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Illusion and Failure? Efforts for Peace before World War I

THOUGH I was born in London and spent most of my childhood and youth there, from May 1909 to July 1911 I was at a small private school in Walmer, Kent. I arrived there soon after my seventh birthday. Many memories of those distant years remain vividly with me. One of them provides an introduction to this paper.

Sometime early in 1910, I think it must have been, after an attack of whooping-cough, my father took me back to school. To look at in the train he bought for us a copy of the *Strand Magazine*, then a monthly journal with a wide circulation, thanks to contributions from some of the best-known story-tellers of the day.[1] Looking through the magazine, I came upon an exciting, illustrated article describing a possible sudden invasion of England by Germany. Both the text of the article and the drawings were very realistic. I can still almost see the pages. I have an even clearer remembrance of my father's dismay, when he found what I was reading, and the haste with which he took the magazine from me.

This trivial incident belonged to the period of growing concern at the growth of the German Navy and its possible threat to British supremacy on the seas. War was beginning to be talked about as a dread, though hardly credible possibility. But there were also in those years serious efforts after international understanding and peace. It is about two of them that I want to speak, after this interval of seventy years. The one is associated with the name of Norman Angell, who in 1909 published at his own expense a substantial pamphlet under the title *Europe's Optical Illusion*. After an unpromising start, it suddenly became a famous best-seller under the title *The Great Illusion*. The other effort on behalf of disarmament and peace is associated with the name of J. Allen Baker, a Quaker, who had at a by-election in 1905 become the Liberal—or as he preferred to say—"Radical" M.P. for East Finsbury, a London seat which had been in Conservative hands for many years. In 1908 and 1909 Baker arranged an interchange of visits between German and British church leaders. Out of these visits came "The Associated Councils of Churches in the British and German Empires for Fostering Friendly Relations between the Two Peoples". This in turn developed into an important contributory stream to the modern ecumenical movement, namely, The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

These two movements—that associated with Norman Angell and

that associated with J. Allen Baker—ran side by side in those fateful years before World War I. I bring them together because of two comments, which it is well to bear in mind as we face our own international problems and dangers. In his autobiography Norman Angell calls his efforts a "movement for political rationalism" and quotes the comment: "What that movement needed was time, and time was the one thing denied it"; "denied it largely" (he says) "by one of those accidents which determine the timing of history."[2] The accident was, of course, the shooting of the Austrian Archduke in Sarajevo on 26th June, 1914. When, ten days later, Allen Baker got home from Constance after the abandonment of the international and inter-church conference, which was to have organised the leadership of the Churches in the cause of peace, he broke down crying: "They've beaten us, they've beaten us; we were too late."[3]

Let me give a few details about each of these movements in turn. I should perhaps first declare a personal interest in Norman Angell. Born in Holbeach, Lincolnshire, in December 1872, his full name was Ralph Norman Angell Lane. He and my father were second cousins and shared many relatives in East Anglia. After an education, which was partly in France, Ralph Lane at the age of eighteen ran away to America. To begin with he faced considerable hardships there, driving cattle across the Mexican border, but at length became a journalist. In 1898 he left the United States for Paris and within a few years found himself editing the continental *Daily Mail* for Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe).

Soon after getting back to Europe young Norman Angell (to use the name which he adopted and by which he became known), then thirty years ago, published his first book *Patriotism under Three Flags—A Plea for Rationalism in Politics*. He later described it as "a first attempt to deal with a phenomenon which was to disturb, perplex and frighten me during the whole of my life . . . the tendency of human judgment in social and political matters to be utterly distorted, warped and twisted, both in its interpretation of objective fact and in its estimate of the means by which a given policy can be carried into effect; distorted by emotional forces within ourselves, forces whose nature, of whose very presence, indeed, we seemed for the most part to be unaware."[4] Much the same thing was later said with greater academic authority by Graham Wallas, by Wilfred Trotter in his famous book *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* (1916) and by Reinhold Niebuhr. All of them pleaded that while recognising the dangerous emotional forces to which men and nations are subject, serious efforts be made to face facts and to be "reasonable".

