cores, president of the Society; Walter Channing, Amasa Walker, E. W. Jackson, Benjamin D. Peck, Joshua P. Blanchard, treasurer; Thomas Drown, J. L. Baker and others presented their resignations to the Society. Burritt was too disillusioned and tired to care for any more of the American scene just at that time, so he sailed for England. There he received a warm but not widely-publicized reception.

It was while roaming leisurely through the English

\(^{97}\) See Allen, DPP, 413-415; also Beales, HOF, 72; E. L. Whitney, American Peace Society, 80-82.
country-side, lecturing in the small hamlets and villages, that Burritt realized the dream with which he had been toying for some little time. In his inevitable diary, under July twenty-seventh, 1846, he had written:98

Wrote a pledge for a League of Universal Brotherhood--hope to get a thousand signatures to it before I leave the country.

He had not long to wait. On the evening of July twenty-ninth he was invited by a Mr. William Conn to a cup of tea with him and a few friends in his "little upper room" at Pershore. The friends were some twenty artisans and country people, to whom Burritt read his pledge and talked for three hours. It must have been good talking, for at the close of his lengthy address nineteen of the twenty present signed the pledge to which Burritt had already affixed his name.99 The League of Universal Brotherhood was born, a husky youngster of American blacksmith parentage which saw the first light of day "in England's green and pleasant land." But something of the mist which is England's was imparted at birth to this nobly-born infant; in ten short years the mist was to become a fog which whispered down around its form and lifting away left nothing to behold but the spot where once it had been.

The League drew the men who with Burritt had resigned

98 Allen, FTP, 416.
from the American Peace Society; Cues, Channing, Walker, Upham, and Gerrit Smith were officers. Samuel J. May was a member, as was Andrew Preston Peabody, an Unitarian minister who later edited The North American Review and became a professor at Harvard. The first annual meeting was held at Tremont Temple, Boston, May thirty-first and June first, 1848, with delegates from almost every state in the Union present. Missionaries joined, spreading the influence of the League to South America and the Hawaiian Islands. Thomas Drew, Burritt's good man Friday in the States, kept the propaganda flowing, printing hundreds of signatures at a time in each issue of The Christian Citizen. The movement spread west in the States to Oberlin, Ohio, where the college took it up and half the citizens of the village signed the pledge. Meanwhile, still in England, Burritt was constantly in demand for lectures; that country alone provided more than thirty thousand signatures, with Holland and other states on the Continent supplying several hundreds more. The number of signatories in the United States ran up to over twenty-five thousand. But the growth was too phenomenally sudden; it proved a Frankenstein Burritt could not control together will all the other work to which he had obligated himself. It became necessary for him to return to the United States in 1855; the Crimean War demoralized the English League in Burritt's absence, and in 1857 what was left of it amalga-
mated with the London Peace Society. The American branch had faded away in 1854 although the Bond of Brotherhood had been kept in constant publication. The obituary for this amazing prodigy of Burritt's may well be a paragraph written by Herle N. Curti:

During the eleven years of its existence, the League of Universal Brotherhood accomplished a work of no mean proportions. It undertook, almost simultaneously, six projects, all of which were related, directly or indirectly, to universal peace. In 1847 and again in 1852, when war between England and France seemed imminent, the League sponsored the sending of Friendly Addresses to important groups and cities across the Channel; it inserted peace propaganda, in the form of "Olive Leaves," in the continental press; it advocated ocean penny postage to facilitate intercommunication as a means to peace; it assisted emigrants bound for America; it made possible the holding of the international peace congresses; and, finally, it stimulated free labor production.

Truly, here was a nobly conceived plan whose vanished merits amply qualify it as the second and last outstanding peace endeavor of the third of a century whose passing was shadowed by the holocaustal mockery of blood brotherhood at each other's throats in crashing civil conflict.

Little else can be said of the organized peace movement in America before the Civil War. In 1845 the then almost

100 Allen, FFP, 423-429: The Bond of Brotherhood, Sept. 1847 to Sept. 1851. Also Burritt's Journal for the period from July 27th, 1846 to July, 1855.
101 Curti, APC, 156-157: Burritt, Ms. Journal, May 17, 1854, July 18, 1855; Bond of Brotherhood, new series, no. 80, March, 1857, p. 120; July, p. 184.
impotent Massachusetts Peace Society merged with the American Society, largely because, as Amasa Walker said, it refused to take "the higher ground of condemning all wars, and persisted in a compromising and expedient policy which justified so-called defensive wars." The American Society itself, as we have already seen, was likewise of the same mind as the merged Massachusetts group. It had not increased in either finances or membership; in fact, finances showed a slight decline from 1850 to 1860, along with a decided decline in influence, which was keenly felt but not taken seriously. The Society failed to push its activities on into the west and south, seeming to be content with its gains in New England and New York. Part of this may have been due to the fact that Beckwith was sick for a considerable length of time from 1856 on, and since Burritt was concerned largely with the slavery question he devoted scant time to aiding the American Society, which had failed to prepare any young men for leadership in just such an emergency as this.

The war clouds were gathering. With Lincoln's election the sides were being drawn and accusations were being made more freely and less rationally. Here was a cause which seemed to men to supersede the fine sentiments which the peace societies had been prating about, consequently these

meek and mild advocates of peace attracted little attention and somewhat less respect as a general rule. "Let them first prove their taste for Christian justice and fight valiantly against this evil which threatens our democracy," cried the mobs when confronted with peaceful prophets. "Then," they continued, "when we have licked this beast which threatens the very bulwarks of our society we will unite with you in driving the war scourge from the face of the earth!" So it always has been; and, as it always will be, the peaceful prophets, save for the few, shaved off their white beards and applied the war paint of the righteous, fighting for a righteous cause.

And when they were come to the place, which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand and the other on the left.

Then said Jesus, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."
CHAPTER IV

BETWEEN TWO FIRMS -- 1861 to 1898

The Civil War proved to be a testing ground on which many professed friends of peace were tried and found wanting. The American Peace Society was the only organized group which maintained even a semblance of activity during this period of embroglio, but even its activity was more or less superficial. In pursuance of the policy which Beckwith had instituted, that of opposing only international wars, the Society washed its hands of the civil conflict which it defined as a rebellion, calculated to subvert the Union, maintaining that the South must be subdued at any cost. This peculiar rationalization was stated: 1

We cannot for a moment countenance or tolerate rebellion. . . . The cause of peace was never meant to meet such a crisis as is now upon us. It belongs not to peace, but to government alone; and all that can be required of us is that we prove ourselves loyal citizens. . . . It is not strictly war, but a legitimate effort by government for the enforcement of its laws.

This viewpoint was again voiced and supported by the Society at the close of the war in its annual report for 1865. Yet it be said, however, that the hybrid Society did work val-

iently for an arbitration settlement of the Trent affair, which threatened to throw the already embattled Federal government against the might of the British Empire. Memorials here and abroad were flooded into the respective legislative houses by both the American and the London Peace Societies, together with countless letters and petitions to senators, representatives, and members of Parliament. The issue was cleverly salved over, however, by a discreet suggestion from the Prince Consort of Queen Victoria, which met with hearty cooperation from President Lincoln.²

More aggressively active during the war were the political "peace societies," so-called, which were organized at the height of the conflict to discourage the soldiery of both sides.³ In the Federalist's camps the Peace Democrats, or "Copperheads," worked out in the open or through underground organizations (such as the Knights of the Golden Circle) against what they called a "war for abolition" and the enrichment of "Eastern capitalists." Immediate truce was their cry and they went to any length, even resorting to force—which fact would deny their pacifistic origin—to overthrow

² Beales, HOP, 108.
³ Curti, POW, 64-65; J. T. Headley, Pen and Pencil Sketches of the Great Riots, New York, 1877, pp 136-134; L. D. Ingersoll, A History of the War Department, Washington, 1880, p 336; Albert J. Benton, The Movement for Peace Without a Victory During the Civil War, Cleveland, Ohio, 1918, passim; Tila Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War, New York, 1928, passim.
the government and hamper conscription. Desertions from the ranks of the Federal Army reached such an appalling number before Appomattox that great concern was shown by the military officials. In the South, the same influence was brought to bear against the Confederate soldiers by some hundred thousand people bound together by two secret societies, the Heroes of America and the Peace Society. These marauding and mysterious bands "killed or drove away recruiting officers, encouraged desertion, terrorized the countryside, gave information to the Yankees, and weakened war morale as they might."4

Only a few of the staunch supporters of the peace societies before the war continued their independent support of peace in the absence of organized peace opposition to the conflict. Amongst these few was Elihu Burritt, who condemned the American Peace Society for its stand in 1861 after which he refused to have anything to do with it and retired to his farm in Connecticut, only to disconsolately wrench himself away from the whole sordid mess in 1863 by going back to England.5 In the South there was Lindley Spring, who begged


the soldiers to lay down their arms in a pamphlet entitled
Peace! Peace! E N. W. Heywood wrote an article for The Lib-
erator in 1863, in which he boldly condemned the conflict
that had engulfed his country; so outstanding was his treat-
ment that he excited high praise from Henry Richard, secretary
of the London Peace Society, who called him "the bravest man
in the federal states." Of even more note was the analysis
of the war which was written by Josiah Warren, pioneer Amer-
ican anarchist, in 1863. In his True Civilization, an Im-
mediate Necessity, he condemned the whole war as barbarian;
attributed it to profiteers, high-tariff men, speculators--
the "money-powers" in general; censured the military coterie;
and made a strong plea for complete reorganization of society
on the non-violent, sovereign individual idea. But the
stoutest defender of the pacifist ideal and the strongest
arrailer of the American Peace Society was its old treasurer,
Joshua P. Blanchard. He produced two tracts, The War of
Secession (1861) and A Plea for Peaceful Separation (1862),
both of which marshalled the strongest arguments for laying
down arms and settling amiably. He even published the list
of signers to Burritt's "Declaration" of the League of

6 New York, 1864 (?).
7 Curti, POW, 58: Herald of Peace, vol. VII, Sept., 1863,
pp 248-249; Autobiography of Adin Ballou, William S. Hog-
Universal Brotherhood, in which all wars and participation in wars was specifically rejected; of the list, only three remained true to their pledge: George Merrill, S. E. Sewall, and himself! This while in the Hopedale Community in eastern Massachusetts, Adin Ballou and his friends of the Community were issuing such articles as *Christian Non-Resistance Defended Against Rev. Henry Ward Beecher*, and *Declaratory Resolutions with Reference to the Existing Civil War.*

Nor can we forget the steady objections which the Quakers put forth to conscription during the war. Each year at their annual meetings they condemned their weaker brethren who had yielded to the hysteria and signed up for the service, coupled with exhortations to the steadfast to remain so and refuse military service, no matter what the cost in money or safety.

At times their lot was all that mortal flesh could stand, and sometimes it was more. Not all the patriots were killed on battlefields; nor were the tenets of pacifism drowned and washed away in the deluge of blood which the war precipitated. Rather, men came out of the conflict fired with the zeal of no more war; a zeal characterized by a more critical and

---

10 Allen, PP 2: Boston Courier, April 11, 1863.
11 Allen, PP 2, 460.
rational insight into the problem which had been laid bare and horrible before their very eyes.

Pacifists who had endured the test without wavering were now convinced that the time had come to reexamine the whole philosophy of peace, and, above all, the principle of uncompromising resistance to all war. Some thought that new methods of work, more effective than the old, must be devised, while others held that traditional methods merely needed to be applied on a larger scale. The old line peace men felt that the chief task was to push forward the time-honored program of arbitration treaties, a congress and a court of nations, and the reduction of armaments. But a handful, at least, insisted that the friends of peace must probe more deeply than this, that they must seek and remove the roots of war. Still others believed that the important thing was to attack at once the most pressing controversies which the war had left as a legacy. They would fight the prevalent bitterness which North and South felt toward each other; they would restore friendly relations with England; they would try to check the fierce Indian wars which had broken out during the larger struggle and which gave no sign of ending. In only one thing were all the friends of peace united: the struggle against war must be renewed.\(^14\)

The struggle was renewed, and that in no uncertain terms, by a group of thirty men and women who had grown dissatisfied with the attitude taken by the American Peace Society. Preliminary meetings were held in which such loyal pacifists as Blanchard, the Heywoods of Hopedale, Adin Ballou, Henry C. Wright and Alfred Love took part. Finally the group launched their new non-resistance society at Providence, May 16, 1863.

\(^{14}\) Curti, POW, 74-75.
1866. Long, lean years were to follow the birth of the Universal Peace Society before another event of as great significance was to puncture the calm of the organized peace movement. Not only did it capitalize upon the psychological advantages which the days immediately following the Civil War offered, but it also capitalized upon the new-found importance which labor had assumed during the long years of conflict. It sounded the keynote for peace societies of "proper appreciation and remuneration of labor" as an important remedy for the alleviation of the war spirit. In addition to this innovation, the Society was fortunate in electing Alfred Love as their first president, an office which he was to hold until his death in 1913. A dynamic young Quaker, Love had refused to be conscripted during the war and had stood adamant in his decision to not only refuse service but also to refuse payment of the customary three hundred dollars for another man.

---

15 Beales, HOP, 109, gives the place of organization as Boston; Allen, WEP, 457, says it was organized by meetings at Boston and Providence; Curti, POW, 77, quotes Alfred H. Love, Address Before the Peace Convention in Boston, March 14-15, 1866, Hopedale, Mass., 1866; Proceedings of the Peace Convention held in Boston, March 14, 15, and in Providence, May 16, 1866, Boston, 1865; and Advocate of Peace, May-June, 1866, pp 84, 143-144, in support of the view that preliminary meetings were held in Boston with actual organization being completed in Providence, which view we have stated.

to take his place. It is uncertain what his fate would have been at the hands of the military had it not been discovered that he was too near-sighted to be of any use in active service anyway. Never for a minute of his life did he shift from the absolutist's stand which he had assumed as a young man; something of that sturdy zeal was perforce imparted to the spirit of the Universal Peace Society. Combined with his zeal was an instinct for dramatization of the peace cause. He made full use of symbols, slogans, peace hymns, banners, flags of all nations, placards with pungent phrases printed upon them which condemned war with a nicety of conciseness, as well as more spectacular displays which usually featured in the annual meetings at Mystic, Connecticut.

The abolition of war was not the sole goal of the Society, which soon came to be known as the Universal Peace Union out of deference to the local groups which made up the federation. From the very first capital punishment was one of the evils it sought to eradicate, as well as the exploitation of the Indians and the liquor problem. It attracted allies from the beginning, the Iowa Peace Society and the Pennsylvania Peace Society being outstanding. At the end of

17 For a complete resume of Love's life, see Allen, FBP, pp 470-474; also the Memorial Number of The Peacemaker issued after his death by Arabella Carter.
19 Allen, FBP, 469-470.
the first dozen years the Union boasted fifteen branches and over ten thousand members, although its annual budget hardly ever exceeded a thousand dollars per year.20

Contemporaneous with the Peace Union in the post-Civil War period were various smaller societies whose influence, if any of an appreciable measure, was felt only locally. "Radical" became a popular term and found great usage. It was intended in the sense that the word's origin connotes, i.e., one who gets down to the root of a problem; hence, there was the "Massachusetts Radical Peace Society," the "Rhode Island Radical Peace Society," and many others, some of which existed for years.21 The Quakers were also progressing in organization; the Ohio Yearly Meeting of 1865 sponsored a well-attended peace conference in Baltimore the following year. Fruit from this conference was born in the form of the Peace Association of Friends, organized in 1867.22 With an annual budget of some five thousand dollars, they were able to put special lecturers in the field, publish and circulate propaganda (a million and a half pages the first

20 Curti, POU, 77: Advocate of Peace, May-June, 1866, pp 84, 143-144; The Peacemaker, vol. XX, July, 1901, passim.
21 Allen, pp 470.
year!), together with a special periodical, The Messenger of Peace, which is still issued monthly at the present time.\textsuperscript{23}

By 1873 Elihu Burritt, J. B. Miles and other jurists had drawn up a plan for international arbitration which seemed good enough to warrant its presentation to the foreign powers for their consideration. Miles was chosen for the task and during the first five months of 1873 he covered England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Belgium, inviting the peace leaders to an international congress for cooperative endeavors pointing toward the acceptance of such a plan. He was magnificently successful for an International Congress of the Peace Leaders was called for October of that year, to be held in Brussels. Returning to the States in the middle of May, he formed the International Code Committee of America for the purpose of drafting a Code of International Law.\textsuperscript{24}

This Committee produced a series of Proposals for an International Code, the work of David Dudley Field, which was the basis of deliberations for the 1873 Brussels Conference. The Code had seven hundred and two sections which covered nearly the whole field of international relations.\textsuperscript{25} Thirty-five delegates from the various nations made the Congress a greater success than had even been hoped it would be. Johann

\textsuperscript{23} Boeckel, TTP, 203.

