

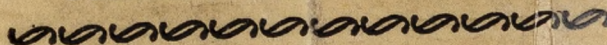


A VENTURE
IN
GOODWILL

BEING THE STORY OF THE
WOMEN'S
INTERNATIONAL
LEAGUE
1915—1929

By
HELEN WARD

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1915—1929

ERRATA

Page 16, line 22. For "Two and a quarter million of pounds" read "two and a quarter thousand million pounds."

Page 20, line 5. For "breath" read "breadth."

Page 52, line 1. For "January, 1927," read "January, 1928."

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A Venture in Goodwill

BEING THE STORY OF THE
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE,
1915—1929.

*The woundless and invisible thought that goes
Free throughout time as north and south wind blows,
Far throughout space as east and west sea flows,
And all dark things before it are made bright.*
Swinburne.

I. ON TILBURY DOCKHEAD.

ONE morning late in April, 1915, while the first glowing ardour of the war fever was still in the hearts of men and of women, a little group of women stood on Tilbury dockhead, gazing out to sea. They had lodgings nearby in the old hotel, but they seemed hardly able to drag themselves away from the sight of the sea. Who were they? The answer to that question is the story of this booklet. They were the British advance guard of a great modern development of an old movement. They were a few out of some hundred and eighty British women who were holding

themselves in readiness, up and down the country, in hope of breaking through wartime barriers and reaching the Women's International Congress at the Hague. Among the Tilbury group were Margaret Ashton, Catharine Marshall, Emily Leaf, Maude Royden.

It is easy to imagine how resourcefully they hurled themselves upon each obstacle to remove it. In vain. The harassed authorities could not rise to an occasion so patently without precedent, and, at the last, it became known that, by a strange coincidence, the Admiralty had closed the North Sea. The historic group watched on till the Congress taking place on the other side was over. They seemed to fail, yet the little seed sown by less than two hundred women here in Great Britain, with like little seeds sown by tiny groups of women in other lands, has grown and multiplied.

*Killed—on the twenty-first—a month ago—
The child that slew him? Dead, no doubt, as well.
Say that some powerful fate has willed it so,
And both were doomed for years before they fell?
Say that the fault is Mammon's, Antichrist's,
Or that high God's you'd hire to grind the mill
Of murder . . . Cease you mouthing moralists,
The fault is ours—yours—mine, if you will.*

2. ACROSS THE NORTH SEA: WOMEN OF
MANY COUNTRIES MEET AT THE HAGUE.

WHAT then was this event in which the little Tilbury group, with their hundred and eighty countrywomen, desired to take their part? Those who read Ethel Sidgwick's words given above can guess. But to answer the question fully we must go back a few months.

As soon as war was declared in 1914, while indeed the thunder clouds were only beginning to blot out the glorious August sun, the women of many lands began to search their hearts, lest they should neglect anything which might yet be done for peace. On July 31st, the Women's International Suffrage Alliance delivered its manifesto to the British Foreign Office and the foreign embassies in London, appealing that no method of conciliation or arbitration be left untried. But some felt it in their hearts to do more, much more. Though

the I.W.S.A. decided officially to stand aside, several of its best known leaders threw in their lot with the unprecedented movement, notably Chrystal Macmillan, Lida Gustava Heymann and the Dutch doctor, Aletta Jacobs. Dr. Jacobs gave embodiment to the new thought. "Gifted alike," as Emily Hobhouse said, "with wisdom and practical power, she knew how to concentrate the deep but scattered forces at her command." She, with her Dutch Committee, issued a noble Call to an International Congress of Women on Dutch soil.

In February, 1915, therefore, a band of women met at Amsterdam to make preliminary arrangements and to essay the difficult task of producing draft resolutions appropriate to such an occasion. The British women present were a fine set—Chrystal Macmillan with her trained legal mind, Theodora Wilson Wilson, a crusader of peace, Kathleen Courtney, whose broad judgment and clear thinking make her indispensable wherever aspiration has to incarnate itself in intricate procedure, Catharine Marshall, later to become the "defender of the faith" of the conscientious objector, and Emily Leaf, the ever generous and selfless fighter for peace and freedom. All but one of these soon returned to England and, in their characteristically practical way, formed a British General Committee and held meetings to focus enthusiasm for the Congress to follow in April. By early

in that month the hundred and eighty referred to above were ready to start.

Among them were Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Helena Swanwick, Isabella Ford, Margaret Bondfield, Eva Gore Booth, Margaret Sackville, Sylvia Pankhurst, Evelyn Sharp and Olive Schreiner. Mrs. Schreiner expressed the feeling general among these women thus: "It will always be a matter of regret to me that I was not able to be present at your gathering as I had meant. The time has now come for the great step which humanity must take if it is to continue in its upward path—the step across the narrow bounds of nation and race into a larger and wider human fellowship."