Norman Angell's first publication attracted little or no attention and for the next few years he was too busy to follow up his concern. But by 1906 the tensions between the nations of Europe were increasing. The Anglo-French Entente, which King Edward VII had fostered, led to estrangement between Britain and Germany. The possibility of war became a topic of conversation and the Northcliffe press played

on the theme. Norman Angell says that at weekend gatherings Northcliffe arranged at Sutton Place, he tried to discuss things with him and others "in realist terms", but found that almost all of them accepted "either dangerous half-truths or complete and utter fallacies" about human nature and international politics.[5] Certainly Church leaders were slow in appreciating the dangers. In October, 1905 the Archbishop of Canterbury (Randall Davidson) was asked by an Anglo-German Conciliation Committee to sign an address to the people of both countries protesting against the mere thought of armed conflict and urging "co-operation in friendship for their common interests and the peace of the world." After consulting the Conservative Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, the Archbishop thought he had better not give his name to such an address.[6] Yet three months later—in the interval Balfour had resigned as Prime Minister and had been replaced by Campbell Bannerman and a Liberal Government about to gain a sweeping victory at the polls—the new Foreign Secretary, Edward Grey, wrote to the new Secretary of State for War, R. B. Haldane: "Persistent reports and little indications keep reaching me that Germany means to attack France in the spring. . . . You might suddenly be asked what you could do. Fisher says he is ready."[7]

It was in these circumstances that Norman Angell decided to try again. He wrote *Europe's Optical Illusion,* a pamphlet of one hundred pages, printed it at his own expense, published it through Simpkin Marshall and sent it to a hundred papers for review. It received virtually no notice. As a last gesture, when the pamphlet was about to be remaindered, he sent copies to between two and three hundred public men in Britain, France and Germany. At first nothing happened. Then a personal letter to the radical Norfolk-born journalist, H. W. Massingham, who had become editor in 1907 of the *Nation,* an influential progressive weekly, secured a two page review. It was by H. N. Brailsford, son of a Methodist minister, who was becoming well-known for his left-wing views. This proved the turning-point for Norman Angell. In 1910 a greatly enlarged version of *Europe's Optical Illusion* appeared from William Heinemann's under the title *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to their Economic and Social Advantage.* It went through many editions, was read by Cabinet ministers and even by Edward VII, and within eighteen months had been translated into all the European languages and into Arabic, Turkish and Japanese. Brailsford doubted whether any man since Tom Paine and William Cobbett had written so forceful, inspired and successful a pamphlet.

The sequel was strange and revealing, however. Norman Angell was arguing against the popular adage *Si vis pacem, para bellum.* He sought to prove the futility of war and its disastrous consequences for victors and vanquished alike. All too many readers took him to mean that any major conflict had become impossible because of the complex and inter-related systems of international finance, industry and commerce. His warnings about the liability of nations, as well as indi-

viduals, to be ruled by their emotions rather than by reason were ignored. "Seldom was a book more discussed and less understood," wrote D. C. Somervell some years later.[8]

Yet Norman Angell and a small group of friends tried hard to get his message understood. In 1912 he moved from Paris to London. A wealthy industrialist, Sir Richard Garton, established the Garton Foundation "to promote and develop the science of International Polity and Economics as indicated in the published writings of Mr. Norman Angell." Both Balfour and Lord Esher—an influential figure at the time, with continental connections—served on the board of the foundation and Esher's younger son was its secretary. In 1913 a magazine began to appear—*War and Peace: A Norman Angell Monthly,* which had many distinguished contributors from every side of politics and industry. They included Bertrand Russell, Ramsay Macdonald, Goldsworthy-Lowes Dickinson, Philip Snowden and G. M. Trevelyan.

