

## Preface

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The Nuclear Freeze Movement and the legions of peaceniks who sought stridently to “ban the bomb” in the 1960s and afterwards descended despite their very different modes of protest from the pacifists and rationalists who endeavored before World War I to banish war, limit armaments, and create durable instruments of peace. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nuclear and napalm devastation was unimagined and even the extraordinary calamities of trench warfare unexpected. Yet, for legions of thinkers and doers in Europe and America, and even for a few statesmen, making war was abhorrent. For them, and their followers, it was clear that the settling of disputes between nations by resort to violence was wasteful, foolish, and unnecessary on logical more than on moral grounds.

These men and women of affairs established peace societies in the early nineteenth century, experienced the horrors of the mini-European war in the Crimea and the American Civil War, and, toward the end of the century and thereafter, redoubled their efforts to forestall the rush to bigger battleships and field cannon, the manufacture of aggressively deployable gas and chemicals, and the recruitment of new hordes of soldiers and sailors. They learned to lobby their political leaders. But most of all, they tried to appeal to what passed for “public opinion”; they tried to persuade a class of “thinking” progressive workers and professionals that the actions of war-mongering politicians and profiteering arms merchants were obstacles to social advance for everyman.

Mutual deterrence was wrong-headed when the application of rea-

son and common sense showed decisively that war was ruinously expensive in human and physical resources and an obstacle to the betterment of humankind. Arguments between nations could be settled peaceably. Disagreements could be arbitrated or mediated. Hard core controversies could be put before an adjudicating tribunal for decision, and an internationally composed and controlled police force could enforce the conclusions of such a protean world court. Moreover, even before disagreements could rise to the level of conflagration, they could be discussed in a world forum—a parliament of man or a league of nations. Thus was born what we know in the twenty-first century as the backbone of the international organizational structure. Despite the imperfections of today's United Nations, the weaknesses of the World Court and ancillary judicial operations, and the lamentable absence of a fully legitimated global policing capacity, those instruments of world order mark giant advances on pre-World War I disarray. They conform, mostly, to the idealistic designs of the pre-World War I campaigners for peace—the articulate and ambitious anti-war advocates on whose energetic and optimistic endeavors this book is focused.

Edwin Ginn, a somber Yankee publisher and educator, was a key leader of those women and men who—like the much later and much more radicalized “ban the bomb” squads—sought every which way in the years between 1900 and 1914 to avert all-out combat, and the need to go to battle at all. Thinkers like Leo Tolstoy; educators like Fanny Fern Phillips Andrews, Nicholas Murray Butler, David Starr Jordan, and A. Lawrence Lowell; writers like Baroness Bertha von Suttner and Norman Angell; lawyers like Elihu Root and President William Howard Taft; pacifists like Benjamin Franklin Trueblood and Edwin and Lucia Mead; clerics and reverends like Edward Everett Hale; editors like Hamilton Holt and James Macdonald; and industrialists like Andrew Carnegie, Samuel Billings Capen, and Ginn were in the vanguard of this pursuit of lofty principle. All cared fervently and foresaw a perfected world blessed by reduced mayhem. Each, in her and his way, argued valiantly for a common cause.

No campaigner was more single-minded, more devoted, or more committed than Ginn. He, along with Carnegie, expended sizable sums—a third of his fortune—to achieve that noble objective. This book is about that multifaceted crusade, and about Ginn's profound contribution to a project only dashed and derailed by the outbreak of war in the Balkans in 1914.

Of all the modern visionaries of world peace—of a world disarmed, without contesting nations, and observant of codified methods of conflict resolution—none is as unlikely as the poor boy from Maine who founded a greatly successful publishing house and, ultimately, used his wealth and his undoubted talents as a master salesman to promote a warless world. Ginn is an anomaly among nineteenth- and twentieth-century movers for peace: a strait-laced, frugal, cautious member of the Boston establishment, he came late in life to believe, fervently, in the perfectibility of humankind. He affirmed the power of reason, and believed in the ability of peace advocates to persuade thinking persons (and governments) to lay down their arms and eschew war. Yet Ginn was no naïve fuddy-duddy, no starry-eyed peace reformer. He was a hard-headed businessman who prided himself and his prosperous company on efficiency and practicality. Ginn's restless attempt to educate Americans and Europeans about the waste of war, and his willingness to spend to achieve peace, are two reasons for a book about an unusual man—a dedicated campaigner for a world where disputes between nations could be settled without recourse to violence. Ginn tried heroically to change the world.