\textsuperscript{24} Beales, HOP, 143-144; N. L. Whitney, American Peace Society, pp 129-133.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid, 149-150: Brussels Congress Report, 1873, passim.
Bluntschli's insistence that "vital interests" ought to be excluded from the scope of compulsory arbitration was the only really dis-harmonious note of the entire Congress, which fact cheered friends of peace all over the world and more especially on the Continent. 26

Returning to the States, Miles formed a delegation of Americans to attend the first anniversary meeting in Geneva. Field was elected president of the group, which chose the name of Association for the Reform and Codification of the Laws of Nations. Miles, however, carried the brunt of the burden for the Association until his death in 1875; thereafter leadership passed into British hands and it was not until 1899 that the first meeting was held in the United States. 27

Other more limited-influence groups were being promoted throughout the States. The Theosophical Society was founded by Madame Helena Blavatsky in New York in 1875; it taught the mystical implications of human fraternity, while Felix Adler, prominent psychologist, formed the Ethical Culture Society in the same year with a rational basis somewhat removed from its contemporary. 28

The United States National

28 Ibid, 112.
Arbitration League was founded in 1881 expressly for the purpose of promoting arbitration for the consolidation of the American continents into one union, for which objective the League held a Conference at Washington in May of 1882 with the approval of various peace societies, among them the American Society, whose president, Edward S. Tobey, presided at the Conference. 29 Fifteen states were represented and considerable enthusiasm was aroused, sufficient at least to induce Senator Hoar of Massachusetts to introduce a resolution for the formation of a Congress of Nations, a bill which died in the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee. 30 The president of the League was ex-Governor Fred E. Stanton of Kansas, a friend of peace, although the mainstay of the group was Reverend Robert McMurtry, an ordained minister in the Episcopal Church. 31 Another product of this decade was the Christian Arbitration Association, founded in Philadelphia in 1886, with many of the outstanding citizens of the City of Brotherly Love on its membership roll; 32 it attracted such men as Dr. George D. Boardman, Baptist preacher in Philadel-

29 Beales, HOP, 173-174.
Philadelphia, and Benjamin F. Trueblood, Quaker and college president, who visited Europe in 1891 on behalf of the Society.\footnote{Curti, \textit{PQY}, 112, 138. George Dana Boardman, \textit{Disarmament of Nations}, third edition, \textit{Phila.}, 1898, passim; Charles Edward Beales, Benjamin F. Trueblood, \textit{Prophet of Peace}, New York, 1916, p 4.} We shall hear more of Trueblood later, the outstanding peaceman in the organized peace movement for the past fifty years. The influence of the Russian non-resistant, Leo Tolstoy, was also being felt in the United States during this period. Hezekiah Butterworth, Ernest Howard Crosby, Jane Addams, William Jennings Bryan, and Clarence Darrow numbered among his adherents, in teaching if not in actual life.\footnote{Ibid, 112.} The Tolstoy Club was formed in Boston in 1889 and by the turn of the century numbered over a hundred members. The new emphasis upon the ethics of non-resistance which Count Tolstoy made prompted a new devotion to the pacifist cause amongst the intelligentsia. Honor was paid to the New England Non-Resistance Society by him of whom it was said that he "possibly preached a more consistent non-resistance than Jesus,"\footnote{Devere Allen, \textit{FTP}, 532.} when he included the Society's Declaration of Sentiments in his book, \textit{The Kingdom of God Is Within You.}

In 1891 a committee of five was selected to organize the International Peace Bureau. Alfred Love, of whom we have spoken,\footnote{Page} was a member of the committee whose other members
were Fredrik Bajer, Hodgson Pratt, Angelo Mazzoleni of Italy, and Elie Ducommun of Switzerland. The purpose of the committee was for the management of the international peace congresses, which were receiving more and more emphasis as the way to eventual peace. The National Arbitration Committee worked valiantly for the passage of the permanent Anglo-American arbitration treaty which Randall Cremer of England had instigated, conducting a questionnaire of one thousand and two leading men throughout the United States of which number nine hundred and thirty were in favor of the Senate's ratification of the treaty without amendment; that was early in 1897. But in May of the same year the Senate rejected even the skeleton of the treaty which had been padded with almost blanket amendments. The reaction was immediate and loudly vocal. The *Advocate of Peace* spoke for all friends of peace when it stated that the nation stood "self-humiliated and disgraced before the whole world."  

Sentiment was at white heat, what with various international situations developing almost overnight and in such numbers: the first Boer War, British conquest in Nigeria, her recovery of the Sudan, the Cuban Rebellion and the Spanish-American War, revolution in Venezuela, the Philippine

---

Insurrection against United States rule, Britain's second Boer War, and the general unrest in the Orient all coming within hailing distance of each other and contributing materially to international sentiments. In Boston there was great agitation against the imperialistic attitude which the United States government seemed to be assuming in her aggressive attitude toward neighboring states, more especially Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines. The fifteenth of June, 1898, a group of old-fashioned liberals gathered in historic Faneuil Hall and organized the Anti-Imperialist League. With prominent men like Samuel Bradford, William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Carnegie and Mark Twain supporting it, the League lost no time in uncovering and publishing the atrocities which the military men were perpetrating in the Philippines. Cogent tracts were written which displayed the economic folly of the imperialistic policy, as well as the betrayal of the ideals upon which this republic had been founded. Moorfield Storey and Edwin Atkinson were severe and telling in their pamphlets which arraigned the government and especially the industrial capitalists for this policy of imperialism.

In the meantime there had been organized by an unob-

---

40 Curti, P0W, 179-182.
41 Allen, FFP, 490.
trusive little Quaker, Albert H. Smiley, a series of arbitration and peace conferences held annually at beautiful Lake Mohonk in the Catskill Mountains which were destined to carry on each year for twenty-one years, when the World War cut them off abruptly in 1915.43 The technical details of the conferences seem to have little attraction for contemporary peace workers, who point with derision to the fact that the Lake Mohonkers were all subject to Mr. Smiley's censorship since they were his guests; that this hand-picked group functioned under hand-picked chairmen, who were nominated by the host and unanimously elected by the convocation; that controversy was not held in high regard, while conformation to the status quo was held in esteem, prestige seeming to be the ideal rather than how best promote international peace.44 One year the prize for the best essay on arbitration was awarded a cadet at Annapolis, who thought that pacifist methods needed to be revised by adopting a "minimum of safety," a large army and a strong navy! But the number of Lake Mohonkers grew, increasing from thirty at the first conference in 1895 to three hundred in 1910.45 Two outstanding men made numerous addresses at the Conferences: Edward Everett Hale, who had a great affection for Lake Mohonk, and

43 Beales, EOP, 205.
44 Allen, EWP, 482-483.
45 Curti, PON, 142: Reports of the Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration.
David J. Brewer. 46 Although it must be admitted that the politicians, diplomats, business men and educators seemed to take "extraordinary pains not to commit themselves to much of anything," 47 these Lake Mohonk Conferences did popularize the growing sentiment for a permanent international court and lent an air of prestige and respectability to the entire peace movement which it did not have before. It heralded a new day which was to come for the peace movement with the passing of the Spanish-American War and the turn of a new century. But before we leave the last half of the nineteenth century, let us consider a movement which, if less spectacular, was nonetheless of as great and lasting importance for international peace as were these brilliant "flashes in the pan" of the peace movement.

I refer to the increasing prominence which women assumed in the organized peace movement. Prior to the Civil War there was little room in the peace movement or any other public movement for the ladies, although Noah Worcester at the beginning of the century had urged their participation, 48 while in 1838 the issue of women in full membership was of sufficient importance to split the American Peace Society. 49 The

46 See Hale and Brewer, Mohonk Addresses, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1910.
47 Curti, POF, 142.
49 Allen, WEP, 392-394.
New England Non-Resistance Society was the first prominent group to admit women into membership with no distinctions being drawn between them and the men. The League of Universal Brotherhood, Elihu Burritt's radical society, also extended membership, voting privileges, and appointments on committees to the women, although the League was not organized until 1848. It is perhaps to Burritt that the ladies owe the incentive for the first auxiliaries composed entirely of women, called "Olive Leaf" circles, for he was enthusiastic about women's contributions even though he himself remained a bachelor. These Circles which Burritt organized attained great growth for a short while, but they soon died down and became a financial liability to his League. It is perhaps just as well for they were little more than sewing circles or tea parties, which have their value but not as an aggressive force for promoting international peace!

Consequently it was not until after the Civil War that any position of great importance in the American peace movement was filled by a woman. The distinction of being that woman goes to the veteran feminist Lucretia Mott, and the distinction for being far-sighted goes to the Pennsylvania Peace Society, founded in 1865, to which Mrs. Mott devoted

---

51 Curti, APC, 160-161: Burritt, Ms. Journal, March 31, 1848; Sept. 6, 1851; Feb. 10, March 14, April 7, 1853.
heart and soul for the full span of her life, attending an executive committee meeting when at the threshold of death. The same year that the Pennsylvania Society was formed, Alfred Love, president of the newly formed Universal Peace Union, saw to it that his organization's call for members made it plain that admission would be granted to "all persons, irrespective of Sex, Color, Race or Faith." Lucretia Mott became a vice-president and active member of this society as well as the Pennsylvania group. Its declaration, as well as the attitude of the Pennsylvania Society, came three years previous to the formation of the National and American Women's Suffrage Associations!

The first exclusively women's peace society was to become the product of an already famous mind, that of Julia Ward Howe, who, during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, suddenly realized the "cruel and unnecessary character of the contest." Then with the questioning pathos and zeal which characterizes the crusading woman, she asked herself the poignant question:

Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere in these matters, to prevent the waste of that human life of which they alone bear and know the cost?

53 Allen, 275.
54 Allen, 276: Julia Ward Howe, by Laura E. Richards and Haude Howe Elliot, Boston and New York, 1915.
She found the answer to her question in the promotion of propaganda for the organization of a Women's International Peace Association and a World's Congress of Women in behalf of International Peace. So controversial was the subject that it required five meetings in Tremont Temple, Boston, before the American Branch of the Women's International Peace Association was formed with Mrs. Howe as its first president. The zeal now really burning, she journeyed to England where she met with a cool reception and no chances to present her plans for Women's Peace groups before the peace societies in that country. Undaunted but somewhat saddened, she returned to the States and laid plans for the Women's Peace Festival of June second, 1873, none too well attended in any of the cities where it was held and then chiefly dominated by men peace workers. But these meetings had useful purpose in that after they had been held the American Peace Society for the first time elected two women to offices; Mrs. Howe and Mrs. George Beckwith, widow of their late president.

Women were now coming into their own. In addition to

55 Curti, POW, 115: Richards and Elliot, ibid, pp 300, 304.
56 Allen, FEP, 278.
58 Allen, FEP, 280.
Lucretia Mott and Julia Ward Howe there was Belva A. Lockwood, who became one of the first officers of the Universal Peace Union and later founded the National Arbitration Association at Washington in addition to having served for many years on the Commission of the International Peace Bureau. In 1887 the World's and the National Women's Christian Temperance Union formed educational Peace Departments at Nashville, Tennessee, under the direction of Hannah J. Bailey. Another woman in peace work was May Wright Sewall, to whom goes the honor of founding the largest active women's peace organization. So much headway had been made by Mrs. Lockwood and the other women peace leaders that by 1891 Mrs. Sewall felt the time was ripe for a really extensive women's group. She wished to bind the national councils of women in all countries together, a desire which she fulfilled at the World's Congress of Women which met at Chicago during the Columbian Exposition in 1893 when the International Council of Women was organized. Within the next two decades it grew until it included seven million members around the world. Less effective and notable were the League of Women for Universal

59 Allen, FFP, 280.
60 Allen, FFP, 281.
62 Allen, FFP, 281.
Dismantlement, which asked too much to be a popular group, and the American Branch of the Women's Universal Alliance for Peace, founded by Princess Wiszniewska, Victor Hugo's daughter, which was too vaguely idealistic for great gains, although it did secure the signatures of five million women to a statement disapproving war.

It is obvious from these facts that women were on the warpath against war. Their liberty in the field of public endeavor was not granted, and then only grudgingly, until after even the colored slaves were emancipated. Their progress has been almost as amazing if not more so than has been the progress of the colored man. From nineteen hundred on we shall see them so constantly in the limelight of the peace movement that it is impossible to pull out the threads for which they are responsible and examine them separately; to do so would unravel fully half the tapestry. Their contribution for the future can only be hazarded; it is prophesied by Olive Schreiner that:

War will pass when intellectual culture and activity have made possible to the female an equal share in the control and governance of modern national life; it will probably not pass away much sooner; its extinction will not be delayed much longer.

63 Allen, WN, 281.
65 Allen, WN, 281.
66 Boeckel, BNP, 120: Schreiner, Woman and Labor, out of print.
CHAPTER V

TO THE HEIGHTS -- TO THE DEPTHS: 1900-1917

If the period we have just covered could be characterized in a single phrase as the time of increased emphasis upon international arbitration as the solution to world peace, the seventeen years we are to cover in this chapter could likewise be characterized in a single phrase as the period of intellectual attraction of and huge endowments for the organized peace movement. Up to the turn of the century the interest in peace activity had been more or less limited to a few intellectuals who devoted a majority of their time to the peace cause, plus a large number of lesser peoples who, either because of more limited intelligence, time, or money, did not contribute materially to the peace cause excepting as they made the memberships more impressive by mere bulk of numbers. But with the dawn of the twentieth century there also seemed to dawn a new humanitarian outlook, shining equally bright upon the rich, the intellectuals, and the masses. The cause of peace, in short, took a remarkable turn for the better and enjoyed such prosperity and activity as it has never since enjoyed, with the possible exception of the past six years. It was during this period that missionary efforts in the cause of peace were made by foreign countries in the United States. More particularly, there were the
tours of Baron d'Estournelles de Constant from France, Count Albert Apponyi from Hungary, and Baroness Bertha von Suttner from Vienna, Austria. These peace advocate envoys were welcomed warmly wherever they spoke and optimism ran high as to prospects for a permanent peace. Early in the century Dr. W. Evans Darby, secretary of the London Peace Society, wrote Alfred Love that

... never were Peace prospects so promising or Peace sentiment so insistent as at the present moment... The Cause is flourishing now; it has not always been so, but no one will rejoice more heartily or ungrudgingly than we who have borne the burden and heat of the day.²

The reasons for this optimism are not hard to find. The first Hague Conference on disarmament had been held at The Hague, Holland, in 1899; and while it did not produce any great revolution of attitudes amongst the various nations, it did make progress on determining the manner in which judges should be chosen and judicial organs constituted for a permanent world court.³ The second Hague Conference met in 1907 and managed to produce an attempt at a legislative organization which would function in a League of Nations. So far as really concrete results were concerned, both Conferences were failures from the beginning; yet they were significant and of

---

¹ For complete details of these visits, see Moritzen, The Peace Movement of America, New York, 1912, passim.
³ For a good summary of the conference, see Beales, POP, pp 230-238.
importance in that they marked such radical departures from what had been the general attitudes of the various major powers, who heretofore had only vied with each other in the production of armaments rather than in trying to arbitrate with one another, much less set up a permanent Court of Arbitration. Of course it is generally agreed now that the incentive for these Hague Conferences, which were called by the Tsar of Russia, was the fact that Germany had recently completed a new type of artillery and was rapidly equipping its army with the improved gun. France followed her lead. Austria and Russia had to also follow suit or be in danger of inferior force. Russia, however, was already in the red financially and could ill afford such a costly replacement of present equipment. If she could but persuade Austria to not stock the new guns, she would be comparatively safe in not doing so either. Hence the eloquent plea of the Tsar: 4

This notwithstanding, the advocates of peace saw in these Conferences an opportunity to capitalize upon the peace plea and they gave them all the publicity that the public could take. European members of the International Council of Women, the American Peace Society, and the American School Citizenship League even promoted the opening date of the Hague Conference in 1899, May eighteenth, the Tsar of Russia's

4 Allen, FP, 494-495: see R. J. Dillon, The Eclipse of Russia, Doran, 1918, p 269 ff.
birthday, as the date of a national holiday to be called "Goodwill Day", and peace groups throughout the world were urged to make the day "a significant landmark in the movement for international friendship." The day is still sponsored by the World Peace Foundation, the American Peace Society, the National Council for Prevention of War, the Foreign Policy Association, and the American Foundation although it has rather dropped from widespread use since the World War.

