



Letter from Elihu Burritt to George Bancroft in 1849

Author(s): Elihu Burritt

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in the Faculty of George Washington University and other friends in official life in the national capital. The dinner, at which ninety persons were present, was in recognition of his valuable services at The Hague as technical expert of the American delegation. Dr. Scott, who had drawn the plan for the international court of justice presented at The Hague and adopted in principle, gave an epitome of what the Conference had done, and declared that it was indeed a peace conference, worthy of its great predecessor, that its meeting had bettered the world and given hope for the future. The other speakers were President Needham of the George Washington University, Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court, President Woodward of the Carnegie Institute, Mgr. O'Connell of the Catholic University, Judge Morrow and Senator Flint of California.

. . . The *Congregationalist* (14 Beacon Street, Boston) devotes a page of its issue of December 21 to an article on "Steps of Progress in the World's Peace Movement," by Rev. Cornelius H. Patton, D.D. The article consists of a catalogue statement by years of important events in the history of the movement.

. . . The *London Tribune*, speaking of President Roosevelt's reference in his Message to the subject of limitation of armaments, says:

"We scarcely understand the ready scepticism of Mr. Roosevelt's reference to the question of the limitation of armaments as it came before the Hague Conference. 'No plan was even proposed,' he says, 'which would have had the assent of more than one first-class power outside the United States.' As a matter of fact, no plan was proposed at all. But France and one or two smaller states openly supported the British initiative. Mr. Roosevelt's general references to the work of the Conference are so favorable, his faith in the future of several strongly opposed and apparently hopeless proposals is so great, that we are left wondering why he can see no hope in a proposition which might have had the support of the three chief Atlantic states, the first, second and fourth of the naval powers, which dispose between them of by far the greatest part of the armed force of the world."

. . . On the 19th of December Richmond Pearson Hobson, newly elected Congressman from Alabama, offered the following concurrent resolution in the House of Representatives:

"Whereas, The prosperity and the peace of our people and the people of other countries depend upon the development of a suitable system of law as a substitute for war in the international realm; therefore, be it

"Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That general treaties of arbitration should be negotiated by the United States with all nations, granting jurisdiction with the international court at The Hague over as many classes of controversies as the other contracting power in each case can be induced to transfer from the field of battle to the precincts of courts of justice.

"That the United States should persistently advocate the establishment of a permanent international congress, containing representatives from every nation, to assemble periodically and automatically for the purpose of suggesting such changes in the law of nations and the method of its administration as the current of events may make desirable and practicable."

If Mr. Hobson would confine himself to such constructive work as this resolution represents, and would

give up his big navy fanaticism and vagaries, he might do an immense service to the world.

Letter from Elihu Burritt to George Bancroft in 1849.

Mr. M. A. de Wolfe Howe of Boston, who is editing the Correspondence of George Bancroft, has published in a recent number of *The Outlook* the following letter written by Elihu Burritt in 1849 to Mr. Bancroft, then just closing his term as Minister to England. Mr. Burritt was in Paris at the time, aiding in the preparation for the great Peace Congress in 1849 which was presided over by Victor Hugo. The letter is unusually interesting at the present moment, when the movement is well under way to erect a suitable monument to Elihu Burritt in his native city, New Britain, Conn. It throws a fine light on Mr. Burritt's peculiar devotion to the cause of peace, and especially on the remarkable wisdom and tact with which he pursued the great end of his life. It is also a revelation of the difficult position of the peace movement at that time. The letter follows:

BEDFORD HOTEL, RUE DE L'ARCADE,
PARIS, April 21, 1849.

Honorable and Dear Sir: For several months past I have been intending to solicit a personal interview with you for a few minutes, for the purpose of submitting to your consideration some facts connected with the peace movement in England, the United States and the Continent. I am happy to believe that you are already aware of the existence of such a movement, but perhaps not in its present phases, organization and progress. Permit me then to adduce a few facts, which may serve to give you an idea of the present posture and prospects of the question.

Almost before the smoke and the echoes of Waterloo had died away, societies for the promotion of permanent and universal peace were organized almost simultaneously in the United States of America, Great Britain and the Continent. But the first one was formed in New York, and was succeeded by others in different States of the Union and in different countries. Some of the greatest and purest men in America gave their adhesion and advocacy to the cause, such as the Patriarch of Peace, the venerable Dr. Worcester, Dr. Channing, William Ladd and others with whose labors you are familiar. For years the sowing season lasted, in which these devoted men sowed by and upon all waters the seed-kernels of peace.