As things turned out, it was most fortunate that Chrystal Macmillan had remained in Holland and that Kathleen Courtney had returned there early to help, because, owing to the obstacles already described, only these two, with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who came later in the same ship as the American contingent, were able to represent our women at the Hague Congress during any part of its four days' sessions.

The Congress opened on April 28th, with some fifteen hundred people present: delegates and visitors, the countries represented being Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the United

States of America. And the crown of all the courage and work of its promoters was that the beloved Jane Addams presided.

Members of the Congress were required to be in general agreement with its purpose, namely (a) That international disputes should be settled by peaceful means, and (b) That the parliamentary franchise should be granted to women. The conditions of debate were: That discussion on the relative responsibility for, and conduct of the war, and resolutions dealing with the rules under which war should in future be carried on, should be out of order.

As Frau Keilhau, of Norway, observed, the moment of the meeting of the Congress was of historical importance, because the women of the world had for the first time met to protest against the horrible evil of war.

It is impossible here to record a tenth part of the things which happened, grave or even a little amusing, on an occasion which would have tried the nerve of the world's best diplomatist. Roughly speaking there were two elements there, those who took the Quaker view and were anxious for a "stop the war" resolution, and those who felt equally strongly that it was *not* a stop the war congress, and that no resolution demanding peace could be passed without some statement as to terms.

Here is a preamble and a few resolutions

which give some idea of what the Congress aimed at:—

This International Congress of Women of different nations, classes, creeds, and parties, is united in expressing sympathy with the suffering of all, whatever their nationality, who are fighting for their country or labouring under the burden of war.

Since the mass of the people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting, not as aggressors but in self-defence and for their national existence, there can be no irreconcilable differences between them, and their common ideals afford a basis upon which a magnanimous and honourable peace might be established. The Congress therefore urges the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed, and to begin peace negotiations. It demands that the peace which follows shall be permanent and therefore based on principles of justice, including those laid down in the resolutions adopted by this Congress.

Among these resolutions were the following:

1. That the Governments of all nations should come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation and to bring social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms.
2. That foreign politics should be subject to democratic control.
3. That the organisation of the Society of

Nations should be further developed on the basis of a constructive peace, and that it should include :

a. As a development of the Hague Court of Arbitration, a Permanent International Court of Justice to settle questions or differences of a justiciable character, such as arise on the interpretation of treaty rights or of the law of nations.

b. As a development of the constructive work of the Hague Conference, a Permanent International Conference holding regular meetings in which women should take part, to deal, not with the rules of warfare, but with practical proposals for further International Co-operation among the States. This Conference should be so constituted that it could formulate and enforce those principles of justice, equity, and goodwill in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognised and the interests and rights, not only of the great Powers and small Nations, but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples, gradually adjusted under an enlightened public opinion.

This International Conference shall appoint :

A permanent Council of Conciliation and Investigation for the settlement of international differences arising from economic competition, expanding commerce, increasing population and changes in social and political standards.

4. The International Congress of Women, advocating universal disarmament and realising that it can only be secured by international agreement, urges, as a step to this end, that all countries should, by such an international agreement, take over the manufacture of arms and munitions of war and should control all international traffic in the same. It sees in the private profits accruing from the great

armament factories a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war.

5. The International Congress of Women urges that in all countries there shall be liberty of commerce, that the seas shall be free and the trade routes open on equal terms to the shipping of all nations.

6. Inasmuch as the investment by capitalists of one country in the resources of another and the claims arising therefrom are a fertile source of international complications, this International Congress of Women urges the widest possible acceptance of the principle that such investments shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the official protection of his government.

7. This International Congress of Women recommends that National Commissions be created, and International Conferences convened, for the scientific study and elaboration of the principles and conditions of permanent peace, which might contribute to the development of an International Federation.

8. These Commissions and Conferences should be recognised by the Governments and should include women in their deliberations.

Looking back at the Hague Congress one sees it not only as a gallant adventure, but as one of those rare expressions of "inspired commonsense."

Seldom can any international gathering have met in so tense an atmosphere. Yet in spite of the nervous strain, in spite of the sense of impending doom which lay heavily on the hearts of many, the Congress turned resolutely to the future and laid down with a sure hand the foundations upon which it believed peace

and justice could be built up. The findings indeed have an almost prophetic quality. When at last in 1918 an exhausted world began to feel its way out of chaos, it might have been observed that President Wilson's Fourteen Points bore a striking resemblance to the resolutions agreed to at the Women's International Congress in 1915. "We have formulated our message," said Jane Addams, "and given it to the world to heed when it will, confident that at last the great court of International Opinion will give righteous judgment upon all human affairs."

As sometimes happens, a most courageous and dramatic proposal was endorsed by the Congress somewhat hurriedly at the close of the last long session. This was no less than that "This Congress delegates envoys to carry the message expressed in the Congress resolutions to the rulers of the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe and to the President of the United States." The adventures of these modern knights of peace are told in the next chapter.