New societies were organized and activity increased after the passion of the Spanish-American War subsided. Early in the new century the colleges began taking an interest in peace work; in 1903 the Cosmopolitan Club movement was started at the University of Wisconsin. Within ten short years every leading university had a branch of this group on its campus, with national conventions being held each year. The following year the Intercollegiate Peace Association was formed at Goshen College, a Mennonite school in Indiana. It soon attracted many leading universities and sponsored an annual oratorical contest upon the subject of war and peace. The same year the Inter-Parliamentary Union

5 Boeckel, EWP, 436.
6 Curti, POW, 212; Louis Lochner, "Internationalism Among the Universities," World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, III, Boston, 1913, passim; Moritzen, PMA, 124, 150.
8 Boeckel, TTP, 172; Curti, ibid. Also Moritzen, PMA, 174.
was formed, meeting every two years when its members, representatives of national legislative bodies, consult together and are able to coordinate their work through agreeing upon the best policies for the promotion of world peace.\(^9\)

The most rapid growth, however, was made by the New York Peace Society, organized in 1906 by Professor Ernst Richards of Columbia University. Within one year the Society had grown to over five hundred members, many of them being prominent lawyers, doctors, business men, philanthropists, journalists, and ministers of New York. Andrew Carnegie was made president and he lavished money upon its program, which in one year included addresses before 35,000 financiers, 6,000 members of the bar, 5,000 social workers, 2,000 physicians, and 6,000 supporters of public charities. In addition to this program they sent literature to 25,000 ministers, hundreds of army and navy officers, political leaders, and business men.\(^10\) In 1912 the New York Peace Society reached the peak of its activities and in the same year allied itself with the American Peace Society.

Following fast upon the heels of the second Hague Conference in 1907, Dr. James Brown Scott, a technical delegate to the Conference, formed the American Society for the Judi-

---
\(^9\) Doeckel, TTP, 45.
cial Settlement of International Disputes. A number of eminent jurists were members of the group, which not only popularized the idea of an international court similar to our Supreme Court but delved into the more technical details of setting up such a body and how it should function. It has been said of this Society that they "did more to make the World Court a reality at the end of the World War than any other single factor."\textsuperscript{11} That same year the first American National Arbitration and Peace Congress was held, to be followed by successive Congresses every two years until 1915; its distinctive achievement in 1907 was the launching of the American School Peace League, "the most influential of all the juvenile propagandist bodies in the world."\textsuperscript{12} The successful work of this organization was due largely to the efforts of Dr. Fannie Fern Andrews, a former school teacher herself. Through her the Society won the recognition and support of the National Educational Association and in 1912 of the United States Commissioner of Education, P. P. Claxton, whose department aided in the distribution of literature which the American School Peace League published.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{11} Merle N. Curti, \textit{POW}, 202.
\textsuperscript{12} Beales, \textit{HOP}, 259.
\textsuperscript{13} Curti, \textit{POW}, 210-211: \textit{An Eleven Year Survey of the American School Peace League}, Boston, 1919, passim.
number of other peace societies formed were almost legion; but the whole group caused much less excitement and attention than did the noble gesture of a Boston textbook publisher, Edwin Ginn.

Ginn was one of those who were entertained at Lake Mohonk by Albert K. Smiley, and it was there that he seems to have had his peace convictions strengthened although he never believed that peace was just around the corner as so many did.

In 1910 he concretely expressed his desires for world peace by endowing the International School of Peace with one million dollars, a third of his entire wealth. In December of the same year the name was changed to the World Peace Foundation, with headquarters in Boston. Directed by such capable men as David Starr Jordan, Dr. Charles Levermore, Edwin


15 Allen, TP, 500: "Some people," said Mr. Ginn, "think that we are very near the solution of this military problem. I am not of their opinion. It will take millions of dollars to carry this work to a successful issue. . . . We must seek out and employ those who have the spirit of a Burritt, a Phillips, a Garrison, a Godfrey, a Savonarola."
D. Mead, and Denys P. Myers, the Foundation capitalized upon the publication of such peace classics in the world of literature as Jean de Bloch's *The Future of War* and the popular writings of Norman Angell.\footnote{Curti, *POW*, 202: *Annual Reports of the World Peace Foundation*, passim.} Convinced also of the need for the spread of peace propaganda among youth, the Foundation subsidized the American School Peace League and the Cosmopolitan Club movement. It did not limit its work to these two fields however; it actively supported the work among women's clubs and labor organizations, as well as supplying a company of excellent lecturers for various occasions.

Ginn's example seemed to stir the heart-cockles of another, far more wealthy man than Ginn. In the same month that the World Peace Foundation was instituted, Andrew Carnegie transferred ten millions of his money to a corporation to be known as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Three departments were established: legal, historical, and educational.\footnote{Beales, *EOP*, 267: see the Endowment's *Yearbooks*.} The objects of these departments were the study of the causes of war, the record of pacifist efforts in the past, the development of international law, and the problem of how best influence public opinion against war. It was a noble gesture on the part of Carnegie, who had been actively engaged in supporting peace work for some time. Crit-
icism, however, was soon to be leveled at the Endowment for its use or misuse, as some friends of peace were wont to term it,\(^\text{18}\) of funds. But the Endowment was received on the whole with great enthusiasm. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, spoke of it in laudatory terms at the 1911 Lake Mohonk Conference: \(^\text{19}\)

The establishment of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace marks an epoch, in that it furnishes the organization and the means for a sustained and systematic effort to reach and to convince the public opinion of the world by scientific argument and exposition.

The trustees of the endowment have taken a broad and statesmanlike view of its aims and purposes. While they do not overlook the value of the work of propaganda and intend to aid in carrying it on, they believe that the time has come when the resources of modern scientific method and of modern scholarship should be brought to bear upon the problem of international relations. They believe that the leading jurists and economists of the world should be set at work in the service of humanity to ascertain just what have been and are the legal and economic incidents of war, and just what are the legal and economic advantages to follow upon the organization of the world into a single group of friendly and cooperating nations bound together by the tie of a judicial system resting upon the moral consciousness of mankind, from whose finding there can be no successful appeal.

Carnegie did not stop with the organization of this Endowment; he also supported J. Allan Baker, English Quaker.

\(^{18}\) Curti, \textit{POW}, 205-206: MS. Minutes of the Universal Peace Union, Executive Meetings, Dec. 5, 1909, Swarthmore College Library; International Peace Bureau, MS. Correspondence avec Fondation Carnegie, passim; also a criticism Curti heard when he interviewed various European advocates of peace in 1930.

\(^{19}\) Moritsen, \textit{PM}, 346-347.
reformer, temperance advocate and educationist in organizing the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendships Through the Churches; while in 1914 he bequeathed two million dollars to the Church Peace Union, which had Protestants, Catholics, and Jews alike upon its board of directors. It is interesting to note that the ten million dollars which Carnegie donated to the Endowment was substantially increased during the World War due to the skyrocketing of United States Steel stock, of which the bulk of the endowment was composed.

From this time on until the actual entrance of the United States into the world melee peace organizations sprang up like dragon's teeth. The Nebraska, South Dakota, and Chicago Peace Societies were hosts to Baron d'Estournelles; the Great Lake International Arbitration Society was formed as the result of cooperation between three different promoters, and took for its jurisdiction all the territory bordering or touching the Great Lakes or their tributaries.

21 Devers Allen, in FFP, 509, states: "The original gift from Carnegie was in the form of first mortgage bonds of the United States Steel Corporation totaling $11,500,000; and the War boosted U. S. Steel enormously, its profits jumping from $145,000,000 in 1914 to $532,000,000 in 1919."
22 Moritzen, FPA, 108, 119, 158.
The Buffalo Peace and Arbitration Society was formed in May, 1909, and a little later the Hundred Year's Peace Society of Buffalo was formed to celebrate the hundred years of peace between English speaking nations. National Peace Congresses were held in 1909, 1911, 1913, and 1915, and boasted a permanent organization by merit of the fact its executive committee was composed of a representative from every Peace organization in the United States.24 The American Peace Society obtained special legislative permission to move its offices from Boston to Washington and revised its Constitution in 1912 to admit of federation with the Carnegie Endowment and the absorption of numerous other pacifist bodies.25 Carnegie became convinced that Kaiser Wilhem was the key man for the assurance of world peace and upon that assumption carried on as a go-between in an effort to bring the Kaiser and Theodore Roosevelt together as a peace team;26 he was right in that he thought the Kaiser would be responsible for peace, but only so long as he refrained from war! Protestant churches took up the peace cry, as well as leading rabbis and priests. Benjamin Trueblood, secretary of the American

24 Beales, HOP, 268-269: National Peace Congress Reports, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1915. The 1913 Congress was presided over by Woodrow Wilson.
25 Beales, ibid: Whitney, American Peace Society, chap. XXXIV.
Peace Society, estimated that in 1909 fully 50,000 sermons had been preached on December twentieth, the day set aside by the Society for peace emphasis.27 Mary Baker Eddy and the Christian Science Monitor took up the cry, adding a valuable periodical to the cause of peace. The Young Men's Christian Associations, Christian Endeavors, and numerous other religious and secular bodies propagandized international brotherhood and good will; missionary groups emphasized the importance of their role in foreign fields as interpreters of international relations; the Federation of the Churches of Christ in America formed a peace department which functioned effectively. The Church Peace Union, endowed by Carnegie in 1914,28 offered a prize of one thousand dollars for the best essay on peace, won by Dr. Washington Gladden.29 And in the same year that the Church Peace Union was founded, the powder key was exploded by the spark at Sarajevo.

Almost instantly the atmosphere changed from one of hopefulness for world peace through international cooperation and arbitration to one of determined procurement of peace through the forceable impounding of the "German Mad Dog." The peace movement in Europe folded up like a road map and the American societies, especially the heavily endowed groups,

28 See page 101.
29 Allen, FTP, 340: "The Forks of the Road" was the title of the essay.
withdrew their support from the societies across the sea. Propaganda, pro-ally and pro-German, began to flood the country, with the pro-ally tales in the predominance. Embargo talk was rife but the peace societies failed to support it consistently; indeed, there was definite knowledge that such embargo suggestions were made by German sympathizers, and for the societies to support the German-inspired Embargo Conference and Labor's National Peace Council, organized in 1915 in behalf of an embargo against all belligerants, would have brought charges of pro-German sympathy from so-called stalwart patriots.

Pacifists were being frowned upon and warned to keep quiet; newspapers were spreading the latest threats across the pages in big black letters; subtle gossip was beginning to grow in volume, and intimidations against German citizens were being made surreptitiously. The stage was being set, unconsciously perhaps, perhaps not, but none-theless being set for America's participation in the fracas.

As talk for entrance into the war increased, so did the convictions of some peace workers. In January of 1915 a score of the country's leading women, including Jane Addams, Anne Garlin Spencer, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, representing as many outstanding organizations for women in the country, met at Washington, D.C. Before the

30 Curti, POW, 231, 233.
convention closed it had organized the Women's Peace Party and demanded an immediate conference of neutrals to stop the war and lay down a basis for a just peace. In the same year an International Congress of Women was held at The Hague, with forty-five delegates attending from the Women's Peace Party. This Congress organized the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace, elected Jane Addams as its president, and drew up a far-seeing and intelligent program.

In another section of the country still another financier was bitten by the peace bug. The result was a bold, novel gesture for the peace of the world. Henry Ford had been influenced by Madame Rosika Schwimmer, Hungarian feminist and journalist who helped form the Women's Peace Party, to stage a spectacular "end-the-war" drive in Europe. To this end Ford invited mayors, governors, men of importance in the business world, and outstanding women to voyage across the ocean "to get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas." Sadly enough, however, the world could little understand the strategy behind such an unusual scheme and it little more cared. Ridicule began to pour in upon the enterprise, and by

the time the specially chartered ship, the Oscar II, sailed from Hoboken on December fourth, 1915, many of the best known men and women had deserted the cruise for one reason or another. Ford himself deserted at Christiania as the result of unpleasantries on board ship. The whole scheme seemed to break to pieces upon the rocks of unfavorable criticism and ridicule. But in spite of this buffoonery leveled at the Peace Ship, the crusaders organized a Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation at Stockholm, fulfilling an apparent need for the coordination of scattered efforts of the neutral countries in their efforts to formulate and popularize terms for a just and lasting peace.33 Little else ever came from the grandiose dream which had inspired the motor magnate.34

America then began drifting faster into war, as some of the more far-sighted pacifists could see. The Emergency Peace Federation met in Chicago and drafted a program for peace, including the removal of trade barriers, the neutralization of trade routes, and the equitable distribution of backward regions. This peace resumé was presented to the President and Congress in February, 1915, but was lost in the maelstrom of propaganda and chaotic legislation.35 Then

33 Curti, POW, 245.
34 For complete details, see Louis Lochner, America's Don Quixote, London, 1924, passim.
in the midst of troubles abroad some troubles at home—Mexico.
The oil interests were behind a movement for intervention in
Mexico, where it was charged seizures and unprovoked assaults
upon American properties and soldiers had been made. The
American Peace Society spoke out in favor of helpfulness with
the Mexican government, who had charged that it was being
robbed of its natural resources by American capital. The
International Peace Forum, the Federal Council of Churches,
and the American Union Against Militarism all protested a-
against any aggressive action on the part of the United States,
and finally arbitration won. Again attention was turned
abroad and again speculation ran high, both as to the causes
of the war and how long it would last and who the victors
would be. Various answers had been given as to the causes
of the war, but Roger Babson, leading statistician of the
country, was firmly convinced of the importance which econ-
omic causes played in the fostering of the imbroglio. To
the end of delivering the world from another such war caused
by that same element, the economic situation, he organized
the Society to Eliminate the Economic Causes of War, and
agitated for some of the things which the Emergency Peace
Federation had supported: neutralization of the ocean routes
and the international control of trade.36

36 Curti, POW, 230: The American Sociological Society Pub-
lications, X, Chicago, 1915, pp 124-127; Society to
Eliminate the Economic Causes of War, Monthly Bulletin,
no. 1, August, 1916.
Another solution to the world's peace problems was that offered by the League to Enforce Peace, launched at an impressive meeting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on June seventeenth, 1915. With Taft as its president, the League preceded the League of Nations idea and provided an international army and navy for the enforcement of its sanctions. Because of this it split its support from the other large peace societies; the World Peace Foundation accepted the forcible persuasion for the observance of sanctions, while the American Peace Society, under Trueblood's influence, rejected their plan and clung to the idea of a Congress of Nations fortified by moral sanctions alone. This idea of non-military persuasion was the most prevalent and popular amongst the staunch advocates of peace. The Collegiate Anti-Militarist League spread its organization throughout the college campuses, satirizing the preparedness program which was being emphasized in 1916. James Brown Scott and other jurists threw their support behind such organizations as the World Court League which favored a purely juridical court with no power other than moral suasion to enforce its opinions. This group had been organized in May, 1916, and was

37 Beales, HOP, 292; Hudson, PIO, 16, 104; Curti, POW, 237-240.
founded primarily for the purpose of organizing opinion in favor of the Tribunal recommended by the second Hague Conference in 1907. 40

Two of the staunchest pacifist organizations were the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, founded in England in 1914 and spread to the United States just prior to the War, 41 and the People's Council, organized in the States in June, 1917. 42 The latter group counted two million sympathizers amongst its membership, but not all of them were able to withstand the pressure when America entered the War. Opposed to these groups and at the other pole were such organizations as the National Security League, the Navy League, and others of a formidable militaristic character.