Meantime the international sky had become more threatening. Dreadnought building went on on both sides of the North Sea. The Balkans were in revolt against Turkish rule. French and German interests clashed in North Africa. In June, 1911 Germany—with what H. A. L. Fisher calls "great unwisdom"[9]—sent a gunboat to Agadir, a small port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. A fortnight later, on 21st July, Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and much in the public eye because of the controversies over his "People's Budget" and his inflammatory speeches, took the occasion of a Mansion House dinner to bankers to say in what Thomas Jones calls "masterful language": "If a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated, where her interests were vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of Nations . . . then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation, intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."[10]

It is said that the initiative for this declaration was Lloyd George's own, but he had shown this passage in his speech to the Prime Minister (Asquith) and to Sir Edward Grey. As Lloyd George was thought of abroad as leader of the more pacific wing of the Cabinet and generally friendly towards Germany, what he said was taken as a Cabinet declaration, which it was not. The speech caused great excitement in Germany and rumours were rife there that the British fleet was planning an attack on Kiel. The Kaiser was very proud of being Queen Victoria's eldest and probably favourite grandchild. In 1907 and 1908 he had tried—probably quite genuinely, if somewhat ham-handedly—to improve relations between Germany and England.[11] But he was highly-strung. Lloyd George's speech upset him and he moved away from his more cautious Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, into the camp of Admiral Tirpitz, once described by Churchill as a "sincere, wrongheaded, purblind old Prussian".[12] No less serious in

the long run was the fact that Professor Adolf Harnack in Berlin, who had enthusiastically supported the efforts to bring the churchmen of the two nations together, became growingly disillusioned.

To the activities of J. Allen Baker and the leaders of the Churches we must now turn.

With a long Quaker ancestry and a Canadian upbringing, Allen Baker's interest in peace was second nature. Within a year or so of his arrival in the House of Commons, he was variously known as "the fighting Quaker" and "the Member for Peace and Goodwill". He took a special interest in the second Hague Peace Conference of 1907. This, it was hoped, would lead to some restricting of armaments and the setting up of a Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice. These discussions stemmed from an initiative taken by the Tsar Nicholas II. Baker had joined the small group of Radicals in Parliament, who opposed the Naval Estimates. He formed a close friendship with Sir Willoughby Dickinson (who had earlier served with him on the London County Council). Then in 1906 he was appointed President-Elect of the Metropolitan Free Church Federation. This was a vigorous body at the time and had a full-time secretary of its own. Baker decided to use his official position in 1907 to do something through the Churches to draw the German and British peoples closer together in the cause of peace. In the Federation secretary, the Rev. William Thomas, a Welshman, who had had a lengthy pastorate in East London, Baker had an eager and efficient helper. He was also strongly supported by Dr. John Clifford, already in his seventies, but still a formidable campaigner, who had opposed the Boer War. A Committee of Peace Workers, which included representatives of the Peace Society—a body formed as long ago as 1816—was presenting a memorial to the second Hague Conference. Baker went with them and there made contact with German Church leaders.

The result was a visit to England from 26th May to 3rd June, 1908, of one hundred and thirty German churchmen "in the cause of Peace and friendly relations". Ninety-five of them were Protestants (that is, Lutherans and Evangelicals). Among them were Dr. Dryander, the Kaiser's Senior Court Chaplain, and Professor Martin Rade, editor of *Die Christliche Welt,* which since 1886 had been a growingly influential periodical, liberal in both its theological emphasis and its social concern. There were fifteen Roman Catholics in the party and nineteen who were known as Free Churchmen. They were feted in Southampton on arrival, at a Mansion House luncheon (at which the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke), on the terrace of the House of Commons (where Mr. Walter Runciman spoke for the Cabinet and Lord Robert Cecil for younger M.P.s), in Fulham Palace, in Westminster Abbey and Westminster Cathedral, in Cambridge and at a big meeting in the Albert Hall (with the Bishop of London, Winnington Ingram, and Dr. Clifford as chief speakers). King Edward received the party at Buckingham Palace and they also visited Windsor. So impressive and varied a programme must have required great organis-

ing skill. A souvenir volume, with messages from Asquith and Prince von Bülow, was afterwards sent "as a Christmas card" to all who had participated in the visit, to the members of both Governments, to every member of the Reichstag and to many other persons. With the help of Dr. Dryander, Allen Baker secured an audience with the Kaiser in order to give him a copy. This took place on 20th February, 1909—the date is significant in view of all that happened that year. Allen Baker came away hopeful that the Kaiser's influence would be in the direction of peace.[13]