When the public mind had been somewhat prepared by this rudimental education, the friends of peace in America were anxious to elaborate and present to the world some practicable plan for the abolition of war as the arbiter between nations. Consequently, they offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay upon the feasibility and efficiency of a Congress and High Court of Nations for the honorable and pacific adjustment of international disputes. This plan, peculiarly American in its development, was elaborated with great ability in the essays produced on the subject under the stimulus of the prize to which I have alluded. Five of these essays were bound

up in one large volume, a copy of which has been presented to almost every crowned head in Europe, and one deposited in almost every public library in the United States. Gradually the friends of peace in America have concentrated their activities upon this measure, and have tried to induce our government to urge it upon the different governments of the world, and to invite their co-operation. The Legislature of Massachusetts has memorialized Congress several times upon the subject; that of New York has done the same. In 1843 there was a great World's Peace Convention in London, at the instance of the American Peace Society, at which the proposition of a Congress of Nations was discussed, and recommended, as the most efficient measure for the abolition of war. The London Peace Society took several hundred copies of the American Prize Essays, which it has distributed freely in England and upon the Continent.

In 1844 I established, or rather commenced the publication of, a newspaper in Worcester, Mass., called the *Christian Citizen*, devoted to the dissemination of the principles of peace and human freedom. This was the first paper of the kind published in America. Its circulation has gradually increased and extended through all the Free States. But as my mind became more and more interested in the cause, I sought a more efficient medium of disseminating its principles than my journal would afford. I therefore adopted a plan of operations which was crowned with unexpected success. I wrote a short article upon the subject of peace, of about the third of a column's length, and had several hundred copies of it taken on slips surmounted by a dove with its olive leaf. These printed slips, or "Olive Leaves for the Press," I sent to all the newspapers of the United States, nearly two hundred of which inserted the articles, frequently as original. During the Oregon Question I was able to bring the subject of peace before, perhaps, two millions of individuals in America through this medium. I came to England in the steamer which brought the news of the settlement of that serious controversy. My principal object in visiting England was to associate, or to organize into a union, the friends of peace on both sides of the Atlantic.

A few weeks after my arrival I presented the basis of an international association, under the title of "League of Universal Brotherhood." The platform and principles of the society were readily adopted, and it now numbers about twenty thousand adherents, or members, on each side of the ocean. Perhaps you may be disposed to glance at the facts connected with the origin and progress of the Association presented in the enclosed "Olive Leaf." For the first two years of my sojourn in England I devoted myself principally to the organization of League Societies in the different towns, as working agencies which might all be concentrated upon some great and practical measure for the promotion of universal peace and "the brotherhood of nations,"—a term which I never heard before you employed it in a lecture delivered in Philadelphia in 1842, which I listened to with the deepest interest. And permit me to say (parenthetically) that the idea of "the brotherhood of nations" which you expressed on that occasion sunk deep into my mind and germinated there until 1846, when I tried to give it practical development, on both sides of the Atlantic, in the League of Universal Brotherhood.

About this time last year I came to Paris to see if it would not be practicable to hold a convention of the friends of peace in this metropolis, about fifty highly respectable persons in England having expressed their willingness to take part in such a meeting if it could be held. I was here on the memorable 15th of April, when the streets were thronged with 150,000 armed men, called out to overpower an expected movement of the socialists. Owing to these inauspicious circumstances it was thought best to defer our peace convention until the month of August, and to make it a more impressive demonstration than we had at first contemplated. I therefore returned to England, and spent several weeks in securing delegates from different towns in the kingdom. For this purpose I went from Plymouth to Edinburgh, visiting most of the large towns, and succeeded in enlisting, provisionally, about one hundred individuals to go to Paris. But when in Edinburgh, at the close of this recruiting campaign, news came of the terrible days of June in Paris, which seemed to render our convention there impracticable.

Determined, however, that the enterprise should not miscarry in consequence of these unlooked-for disasters, I persevered, and succeeded in recovering most of the persons who had promised to attend the convention from the depression or panic which these circumstances were calculated to produce; and most of them agreed still to go to Paris, if the convention could be got up with safety and propriety. I thereupon returned to Paris to obtain the permission of the government and to make preparations for the convention. But new and peculiar difficulties accumulated in our way and at last we were constrained to go to Brussels.

We had but a fortnight in which to make the necessary preparations. But everything worked to the success of the demonstration. The government and people of Belgium were exceedingly cordial and helpful and on the 20th of September the Peace Congress opened under the most favorable auspices. Nearly one hundred and sixty persons from England were present and there were delegates from almost every nation on the Continent. Practical measures for the abolition of war were proposed and discussed with great ability and goodwill. Hon. Francisque Bouvet, member of the French National Assembly, Professor Bertinatti of Turin and myself developed the plan of a Congress and High Court of Nations. At the conclusion of the Brussels Congress it was resolved that another congress should be held on a larger scale in Paris the following year and committees were formed for the purpose of instituting preparations. An address to the different governments and peoples was also adopted.

