

## **Bertha von Suttner and the First International Peace Conference at The Hague (1899)**

By  
Annemarie van Heerikhuizen<sup>1</sup>

Although today almost unknown, in the nineteenth century the phenomenon of 'salons' was still popular. These private gatherings of writers, academics and artists, were usually organized and hosted by a lady of high social and intellectual standing. One of the last and possibly most interesting salons was in the Netherlands during the first international Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899. In this article attention will be given to the lady who hosted this salon: the Austrian writer and peace activist Bertha von Suttner. She would become the first woman to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace, in 1905. A frequent guest at her salon was the German journalist A.H. Fried, later also to be honored with the Nobel Prize for Peace, in 1901. Many other famous peace activists also visited her salon, among them the French sociologist Jacques Novicow and the German specialist on 'modern' warfare, Johann von Bloch. Some of them already dreamed of a united Europe, a federation of the European nation states. This article will examine the degree of success of these peace activists at the turn of the century and the extent to which they influenced the European ideals of the twentieth century.

---

<sup>1</sup> Annemarie van Heerikhuizen, Department of History, Archaeology and Area Studies, University of Amsterdam. This article was first published in Dutch in the Working Paper Series, 6 (2007), European Studies, University of Amsterdam. The title was: *Een Haagse salon met toekomstige Nobelprijswinnaars*.

## *From Venice and Rome to The Hague*

Thanks to Von Suttner's diary, entitled, *Tagebuchblätter*, published just after her stay at The Hague, interesting information about her salon and her guests is recorded.<sup>2</sup> She arrived together with her husband, on May 16, and stayed in the *Grand Central Hotel*, close to the official Peace Conference at The Hague, in order to meet and speak personally with the delegates. Later, as the heat became oppressive, they moved to the beach hotel *The Kurhaus*. As a well-know writer, author of the international bestseller *Die Waffen Nieder*, Von Suttner could not be ignored. Indeed, she was invited for several official ceremonies and events, including the opening of the Conference at the Dutch Royal Palace. In her diary she noted: 'I am the only woman who has access to the palace. I am very grateful for this, because it feels as a reward after all those years of hard fighting.'<sup>3</sup>

What exactly did Von Suttner mean with 'hard fighting'? In the first place, she would be referring to her work for the peace movement. The ideals the movement was fighting were hard to realize in a time that many European countries were preparing for war instead of building up peaceful relations.<sup>4</sup> But her words can also refer to her personal life, the difficult years she had experienced before becoming a celebrated peace activist.

Von Suttner was born in 1843 in Prague as Bertha Sophia Felicita Kinsky. Her father, Earl Kinsky, died before she was born

---

2

Bertha von Suttner, *Tagebuchblätter*. Translated in Dutch by: J.C. van Riemsdijk, *Den Haag en de Vredesconferentie*. Amsterdam, 1900. This article is based on the Dutch translation.

3

*Ibid.*, p. 14.

4

See for the ideas and activities of the peace movement at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Sandi Cooper, *Peace and Internationalism: European Ideological Movements Behind The Two Hague Conferences (1889-1907)* (New York 1967).

2

and since her mother was not a member of the nobility, she had no access to the Bohemian elite to which her father belonged. According to her biographers this caused some inner strife.<sup>5</sup> Anyway, as a young woman she showed little interest in politics. Her greatest passion was for music – she wanted to become a professional singer – and to marry well. Looking back at her youth in later years, she called it a poor childhood, the ‘real’ world seemed far away. This all changed when she decided to give up her singing career to become the governess of the children of the Austrian baron, Karl von Suttner. A love affair with Von Suttner’s son, Arthur, followed but their engagement was opposed by his family, so she left briefly to work as secretary to Alfred Nobel in Paris (with whom she continued to correspond until his death in 1896), returned, married Arthur secretly and eloped to a friend’s estate in the Caucasus. In her memoirs she called it a ‘Hochzeitsreise-Ausflug’ that would last for nine years.<sup>6</sup>

In that long period, far away from home, Von Suttner started to write. She first published short stories in the Viennese journal *Die Presse*, and immediately received 20 Austrian guilders by return. ‘Oh, the first time I received a writer’s honorarium – how proud was I – indescribable!’<sup>7</sup> After this success she continued to publish, in particular serials and short stories. At the same time she started to read literature and academic books, including those of Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer and Henry Thomas Buckle. The latter, a well-known writer at the time and author of the three-volume *History of Civilisation in England*, was her favorite.