But the War spirit gradually gained impetus to overcome the works of the pacifist and peace groups. With each passing month in 1917 the clouds became more ominous. Pacifists became fewer and the fewer became more tense; frequent assaults were reported on those who dared to preach non-resistance in those trying days. A few brave Congressmen still dared to defy the preparations for war which their colleagues

40 Beales, HOP, 232.
41 Ibid, 236.
were voting day by day; the American Union Against Militar-
ism, the Women's Peace Party, and the Emergency Peace Feder-
ation conducted a vital program which attempted to stem the
tide, the Emergency Peace Federation raising seventy-five
thousand dollars within three days for its campaign, organ-
izing mammoth keep-us-out-of-war demonstrations in New York,
Chicago, and elsewhere. Socialists and radical labor
groups also threw their weight behind the movement; a deluge
of telegrams, letters, and cards fell upon Washington, asking
for non-participation, while the peace lobby kept the cloak
rooms buzzing with propaganda and threats. The climax to
the lobbying was reached when Senator Henry Cabot Lodge as-
saulted a member of a pacifist delegation in the corridor
of the Senate Office building. Press notices played up the
story, discrediting the pacifist and supporting the Senator,
increasing the attendance at a demonstration which the
Emergency Peace Federation held in the evening. Five hundred
irate Baltimoreans descended upon the meeting to break it
up, and it was only through police protection that the meet-
ing was saved. But the moment had passed for demonstrations
—before the meeting had dissolved on that evening of April
second, word was received that President Wilson had declared

43 Curti, P.O.W. 251: The Tribunal, no. 52, March 22, 1917;
Survey, vol. XXXVII, Feb. 12, 1917, pp. 550-551; Walter
Hillis, Road to War, America, 1914-1917, Boston & New
York, 1935, p 388.
War on the Central Powers. 44

The effect upon the peace societies was almost instantaneous, indicating in a superficial fashion at least that they had each determined some time before formal declaration of war into which camp they would pitch their tents: that camp which supported the program of war or that camp which had no tents but withstood the elements bareheaded because they refused the use of force as a persuasive measure. Into the safer domicile there flocked the American Peace Society and all those affiliated with it: the League to Enforce Peace called upon its members to crush the "Prussians"; the Church Peace Union, the American School Peace League and the World Peace Foundation supported the Wilsonian policy; the Carnegie Endowment turned over its offices to Creel's Committee on Public Information, the propaganda agency which successfully hoodwinked the American people; while the Women's Peace Party refrained as an organization from condemning the War. 45 The New York Peace Society likewise aided in the War, as did the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. 46 Few indeed were the groups who dared to remain out in the open with bared heads during

45 Curti, PW, 255.
46 Allen, FFP, 508.
such a maelstrom as war hysteria always produces. Numbered among those who did, however, were the American Union Against Militarism, which persisted until its offices under the name of the Civil Liberties Bureau on Fifth Avenue, New York, were raided and destroyed by a cordon of policemen; the Young Democracy, a group which dared to attempt starting a peace group amidst a time of war, and was all but forced out of business as a result; the Collegiate Anti-Militarism League, which soon disappeared under the heel of the conscription boot; the Emergency Peace Federation, which, having failed in keeping the country out of war, combined with the People's Council, both groups suffering the treatment common to pacifists in that period; and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, but lately conceived and hence with but few adherents on which it could rely. 47 The clergy ran wild with frenzy; here and there men like John Haynes Holmes, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Norman Thomas, and Rabbi Judah L. Magnes kept the faith and their pulpits, while others, such as A. J. Muste, Dr. Sydney Strong, and Arthur L. Weatherly were either persuaded to take a leave of absence, were reprimanded severely, or put out altogether. 48 The announcement that there would be "no conscription of the unwilling" was disregarded as extreme conscientious objectors

47 Allen, FPZ, 503.
were tortured and given heavy prison sentences. When it became apparent that conscription would come the American Union Against Militarism attempted to influence both Secretary of War Newton D. Baker and the Congressional Committee on Military Affairs to grant exemption to all men conscientiously opposed to war, but the limited exemption which was granted did not help the men who refused to perform even alternate service. These were the men whose eyes were gouged out, who were stripped and plunged for long hours under cold showers, prodded with bayonets, thrust head foremost into filthy latrines, chained, manacled, and suspended by the wrists. One of these, a Russian Holokan, told his story:

They dragged me like an animal with a rope around my neck. They shaved my head. They cut my ears. They tore my shirt to pieces and wanted to put me in a uniform. I did not count how many times they beat me. They pulled the hairs off my head like feathers. I was motionless. I only prayed to God to take me from this world of horrors.

How many conscientious objectors were there? The War Department gives a total of 55,368 registrants who professed adherence to non-combatant religious creeds. Adding the non-religious objectors, the total reached 64,693. Of this num-

49 Allen, FFP, 502.  
ber, the claims of 56,830 were recognized and they were allowed to enter non-combatant service: medical, sanitary, ambulance, or hospital work; engineering work; or occupations in the Quartermaster Corps. Those who were sent to concentration camps totaled 3,989; of this number, 1,300 "originally accepted or were assigned to non-combatant service;" 1,200 were furloughed to agriculture, 99 to the Friends Reconstruction Unit in France, with 450 being sent to prison by court-martial. 52

Slowly the War dragged itself to conclusion; but not before the minds, bodies, and souls of men had been seared by the blast of passions unleashed, the least injuries being inflicted on those whose enemies had been on the other side of the trenches, the greatest and most lasting injuries being inflicted on those whose enemies were blood-blinded co-patriots. So far as the organized peace movement was concerned, it came out of the World War in much the same shape as it had emerged from both the Civil War and the Spanish-American War; indeed, it displayed the developed features after these holocausts which had been evident in embryonic form at its birth after the War of 1812. Most men emerged with the profound

conviction that never again would such recourse be made to settle the affairs of nations; and fired by the enthusiasm of their own zeal they overlooked the fact which their fathers had overlooked: that only the sins of the fathers were handed on to the third and fourth generations, and not the empirical convictions which might be formed. America will probably fight again.
CHAPTER VI

THE STRUGGLE RENEWED ONCE AGAIN -- 1918 to 1939

There were two distinct strains of influence which emerged in full chorus from the chaotic thunder of the World War. The first was a chant for a bigger and better army and navy in times of peace; an army which would afford quick and efficient mobilization, armed with the latest equipment, sensitive to the most unexpected call; a navy which would be second to none, modern to the masthead, which would not only respond instantly upon call but would follow our merchant ships whither they chose to go during times of peace. It is quite obvious from whence this melodious tune was played.

The arms and munitions manufacturers quickly learned the lesson of huge profits during times of war and they now sought to extend that profit by maintaining all the armaments the traffic could bear during peace times. Then too, they well knew that such preparedness increased the chances for another war—and greater profits! The military clique gladly danced to this tune and cried for more music—at the taxpayer's expense—for it not only meant money to them but increased prestige, which man has always been wont to cherish even more than money.

The second strain of influence which came wafting with
the returned soldiers was one of sickened nausea from the whole bloody business. Those men who had seen front line fighting did not do much talking about the glories of war, nor the vileneses either; but their silent attitude cried aloud the ephemeral emptiness of the first illusion as well as to the beastly reality of the second. This horror of it all received graphic backing from such photographic records as Lawrence Stalling's *The First World War*, from such vivid writing as that of Henri Barbusse, Alice Cholmondeley, P. H. Gibbs, and many others. These revulsions received further extension among the common people with the publication of such books in later years as Harold D. Lasswell's *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, Harry Elmer Barnes' *Genesis of the World War*, and various other treatises which covered not only the guilt for the War but the vast amount of money it would take to pay for that guilt. Of the societies which went into the War many were lost in the limbo of war spirit shades; a few managed to cross the Rubicon and emerged from the conflict with greater strength than when they

---

1 New York, Simon and Schuster, 1923.
3 *Christine*, Grosset and Dunlap, New York, 1918.
5 For a good bibliography of war fiction, drama, poetry, etc., see Bueckel, *BMJ*, pp. 541-544.
6 Knopf, New York, 1927.
7 Knopf, New York, 1927.
entered. To these we now turn.

Proven by time to be the strongest of the real pacifist peace groups is the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Born on English soil in 1914 and extended to this country during the years of conflict, it was unable to attract enough adherents to be of much influence during the War itself; but in after years its logically sound position won for it the support of intellectuals and sincere pacifists all over the States, its membership reaching well over eight thousand by 1934. The women forsook the non-committal stand they had taken at the beginning of the conflict and in 1919 the Women's Peace Society was formed by the late Fanny Garrison Villard, whose non-resistant convictions were outraged by the spineless attitude which the various peace societies assumed during the War. Still another feminine group that has formed since the World War is the Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere, which also attracted the support of Fanny Villard. These two are listed as the only women's organizations which take the absolutist's stand in opposition to war. They, together with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' League and the Pacifist Action Committee comprise

---

9 Curti, POW, 272: letter from Anna Donaldson to the author, April 27, 1934.
10 Allen, TTP, 287.
11 Ibid, 288.
12 Boeckel, TTP, 151-152.
the absolute pacifist organizations at the present time. But of these, only the two women's groups require a pledge from their members that they will not participate in war!

The War Resisters' League, known officially as the War Resisters' International, was founded in 1921 and has since that time assumed a position of increasing influence. From a membership of nine hundred and eighty-five in 1928 it grew with rapidity to almost ten thousand members in 1935. The purpose of the International is to affiliate the societies in twenty-one countries, building fraternity among them, being at hand to aid the victims of conscription, and developing the philosophy and practice of war resistance.

Another movement which started during the War but which could hardly be called an organized peace unit was that lone agitation which Salmon O. Levinson, Chicago attorney, carried on in an attempt to outlaw war. Beginning with the publication of his outlawry proposal in the March ninth, 1918, issue of The New Republic, Levinson won the support of John Dewey and numerous others. In the next year the idea was elaborated upon by Levinson with the aid of Senator Knox, and the text published in full. The scheme was outlined in a Resolution put before the Senate by William E. Borah on February thir-

14 Allen, FFP, 604.
teenth, 1923, and from that time on discussion of the outlawry principle has increased steadily. Its advocates include, beside Levinson, Dewey, Holmes, and Knox, Judge Florence Allen, Colonel Raymond Robbins, Reverend M. V. Oggel, and Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of the Christian Century and author of the book The Outlawry of War, the most comprehensive and authoritative statement of the ideas underlying the movement.

Functioning with great efficiency since the War has been the National Council for the Prevention of War, an outgrowth from the earlier National Peace Council. Serving as a clearinghouse for seventeen national organizations, the Council was formed in 1921 with representatives from all the member societies participating. It has set a high standard for peace propaganda, distributing over a million and a half pieces of literature in 1934 and reaching over half a million people personally in two thousand addresses made in forty different states. Outstanding in its lobbying activities, the National Council organized what it called the Peace-Action Service in 1932. The object of this department was to con-

16 Allen, FFP, 177.
18 Beales, HOF, 285.
19 See Appendix C, page 151.
tact the constituents of Congressmen in door-to-door, face-
to-face interviews in the various communities. The task seems
almost of infinite magnitude, as it proved to be. Neverthe-
less by 1935 the sponsors of the movement had organized eighty
Peace-Action Committees in twenty-three states. The National
Council also distinguished itself in 1927 by its quick action
in regard to the recurrent Mexican crisis.22

Organized in 1925 by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the Com-
mittee on the Cause and Cure of War embraced the activities
of a number of the leading women's groups throughout the
country, including about one-fifth of the adult feminine
population of the country. Annual conferences were held for
fundamental study of peace questions,24 and as a result the
influence of this women's group was able to reach, through
its local branches in almost every city, town, and village,
an amazing number of citizens.25 The same year, 1925, the
National Study Conference on the Church and World Peace, com-
posed of representatives from twenty-eight communions, reached
the highest mark that cooperative Christian peace expression
had attained since the World War.26 Their unanimous opinion
was that "We are determined to outlaw the whole war system,"

22 Curti, POW, 290-291.
23 See Appendix C, page 150.
25 Curti, POW, 272: "The National Committee on the Cause and
Cure of War--Origin, Aims, Program," New York, undated, p 2
26 Allen, FPP, 48-49.
followed by a Syllabus of Topics, Problems, and Suggestions for Study Groups. This was the first time in recent years that the members of churches were given an opportunity to study the two basic alternative attitudes to war: participation or non-participation. Such an educational policy was reflected in other departments of the peace work. Perhaps the most far-reaching influence is exerted by the World Federation of Education Associations, founded in 1923, bringing together teachers from Europe, America and Oriental countries in its biennial meetings. Not entirely a peace organization, the Federation nevertheless emphasized world peace in its 1929 convention at Geneva and has since that time included peace considerations in its programs. Several school organizations were also formed here in the States, including the School World Friendship League and the American School Citizenship League. Annual oratorical and essay contests on the subject of peace have been conducted by the League of Nations Association, the Brooks-Bright Foundation and several other organizations. Peace parades and demonstrations were sponsored by the various school peace groups; a group known as the "World Heroes" rewarded and publicized acts of outstanding courage performed in the routine course of everyday life; Sunday Schools sponsored the projects of the Committee

27 Boeckel, TTP, 147-148.
29 Curti, PW, 274.
on World Friendship Among Children, including the sending of dolls to Japan, schoolbags to Mexico, and treasure chests to the Philippines. In keeping with the activities of Salmon Levinson the Committee on Educational Publicity proposed that instead of abolishing war by treaties between nations it be outlawed by including its prohibition as a basic principle of international law; and the Committee on Militarism in Education conducted a vigorous campaign against compulsory military training in schools and colleges throughout the land, making its protests felt far and wide even though it operated on a slender budget. This concentrated and effective program of peace education through the medium of the various schools and young peoples produced some definite demands upon the government. For years there had been sporadic agitation for a Department or Bureau of Peace in the Federal government, but in 1925 the demand was given new vigor by the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. Added support was given to the demand by the formation of the American Association for World Peace at Atascadero, California, in December, 1926. The seventy people who constituted this Association adopted as its objective the creation of nation-wide demands that Congress enact a law which would establish a Secretary

30 Boeckel, TTP, 168.
32 Allen, TTP, 248, 249.
of Peace, who would be given a seat on the President's Cabinet and would have at the disposal of his department all funds derived from our Allied war loans for the purpose of educating and preparing the world for peace. These and other groups helped to swell the total of organizations founded for the purpose of studying international relations to twelve hundred by 1926, whereas there had been but one hundred and twenty or less in 1914.

The churches were also active for peace after the War and have continued to be up to this day. In 1927 the Catholic Association for International Peace was organized to study the various aspects of the peace problem and disseminate their findings to the units of their Church; the following year the International Union of Anti-Militarist Clergymen was formed in Holland with permanent headquarters established there; early in this decade the Church Peace Union organized the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion. Individual denominations have established functioning departments of peace within their national

---

33 Notably the No-Frontier News Service, the Foreign Policy Association, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the League of Nations Association, the American Foundation, and the Green International.
35 Boeckel, TTP, 166.
36 Allen, FFP, 617.
37 Boeckel, TTP, 163.
organizations: the Methodist Church with a World Peace Commission, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the Baptist Convention, Unitarian ministers, Mennonites, Friends, Moravians, the Christian Science Church, the Mormon Church, the Congregational Churches, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Theosophical Society, the Bahá'í faith and many other denominational groups have from time to time brought pressure to bear upon the peace problem. Young people's societies of the churches, such as the International Society of Christian Endeavor, the Epworth League, the young people's organizations of the Roman Catholic Church, of the Hebrew Congregations, as well as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations have prepared study courses and pamphlets for group discussion of peace problems and better international relations. In 1928 the youth of the world held their own World Youth Peace Congress in Holland, the American Committee of the World Youth Peace Congress sending a group of United States young men and women as representatives. Plans are now being completed for another World Conference of Christian Youth to be held at Amsterdam, Holland, July twenty-fourth to August second, 1939. The Conference is headed up by the United Christian Council for Life and Work whose permanent headquarters are at Geneva,

38 Bueckel, *TP*, 166-168.
Switzerland.

During the past decade and a half there has become evident a sharp cleavage of opinion amongst peace workers as to what stand one should take in case of war—much the same type of cleavage that existed during and after the Civil War when Elihu Burritt led the radicals. Today, even as then, the radical group stands out strongly in favor of absolute pacifism or passive resistance as it has been called at times.40 In 1928 the American Peace Society conducted a survey of the peace groups that were outstanding at that time. The report of its Commission on Coordination of Efforts for Peace emphasized this lack of unity in the peace movement as a whole.41 A few years later the same cleavage became very apparent when the Inter council on Disarmament and the Emergency Peace Committee attempted a coalition of peace groups:42 the conservative preparedness group was still at the opposite pole from the radical non-resistant phalanx, and neither group cared to compromise with the other. Much the same cleavage exists to this day with occasional evidences of the internal struggle sifting through to the general public.


But while there may be an undercurrent of dissention amongst peace workers when they meet in private session, they are still forging ahead in a more impressive manner than ever before. In 1931 a new type of propaganda organization, World Peaceways, was endowed. Mrs. Estelle Sternberger was selected by the trustees to be its director after the first year had elapsed with no great signs of life being evident. She soon changed that; her first move was one of offices, which were shifted from Union Square to the more exclusive environs of Grand Central Station in New York City. Acting upon the suggestion of Bruce Barton, advertising tycoon of New York, who proposed that the government start an advertising campaign against war, Mrs. Sternberger went to him and obtained the promise to furnish all engraving work free if she could produce a magazine that would run a peace advertisement free of charge. Mrs. Sternberger obtained not only one magazine but five, and in the six years following its first free ad, World Peaceways has had free engraving, free agency service and free magazine-advertising space to the amount of $800,000, with circulations for its advertising in 1938 running over 25,000,000. But Mrs. Sternberger was not content to stop with visual propaganda. She also solicited the aid of the

43 Liberty, Vogue, Vanity Fair, Asia, and The New Yorker.
44 Stanley High, "Peace, Inc.," Saturday Evening Post, March 5, 1938, p 89.
radio and obtained free time for her peace program upon several New York stations. The climax came when she actually persuaded the Squibb Company to sponsor a weekly radio program of current international problem analysis.\footnote{Curti, POW, 275: World Peaceways leaflet, "Streamlining the Peace Machine for 1935", New York, 1935.}

The following year another vigorous organization was formed: the American League Against War and Fascism, which declared that both war and fascism sprang from the same evil root.\footnote{Curti, POW, 286: "American League Against War and Fascism" leaflet, New York, 1935, pp 1-2.} Led by Dr. Harry F. Ward, Union Theological School professor (New York), the League is one of the left-wingers that takes considerable of its ideology from the Communist Party.\footnote{Stanley High, ibid, p 92.} Recently reorganized, the League changed its name to the League for Peace and Democracy, a shift which embodies sound principles of psychology! Over two million names are on its books and it is an outspoken, uncompromising opponent of the war system wherever it is found, although it looks upon pacifism with some disdain.