It was clear that there must be a return visit by British churchmen to Germany and that the party must be a truly representative one. But controversy over naval armaments and the increasingly bitter political disputes of the time did not make the preparatory work easy. The Archbishop refused in February to attend a meeting in the Canterbury Guild Hall at which a resolution was passed "that the present superiority of the Navy should be maintained", but the following month he also refused a suggestion by the Methodist leader, Dr. Scott Lidgett, that the heads of the Churches issue a message to the nation on the importance of maintaining a peace-loving spirit and seeking international agreement about armaments. Such a manifesto, Randall Davidson felt, would inevitably be "twisted into a political declaration".[14]

However, the Archbishop tried to secure satisfactory Anglican representation in the British delegation which went to Germany in June. There were four diocesan bishops in the company—Ripon, Hereford, Southwark and Winchester—together with Bishop Welldon, the Dean of Worcester, the Dean of Westminster and Bishop Taylor Smith. There was Roman Catholic participation. The Free Churchmen included Dr. Rendel Harris, Dr. Alexander Ramsey, Evan Jones (then President of the Free Church Council), Thomas Law, William Thomas, Thomas Nightingale, Silas Hocking, Newton Marshall and J. H. Rushbrooke. There were twelve M.P.s including Allen Baker, Sir Albert Spicer, Sir John Ellis and Silvester Horne.

Martin Rade welcomed the party with a special issue of *Die Christliche Welt;* at the time he had young Karl Barth helping him. The hospitality was as lavish as that provided in England the previous year. After some days in Hamburg, the party went to Berlin. They were received by the Kaiser at Potsdam. Professor Harnack delivered a special lecture to them at the University on "International and National Christian Literature". Dr. Spiecker, a director of Siemens Electricity Company, was one of the Presidents of an impressive reception committee, and he and Dr. Dryander delivered eloquent and friendly speeches. Dr. Rushbrooke, who acted as interpreter on a number of occasions—he had been a student in Berlin at the turn of the century—reported the proceedings enthusiastically in three issues of the *Baptist Times.* From Berlin the Britishers were taken to Eisenach and the Wartburg and then to the centre of the Inner Mission at Bielefeld. It seemed a very promising visit. At the close it

was agreed unanimously that a committee be formed to work out a more permanent organisation for joint action by the Churches in the cause of peace. Three M.P.s joined the committee—Allen Baker, Willoughby Dickinson and J. E. Ellis. The Archbishop welcomed the development, but warned those responsible against "reiterating mere statements" about friendship. "What we want," he said, "is a simple deliberate recognition of common interests, common aims, and unifying forces and facts."[15]

As already noted, it was at the end of 1909 that Norman Angell published *Europe's Optical Illusion.* In November of that year the House of Lords rejected the budget for a second time. The following month Parliament was dissolved. In the General Election of January, 1910 the Liberals lost many seats to the Conservatives, but retained power because they had the support of the Irish Nationalists and the growing number of Labour members. It was difficult to see how the constitutional crisis over the power of the House of Lords was to be resolved and the situation was further complicated by the death in May, 1910 of King Edward. A second General Election in December did little to alter the political balance, but the promise of the new King—George V—that he would, if necessary, create between 450 and 500 new Peers secured the passage of the Parliament Bill, which took from the Lords the power of rejecting financial legislation.