---

5

Brigitte Harmann, *Bertha von Suttner. Ein Leben für den Frieden* (München 1986), 14; Beatrix Kempf, *Suffragette for Peace. The Life of Bertha von Suttner* (London 1972), 7-8.

6

Bertha von Suttner, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin 1976), 173.

7

Bertha von Suttner, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 180

Buckle argues that in the history of mankind hard facts as climate and geography were being mastered by human intelligence. Thanks to new technology, land was now being mined and rivers becoming more navigable. At the same time, Buckle argued, society was becoming more peace-oriented, since intelligence could not flourish where there was violence and war. He considered the nineteenth century particularly promising, due to the numerous technical inventions (e.g. steamships) and the increase of commerce worldwide.<sup>8</sup>

On her return to Austria in 1876, Von Suttner began to publish books herself. She began with romantic stories, later progressing to serious novels such as *Das Maschinenzeitalter*, followed a year later by *Die Waffen Nieder*, a novel based partly on her own biography: the main character, Martha, grew up in poverty, was (also) interested in music and literature, participated in debates on Darwin's theories and studied Buckle's *History of Civilization*. Von Suttner portrays her as a victim and a heroine, a woman who lost loved ones during the war, but also gave birth to a son who fought for peace and justice.

*Die Waffen Nieder* became an immediate international bestseller and Von Suttner one of the principal spokesmen for the peace movement. Her life changed radically. Suddenly there was enough money to travel and consolidate an international network of contacts and friends. Accompanied by her husband Arthur everywhere, she loved traveling and believed that it was the best remedy against 'national faults':

'People who have travelled much and speak and read many languages and who in this way have enriched themselves with the best elements of several nationalities can put away their national faults. As an Englishman they are not formal, as a German they are

---

8

Giles St. Aubyn, *A Victorian Eminence. The Life and Works of Henry Thomas Buckle* (London 1958), 130-131.

not depressed, as a Frenchman they are not superficial and vain (...). They show in all ways that they are an ennobled kind of human being of a new nation that once will conquer the world: the nation of the cosmopolitan.’<sup>9</sup>

The Von Suttners spent the winter of 1890 in Venice. Here Bertha met the English peace activist Felix Morscheles and the Italian Member of Parliament, Marchese Pandolfi. A year later, as President of the Austrian Peace Association, she took part in the third international peace conference in Rome and there held her first public speech. In her memoirs she writes, looking back on that important moment: ‘calmly and fearlessly I said what I had to say, feeling as sure as a messenger bringing good news’.<sup>10</sup> In Rome she mediated between the French and German delegates, who were in discordance about the Alsace-Lorraine problem. ‘No politics, no parties’, was the strategy she followed to keep the ranks closed. It was there in Rome she realized the strategic importance of the informal circuit: the usefulness of private meetings in the dining rooms and salons of the hotels.<sup>11</sup> Here the pacifists could meet each other in an informal atmosphere to exchange ideas.

Seven years later, by the time Von Suttner started her own salon in The Hague in the spring of 1899, she was Vice-President of the International Peace Office in Bern and played a leading role in the international circuit. It was not her first visit to the Netherlands. In 1894 the Dutch minister of internal affairs, Van Houten, had invited her to take part in a meeting of the Inter Parliamentary Union – an international peace organization of MP’s from all over the world – a meeting that was organized in the

---

9

As cited by: Brigitte Hamann, *Bertha von Suttner*, 117.

10

Berta von Suttner, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 255.

11

Ibid., 251.

buildings of the Senate. Women had no political rights in those days, so the invitation was a great honor for her. However, Von Suttner seemed not to have been unduly impressed. The whole event, she writes in her memoirs, resembled a thrilling play.<sup>12</sup>

At the time she was planning her salon in The Hague, her personal affairs were not flourishing. Her capital was shrinking and the financing of a salon in a hotel was hugely expensive. Therefore she started writing articles about the peace conference for *Die Welt*, a journal published by Alexander Herzl, a good friend of hers. Just before she left for The Hague she wrote to him: ‘So *I* am going to The Hague, when do *you* leave for Jerusalem?’<sup>13</sup>

*Ultimus ant omnes de parte pace triumphus*

‘To the place where peace will be born’, was the hopeful way Von Suttner’s report on the conference at The Hague began.<sup>14</sup> Indeed the aim of the conference was highly ambitious; the founding of ‘a real and durable peace’ was the ultimate goal.<sup>15</sup> But Von Suttner must have realized that the conference, in which 26 countries participated and that was launched by the Russian tsar, would face innumerable problems. Some months before, Von Suttner had interviewed the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The interview is published in her diary and makes clear the great divergence of opinion between the minister and Von Suttner regarding the final aim of the conference:

---

12

Ibid., 334.