Then again in 1933 still another institution for peace activity was established, the National Peace Conference, "made up of the representatives of twenty-eight national organizations interested in world peace and justice."\footnote{National Peace Conference, Report of the Director, December 1, 1935 -- November 30, 1937, New York, 1937, p 5.}
The Conference "is not another peace organizations. It is the agency of the bodies represented in it," which now number about forty. A survey conducted recently by the Council revealed that during the first five months of 1937 there were 1,054 peace programs carried on the radio by local stations, with an additional 332 being arranged for by the Council alone.

The contemporary scene is an interesting one. On each side of the National Peace Council are perhaps twenty or more outstanding peace organizations in addition to the Council's forty, ten societies on the right of the Council who think it is too radical, and perhaps ten societies on the left who think it is too conservative. The women's National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War speaks for eleven affiliates with a membership of over 5,000,000. The League of Nations Association, founded in 1922, with Clark M. Fichelberger as director, now has an active membership of over ten thousand with twenty-three branches in eighteen states; the Foreign Policy Association, founded in 1918 but not incorporated until 1928, had an active membership in 1936 of eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy-one, and seventeen local branches;

49 See Appendix C, p 152.
50 Stanley High, ibid, 89.
51 Atwater, OETP, 21.
52 Ibid, 29.
53 Ibid, 19.
the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has over one hundred branches; the Public Action Committee, founded in 1935, has over nineteen thousand active members; the New History Society and the Green International, founded in 1929, over five thousand members. This is but a partial survey of the peace movement as a whole and does not even touch upon the tremendous volume of propaganda which the youth peace movement is putting on the market. The United Student Peace Committee alone put peace conferences and institutes on five hundred college campuses during February of 1938, as well as conducted a nationwide Student Peace Strike on April sixth, with another being scheduled for April twentieth of this year, 1939. Over a million students participate in these annual war-protest demonstrations. Nor have we said much about the efficient peace lobbying system which has been built up in Washington, D.C., with stellar roles being played by Dorothy Detzer of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Mrs. Sternberger of World Peaceways, and Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War.

The cost for such a widespread network of organizations is a factor which many critics of the peace movement fail to appreciate. In spite of the tremendous volume of visual and

54 High, ibid, 89.
55 Atwater, OMP, 35–37.
56 High, ibid, 90.
57 High, ibid, 91.
vocal propaganda which the various groups maintain, the annual operating costs of the combined budgets for the sixty leading groups is only a fraction over two million dollars. Explanation of this fact is found in the low overhead with which its supporters and executives are willing to operate. The average salary for the executive positions is below four thousand per annum, with a majority of the workers receiving but twenty to twenty-five dollars per week. Offices are shabby and overcrowded, cheap rent being the primary requisite rather than convenience and comfort. The fact of the matter is that despite the jeers of its many critics, the organized peace movement is largely operated by crusaders who have a moral conviction against war; for them to accept work other than that which they are now doing would be almost emotionally impossible. Likewise, the fact that they do feel the thrill of reform so keenly enables them to bear cheerfully the meager wages and the dingy offices. If it were otherwise the movement would have sunk long ago into the slough of inactivity, buried by the weight of the financial millstone around its neck.

Just what will be the next move of the organized peace movement is hard to forecast. It is a fact, however, that whatever is undertaken will be supported more or less

58 High, ibid, 89.
enthusiastically by a larger number of people than any other social reform movement has ever had, with the possible exception of the temperance struggle. Organized and endowed peace movements have made the present generation more conscious of the assets and liabilities of both war and peace. The knowledge may prove to be a blessing or it may prove to be a burden to an already overburdened society; but whatever the outcome may be, history will bear testimony to the increasingly important role which the organized movement played in the larger scheme of world destiny.
The history of peace movements is not a story which can be confined to the modern or even to the Christian era. As far back as Isaiah and the Hebraic prophets of the eighth century B.C. there were pleas made for peace. Christ and His disciples taught the most simple and forceful type of peace; a simple formula which each successive generation of prophets and statesmen attempted to improve upon but have not as yet. Numbered among these peace personalities of the first eighteen centuries A.D. are such men as Marcus Aurelius Probius, Pierre Dubois, Dante, Erasmus, Henry IV of France, crucé, Hugo Grotius, George Fox, William Penn, Abbé Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant. While these men may not have been what the contemporary would call a thorough-going example of pacifism, they still had concrete ideas as to how world peace could be obtained. Marcus Aurelius, for instance, a Roman Emperor, loved a good fight, but he was also a builder so he made his soldiers do civil labor between wars and sought in this way to promote a better world during times of peace. Or take Henry IV of France, whose idea of world peace was complete annihilation or subjection of the German or then Austrian House of Hapsburg and the division of the entire continent amongst the fifteen leading powers. A noble end, but hardly a desirable means to the end. Or take yet again Hugo Grotius, whose great contributions in the field of international law still stand today as a tribute
to his genius. Not primarily a pacifist, yet he contributed one of the essentials by which ultimately world peace will be obtained. So it could be said of the others.

Prior to the inception of the organized peace movement in the United States in 1815 there were a number of patriots who saw that there was a higher patriotism than that of national allegiance. Channing, Worcester, Benezet, Watrous, and Dodge, ministers, journalist, and merchant, caught a vision of the higher ideal and opposed the War of 1812 vigorously. At the close of the conflict the organized movement was born, and these men played prominent parts in its inception and stuck by it through thick and thin. The movement spread rapidly from the birth of the first society, the New York Peace Society, founded by Dodge on August 14th, 1814, the Ohio and the Massachusetts Societies coming in the same year. For fifteen years the movement spread rapidly, then came a lull for thirty years. During this lull prior to the Civil War there were two outstanding movements going on: the non-resistance movement, culminating in the founding of the New England Non-Resistance Society in 1838; and the peace work of Elihu Burritt, the most legendary and romantic figure in the history of the organized peace movement. He was the Goliath of the peace movement.

The Civil War interrupted the progress of peace, which did not seem to regain its former drive even by 1900. But with the turn of the century there seems to have been a turn in the prospects of the peace movement, for hopes ran high and member-
ships increased by leaps and bounds. Huge endowments were es-
tablished, Edwin Ginn of Boston starting the fever with a gift
of one million dollars, soon followed by the announcing of An-
drew Carnegie's transfer of ten million dollars to the cause of
promoting world peace. But the World War soon came upon the
scene to again deal a death blow to the peace groups, many of
which gave active support to the conflict in the hopes that
victory would bring the much-sought for world peace.

At the close of the World War activity was renewed again
and with greater vigor than ever before. The press and the
radio were enlisted in campaigns to build up propaganda vol-
ume and memberships. Significant groups that have been organ-
ized are the War Resister's League, the National Council for
the Prevention of War, and the Committee on the Cause and Cure
of War. One of the most successful of the recent groups has
been World Peaceways, which has capitalized upon free adver-
tising space in national magazines. Many of the groups have
memberships of over one million, while the volume of propagan-
da output is almost unbelievable. Yet all this work is carried
on with an annual budget of but little over two million dollars
for the combined work of the sixty leading groups.

The outlook for world peace at the present time is some-
what of a question. Organization and education is better now
than ever before, but international unity is also more easily
upset now than ever before. What the outcome will be, only time
can tell.
OFFICIAL HISTORICAL PEACE PUBLICATIONS,
NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The official peace publications were in the form of annual reports of the peace societies, addresses delivered to peace societies, reports of the international peace congresses, and periodicals of peace organizations. The periodicals themselves are the most important printed materials, as they contain the annual reports and many of the sermons and addresses which also were circulated in tract form.

This appeared as a quarterly.

**Herald of Peace, London.** The first number appeared in January, 1819, and during the first two years, this organ of the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace was a monthly publication. It then became and remained a quarterly magazine.

**Harbinger of Peace, 3 volumes, May 1828 to April, 1831,** a monthly duodecimo of twenty-four pages, and printed wherever the editor, William Ladd, happened to be at the time.


**Advocate of Peace, begun under the editorship of the Reverend George C. Bellwin,** in Boston, in 1836, was edited by him throughout the period, with the exception of the calendar year 1845, when Burritt edited the periodical under the title Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood. The Advocate of Peace was published monthly from 1837 to 1839, and bimonthly from 1839 to 1845. Burritt made it a monthly, but from 1847 on the periodical was again a bimonthly.
The Non-Resistant, the official organ of the New England Non-Resistance Society, begun in 1839, and edited in Boston by William Lloyd Garrison and a committee of the Society. This periodical is invaluable for the left wing of the peace movement. The only file that the writer could find is that in the library of the World Peace Foundation, Boston.

Bond of Universal Brotherhood, the organ of the League of Universal Brotherhood, was begun at Worcester on April 8, 1846. From 1846 until 1856 it was edited and printed in England by Burritt and Edmund Fry. The largest number of copies of this lively, popular monthly is to be found in the American Antiquarian Society.

Christian Citizen. A weekly newspaper published at Worcester, the first number being that of January 6, 1844, and the last being that of May 3, 1851. The only complete file the writer has discovered is that belonging to the American Antiquarian Society. No other printed source rivals the Christian Citizen for the history of the international peace movement from 1844 to 1851.

Christian Mirror, 1825-1827, Portland, Maine (weekly). A study of the indexes of the great collection of periodicals in the American Antiquarian Society resulted in finding that sixty-three periodicals, in the volumes between 1815 and 1860, contained material on the peace movement. Most of the periodicals were of a religious character, and use has been made of a large number of them, as well as of the secular periodicals. British periodicals were Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, North British Review, Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine, Charles Dickens's Household Words, Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, and the Spectator were used. The most useful Continental periodical was the Journal des Économistes, edited by Michel Chevalier, Paris.

———

1 Curti, APC, 232-234.
APPENDIX B

THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE
NEW ENGLAND NON-RESISTANT SOCIETY, 1838

Assembled in Convention from various sections of the American Union, for the promotion of peace on earth, and good will among men, we, the undersigned, regard it as due to ourselves, to the cause which we love, to the country in which we live, and to the world, to publish a DECLARATION, expressive of the principles we cherish, the purpose we aim to accomplish, and the measures we shall adopt to carry forward the work of peaceful, universal reformation.

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government by a resort to physical force. We recognize but one KING and LAWGIVER, one JUDGE and RULER of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which MERCY and TRUTH are met together, and RIGHTEOUSNESS and PEACE have kissed each other; which has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank, or division of caste, or inequality of sex; the officers of which are PEACE, its executors RIGHTEOUSNESS, its walls SALVATION, and its gates PRAISE; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.

Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us, than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury. The PRINCE OF PEACE, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy, but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. GOD COMMANDETH HIS LOVE TOWARD US, IN THAT, WHILE WE WERE YET SINNERS, CHRIST DIED FOR US.

We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If he may use a dagger or a pistol, they may employ cannon, bomb-shells, land and naval forces. The means of self-preservation must be in proportion to the magnitude of
interests at stake, and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and blood-thirsty soldier, thronging these shores from abroad, with intent to commit rape and destroy life, may not be resisted by the people or magistracy, then ought no resistance to be offered to domestic troubleurs of the public peace, or of private security. No obligations can rest upon Americans to regard foreigners as more sacred in their persons than themselves, or to give them a monopoly of wrong-doing with impunity.

The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that THE POWERS THAT BE in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with his will, is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial author of human freedom and equality, unequal and tyrannical. It cannot be affirmed, that THE POWERS THAT BE, in any nation, are actuated by the spirit, or guided by the example of Christ, in the treatment of enemies; therefore, they cannot be agreeable to the will of God; and, therefore, their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects, is inevitable.

We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a foreign foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature, or on the bench, neither can we elect others to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

It follows, that we cannot sue any man at law to compel him by force to restore anything which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others; but, if he had seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak rather than subject him to punishment.

We believe that the penal code of the old covenant, AN EYE FOR AN EYE AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH, has been abrogated by Jesus Christ; and that under the new covenant, the forgiveness in-
stead of the punishment of enemies has been enjoined upon all his disciples, in all cases whatsoever. To extort money from enemies, or set them upon a pillory, or cast them into prison, or hang them upon a gallows, is obviously not to forgive, but to take retribution. VENGEANCE IS MINE—I WILL REPAY, SAITH THE LORD.

The history of mankind is crowded with evidence, proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful dispositions of man can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, for the violent who resort to the sword are destined to perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy,—of safety to property, life and liberty,—of public quietude and private enjoyment,—as well as on the ground of allegiance to HIM who is KING of KINGS, and LORD of LORDS,—we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will insure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assaulting force.

We advocate no Jacobinical doctrines. The spirit of Jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence, and murder. It neither fears GOD, nor regards man. We would be filled with the spirit of CHRIST. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, FOR THE LORD'S SAKE; obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

But, while we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of GOD; to assail iniquity in high places, and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time, when the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdom of our LORD and of his CHRIST, and he shall reign forever.

It appears to us a self-evident truth, that whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned. If, then, the time is predicted, when swords shall be beaten into plough-shares, and spears into pruning hooks, and men shall not learn the art of war any more, it follows that all who manufacture, sell, or wield those deadly weapons, do thus array themselves against the peaceful dominion of the SON OF GOD.
Having thus briefly, but frankly, stated our principles and purposes, we proceed to specify the measures we propose to adopt, in carrying our object into effect.

We expect to prevail, through the foolishness of preaching—striving to commend ourselves unto every man's conscience, in the sight of God. From the press, we shall promulgate our sentiments as widely as practicable. We shall endeavor to secure the cooperation of all persons, of whatever name or sect. The triumphant progress of the cause of temperance and of abolition in our land, through the instrumentality of benevolent and voluntary associations, encourages us to combine our own means and efforts for the promotion of a still greater cause. Hence, we shall employ lecturers, circulate tracts and publications, form societies, and petition our state and national governments, in relation to the subject of universal peace. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings and practices of society, respecting the sinfulness of war and the treatment of enemies.

In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test our sincerity, even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumults may arise against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical, the ambitious and tyrannical, principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, may combine to crush us. So they treated the Messiah, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate. If we suffer with him, we know that we shall reign with him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Our confidence is in the Lord Almighty, not in man.

Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world? We shall not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try us, as though some strange thing had happened unto us; but rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's sufferings. Wherefore, we commit the keeping of our souls to God, in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. For every one that forsakes houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for Christ's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life.

Firmly relying upon the certain and universal triumph of the sentiments contained in this declaration, however formidable may be the opposition arrayed against them—in solemn testimony of our faith in their divine origin—we hereby affix our signatures to it; commending it to the reason and
conscience of mankind, giving ourselves no anxiety as to what may befall us, and resolving in the strength of the LORD GOD, calmly and meekly to abide the issue.
APPENDIX G

CONTEMPORARY NATIONAL PEACE ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS WHICH PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION; WITH NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HAVING ACTIVE PEACE COMMITTEES

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, Dept. of International Relations, Dr. Esther Caukin Brunauer, Research Associate, 1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE OUTLAWY OF WAR
1 North LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill., Salmon O. Levinson, Chairman. An attempt to outlaw war de facto by drastic reduction of armament and a five year holiday in arms construction, as it has been outlawed de jure by treaty.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Peace Section, Ray Newton, Sec'y., 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
Nat. Hq.: 112 East 19th St., New York City. "Seeks to unite in common resistance all organizations and individuals who are opposed to war and facism."

AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY
268 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y. Dr. Harry F. Ward, Chrm. "A movement to unite in common resistance to war and fascism all organizations and individuals who are opposed to these allied destroyers of mankind."

AMERICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

1 Winder, "Organizations in the United States That Promote International Understanding and World Peace," pp 3-12.
AMERICAN SCHOOL CITIZENSHIP LEAGUE
295 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass., Dr. Fannie Fern Andrews, Sec'y. Serves as information and consultation center for literature on international relations to be used by teachers and pupils.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
James Brown Scott, 700 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.

ASSOCIATION OF COSMOPOLITAN CLUBS
M. Frances Pierce, Sec'y.-Treas., 234 Administration Bldg., University of Minn., Minneapolis, Minn.

CARNegie ENDowment FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE*
700 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C., James Brown Scott, Sec'y. Founded 1910, incorporated in N.Y. by acts of Feb. 20, 1929, and Feb. 5, 1930. "To encourage and promote methods for the peaceful settlement of international differences ... and to aid in the development of international law and the acceptance by all nations of the principles underlying such law."

CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE*
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., Elizabeth B. Sweeney, Exec. Sec'y. Founded 1926. Active members -- about 400. "... To encourage the formation of conferences, lectures and study circles: To further, in cooperation with similar Catholic organizations in other countries in accord with the teachings of the church, the object and purposes of world peace and happiness."

CHINA INSTITUTE IN AMERICA
Chih Meng, 119 West 57th Street, New York, New York. "To promote culture between China and America."

CHURCH PEACE UNION
70 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y., Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Sec'y. Holds trust funds spent largely through World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.

COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION IN LATIN AMERICA
Samuel C. Inman, Exec. Sec'y., 254 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York. "To promote friendly relations between the Americans of both continents."

COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA
Hubert Herring, Exec. Dir., 289 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York. "To facilitate the increase of understanding between Americans and Latin-Americans and its consequent friendliness."
COMMITTEE ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG FOREIGN STUDENTS
Charles D. Hurrey, Gen'l Sec'y., 347 Madison Avenue, New
York, New York. "To promote international understanding and
goodwill through friendly service to students from all
nations."

COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION*
2929 Broadway, New York, N.Y., Edwin C. Johnson, Sec'y.
Founded 1925. No membership, but about 2,500 on mailing
list. "The promotion of campaigns in opposition to mili-
tarism in education, and publication and distribution of
materials related to the issues involved in this problem."

COUNCIL OF U. S. VETERANS, INC.
Samuel Robbins, Chrm., 2 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y.
"Preservation of democracy and combating of fascism in
vetern's movement; collaboration towards world peace; de-
fense of Bill of Rights."

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
Walter E. Mallery, Exec. Dir., 45 East 65th Street, New York,
New York. "To study scientifically the international re-
lations of the U. S."

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, Dept. of
International Justice and Goodwill, Walter W. Van Kirk,
Sec'y. 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y. Committee on
World Friendship Among Children, Mrs. Edgerton Parsons,
Chairman, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION*
2020 Broadway, New York, N.Y., Harold E. Fey, Exec, Sec'y.
Founded 1915. Members -- about 8,500. 63 local groups.
"... A movement of Christian protest against war and faith
in a better way than violence for the solution of all con-
flict, international, class, or interracial.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS FORUM
Miss Catharine Sedgwick, Exec. Sec'y., 8 West 40th Street,
New York, N.Y. "To promote interest in accurate, factual
information about foreign affairs as they relate to the
U. S."

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION*
Raymond Leslie Buell, Pres., 8 West 40th Street, New York,
New York. Founded 1918; incorp. 1928. Active membership--
on research and educational activities to aid in the under-
standing and constructive development of American foreign
policy."
FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE, Social Service Committee
Esther Holmes Jones, Chairman, 654 Carpenter Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia, Penn.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS, Dept. of International Relations. Miss Alves Long, 353 West 57th Street, New York, New York, Chairman.

GENEVA SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
Charles C. Bauer, 501 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York. American Section to give information about the six weeks summer session in Geneva.

GIRL'S FRIENDLY SOCIETY OF THE U. S. A., Committee on International Relations. Miss Helen C. C. Brent, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York, Pres.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INC.
Stephen Duggas, Dir., 2 West 45th Street, New York, New York. "To develop international understanding through exchange professors, international fellowships, conferences, literature."

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, American Council
129 East 52nd Street, New York, New York. "To promote the co-operative study of the relations of the various countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean."

INSTITUTION OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
Roy C. Ross, Gen'l. Sec'y., 202 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. "General education work through the churches with peace education as a specific phase."

INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE
Edna R. MacDonough, Exec. Sec'y., 41 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass. "Promotes correspondence between young people in the U. S. and those in 70 different countries and territories. Each summer groups of students go abroad."


LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, INC.
Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler, Exec. Dir's., 112 East 19th St., New York, N.Y. "Education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."
LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATIONS*
8 West 40th St., New York, N.Y., Clark H. Michelberger, Director. Founded 1922. Active members -- approximately 10,000. No. local branches -- 23. "The cultivation of such public opinion as will influence the government of the United States to cooperate to the fullest extent practicable in the activities of the League of Nations and to enter the League of Nations at the earliest possible date."

MEMORIAL DAY COMMITTEE of the Memorial Extension Committee
Eugene Lyons, Sec'y., 11 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y.
A movement to secure national observance of Memorial Day to pay homage to the heroes of peace as well as the heroes of war.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Commission on World Peace, Rev.
Charles F. Boss, Jr., Exec. Sec'y., 740 Rush Street, Chicago,
Illinois. Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, World Citizen-
ship Committee, Mrs. G. H. Tomlinson, Chrm., 720 Simpson
Street, Evanston, Illinois. Woman's Home Missionary Soci-
ety, Christian Citizenship Committee, Miss Ada Townsend,
Chrm., 1719 Hinman Avenue, Evanston, Illinois.

MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT OF THE U. S. AND CANADA
Miss Sue Waddell, Chrm., 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
"To publish literature for the purpose of informing people
in America about conditions in other lands."

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR*
1622 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., 70 East 45th St., New
York, N.Y., Miss Josephine Schain, Chrm. Founded 1925.
Consists of 11 national women's organizations representing
approximately 5,000,000 women. "To aid through education
in creating an enlightened public opinion for replacing the
institutions of war by a well-constructed and successfully
operating peace institution." The member organizations are:
American Association of University Women.
Council of Women for Home Missions.
Committee on Women's Work, Foreign Missions Conference
of W. A.
General Federation of Women's Clubs.
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's
Clubs.
National League of Women Voters.
National Women's Christian Temperance Union.
National Women's Conference of American Ethical Union.
National Women's Trade Union League.
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR

Branch offices:
68 Post St., San Francisco, Calif., E. Guy Talbott, Sec'y.
411 Kraft Bldg., Des Moines, Ia., Hazel B. Richeson, Sec'y.
134 Chestnut St., Springfield, Mass., Gaylord W. Douglass, Sec'y.
612 Stock Exchange Bldg., Portland, Ore., J.J. Handsaker, Sec'y.

Participating Organizations:
American Association of University Women.
American Federation of Teachers.
American Friends Service Committee.
American School Citizenship League.
Church of the Brethren, Board of Christian Education.
Committee on Militarism in Education.
Fellowship of Reconciliation.
General Alliance of Unitarian Women, Committee on Social Service.
General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends.
International New Thought Alliance.
National Council of Federated Church Women.
National Council of Jewish Juniors.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.
National Reform Association.
National Women's Trade Union League.
Peace Association of Friends in America.
Women's Missionary Union of Friends in America.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Cooperating Organizations:
Central Conference of American Rabbis.
Council of Women for Home Missions.
International Reform Federation.
International Society of Christian Endeavor.
National Consumers' League.
Osteopathic Women's National Association.
Rabbinical Assembly of America.
United Synagogue of America.
Women's Branch, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.
Women's League of the United Synagogue of America.
World Peace Union.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE U. S., INC.
Mrs. Ruth Haller Ottaway, Pres., Hotel Astor, Times Square,
New York, N. Y. Chm. International Affairs, Mrs. Arthur
Jaques, 243 Atlantic Avenue, Lynbrook, Long Island, N. Y.

NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE*
8 West 40th St., New York, N.Y., Walter Van Kirk, Director.
Founded 1933. "To provide a method of consultation, mutual
aid and the carrying out of joint projects among representa-
tives of peace organizations and other organizations which
have peace departments or departments of international re-
lations." Meets once a month and is directed by a Steering
Committee. State and Local peace councils may affiliate
without privilege of voting. The organizations which be-
long are:
American Association of University Women.
American Friends Service Committee.
American Unitarian Association.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
Catholic Association for International Peace (Consultative)
Central Conference of American Rabbis.
Church Peace Union.
Committee on Militarism in Education.
Council for Social Action of the Congregational and
Christian Churches.
Council of Women for Home Missions.
Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the
Federal Council of Churches.
Department of Social Education and Action of the Presby-
terian Church (Consultative)
Fellowship of Reconciliation.
Foreign Missions Conference.
Foreign Policy Association (Consultative)
Friends General Conference.
General Conference Commission on World Peace of the
Methodist Episcopal Church.
General Federation of Women's Clubs.
Institute of International Education.
International Association of Altrusa Clubs.
International Society of Christian Endeavor.
League of Nations Association.
National Board of the Y.W.C.A.
National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.
National Council of Federated Church Women.
National Council of Jewish Women.
National Council for Prevention of War.
National Council of the Y.M.C.A.
National Executive Board of the Woman's Auxiliary,
Episcopal Church.
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.
National Student Federation.
Public Action Committee.
United Student Peace Committee.
United Synagogue of America.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.
World Peace Foundation.
World Peaceway, Inc.
Cooperating Organizations:
Connecticut Peace Conference.
New Jersey Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.
New Jersey Joint Council on International Relations.
Rhode Island Council for Peace Action.
Buffalo Peace Council.
Chicago Peace Council.
Council for the Furtherance of International Understanding.
Denver Peace Council.
Des Moines Peace Council.
New Haven Peace Conference.
Palo Alto Peace Council.
Rochester Peace Council.
Rockland County Peace Association.

NATIONAL STUDENT FORUM ON PARIS PACT
Dr. Arthur Charles Watkins, Dir., 532 17th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. "To obtain and maintain in every American high school curriculum an adequate study of international relations in the light of the Paris Pact."

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, Dept. of International Relations for Peace. Mrs. May Bell Harper, Dir., P.O. Box 566, New Haven, Conn.

NEW HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GREEN INTERNATIONAL)*
132 East 64th St., New York, N.Y., Mirza Ahmad Schrab, Exec. Sec'y. Founded 1929. Membership -- 5,000. Caravan of East and West is youth section, Mrs. E. S. Chandler, Chair. "Words for a United States of the World and a Universal Religion."

PAN AMERICAN UNION
Dr. E. S. Rowe, Dir. Gen'l., 17th & C Streets N.W., Washington, D.C. "The official organization of 21 republics of the American Continent. Its main purpose is to establish closer relations between the nations of America."
PAN-PACIFIC UNION
Alexander Hume Ford, Dir., Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A. "To advance mutual understanding by means of international conferences."

PEACEMOBILES (PEACE FILMS CARAVAN)
1331 Geddes Ave., Ann Arbor, Michigan, Dr. V. S. Onderdonk, Dir. "A national clearing house and library for peace posters, lantern slide lectures, talking and silent motion pictures. Specializes in visual techniques. Provides films, projector and screen with a discussion leader for indoor or outdoor meetings."

PEACE PATRIOTS*

PUBLIC ACTION COMMITTEE* (on Legislation affecting International Peace) 30 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 4412, A.C.A. Bldg., New York, N.Y., Mrs. Seth Milliken, Chrm. Founded 1935. Active members -- 10,000. "To provide American citizens with information so that they may act unitedly and effectively on legislative peace measures.

SCHOOL WORLD FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE
S. Leal G. Hovenstein, Exec. Officer, Westmoreland, Calif. "To place world friendship teaching in the schools as a correlated subject with all others in the curriculum."

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE (Affiliated with the War Resisters' International)* 171 West 12th St., New York, N.Y., Jessie Wallace Hughan, Sec'y. Founded 1924. Enrollment -- 10,462. "To unite men and women who have determined to give no support to any war."

WORLD FEDERATION OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS
Dr. Uel W. Lamkin, Sec'y. Gen'l., 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (U.S. Section)* 1734 7 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., Miss Dorothy Detzer, Exec. Sec'y. Founded 1915. Active members number approximately 12,000. Total, universal disarmament; substitution of peaceful settlement for violent coercion for settlement of all conflicts; development of a world organization for political, social and economic cooperation of peoples.
WOMEN'S PEACE UNION
4 Stone St., Room 314, New York, N.Y., Tracy D. Mygatt, Acting Sec'y. "Working for an Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S. which will make war and all preparation for war illegal."

WORLD ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES* 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., Henry A. Atkinson, Gen'l. Sec'y. Founded 1914. To enlist the churches of the world in a joint endeavor to promote international friendship among the nations and to avoid war.

WORLD PEACE ASSOCIATION
Jenkins, Minn., Carl A. Ryan, Sec'y-Treas. World peace through establishment of real democracy in state, national and world governments.

WORLD PEACE FEDERATION

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION*
40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. and 8 West 40th St., New York, N.Y., George H. Blakeslee, Pres. "To make the facts of international relations available in clear and undis-torted form." Founded 1910 by Edwin Ginn.

WORLD PEACE MISSION
12 North 2nd St., Minneapolis, Minn., J. Fredstrom, Exec. Officer. "To secure men and women in U. S. and Canada who will serve as missionaries for world peace."

WORLD PEACE UNION (International office at Geneva, Switzerland)
2132 2nd Avenue, Seattle, Wash., Mrs. F. R. MacKenzie, Exec. Officer. "To cooperate with all existing peace organizations and coordinate the work of all."

WORLD PEACEWAYS, INC.*
103 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y., Estelle M. Sternberger, Exec. Dir. Founded 1931. To develop techniques of mass education on international issues, specializing in magazine, newspaper and radio advertising.

YOUTH COMMITTEE FOR THE OXFORD PLEDGE
242 East 14th Street, New York, N.Y.

For more detailed information, write the organization about which information is desired. Those organizations which
are starred (*) are listed in Elton Atwater's publication, "Organized Efforts in the United States Toward Peace." Washington: The Digest Press, 1936. He treats each of these more fully than I have had space for here.
APPENDIX D

CONTEMPORARY STATE AND LOCAL PEACE SOCIETIES

"In addition to this list there are probably many local groups working for peace about which we have no information. There are also innumerable local peace committees of church groups and of branches of the various national organizations."\(^1\)

**ALABAMA**

- **Auburn**
  - Auburn Peace Council, J. E. Wheeler, Jr., Chrm., 112 East Magnolia Avenue.

- **Montgomery**
  - Montgomery Peace Commission, Mrs. Brevard Jones, 419 Cloverdale Road.

**ARKANSAS**

- **Hot Springs**
  - Hot Springs Peace Council, Miss Carrie Lou Ritchie, Sec'y, Y.W.C.A.

**CALIFORNIA**

- **Berkeley**
  - Berkeley Peace Council, Mrs. Margaret C. Hayes, 117 Tamalpais Road.

- **Los Angeles**
  - California Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Helen Lyle Creed, 1188 Cragmont Avenue.
  - Council on International Relations, Dr. J. Eugene Harley, 715 South Hope Street, Pres.
  - Long Beach Forum, Dr. Frederick Roman, 214 Loma Drive.
  - Los Angeles Peace Council, Mrs. John C. Urquhart, 1673 Roosevelt Avenue.
  - Southern California League of Nations Association, Mary J. Workman, 2424 Gramercy Park, Sec'y.

- **Oakland**
  - Oakland Peace Group, Mrs. Alice G. Robbins, 5350 Lamtan Avenue.

---

Palo Alto  Palo Alto Peace Council,
 Mrs. H. J. Rathburn, Stanford Y.W.C.A. Stanford
 University, Calif.
 Palo Alto Women's International League for
 Peace and Freedom,
 Mrs. Eugenia M. Frost, 275 Lowell Street,
 Chrm.

Pasadena  Pasadena Peace Council,
 Rev. Richard Morgan, Neighborhood Ch.,
 Calif. and Pasadena Avenues.

Riverside  Riverside Peace Council,
 O.W.N. Cook, 3688 Main Street, Chrm.

San Diego  San Diego Peace Council,
 Wm. Forshaw, 1061 Cypress Way, Pres.

San Francisco  National Council for Prevention of War
 --
 Western Office,
 E. G. Talbutt, 68 Post Street, Room 224,
 Regional Sec'y.
 San Francisco Peace Council,
 Mrs. Paul Raymond, 68 Post Street.

San Mateo  San Mateo Peace Council,
 Mrs. Hassel Smith, 27 Hayward Avenue.

Santa Barbara  World Friendship Club,
 Rev. O. H. Bronson, 250 El Bosque Road.

Santa Monica  Santa Monica Bay Council,
 Mrs. Cora Conklin, Palas Verdes Estates

Stockton  Stockton Council for Prevention of War,
 Rev. Clarence M. Vickland, 435 South Tuxedo Avenue, Pres.

COLORADO

Denver  Church Men's Planning Commission,
 Platt R. Lawton, Y.M.C.A., Sec'y.
 Denver Peace Council,
 Mrs. L. Allen Beck, Y.W.C.A. Building.
 Denver Women's International League for Peace
 and Freedom,
 Miss Olive V. Armstrong, 1322 Barronock Street.

Fort Collins  Fort Collins Peace Council,
 Mrs. Lester Stimmel, 416 Locust Street.

CONNECTICUT

Guilford  Guilford Council for Peace Action,
 Rev. Lewis Biggs, Park St.

Middletown  Committee on Civic Interests,
 Frederick J. Billefield, Chrm., 81 Russell
 Street.

New Haven  Connecticut League of Nations Association,
 Mrs. Florence L. C. Kitchelt, 133 Orange
 Street, Exec. Dir.
Waterbury  Waterbury Council for Peace Action,  Miss Marjorie M. Farley, 120 Roseland Avenue, Sec'y.
Westport  Fairfield County Women's International League,  Mrs. John A. Baker, Guard Hill, Pres.
Willimantic  Willimantic Peace Action Council,  Carl Bond Webber, 315 Valley Street, Pres.

DELAWARE
Wilmingon  Delaware Women's International League,  Mrs. Jesse W. Phillips, North Road, Lindamere.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Washington  D.C. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,  Mrs. Lyle Williams, 1900 F Street, N.W.,  Chrm.
  Washington Council on International Relations,  Dr. Ellery C. Stowell, 2014 Hillyer Place,  N.W.,  Chrm.