It was in the midst of the political bitterness and uncertainty of 1911 that the "Associated Councils of Churches in the British and German Empires" launched its organisation. On 6th February a meeting was held in the Queen's Hall, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury. A special delegation had come from Germany, led by Dr. Spiecker and including Professor Harnack. The latter spoke eloquently about "A Regiment of Peace" at the Queen's Hall meeting. The visitors were received by George V and Queen Mary and attended a service in the private chapel at Buckingham Palace. The secretary of the German Council was a young man named F. Siegmund-Schultze, who became editor of a magazine called *Die Eiche.* In this country *The Peacemaker* began publication with Dr. Rushbrooke as editor. By 1914 it was said to have a circulation of 67,000 copies.[16]

Relations between Germany and France had been deteriorating, however, as already mentioned. Within four months of the Queen's Hall meeting the Agadir crisis occurred, followed by Lloyd George's Mansion House speech. This caused "consternation and rage" in Germany. Much of the good work that had been done was at once jeopardised. In particular, the effect of the speech on the Kaiser and on Professor Harnack had unfortunate consequences.

George Bell in his life of Randall Davidson prints a series of letters written in January, 1912. Davidson sought from Asquith, and received, an assurance that the rumour that the British fleet was about to attack Germany was "without any kind of foundation in fact." He wrote to Allen Baker and suggested that he communicate this to Dr.

Spiecker and himself wrote to Professor Harnack asking him to send a friendly message for publication in *The Peacemaker*. But Harnack was not at once reassured. The general situation was eased somewhat by a visit to Berlin by R. B. Haldane, though it seemed wise for him to travel *incognito*. In March Dr. Spiecker and Professor Adolf Deissmann came to England for the first annual meeting of the Associated Councils, but the atmosphere had become strained. A year later, at the time of the celebration of the silver jubilee of the Kaiser's accession, the Archbishop had come to believe, as he told Dr. Dryander, that "everything is happily tending to a truer understanding of the essential brotherhood of Germany and Great Britain."[17] But the way the events and correspondence of 1912 are presented in Agnes von Zahn-Harnack's life of her father[18] and in Johannes Rathje's *Die Welt der Freien Protestantismus*[19] leaves little doubt that many of the Germans who had shared in the meetings between 1908 and 1911, had become deeply suspicious of England's intentions. What happened in 1911 and 1912 largely determined their attitude when war broke out in 1914.

The indefatigable Allen Baker, however, had meanwhile been to America. Plans were afoot for celebrating in 1914 a hundred years of peace between Britain and America and he had also begun negotiations with the wealthy philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie and his Peace Foundation. Baker was seeking help in extending the work of the Associated Councils into a world movement for peace. These negotiations progressed slowly, but at last in February, 1914 he was assured that two million dollars would be placed in the hands of an American committee to be known as the Church Peace Union. With this backing, Baker proceeded at once with plans for a World Conference of Churches in August, 1914. The Protestants would meet at the beginning of the month, with a Catholic counterpart in Liège a week later.

What happened has often been told. Some eighty of the one hundred and fifty delegates reached Constance on Saturday, 1st August, a month after the assassination in Sarajevo, and as frontiers were being closed and men called to the colours. The Bishop of Lichfield, the Dean of Worcester, Dr. Clifford (then seventy-eight years old), Dr. Rushbrooke and Allen Baker were among those who arrived in Constance from England. The atmosphere over the weekend was tense and emotional, but decisions were taken which later resulted in the post-war organisation known as the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. On Monday, 3rd August, on the order of the Kaiser, special coaches were provided on a train to Cologne and Dr. Siegmund-Schultze helped those from other countries to leave Germany. Dr. Rushbrooke's German wife had been visiting her relations in Berlin. He therefore made his way there and had to wait several weeks before sharing in a special exchange of non-combatant personnel.[20]