13

As cited by: Brigitte Hamann, *Bertha von Suttner*, 259.

14

Bertha von Suttner, *Den Haag en de Vredesconferentie*, 4.

15

G.H. Perris ed., *A History of the Peace Conference at The Hague* (London 1899), 32-33.

‘ “We do not dare hope, said the earl Murawieff (Minister of Foreign Affairs) that the final aim will be reached at this conference”.

“It would already be satisfactory”, so I interrupted him, “if the countries would agree that they would not start a war the coming twenty, let’s say, ten years”.

“Twenty years, ten years! Vous allez trop vite, madame. We will already be very glad if we agree on a period of three years”.’<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, Russia had formulated the aim of the conference more precisely just before the talks started: the purpose was now the limitation of the use of *new* weapons and the introduction of rules of war law. Von Suttner, who was much more interested in *jus contra bellum* than *jus ad bellum*, must have been disappointed.<sup>17</sup> But her diary makes clear that, despite these setbacks, during the first days of the conference she remained optimistic. International newspapers were interviewing her almost daily and she had access to all sorts of official ceremonies. During such a ceremony she was introduced to the nineteen-year-old Dutch Queen Wilhelmina. Although the queen did not particularly sympathize with the peace movement,<sup>18</sup> she expressed herself in polite, diplomatic terms.<sup>19</sup> In Von Suttner’s diary we read:

---

16

Bertha von Suttner, *Den Haag en de Vredesconferentie*, appendix VIII.

17

O. Bring, *Bertha von Suttner and International Law: Jus contra bellum*. Symposium on Bertha von Suttner. First woman to be awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905 (The Hague 2005).

18

Arthur Eyffinger, *The 1899 Hague Peace Conference. The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World* (The Hague, London, Boston 1999), 72.

19

*Ibid.*, 72.

‘The young queen, with a friendly smile, asks me if this was my first visit to The Hague and if I like it there. Answering her question I said that my stay in Holland makes me feel very happy because of the elevated aim of the conference. The young queen then nodded and said that she was of the opinion that we all share this feeling.’<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, in the Dutch Ministry of War was a great admirer of Von Suttner, approaching her with the words: ‘May I introduce myself: my name is Kramer, Secretary of the Department of War and I'd like to say that I secretly share the ideal you so warmly stand up for in your novel (...) I am looking forward to seeing its realization coming closer.’<sup>21</sup>

It is understandable that Von Suttner, after such amiable encounters, became convinced that interest in the peace movement was growing, also among politicians. ‘Who had ever expected this?’, she asked herself in her diary. ‘But the miracle *has* happened’, she writes, as if the peace activists had already triumphed.<sup>22</sup>

Indeed, at The Hague Von Suttner was surrounded by people who shared similar hopes and expectations. They would gather almost daily in her salon to discuss the results of the conference.

One regular visitor to her salon was the French sociologist Jacques Novicow, a professor at the Institut International de Sociologie in Paris, and the author of *Les luttes entre société humaines et leurs*

---

20

Bertha von Suttner, *Den Haag en de Vredesconferentie*, 35.

21

Ibid., 36.

22

Ibid., 37.



*phases successives*. In this book Novicow made a plea for a world without violence and war, a world in which the rule of law would be predominant. He, like Buckle, was optimistic, believing that history was gradually evolving in the direction of peace and international harmony. Von Suttner, who admired his work, seemed to have been rather taken aback when she met Novicow for the first time in her salon. In her eyes he did not resemble a writer and she even feared those unacquainted with his work and his person would not recognize him as the author of serious academic work. She had imagined him as:

‘... a man with a white beard and glasses, and not dressed neatly... And the real Novicow? An elegant man with a youthful appearance, a pleasant and lively talker. I think that these attractive qualities are a little bit against him. When you have not read his books your expectations are not very high and you will not be able to read his books with that silent admiration with which academic works ought to be studied.’<sup>23</sup>

Another frequent visitor of Von Suttner’s salon was Johann van Bloch, a specialist in the field of ‘modern’ weapons and author of *Die Zukunft der Krieg*.<sup>24</sup> When he entered her salon it was as if they had already been friends for many years:

‘ I only knew the author of the monumental work *Der Krieg* by his letters and works. Yet, when he entered our salon where (...) we welcomed him like an old friend. He is about sixty years' old, has a

---

23

Ibid., 46.