Almost immediately after the return of the English delegates, steps were taken in England to propel the cause of peace into a powerful and universal movement. A convention of these delegates and other friends of peace was held in London in October; a Peace Congress Committee was formed and measures adopted for raising a fund of £5,000 to sustain the operations of the year. M. A. Visschers, president of the Brussels Congress, was present at this convention and subsequently attended a series of magnificent demonstrations in London, Birmingham and Manchester, for the purpose of ratifying the proceedings at Brussels and of accepting the Congress

as a *fait accompli* in the progress of humanity. The operations of the year were divided into two campaigns, one home, the other foreign. The home campaign consisted in a grand agitation of the popular mind in England in favor of a motion which Mr. Cobden engaged to bring forward in the House of Commons for the institution of arbitration treaties between England and all other countries. For the last three months we have been stirring up the whole kingdom with public meetings in connection with Mr. Cobden's motion. Rev. Henry Richard and myself, as secretaries of the Peace Congress Committee, have attended about fifty of these public meetings, and other deputations of the committee have been out almost constantly, arousing the public mind. Petitions adopted at public meetings have been pouring in upon Parliament in favor of Mr. Cobden's motion, which is to be brought forward in a few days.

Having concluded the "agitation" in favor of Mr. Cobden's motion, the Peace Congress Committee has just entered upon the second and most important department of its operations, and Mr. Richard and myself have just arrived in Paris for the purpose of breaking ground for our great demonstration, or Peace Congress, which we hope will transpire in August next, in this metropolis. We have come here to assist at the organization of a grand central committee, which shall cooperate with the English, American and Belgian committees already formed in preparing for the Congress in August. Lamartine has expressed the warmest sympathy with the movement, and we expect he will preside at the Congress.* Mr. Cobden has agreed to be present, and we expect that twenty or thirty other M. P.'s will give us their presence and cooperation. The English Peace Congress Committee propose to institute a kind of general election of delegates, upon an equitable basis of representation, by which all the considerable towns shall be represented in the Congress. It is also intimated that the election or appointment of the delegates shall be ratified at public meetings, in order to give them weight and a species of authority. We now propose that the delegation from England shall number about five hundred persons of high moral character, standing and worth, representing perhaps, two hundred or three hundred towns.

Now it is felt to be of the utmost importance to the movement that America should take the lead in it, and that the Congress in Paris should not only be a convention for the discussion of great principles, but that it should be a kind of fraternization between the Old World and the New,—a demonstration at which Europe and America shall shake hands in the sight of the world. The Congress of Nations Committee in the United States are now canvassing for delegates, and we hope that the appeals and addresses which may be sent them from Paris will stimulate their zeal. We hope they may be able to charter a steamer and freight it with one hundred good men and true, delegated to represent the nation in the Congress. The presence of such a delegation from America would be most auspicious and would make a profound impression upon the whole of Europe. They would give the Congress a catholicity which would raise it and the cause of peace to a sublime position.

I am confident that no American can have a clearer

* Victor Hugo, not Lamartine, presided at the Paris Peace Congress of 1849.

perception than yourself of the part which America should act in this great day of the nations. I have therefore ventured to submit to your consideration this detailed exposition of the facts connected with the progress and present posture of the peace movement. I have stated, perhaps, all that I should have done at a personal interview with you. And perhaps the perusal of this long communication might be better suited for your leisure than such an interview. I have laid before you these facts, hoping that you might be disposed to give whatever sympathy, countenance and assistance to the movement that would be consistent with your exalted position. If circumstances should permit you to be present and to participate in the proceedings of the Congress, it would be a subject of congratulation to the delegates from America and England. The association with Cobden and Lamartine in such a great enterprise of humanity would, I am sure, be in sympathy with your genius.

If your Excellency would be so good as to send me a note of introduction to any parties in Paris whose position and influence would be of service to us in advancing our objects, I should indeed be very grateful to your kindness. We have a letter from Mr. Cobden to Léon Faucher, but I should be much gratified with a kind of general note from you, testifying that I am a countryman of yours and entitled to whatever consideration may attach to an American citizen.

Begging that your Excellency will pardon me for thus venturing to say all in a written communication that I had proposed to say at a personal interview,

I remain yours most respectfully,

ELIHU BURRITT.

To His Excellency George Bancroft.

"Give me Money and I'll Give You Peace."

BY LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Member of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society.

Felix Moscheles, the well-known English worker for peace, once uttered the above trenchant words, which should be taken to heart by all who are possessors of this world's goods.

Misfit bequests are in frequent evidence. We have recently seen \$3,000,000 given to a college with conditions which are evidently going to preclude its acceptance. The bequest of \$4,000,000 by a benevolent bachelor for a Girard College for Girls has just been described by *Charities* as "a \$4,000,000 blunder," inasmuch as it is to provide an establishment for the special class that can almost always find adoption—little girls from six to ten who are healthy, white and full orphans. For the defective, the colored, the half orphan and infant—the very classes that most need aid—no provision has been made. Every week records large legacies for many objects—a few first-rate, but the majority of from second-rate to tenth-rate importance.

Enormous sums, aggregating frequently \$100,000,000 a year, are given for education. Libraries, hospitals, asylums and almost every kind of charity receive huge bequests. The Audobon Society within three or four years has received over \$300,000, we are informed; the