Neither Ginn nor his publishing house is now a household word. In their day, however, the textbooks of Ginn & Co. educated seven or more generations of Americans, almost from cradle to graduate school. He and it altered how decades of American young people learned, and what they learned. Across a breadth of subjects, from Greek and Latin to mathematical fundamentals, chemistry, American history, civics, conservation, and music, Ginn's books were essential for beginners as well as advanced learners. From his successful publishing base, Ginn himself was known to a generation of Bostonian social reformers, and farther away in New York and Washington, as a practical philanthropist and, ultimately, as an articulate advocate for world peace.

Carnegie, a contemporary of Ginn with much greater monetary resources, was also an advocate of disarmament and the international rule of law. His Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Ginn's World Peace Foundation were established in the same year (1910), and from similar motives and inspirations. But Ginn's primary avocation was the pursuit of peace; Carnegie sought to use his wealth for many additional worthwhile objectives, and operated (as he hinted to Ginn) across a broader and much more complicated philanthropic plain.

Ginn's quest for peace began in the late nineteenth century, after his

publishing house had established itself as a premier purveyor of high school and college textbooks in the United States. The armaments race in Europe at the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century aroused Ginn; the pre-existing American peace movement introduced him to issues that hitherto had escaped his concern. But, once alarmed by the prospect of unnecessary war, and slowly convinced that better and more intelligent alternatives existed, Ginn decided in his characteristically measured manner to devote considerable energies and organizing abilities to securing a more stable world.

Ginn joined the peace movement as a mature corporate leader after many adult decades without demonstrated social or political impulses. He was an unexpected convert to progressive causes, much less the crusade for peace. Very little about Ginn's personality hinted at the social reformer and leader for peace that he was to become. What chain of internal or external events, what new crises of concern or conscience, compelled or persuaded Ginn to dedicate his energies and his fortune to a rather quixotic attempt to change the world and fundamentally recalibrate the usual rhythms of human endeavor? That is the beguiling conundrum that this biography investigates.

Much of this concern for the future of the world emerged when Ginn was in his fifties, a bearded widower suddenly remarried to a woman musician of German descent twenty-five years younger. Whether rejuvenated by a lively second marriage, or inspired by his new partner, Ginn became a staunch advocate of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, an international police force, a world court, and a league of nations, and for a host of ancillary good causes. He also became an enthusiastic vegetarian, a campaigner against martial toys, and a force for all manner of municipal reform in Boston and its suburbs. From the mid-1890s, Ginn was at the active center of the American peace movement during the most robust and influential decades of its existence.

Ginn was a pragmatic mobilizer of cooperating partners in a cause. He reached out to those who either knew more or were more experienced. Then he formulated plans, harnessed collaborators, and set about influencing opinion makers and fellow citizens. Austere and brimming with rectitude, as Mainers were wont to be, Ginn advanced his position through vigorous speeches, artful campaigning in the press and in widely distributed pamphlets, and, ultimately, by establishing an organization "to advance the cause of world peace through study,

analysis, and the advocacy of wise action." He believed that the world was susceptible to rational discourse, and could improve. Enlightenment was possible, even likely.

Ginn's energetic pursuit of peace and publishing talents thrust him together with a host of Bostonian policy entrepreneurs, university administrators, and scholars. His coming of activist age is a tale very much set in Boston, Cambridge, and Winchester, Massachusetts, but also in Pasadena and Palo Alto, California, and in Washington, D.C. This book is thus equally about the influence and efforts for peace of the Meads; the Revs. Hale and Edward Cummings; Jordan, first president of Stanford University; Holt and Macdonald, crusading editors of New York and Toronto; Presidents Lowell, of Harvard University, and Butler, of Columbia University; Secretary of War and Secretary of State Elihu Root; and Andrews and Rose Tillotson Hemenway, educators and philanthropists for peace. It is about the impact for good that the efforts of Ginn and all of these other luminaries exerted on the administrations of Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. It is lastly about the two global peace conferences at The Hague, about the many other notable peace conclaves in the early years of the twentieth century, and about the origins of and battle for the League of Nations.

Ginn's legacy lives on through the World Peace Foundation that he created, but the man and his works are set in and reflect the age of progressive reform during which a remarkable, self-taught, rough-hewn Yankee responded to the rolling drums of war in a manner that uplifted and energized his peers and some of his countrymen. This is a biography of man and an analysis of an impulse of significant altruism. Ginn was an authentic leader and change agent, despite world order's remaining imperfections.

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*Silver Lake, New Hampshire  
and Cambridge, Massachusetts  
August 2006*