24

First published in Russia under the title: *Buduscaja vojna* (St. Petersburg 1989).

short, grey beard, a gentle and content appearance, good manners, and he is a natural, very interesting speaker.<sup>25</sup>

Von Bloch gave several lectures on modern warfare during the weeks he stayed in The Hague. He was, according to Von Suttner, a talented and successful orator. In great detail and with an abundance of statistical data, he sketched the horrors of a new military conflict: a new war would be bloodier, more destructive and expensive than ever before. Von Suttner comments: 'it was not a series of sermons (...) neither did he try to impress his audience with eloquent words; it could have been a rigorous scientific course'.<sup>26</sup>

Von Suttner's circle of friends also included two journalists. One of them, the German journalist, bookseller and publisher, Alfred Hermann Fried, she had already known for many years. In Germany Fried, who after having read *Die Waffen Nieder* dedicated the rest of his life to the peace movement had founded the *Deutsche Friedengesellschaft* and was the publisher of the German peace journal *Die Waffen Nieder*. At The Hague he reported on the conference for several German newspapers, among them the *Berliner Zeitung*. According to Von Suttner, Fried was a passionate peace fighter, a man 'ganz Feuer und Flamme'. But he stayed briefly, leaving The Hague already in the first week of June. Von Suttner was not surprised that he left so soon since he had no access to the official debates. The secrecy of the whole event - the debates took place behind closed doors - irritated her from the start of the conference.

The English journalist William Thomas Stead, editor of the international monthly *Review of Reviews*, was also a visitor at Von

---

25

Bertha von Suttner, *Den Haag en de Vredesconferentie*, 17.

26

Ibid., 116. Peter van Dungen, *The Making of Peace: Jean de Bloch and the First Hague Peace Conference* (Los Angeles, 1983).

Suttner's salon and as passionate as Fried about international pacifism. Already before the start of the conference he had made a tour around Europe to speak with several leading European politicians, to find out if they were willing to support the peace initiative.<sup>27</sup> A 'wonderful person', so Von Suttner described him in her diary and, as usual, she noted his appearance too: 'he is a man with an apostolic head, a grey beard, and a friendly face'.<sup>28</sup> But Stead was a hectic journalist too, a man who breezed into the salon only now and then. Yet he was the one who provided the peace activists with important news on the conference, information passed to him by befriended delegates:

'So there you are, I called out. You forget me completely! I expected that especially you, with your excellent connections with the delegates, would inform me...'

'I will not disappoint you; just today I have important and joyful news for you.

I took my notebook and started to write...'<sup>29</sup>

The good news was that several plans were initiated at the conference to found a permanent Court of Arbitration. So there was reason for celebration. Finally, Von Suttner writes, there were 'positive, practical and clear plans'.

Stead and Von Suttner were definitely close friends. When Stead was criticized because of his sympathy for the Russian tsar,

---

27

W.T. Stead, *The United States of Europe on the Eve of the Parliament* (London 1899); About this European tour and Stead's stay at The Hague: A. van Heerikhuizen, 'William Thomas Stead, Den Haag en de wereldvrede'. *De Negentiende Eeuw*, 2 (2005), 134-146; A. van Heerikhuizen, 'William Thomas Stead and the Peace Conference at the Hague'. *The W.T. Stead Resource Site*. <http://attackingthediabol.co.uk>

28

Bertha von Suttner, *Den Haag en de Vredesconferentie*, 25.

29

*Ibid.*, 43.

Von Suttner supported him. Nicolas II was the initiator of the conference, the champion of peace to Stead. But in the meanwhile the tsar was brutally suppressing people in neighboring countries, such as the Finns. Von Suttner said about this complicated matter that, since the start of the peace movement, there had always been ‘disturbing voices’. Her opinion was that the case of Finland might deserve our sympathy, but at The Hague it ought not to be part of the discussions.<sup>30</sup> Certainly this attitude was in accordance with her non-political standpoint (‘no politics, no parties’).