FLORIDA
Gainesville  Inter-Collegiate Peace Council,  Richard Lovelace, University of Florida,  Pres.
Winter Park  Peace Action Society,  Edwin L. Clarke, Box 32, Rollins College,  Pres.

GEORGIA
Barnesville  Georgia Peace Society,  John Tate, Pres.

ILLINOIS
Bellwood  Peace Action Committee,  John W. Zunkel, 147 Bellwood Avenue.
Chicago  Chicago Council on Foreign Relations,  Clifton Utley, Room 1535, 140 South Dearborn Street, Dir.
  Chicago Peace Council,  Katherine E. Hunter, 75 East Wacker Drive,  Room 1313, Sec'y.
  League of Nations Association, Mid-West Office,  Walter H. C. Laves, 75 East Wacker Drive,  Room 1313, Dir.
Galesburg
Knox County Peace Committee,
Rev. W. Harvey Young, 79 Arnold Street, Pres.
Cosmopolitan Peace Council,
Rev. E. Paul Sylvester, First Congregational Church, Chr.

La Grange
La Grange Peace Council,
Rev. E. Paul Sylvester, First Congregational Church, Chr.

McNabb
Putnam County Peace Council,
Mrs. Lucretia S. Franklin, Chr.

Peoria
Emergency Peace Campaign,

Pontiac
Pontiac Peace Action Committee,
I. S. Johnson, 810 West Reynolds.

Rockford
Rockford Peace League,
David Connolly, Pres., 826 N. Main St.

St. Charles
Fox Valley Youth Peace Council,
Bob Marshall, 423 South 7th Street.

Sullivan
Moultrie County Peace Committee,
Albert Walker, Chr.

Urbana
Illinois Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
Mrs. William A. Noyes, 114 West Oregon Street, Pres.

INDIANA

Fort Wayne
Ft. Wayne Peace Council,

Goshen
Goshen College Peace Society,
Guy E. Hersberger, Chr.

Indianapolis
Mid-West Council on International Relations,
E. J. Unruh, 8 East Market St., 432 Insurance Bldg., Dir.

International Goodwill Comm. of Federation of Churches,
Mrs. Frances Dean Streightoff, 733 East 33rd Street, Chr.

Richmond
Richmond Council on International Relations,
C. Franklin Koch, 333 South 7th Street.

IOWA

Ames
Ames Women's International League,
Mrs. Edward S. Allen, 509 Welch Avenue.

Davenport
Council of International Relations,
Rev. W. H. Upton, 1517 Main Street, Chr.

Des Moines
Des Moines Peace Council,
Dr. Stoddard Lane, 4125 Ingersoll Avenue, Chr.

National Council for Prevention of War,
Mid-West Office,
Hazel B. Richeson, 411 Kraft Bldg., Sec'y.
Iowa City  League for Peace,  
         M. W. Lampe, University of Iowa, School of  
         Religion.
Marshalltown  Marshall County Council for the Prevention  
         of War,  
         Wendell P. Maulsby, 308 North 2nd Street,  
         Chrm.
Sioux City  Sioux City Peace Council,  
         Mrs. C. A. Hoyt, 1117 19th Street.

KANSAS
Arkansas City  Peace Council,  
            Harold Crums, 732 North Second.
Caney  Peace Committee,  
            R. E. Shelton, 505 East 5th Street, Chrm.
Emporia  Emporia Peace Council,  
            Conrad Hansen, Y.M.C.A., Sec'y.
Hutchinson  Reno County Peace Council,  
            Ruth Lawrence, 511 Wolcott Building, Exec.  
            Sec'y.
Newton  Newton Women's International League,  
            Mrs. E. E. Hershberger, Bethel College.
Strong City  World Peace Commission of the Kansas Conference  
            M. E. Church,  

KENTUCKY
Louisville  Louisville Women's International League,  
            Mrs. Harry M. Wetter, 1795 Yale Drive.  
            Peace Action Association,  
            W. P. King, 1422 Heyburn Building, Pres.

LOUISIANA
New Orleans  Louisiana League for Peace and Freedom,  
            Mrs. H. B. Gessner, 119 Audubon Boulevard,  
            Pres.
            New Orleans Peace Council,  
            Mrs. Joseph Friend, 1807 Palm Avenue.

MAINE
Bangor  Bangor League for Peace and Freedom,  
            Dr. Charles G. Cumming, 437 Hammond Street.
Portland  Portland League for Peace and Freedom,  
            Rev. Vincent B. Silliman, 105 Pine Street.

MARYLAND
Baltimore  Maryland Peace Conference,  
            Rev. Asbury Smith, 3021 Frederick Avenue.  
            Baltimore Peace Congress,  
            Louis Hilbert, Jr., 15 Ridge Road, Catons-  
            ville.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Contact Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>Maryland Women's International League for Peace and Freedom</td>
<td>Mrs. Dorothy Medders Robinson, 162 East Main Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agawam</td>
<td>Peace Action Committee,</td>
<td>Mrs. Ralph D. Pond.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardston</td>
<td>Peace Action Committee,</td>
<td>Miss Elinor Barber.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Boston Fellowship of Reconciliation,</td>
<td>Rev. George L. Paine, 6 Park Street, Pres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Massachusetts League of Nations Association</td>
<td>Miss Irene Armstrong, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Director.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Massachusetts Women's International League for Peace and Freedom</td>
<td>Doris McElwain, 6 Byron Street, Exec. Sec'y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brockton</td>
<td>Brockton League for World Peace,</td>
<td>Mrs. David B. Matthews, 15 Oakland Avenue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Braintree</td>
<td>World Affairs Club,</td>
<td>W. W. Barrows, 24 Willard Street, Chrm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easthampton</td>
<td>Peace Action Committee,</td>
<td>Archibald V. Galbraith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Longmeadow</td>
<td>Peace Action Committee,</td>
<td>Frederick Wheeler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>Committee on World Peace of the Community Church,</td>
<td>Rev. Ralph M. Barker, 9 Chapel Street, Chrm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framingham</td>
<td>Emergency Peace Campaign,</td>
<td>Homer Y. Dodge, 51 Clark Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holyoke</td>
<td>Holyoke Council on World Relations,</td>
<td>Mrs. Joseph M. Towne, 215 Linden Street, Chrm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newburyport</td>
<td>Newburyport Peace Council,</td>
<td>Norman F. Grant, 24 Huseley Avenue, Pres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carver</td>
<td>Carver League for Peace Action,</td>
<td>Rev. M. Walker Coe, 2 Plymouth Street, Chrm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsfield</td>
<td>Berkshire County Women's International League</td>
<td>Mrs. Charles M. Perry, 68 Elizabeth Street, Pres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>Peace Action Committee,</td>
<td>Rev. Carl Knudsen, Brewster Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich</td>
<td>Peace Action Committee,</td>
<td>Rev. Joseph B. Lyman, Sec'y.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
South Hadley Peace Action Committee,
Raymond Smith.
Springfield National Council for Prevention of War,
New England Office,
Gaylord W. Douglass, 134 Chestnut Street,
Regional Sec'y.
Stoneham League for Peace Action,
Mrs. John D. Mowry, 10 Cottage St., Sec'y.
Waltham Massachusetts Committee for Peace Action,
Mrs. Anna Wharton Wood, 755 Main Street.
Wellesley Hills Wellesley Peace Action Committee,
Weston Peace Action Committee,
Mrs. Arthur Morse, Pigeon Hill Road.
Worthington Peace Action Committee,
Miss Jane Tuttle.

MICHIGAN
Ann Arbor Peace Council,
Miss Alice Brigham, 831 Taplan Court, Sec'y.
Detroit Detroit Peace Council,
C. A. Smith, 12303 Roselawn, Sec'y.
Women's International Education Council,
Mrs. Benjamin Bush, 100 Lawrence, Pres.
Michigan Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
Mrs. H. S. Burlingame, 436 Linden Street,
Birmingham.
Flint International Goodwill Comm. of Association of Flint Churches,
Herbert C. Gans, 421 Odette Street, Chrm.
Grand Rapids Foreign Affairs Association,
Dr. Ben H. Massalink, 125 Lafayette Avenue, N.E.
Jackson Peace Council,
Mrs. Carl S. Winters, 712 Woodfield Drive, Pres.
Muskegon Muskegon Peace Unit,
Mrs. Henry J. Pyle, 1368 Fifth Street.

MINNESOTA
Duluth Duluth Peace Council,
Judge Bert Peeler, Court House.
Minneapolis Minneapolis Peace Council,
Mrs. H. J. Bessesen, 4204 Pillsbury Avenue.
Minnesota Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
Mrs. Hugh E. Wilcox, 24 S. E. Melbourne Street.
MISSISSIPPI
Jackson
Jackson Peace Committee,
Rebbe Meyer Lovitt, Edwards Hotel.

MISSOURI
Cape Girardeau
Cape Girardeau Peace Council,
Mr. Ira D. Crewdson, 1005 Good Hope, Chrm.

Fulton
Fulton Peace Conference,
Mrs. Mabel Hall, Maugho Hall, Chrm.

Kansas City
World Peace Council of Kansas City,
Miss Bonita Ferguson, 644 West Meyer Boulevard, Pres.

Kirksville
Adair County Peace Council,
Mrs. Ida B. Burrough, 802 South Davis Street, Sec'y.

Nevada
Peace Action Committee,
Miss Helen Corbett, 702 West Austin.

St. Joseph
Saint Joseph Peace Council,
Clarence A. Spear, Logan Building, Pres.

St. Louis
Missouri Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
Mrs. Charles Rodewald, 7233 Kingsbury Ave.
Peace Action Committee of Missouri,
Don Ellinger, 753 Clark, Webster Groves, Exec. Sec'y.

Peace Action Committee of Greater St. Louis,
Dale R. Johnson, 6925 Columbia, University City, Chrm.

St. Louis Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace,
Mrs. H. W. Chadeayne, 4944 Lindell Boulevard, Chrm.

St. Louis Council of Organizations Promoting Peace,
Mrs. Milton S. Landau, 116 Kings-Way Hotel.

Springfield
Peace Action Committee,
Frances Moore, 1059 East Walnut Street, Sec'y.

Webster Groves
Webster Groves Peace Council,
Mrs. A. Wehrli, 114 Park Road, Pres.

MONTANA
Missoula
Missoula Council on Education for Peace,
Miss Astrid Arnoldson, 412 Montana Bldg.

NEBRASKA
Lincoln
Lincoln Peace Council,
Leon Thompson, 210 N. 13th St., Exec. Sec'y.

York
York Peace Council,
Rev. Ray West.
### NEVADA
- **Reno**
  - Reno Peace Council, Rev. Henry B. Thomas, University and Eighth St., Chrm.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE
- **Andover**
  - Eastern Branch of Student Forum on International Relations, Miss Mary N. Chase, Sec'y.
- **Canaan**
  - Peace Action Committee, Rev. C. E. Savage.
- **Concord**
  - New Hampshire Peace Union, P. O. Box 326; Miss Agnes Ryan, Mill Road, Durham, Chrm.
- **Franklin**
  - New Hampshire League of Nations Association, Miss Genevieve Jaastad, 66 North Main Street.
- **Henniker**
  - Henniker Peace Council, E. S. Tucker, Box 35, Sec'y.
- **Manchester**
  - Manchester League for Peace Action, Edgar W. Poore, 2nd, 25 Dearborn Street.
- **Walpole**

### NEW JERSEY
- **Atlantic City**
  - Atlantic City Peace Council, Mary Carrington, 905 Pacific Ave., Pres.
- **Brielle**
  - Shore Peace Council, Mrs. M. J. W. Strong, Monmouth Co.
- **Camden**
  - Camden County Council on International Relations, Mrs. A. Haines Lippincott, 406 Cooper St.
- **Chatham**
  - Chatham Peace Committee, c/o Mrs. Stuart D. Whitlock, 8 Ward Place.
- **Essex Fells**
- **Glen Ridge**
  - Glen Ridge Peace Action Committee, Mrs. Alfred M. Hinrichs, 76 Lincoln Street, Chrm.
- **Jersey City**
  - New Jersey Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Mrs. Hiram Elfenbein, 146 Bowers Street, Chrm.
- **Madison**
  - Madison Council on Foreign Policy, Dr. Dorr Diefendorf, Mead Hall, Drew Theological Seminary, Pres.
- **Millburn**
  - Millburn Peace Action Council, Mrs. Judson K. Stickle, 80 Whitney Road, Short Hills.
- **Millville**
  - Millville Council on Foreign Relations, Gordon C. Boardman, 904 East Main Street, Pres.
- **Montclair**
  - International Relations Council, Mrs. Walter L. Kidde, Jr., 8 Ninding Way, Verona, N. J.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Contact Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Montclair (Continued)</td>
<td>New Jersey League of Nations Association</td>
<td>C. Alexander Capron, 41 Bradford Avenue, Upper Montclair, Chrm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>New Jersey Committee on Cause and Cure of War</td>
<td>Dr. Emily Hickman, 77 Nichol Avenue, Chrm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>World Peace Workers of the Oranges and Maplewood</td>
<td>George Grim, 460 New England Terrace.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plainfield</td>
<td>Plainfield Council for World Friendship</td>
<td>Miss Alice Adams, 404 Watchung Avenue, Exec. Sec'y.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somerville</td>
<td>Somerville Peace Council</td>
<td>Clifford W. Ergood, 54 West Main Street, Sec'y-Treas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westfield</td>
<td>Westfield International Council</td>
<td>Malcolm B. Ayres, 319 East Dudley Avenue, Chrm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodstown</td>
<td>Woodstown Peace Action Group</td>
<td>Charles J. Darlington, 26 Bower Avenue, Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW MEXICO</td>
<td>Santa Fe</td>
<td>Santa Fe Peace Council</td>
<td>Charles Menton, Box #945, Chrm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW YORK</td>
<td>Auburn</td>
<td>Peace Council of Auburn and Vicinity</td>
<td>Mrs. Walter S. Davison, 80 North Street, Chrm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brooklyn Women's International League</td>
<td>Mrs. Ann G. Gottlieb, 1833 East 16th Street, Exec. Sec'y.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Buffalo  Buffalo Peace Council,  
Dr. Albert G. Butzer, Westminster Presbyterian Church.

Catskill Catskill Peace Group,  
Mr. Francis A. Ruf, 2 Franklin St., Chrm.

Elmhurst Queensborough Div. of N. P. C.,  
Rev. C. L. Willard, Jr., 84-07 Broadway,  
Long Island, N.Y.

Elmira Elmira Women's International Peace Council,  
Mrs. Carl Tanner, West Lower Maple Avenue, Chrm.

Flushing Flushing Peace Society,  
Howard W. Hintz, 207-09 109th Ave. Hollis,  
Long Island, Chrm.

Gloversville Gloversville Council for International Peace,  
Miss Frances Peek, 13 Orchard Street.

Lockport Lockport Peace Council,  
Mr. Le Grand O. Robson, 387 High Street.

Mt. Vernon Mt. Vernon Peace Council,  
Rev. Carl S. Weist, East Lincoln & Gramaton Avenues, Chrm.

New York Greater New York League of Nations Association,  
8 West 40th Street.

Niagara Falls New York Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,  
Miss Lyn Smith, 150 Fifth Avenue, Room 612, Exec. Sec'y.

Orangeburg Rockland County Peace Association,  
Mrs. John Hevin Sayre, Oratamin Pines, R.F.D.

Penn Yan Yates County Peace Council,  
R. L. Canuteson, 602 Liberty Street, Pres.

Pleasantville Peace Action Committee,  
Miss Alice Wardell, 204 Edgewood Avenue.  
Pleasantville Peace Forum,  
Everett G. Leonard, 57 Mantling Avenue.

Pulaski Pulaski Peace Action Committee,  
Mrs. Howard Lawrence, 37 Lake Street.

Red Hook Dutchess County Peace Society,  
Rev. Lawrence French, R.F.D.

Rochester Rochester Peace Council,  
Dorothy J. Morris, 1314 Temple Building,  
Exec. Sec'y.

Rome Rome World Peace Committee,  
Mrs. George P. Cladding, 1312 North Madison Street.
Saratoga Springs  Saratoga Springs Council of Peace,  
Kathryn M. Starbuck, 94 Lake Avenue.

Schenectady  Schenectady Peace Service Council,  
G. L. Williams, 17 North Ferry Street.

Springville  Springville Peace Council,  
Rev. George E. Ulp, 66 Main Street.

Statens Island  Staten Island Council for World Peace,  
Mr. Craemer Berger, 475 Victory Boulevard.

Syracuse  Syracuse Peace Council,  
W. J. Whitney, 1010 Hills Building, Chrm.
Syracuse Women's International League,  
Mrs. Horace A. Eaton, 332 Ostrom Avenue.

Utica  Oneida County World Peace Committee,  
Mrs. Frances B. Stewart, 1645 Kemble Street,  
Chrm.

**NORTH CAROLINA**

Charlotte  Charlotte Women's International League,  
Mrs. Francis O. Clarkson, 227 Cherokee Road.