This then is the story, but not the end of it. Allen Baker and his

friends fostered the tiny and frail organisation formed in Constance. In Germany Siegmund-Schultze continued to produce *Die Eiche*—a feat of great courage. Most churchmen in both countries quickly aligned themselves with their own nations, as—to Lowes Dickinson's great distress—did most dons and students. What Norman Angell had been trying to prevent took place. In Britain after a few moments of hesitation Lloyd George, supported by the Anglican hierarchy and by Free Churchmen like Dr. Clifford and R. J. Campbell and Robertson Nicoll, swung church-goers—almost unanimously—behind the Government. The German invasion of Belgium was a decisive influence with many, who had at first favoured Britain remaining neutral. On the outbreak of war Martin Rade wrote some restrained editorials in *Die Christliche Welt,* but he joined with Harnack, Spiecker and Dryander in a manifesto repudiating guilt for the outbreak of hostilities and claiming that the sword had been drawn only to repel a wanton attack on Germany. By the end of September, 1914 a reply was ready from British churchmen. The first draft is said to have been prepared by the Dean of Westminster (Armitage Robinson) and Dr. J. H. Shakespeare, Secretary of the Baptist Union. Both Archbishops signed it, as did Dr. Clifford, Dr. Scott Lidgett and an impressive array of theologians and denominational leaders. At the end of the year, however, in Cambridge a conference was called by the Presbyterian, Richard Roberts, and the Quaker, Henry Hodgkin; among those who attended were Dr. W. E. Orchard, Maude Royden, Leyton Richards, and George Lansbury. Out of their discussions came the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which proclaimed itself a Christian pacifist organisation.[21] And there were others who found ways of protecting themselves against the hysteria all too prevalent once war had broken out. Dr. A. E. Garvie, Principal of a Congregational College in London, records in his autobiography that he read a daily portion in the German N.T. "as a means of grace which God used to save me from hatred"; and he says that Professor Adolf Deissmann later told him that "he had read the English translation, so that he might realise the fellowship of Christians in their common faith, despite national differences". (*Memories and Meanings of My Life,* 1938, p. 166).

On the eve of the outbreak of war Norman Angell and a few friends, among them several Liberal M.P.s, formed what they called the Neutrality League. It included Charles Trevelyan, M.P. for Elland, a junior member of the Government who joined Lord Morley and John Burns in resigning when Britain declared war. His brother, G. M. Trevelyan, later well-known as a historian, was also a member of the Neutrality League, as were Bishop Hicks of Lincoln and Bishop Percival of Hereford but they changed their attitude after the invasion of Belgium.[21A] Once war had begun, Charles Trevelyan joined with Norman Angell, H. N. Brailsford, Ramsay Macdonald, J. A. Hobson, the economist, Charles Roden Buxton, Philip Snowden and others in the Union of Democratic Control. Its leading spirit became E. D.

Morel, a man of "formidable energies"[22] who a decade earlier had been the organiser of the Congo Reform Association, agitating against Belgian atrocities. The purpose of the U.D.C. was to try "to secure for ourselves and the generations that succeed us a new course of policy which will prevent a similar peril ever again befalling our Empire. . . . First, it is imperative that the war, once begun, should be prosecuted to a victory for our country. Secondly, it is equally imperative, while we carry on the war, to prepare for peace. Foreign policy must be brought under democratic control and must be based on 'open covenants openly arrived at'."[23]

Neither of the two groups I have described had an easy time during the war, but occasionally they were able to exercise a restraining influence and together they worked at and welcomed the plans for a League of Nations, to which in due course President Wilson of the United States committed himself. Keith Robbins has told much of the story in his book *The Abolition of War: The "Peace Movement" in Britain 1914-1919*. Allen Baker gave most of his energies to the support of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, of which his son, Philip (later Lord Noel Baker) was the director.[24] Norman Angell continued an active propagandist for rationality and peace to the end of a long life. From 1929 to 1931 he was Labour M.P. for North Bradford and in 1933, when a new edition of *The Great Illusion* was published, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Among those who co-operated with him during and after the war was John Maynard Keynes and in this I again have a personal interest, for just as Norman Angell appears on a wing of my father's family tree, so Maynard Keynes appears on a wing of my mother's.[25] Norman Angell survived World War II, spent a number of years in the States again, wrote an important autobiography—*After All,* in which he said that given his time over again, he would "without any hesitation whatsoever" choose the elimination of war as his task[26]—and died at the age of ninety-four in 1967. Allen Baker had died at the age of seventy-six in the last months of World War I.