A very special person and a frequent visitor of Von Suttner’s salon was the Dutch painter, Jan ten Kate. His paintings, exhibited during the conference in the Building of Arts and Sciences at The Hague, illustrated the horrors of war: the bloody massacre, dying soldiers, human misery. During the vernissage Von Suttner perceived her good old friend Von Bloch and suddenly, seeing him together with Ten Kate, she found herself distracted from the paintings by the remarkable contrast between the two men.<sup>31</sup> Von Bloch, the man of the ‘real’ anti-war movement who fought against war with data and facts, and Ten Kate who, with his shocking paintings, showed the world what would happen if war broke out. Nevertheless they were both fighting for the same goals.

And finally there was Benjamin Trueblood, the classical scholar and chairman of the American Peace Movement. Von Suttner characterized Trueblood as a man of firm conviction, with a sense of humor; he was sometimes even ‘the darling’ of the evening.<sup>32</sup> His pacifist ideas were deeply influenced by the works of William Penn and Immanuel Kant. In the seventeenth century, Penn had been one of the first European thinkers who - against the

---

30

Ibid., 152-153.

31

Ibid., 63.

32

Ibid., 42.

background of the French King Louis XIV's devastating wars – had argued for founding a European peace organization and the introduction of international rules of law. The philosopher Kant, in his book *Zum Ewigen Frieden* had laid down the conditions for a successful peace system, including the principles of non-involvement and free choice. Like Kant, Trueblood was an advocate of a league of peace, a union of free countries with just one extremely important task: to prevent the outbreak of large-scale international conflicts. Trueblood hoped that the peace conference would become a permanent organization; a union that in the near future could fulfill this task.<sup>33</sup>

But Von Suttner had not only friends. The socialists in particular were unsympathetic to her ideas of peace and her interest in a conference that totally neglected the problem of class struggle. They therefore organized an alternative meeting and invited ‘everyone who was indignant about the nonchalant way the peace ideal was debated and treated these days’.<sup>34</sup> Von Suttner’s irritated reaction was:

‘All the real peace apostles, so also Von Bloch, Stead, Dr. Trueblood and me – had reason to be concerned about the invitation. War and peace are not class problems. The state of war we are now living in and the state of peace that is to come, are general phases of civilization that have an impact on all social classes.’<sup>35</sup>

Buckle was definitely much more important than Karl Marx!

---

33

Arthur Eyffinger, *The 1899 Hague Peace Conference*, 64.

34

As cited in: Bertha von Suttner, *Den Haag en de wereldvrede*, 18.

35

*Ibid.*, 20.

The simple fact that Von Suttner was a woman sometimes seemed to have been a problem for her too. She was, for example, not invited to an official dinner organized by the French delegate Léon Bourgeois, since only men were welcome. So it was Arthur, her husband, who received an invitation, not her. However, Von Suttner did not complain and noted pragmatically in her diary that ‘you ought not to overestimate the utility of such meetings’.<sup>36</sup> The peace problem was definitely much more important, in her opinion, than the woman problem. In one of her articles, titled *World peace and the point of view of a woman*, she did argue that women could benefit from the peace movement. If the goals were realized, humanity would arrive at a higher moral level than ever before. Violence and suppression would give way to peace and freedom, and class and sex differences would disappear.<sup>37</sup>

Yet, during the weeks of the conference it became clear that all this was still far away. The delegates did not succeed in making agreements on the limitation of arms or the founding of an obligatory international arbitration system. And although Von Suttner was convinced that history was on her side, she and her friends were sometimes slightly dispirited. Adding to their annoyance, along with the disappointing results of the conference, was a text written by the German delegate Karl von Stengel, portraying the peace activists as ‘comic figures’. Von Suttner describes what happened one evening, after Novicow had read a brochure by this opponent:

---

36

Ibid., 197.

37

Bertha von Suttner, ‘Wereldvrede vanuit het standpunt eener vrouw’ in: Bertha von Suttner, *Den Haag en de Vredesconferentie*, 79-80. In later years the bonds between the peace and women movement became much closer.

‘Professor Stengel’s brochure *The Eternal Peace* was on the table – next to six bulky books of Von Bloch. Novicow was diligently browsing the brochure and now and then exclaimed in surprise: “What! What do I see now? The man who wrote *this* is a delegate on the Peace Conference? The only thing he is doing is pleading against the peace movement and disarmament, and glorifying war and war preparations, and he is doing this with old-fashioned arguments...”