Greensboro  Guilford County Peace League,  
Rev. J. Elwood Carroll, 222 North Edgeworth  
Street, Pres.

Greenville  Greenville Council for Peace Action,  
W. A. Ryan, Pres.

Lumberton  North Carolina Peace Action Committee,  
Miss Ann Courtney Sharpe, 1102 North Chestnut Street.

Raleigh  Raleigh Women's International League,  
Mrs. Donal Anderson, State College Station.

**OHIO**

Akron  Akron Council for Peace Action,  
Mrs. Harry G. Long, 1777 West Market Street.

Canton  Peace Action Council,  
E. L. Schug, 806 Portage Street, North Canton.

Cincinnati  Cincinnati Peace League,  
Mrs. Alfred D. Moore, Erie Avenue, Glendale,  
Exec. Sec'y.
Cincinnati Women's International League,  
Mrs. Mary Brita, 23 Mt. Auburn Avenue, Mt.  
Auburn.
Peace Heroes Memorial Society,  
Dr. Abraham Cronbach, 842 Lexington Avenue,  
Sec'y.

Cleveland  Cleveland Women's International League,  
Miss Mary Knuckroff, 300 Engineers Bldg.  
Foreign Affairs Council,  
Miss Polly Prescott, 922 Society for Savings  
Bldg., Exec. Sec'y.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Contact Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Columbus</td>
<td>Peace Action for Franklin County,</td>
<td>Miss Mary L. Born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20 South Third Street,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exec. Sec'y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dayton</td>
<td>Ohio League of Nations Association, Regional Director</td>
<td>John S. Moore, 312 Ludlow Building, Regional Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodi</td>
<td>Lodi Peace Group,</td>
<td>Louis J. Quade, 402 Medina Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martins Ferry</td>
<td>Social Service Commission of the Ohio Baptist Convention</td>
<td>Rev. Earl L. Grose, First Baptist Church, Chrm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>Oxford Peace League,</td>
<td>Mrs. A. C. Wickenden, Bonham Road.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painesville</td>
<td>Painesville Peace Action Council,</td>
<td>Ellsworth P. Allen, 212 Gillette Street, Exec. Sec'y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>Portsmouth Peace Committee</td>
<td>Rev. Charles W. Sultzbach, 5725 Gallia St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plymouth</td>
<td>Peoples War Prevention Movement,</td>
<td>Rev. John C. Campbell, 23 Sandusky Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiffin</td>
<td>Tiffin Peace Action Committee</td>
<td>A. G. McQuate, Y.M.C.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilmington</td>
<td>Wilmington Peace Committee</td>
<td>H. Elsie McCoy, 161 College Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oklahoma City</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponca City</td>
<td>Ponca City Peace Action Committee,</td>
<td>Mrs. David Ellison, 716 West Highland Avenue, Chrm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulsa</td>
<td>Tulsa Peace Council,</td>
<td>John Rogers, Drew Building.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OREGON</td>
<td>Eugene Council for Promotion of Peace,</td>
<td>Mrs. Helen Kerr Maxham, 1608 Alder Street, Sec'y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>National Council for Prevention of War,</td>
<td>J. J. Handsaker, 612 Stock Exchange Bldg., Regional Sec'y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Portland Peace Council,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Harry Johnson, 433 S.E. 70th Avenue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>Portland Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Continued)</td>
<td>Mrs. James G. Wilson, 3439 N.W. Thurman St.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Portland Women's Peace Council,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Nathan Harris, 2225 N.W. Glisan Street,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Salem Peace Council,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Faith Friday, 645 North Summer Street.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENNSYLVANIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allentown</td>
<td>Allentown Council for Prevention of War,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. William F. Kosman, 1618 Walnut Street,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easton</td>
<td>Easton Peace-Action Association,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Margaret Cobb Rogers, 520 McCartney Street,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erie</td>
<td>Erie County Peace Council,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. W. T. Vandeaver, 135 West 10th Street,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gettysburg</td>
<td>Adams County Peace Fellowship,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rev. D. P. Putman, 231 Spring Avenue, Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glen Mills</td>
<td>Delaware County Women's International League,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Lovett Dewese, Chrm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrisburg</td>
<td>Harrisburg Peace Council,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Jeanette Seneff, Penn-Harris Hotel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Roger B. Stone, 2418 North 2nd Street,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chrm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewisburg</td>
<td>Union County Council for Prevention of War,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prof. Cyrus H. Karraker, 307 South 6th St.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meadville</td>
<td>Meadville Fellowship for Peace,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Matilda Walser, 419 Randolph Street,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chrm.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>Media Council for Prevention of War,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hugh Bonner, 10 South Avenue, Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkwood</td>
<td>Conowingo Peace-Action Committee,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Ruth King, Sec'y.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Friend's Peace Com. of the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard R. Wood, 304 Arch Street, Exec.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sec'y.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Speakers' Bureau on International Affairs,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Anne H. Price, 304 Arch Street, Dir.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northeast Peace Council,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E. Williams, 4615 Van Kirk Street.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pennsylvania League of Nations Association,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Besse D. Howard, 1906 Rittenhouse Square,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Philadelphia
(Continued)
Pennsylvania Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
Mrs. Mildred Scott Olmsted, 1924 Chestnut Street, Exec. Sec'y.
Philadelphia Peace Council,
C. M. Clark, 1924 Chestnut Street, Sec'y.

Pittsburgh
Allegheny County Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
Mrs. Charles I. Reizenstein, 206 Stanwix Street, Pres.
Council for Progressive Action,
Yoder P. Leith, 751 East Shady Drive.

Reading
Peace League of Berks County,
Miss Jeannette Jamison, 513 Oley Street, Sec'y.

Sewickley
Committee on Education in Ways of Peace,
Miss Margaret S. Campbell, 130 Woodland Road, Pres.

Shamokin
Northumberland County Peace Action Committee,
Leona M. Kerstetter, 619 West Pine Street.

Shippensburg
Shippensburg Peace Committee,
Rev. Olden D. Mitchell, 117 South Prince Street, Sec'y.
Youth Peace Council,
Miss Lena Black, North Prince St., Pres.

State College
Peace Action Committee,
John H. Ferguson, 233 West Beaver Avenue, Pres.

Wilkes-Barre
Luzerne County Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
Mrs. Charles M. Loveland, 104 West River Street.

York
York Peace and Temperance Society,
Emmanuel Hoover, 618 Hudson Street, Pres.

RHODE ISLAND
Providence
Rhode Island Committee on Cause and Cure of War,
Miss Alice U. Hunt, 2 Angell Street, Chrm.
Rhode Island Council for Peace Action,
Irwin M. Tobin, 32 Westminster Street, Exec. Sec'y.
Rhode Island League of Nations Association,
Bishop G. G. Bennett, 32 Westminster Street, Chrm.
Rhode Island Peace Society,
Willis White, 49 Westminster Street, Pres.

Westerly
Westerly Council for Peace Action,
Elizabeth Perry, 4 Margin Street, Pres.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Peace Council</th>
<th>Contact Person(s)</th>
<th>Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>Huron</td>
<td>Huron Peace Council</td>
<td>Rev. Walter H. Riley, Box 539.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sioux Falls</td>
<td>Sioux Falls Peace Council</td>
<td>Prof. E. W. Thornton, Sioux Falls College.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>Chattanooga</td>
<td>Tennessee Council for Prevention of War</td>
<td>Abbie Crawford Milton, 508 Ft. Wood Place,</td>
<td>Chr..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clarksville</td>
<td>Montgomery County Peace Society</td>
<td>P. F. Claxton, Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Knoxville</td>
<td>Knoxville-Morris Women's International League</td>
<td>F. F. Frantz, 3318 Woodhill Drive.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Knoxville Peace Council</td>
<td>Mr. Neal Spahr, Mercantile Bldg., Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nashville</td>
<td>Nashville Peace Society</td>
<td>Noah T. Cooper, 808 Broadway, Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nashville Youth Peace Council</td>
<td>Constance Rumbough, 1215 18th Avenue, South.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>Austin</td>
<td>Austin Peace Council</td>
<td>Mrs. T. L. Outlaw, 408 West 23rd Street,</td>
<td>Sec'y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Texas Women's International League</td>
<td>Mrs. David Lee Clark, 606 Park Place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fort Worth</td>
<td>Ft. Worth Committee on Cause and Cure of War</td>
<td>Mrs. H. V. Shank, 2005 Hawthorne.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td>San Antonio Peace Association</td>
<td>Mrs. Jay Adams, Sr., 161 Gramercy, Sec'y.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>Salt Lake City</td>
<td>Salt Lake City Peace Council</td>
<td>Amos Bagley, Keith Building, Sec'y.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Utah Peace Council</td>
<td>Dr. Frederick W. Ganzert, University of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Utah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bennington</td>
<td>Bennington County Women's International League</td>
<td>Mrs. Homer H. Webster, 318 Silver Street.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brownsville</td>
<td>Peace Action Committee</td>
<td>Charles Hyde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middlebury</td>
<td>Middlebury Peace Council</td>
<td>Henry Cornwall, R.F.D., Pres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Montpelier</td>
<td>Montpelier World Peace Forum</td>
<td>H. Mae Bullard, 206 Main St.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>Peace Action Committee, Louis Hubbard.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutland</td>
<td>Rutland Peace Council, Mrs. Samuel Frank, 79 Lincoln Avenue.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg</td>
<td>Lynchburg Peace Council, Dr. R. E. Montgomery, Lynchburg College.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>Norfolk Peace Council, Dr. C. H. Gordon, First Christian Church.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petersburg</td>
<td>Peace Council of Petersburg, John M. Duncan, 1573 Berkeley Avenue.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>Richmond Peace Council, Dr. Thomas D. Mason, State Office Building, Pres.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke</td>
<td>Virginia Women's International League, Mrs. J. H. Whitner, Rural Free Delivery.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>Seattle Peace Council, Miss Beatrice Shipley, 4054 Brooklyn Avenue.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacoma</td>
<td>Seattle Women's International League, Mrs. Bert C. Mitchell, 4126 12th Street, N.E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tacoma Committee for Peace Action, Stanley T. Shaw, 2506 North Lawrence, Chrm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairmont</td>
<td>Peace Action Council, W. C. Whaley, 1003 Morgantown Avenue, Pres.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheeling</td>
<td>West Virginia Women's International League, Mrs. Junietta K. Pollock, 115 Edgewood Street.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fond du Lac</td>
<td>Fond du Lac Voters Peace Council, Mrs. G. F. Brown, 33 North Main Street.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenosha</td>
<td>Kenosha Peace Council, Mrs. Mary D. Bradford, 6028 3rd Avenue.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>Wisconsin Voters Peace League, Fred A. Hale, 625 Mendota Court.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wisconsin Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Mrs. H. T. Sondergaard, 2510 Kendall Avenue.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>World Fellowship Council of Wisconsin Women, Congregational Social Action Committee, Mrs. J. S. Bornder, 533 Randall Avenue.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milton</td>
<td>Milton Peace Action Committee, Gwendolyn Crandall, Chrm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>Milwaukee Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Mrs. August C. Backus, Jr., 1820 East Fox Lane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ripon
Foreign Policy Association,
Prof. A. A. Fehlandt.

Rhinelander
Wisconsin Committee on Cause and Cure of War,
Mrs. L. A. Ledbetter, Chrm.
APPENDIX E

CONTEMPORARY NEWS PERIODICALS AND MAGAZINES
DEVOTED TO PEACE PROPAGANDA

ADVOCATE OF PEACE THROUGH JUSTICE. American Peace Society, Washington, D.C. Published quarterly, $3.00 a year.

BI-WEEKLY INFORMATION SERVICE. Foreign Policy Association, N.Y. $5.00 a year.

BULLETIN of the Pan American Union. Washington, D.C. Monthly, $2.50 a year.

FEDERAL COUNCIL BULLETIN. Federal Council of Churches, N.Y. Issued monthly, except July and August, $1.00 a year.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS. 25 West 43rd St., N.Y. Quarterly, $5.00 a year.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS. 34 Victoria St., London, S.W. Monthly, 50 cents a year.


LEAGUE OF NATIONS CHRONICLE. League of Nations Association, Chicago, Monthly, 50 cents a year.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS NEWS. League of Nations Association, N.Y. Monthly, $1.00 a year.

THE MESSENGER OF PEACE. Peace Association of Friends in America, Richmond, Ind. Monthly, 50 cents a year.


NEWS BULLETIN. Foreign Policy Association, N.Y. Weekly, $1.00 a year.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS. P. O. Box 1561, Honolulu, Hawaii. Monthly, $32.00 a year.
PAX INTERNATIONAL. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D.C. Monthly, 50 cents a year.

RECORDS OF PROGRESS INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. Yellow Springs, Ohio. Quarterly, $2.00 (Students $1.50), a year.

UNITY. 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Weekly, $3.00 a year.

THE WORLD TOMORROW. 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, N.Y. Monthly, $2.00 a year.

WORLD UNITY. 4 East 12th St., N.Y. Monthly, $3.50 a year.¹

¹ Boeckel, TTP, 202-203.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, Devere
The Fight for Peace.
New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. FFP

Andrews, Fannie Fern, compiler.
"The Promotion of Peace."

Atwater, Elton
"Organized Efforts in the United States Toward Peace."
Washington: The Digest Press, 1936. OETP

Beales, Arthur Charles F.
The History of Peace.
London: Bell, 1931. HOP

Boeckel, Florence Brewer
Between War and Peace.
New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928. EWP

Boeckel, Florence Brewer
The Turn Toward Peace.
New York: Friendship Press, 1931. TTP

Boyle, Homer L.
History of Peace.

Butler, Nicholas Murray
The Path of Peace.
New York: Scribner's Sons, 1933. POP

Butler, Nicholas Murray
The Path to Peace and Addresses on Peace and Its Making.
New York: Scribner's Sons, 1930. FTF

Carr, William G.
Education for World Citizenship.
Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1928. EWC

Chamberlain, W. J.
Fighting for Peace.
London: 1929. FFP
Cruttwell, C. R. M. F.
A History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World.
London: Oxford University Press, 1937. APC

Curti, M. E.
The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860.

Curti, Merle Eugene
Peace or War: the American Struggle, 1636-1936.
New York: Norton and Co., 1936. POW

Ferrero, Guglielmo
Problems of Peace, from the Holy Alliance to the League of Nations.
New York: 1919. POP

Fosdick, Harry Emerson
A Guide to Understanding the Bible.
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938. GUB

Galpin, William Freeman
Pioneering for Peace.
Syracuse, N. Y.: The Bardeen Press, 1933. FPP

Gooch, G. P. and others.
In Pursuit of Peace.
London: Methuen, 1933. IPP

Hale, Edward Everett and David J. Brewer
Kohouk Addresses.
Boston: Ginn and Co., 1910. MA

High, Stanley
"Peace, Inc."
The Saturday Evening Post, March 5, 1938, p 8 ff.

Hudson, Manley O.
Progress in International Organization.

Jordan, David Starr and Edward Benjamin Krehbiel
Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation.

Ladd, William
Essays on a Congress of Nations.
New York: Reprint by James Brown Scott for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1918. ECN
Laski, H. J. and Zimmerm
Problems of Peace.
New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. POP

Marvin, E. S., editor.
The Evolution of World Peace.
London: Milford, 1921. MWP

Mead, Lucia True Ames
"Educational Organizations Promoting International Friendship,"] pamphlet No. 6, part 4.
Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1912.

Mead, Lucia Ames
Law or War.
Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1928. LOW

Mead, Lucia Ames, editor, and others.
The Overthrow of the War System.

Mead, Lucia Ames
Swords and Ploughshares.
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912. SAP

Moritzen, Julius
The Peace Movement of America.
New York: Putnam, 1912. MLA

National Peace Conference.
Report of the Director.

Nilsson, Anna T.
A. B. C. of the Peace Movement.
Geneva: International League of Youth, 1932. ABC

Peace Year Book.
London: National Peace Council, 1933. FYB

Phelps, Christina
The Anglo-American Peace Movement in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. AAP

Reinsch, Paul S.
Public International Unions.
Boston: 1916. PIU
Roberts, Mary
Peace Societies, and the Scenes Which Have Occurred Within
the Last 60 Years.

Spauld, Hebe
Women Peace-Makers.
London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1924. WPM

Trueblood, E. F.
The Development of the Peace Idea and Other Essays.
Ed. by E. D. Head, Boston: 1932. DPI

VanKirk, Walter
Highways to International Good-Will.

Walker, Williston
A History of the Christian Church.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. MCC

Waller, Bolton C.
Paths to World Peace.
London: Allen and Unwin, 1926. PWP

Winder, Mary Ida
Organizations in the United States That Promote International Understanding and World Peace.
Washington: National Council for Prevention of War,
February, 1936. OIU

Yearbook of the Women's Peace Party
The Women's Peace Party.
Chicago: 1916. WPP

York, Elizabeth
Leagues of Nations, Ancient, Medieval and Modern.
London: 1919. LMA