As late as May, 1918 British and German Baptists were sending messages to one another via Sweden asserting the righteousness of their own cause. The British statements were signed by Dr. Shakespeare and Dr. Clifford, the German ones by F. W. Simoleit and Alfred Hoefs.[27] Both the latter had been in the party visiting England in 1908 and had been active on the return visit. After the war Martin Rade (who was still lecturing when I arrived in Marburg in 1927) was eager to resume contacts and rebuild relationships. Harnack's daughter admits that "the wounds from 1914 in Harnack's heart were never completely healed."[28] He died in 1930 in his eightieth year.

"No war has exerted so powerful a psychological or emotional influence both on the survivors and on succeeding generations, nor has so irrevocably changed the course of history. A generation died, and with it a civilisation, messily, in horror, leaving an appalling legacy of guilt, retribution and disillusionment. Idealism was betrayed; patriot-

ism discredited; courage abused; an unnecessary and senseless war ended in a senseless peace."[29] So wrote an English author recently. Some may think his words exaggerated, but in an interview in December, 1977 Dr. Henry Kissinger spoke of "the great tragedy in Western history: the outbreak of the First World War . . . a balance of strength produced a war because nobody got it under political control."[30] But such control depends on public opinion, the public mood and individual action. Norman Angell once said that he and his friends were trying "to bring about a political reformation that would do for the problem of useless armaments what the intellectual reformation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did for the problem of religious oppression." We now know, however, that that earlier reformation is not complete, and Norman Angell himself admitted that "it is extremely difficult to get men to look at the facts and interpret them rightly." But there are, he said, "situations in which that rare and difficult thing is the only hope of salvation."[31] Lowes Dickinson in his *Autobiography* quotes the remark of Carlyle that Goethe tried to make men act by light, and when they would not, there came, with the French Revolution, the action of fire. "A modern democracy is a mere cloud of dust, and blows any way the wind blows," said Lowes Dickinson.[32] Yet that should not be the final word. The League of Nations, the United Nations and the World Council of Churches may have shown themselves to be faulty and frail agencies, but they must be counted notable milestones along the road towards greater human sanity. They would not have been reached but for men like Norman Angell and Allen Baker—and their counterparts in other lands—whose stories are a continuing challenge. Illusion and Failure? No, but peace, now as always, depends on peace-makers.

NOTES

[1] Reginald Pound, *The Strand Magazine 1891-1950,* 1966. Chapter 12 "First World War Shadows": "Despite its measured tone, the editorial introduction was purposely provocative." Conan Doyle, W. W. Jacobs, H. G. Wells, Stanley Weymen, Anthony Hope and A. E. W. Mason were all Edwardian contributors.

[2] *After All,* 1952, pp. 177f.

[3] Elizabeth B. and P. J. Noel Baker, *J. Allen Baker, M.P.: A Memoir,* 1927, p. 229.

[4] *After All,* p. 105.

[5] "The *Daily News* pressed the case for disarmament more ardently than any other London daily and with the exception of the *Manchester Guardian* than any other major daily in the country. It had sporadic assistance from the *Westminster Gazette,* always careful not to embarrass Grey, and from the *Daily Chronicle.* . . . But its chief ally in the metropolis was the *Nation,* another 'cocoa' by-product." Stephen Koss, *A. G. Gardiner,* p. 120.

[6] G. K. A. Bell, *Randall Davidson,* 1935, Vol. I, p. 498.

[7] D. W. A. Sommer, *Haldane of Cloan,* 1960, p. 159.