Novicow read the whole brochure and it amused him no end, he said. It would be an easy job to contradict it...’<sup>38</sup>

Not only Von Stengel but all German delegates avoided her, Von Suttner writes, clearly offended. When the weather also worsened, becoming windy and cold, she really became disheartened: ‘there is reason to be unhappy (...). All hearts are cold. They are as cold as the icy air that comes in through the booming window. I shiver’.<sup>39</sup>

Von Suttner left The Hague on 7 July. Unfortunately, there are no records as to why she left the Netherlands three weeks before the conference ended. The reason can have been the disappointing results of the conference and dwindling finances. But on the day of departure she was cheered by the warm farewell: ‘many friends accompanied us to the station. The train compartment was full of goodbye bouquets. Goodbye, lovely city with your parks and dunes!’ And she added that hopefully The Hague, as the first international court of arbitration was founded there, would become a place of pilgrimage for future generations.<sup>40</sup>

---

38

Ibid., 51-52.

39

Ibid., 40, 186.

40

Ibid., 198.

## *Pan Europe*

After the conference some peace activists turned their attention to the political problems of Europe. Novicow, for instance, after 1899, became a passionate federalist since in his opinion only close European cooperation could create the appropriate conditions for successful peace initiatives.<sup>41</sup> Von Suttner, who already in 1892 had made a plea for a European League at a peace congress in Bern, nevertheless hesitated to support Novicow's new approach. Fried hesitated too. Von Suttner even opposed Novicow, by referring to Von Bloch who first wanted to end the risk of a large scale European war, before focusing on federalism. He even refused to call himself a 'federalist' and, Von Suttner reminded Novicow, he was one of 'der grössten' among the pacifists.<sup>42</sup>

In 1905 Von Suttner received the Nobel Prize for Peace which connected her even more closely to what Alfred Nobel had in mind when he initiated this prize in 1901: to contribute to a diminishment of armament and to promote peace. Von Suttner would never call herself a federalist because she was primarily a pacifist. But Novicow's ideas nevertheless fascinated her more and more as the years passed. Towards the end of her life, when the international climate had suddenly deteriorated, she even strongly promoted the federalist idea and said that 'we' had to unite under one flag and call out that we wanted a Pan Europe.<sup>43</sup> By then Fried had converted to federalism and studied the Pan American Union –

---

41

J. Novicow, 'La fédération. Ses avantages et ses bienfaits'. *Revue politique et parlementaire*, XXIV (Paris 1900), 229-257; J. Novicow, *La fédération de l'Europe* (Paris 1901).

42

Brigitte Hamann, *Bertha von Suttner*, 265.

43

*Ibid.*, 432. Bloch never accepted the federalist idea. He died in 1902.



a good example, he considered, for the old continent. Europe, according to Fried, had perhaps lost its leading role in the world, but the moment to unite and survive still was there.<sup>44</sup>

Fried's dream of a united Europe came to an end in 1914. Von Suttner died just before the outbreak of the war. But their ideas were not forgotten in later years and inspired the Austrian-Hungarian Earl Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi to write down his Pan Europe concept after the war. This even received attention from leading politicians (Aristide Briand, Gustav Stresemann) and in the fifties inspired the founders of the European Community (Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman). Coudenhove claimed to have created the concept and underlying ideas of Pan Europe but later on, in his autobiography, he admitted that Fried's study of Pan America had been the major source of his Pan Europe concept.<sup>45</sup>

One could go back even further and argue that the Pan Europe concept was actually the direct result of the The Hague Peace Conference failure. Indeed, following the conference, the main goal of most peace activists became the organization of Pan Europe. The author of *Die Waffen Nieder* continued in pursuit of her personal ambition: to overcome division within the peace movement, also after 1899, searching for a middle-road. As a pacifist, a European and, not to forget, an excellent organizer, her message after The Hague was: 'a united Europe, this must be the solution henceforth of an enlightened pacifism'.<sup>46</sup>

---

44

Alfred H. Fried, *Pan-Amerika. Entwicklung, Umfang und Bedeutung der pan-amerikanischen Bewegung* (Berlin 1910).

45

Anita Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, *Botschafter Europas. Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi und die Paneuropa-Bewegung in den zwanziger- und dreissiger Jahren* (Wien, Köln, Weimar 2004), 74-75, 346-347.

46

Brigitte Hamann, *Bertha von Suttner*, 433.