[8] *After All,* p. 149. R. F. Horton, the Hampstead Congregational minister, gave a Sunday evening lecture on the book in May, 1910.

[9] *A History of Europe,* 1936, p. 1093.

[10] *Lloyd George,* 1951, p. 46.

[11] See Alan Palmer, *The Kaiser: War Lord of the Second Reich,* 1978.

[12] *Haldane of Cloan*, p. 255.
[13] *J. Allen Baker*, pp. 186-189.
[14] *Randall Davidson*, p. 591.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 593.
[16] Keith Robbins, *The Abolition of War: The "Peace Movement" in Britain 1914-1919*, 1976, p. 18.
[17] *Randall Davidson*, pp. 656-661. Keith Robbins, *op. cit.*, p. 26 quotes from *The Herald of Peace*, the organ of the Peace Society, June 1914, a statement by the President that the feeling of strain in Anglo-German relationships had "passed away."
[18] *Adolf von Harnack*, 1951, pp. 302ff.
[19] *Die Welt des Freien Protestantismus: Eine Beitrag zur deutsch-evangelischen Geisteschichte Dargestellt an Leben und Werk von Martin Rade*, 1952, pp. 220f. Cp. Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and a World without War: The Peace Movement and German Society, 1892-1914*, 1976.
[20] E. A. Payne, *James Henry Rushbrooke 1870-1947*, 1954, pp. 30f.
[21] *The Abolition of War*, p. 45. Cp. Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, 1978.
[21A] Robert Calverley Trevelyan, the second of the three brothers, sided with Charles and became an acknowledged pacifist. Stephen Koss, *op. cit.*, pp. 147f, says that A. G. Gardiner wrote an article in the *Daily News* in favour of British neutrality and was supported by J. L. Hammond, Gilbert Murray, Joseph King, M.P., H. W. Massingham; Courtney, Loreburn and Bryce in the House of Lords; and Philip Baker, Allan Baker's son.
[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 38.
[23] *After All*, p. 192. Early supporters were drawn mainly from the pacifist wing of the Liberal Party. It became a bridge for many to the Labour Party. See Marvin Swartz, *The Union of Democratic Control in British Politics during the First World War*, 1971 and A. J. Anthony Morris, *Radicalism against War, 1906-14*, 1974.
[24] Philip Noel-Baker, born 1889, gave a life-time of service to the cause of disarmament and peace. M.P., Geneva Disarmament Conference 1932-33, Nobel Peace Prize 1959, special U.N. Assembly on Disarmament 1978.
[25] Norman Angell, *The Peace Treaty and the Economic Chaos of Europe* and J. M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, both appeared in 1919.
[26] *After All*, p. 349. Cf. Hensley Henson, *Retrospect of an Unimportant Life*, Vol. II, p. 355 on the impression made on him by Angell in 1934.
[27] Reprints from the *Baptist Times* for 22nd June, 1917, 17th May, 1918, 24th and 31st May, and 7th June.
[28] *Adolf von Harnack*, p. 346.
[29] P. D. James, *Times Literary Supplement*, 5th May, 1978.
[30] "Dr. Kissinger: Diplomacy from Bismarck to the age of Instant Communication", *Times*, 19th December, 1977.
[31] *After All*, p. 355.
[32] *The Autobiography of G. Lowes Dickinson*, edited by Dennis Proctor, 1973, pp. 173, 198f. There was this additional irony in the 1914 situation. The Socialist or Second International was to have met in Vienna in August to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Karl Marx's founding of the First International in 1864. Socialists from five continents, representing millions of members, were to plan how war could be prevented by the action of the organised working-class. The Congress never met and the Socialists of most lands—most of them—soon joined in voting war-credits and obeying the call to the colours. The crisis took the Socialists by surprise it has been said; it moved too fast. See Georges Haupt, *Socialism and the Great War*, 1972 and Laurence Thompson, *The Enthusiasts*, 1971, pp. 201f.

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