Hear therefore, O ye kings and understand; learn ye that are judges of the ends of the earth.

Wisdom 6. 1.

3. ENVOYS FROM THE WOMEN'S CONGRESS
ARE RECEIVED BY THE REPRESENTA-
TIVES OF SIXTEEN GOVERNMENTS.

"SURELY," as Catharine Marshall has remarked, "surely never since Mary Fisher, the Quakeress, set out on her mission to preach Christianity to the Grand Turk, was such an adventure undertaken by women!" and she continues, "those privileged to hear Miss Addams' report of their experiences felt as though they were listening to some tale of medieval romance." "Perhaps you think it rather a foolish undertaking," she told us she had said to the Prime Minister of a belligerent country, "for women to go from one nation to another talking of peace in the midst of all this strife." "Foolish!" replied the minister, "by no means, this is the most sensible talk I have heard since last August."

Among those who formed the delegations, whether to neutral or belligerent, were Jane Addams, Aletta Jacobs, Chrystal Macmillan, Catharine Marshall, Rosa Genoni, Rosika Schwimmer, Kathleen Courtney, Anita Augspurg, Emily Balch, C. Ramondt, Lida Gustava Heymann, and, later, Maude Royden.

Among those who received envoys were: in London, the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, and the Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey; in Berlin, Foreign Minister Von Jagow, and Reichskanzler von Bethmann Hollweg; in Vienna, Foreign Minister von Burian, and Prime Minister von Sturgkh; in Buda Pesth, Prime Minister von Tisza; in Berne, Foreign Minister Hoffmann and President Motta; in Rome, Foreign Minister Sonnino and Prime Minister Salandra; in Paris, Prime Minister Viviani and Foreign Minister Delcassé; at Havre, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, M. d'Avignon; in Copenhagen, Prime Minister Zahle and Foreign Minister Scavenius; in Christiania, King Haakon and Foreign Minister Ihlen, and, the next day, Prime Minister Knudsen; in Stockholm, Foreign Minister Wallenberg; in Petrograd, Foreign Minister Sazonoff; at the Hague, Prime Minister Cort van der Linden and Foreign Minister Loudon. A letter signed by the President, Jane Addams, was sent also to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in the countries not visited.

The envoys were, it is reported, well received by the representatives of the Governments in every country visited. That these poor harassed men did so receive them is a fact which goes to prove that no one need despair of human nature. What Miss Addams and her friends said to them in the war, we may hopefully say to all in future rumours of war: "Without

abandoning your causes, and without lowering, if you please, the real quality of your patriotism, whatever it is you want, and whatever you feel you ought to have in honour, why in the world can't you submit your case to a tribunal of fairminded men? If your case is as good as you are sure it is, certainly those men will find the righteousness which adheres within it." Here, in these plain words, we have the purpose of the International League for Peace and Freedom, which sprang to birth as the result of the Hague Congress of 1915, with its national sections in general and our own British League in particular.

We believe that peace is no negative thing: it is not only the condition of all fruitful work, but the result of the most strenuous and adventurous effort of mind.

4. THE BRITISH LEAGUE IS FOUNDED IN LONDON: IT STANDS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE AND FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.

THE words appearing above are the creed of the British Women's International League. They form part of a fine manifesto issued at its foundation in the Autumn of 1915. The Conference which gave it birth was held in Westminster on September 30th and October 1st, in that year, following a great public meeting on May 11th at the Central Hall which was convened to receive the report of the Hague International Congress, and which empowered the temporary committee to remain in being and prepare a draft constitution for the proposed permanent organisation, taking the Hague resolutions as a basis. The Woman's Movement and the Movement for International Goodwill were thus given in marriage to each other to produce this child.

The British League's first Officers and Executive were: Chairman, Mrs. Swanwick (who became President in 1923); Treasurer, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; Hon. Secretary, Irene Cooper

Willis; Secretary, Miss Mitchell (succeeded in 1918 by Miss Royds, now Mrs. Innes); First Vice-Chair, Maude Royden; Second Vice-Chair, Margaret Ashton; Third Vice-Chair, Kathleen Courtney (who became Chairman in 1923), with, as members of Executive, Mrs. Barton, Margaret Bondfield, Lady Courtney of Penwith, Mrs. Despard, Marian Ellis (now Lady Parmoor), Isabella Ford, Mrs. Bruce Glasier, M. H. Huntsman, Eva Macnaghten, Catharine Marshall, Hon. Mrs. Rollo Russell, Mrs. Alfred Salter, Sophy Sanger, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Mason Thompson, Mrs. C. P. Trevelyan, Helen Ward, and Theodora Wilson Wilson.

During its first year (Oct. 1st, 1915, to Sept. 30th, 1916), its membership rose to between two and three thousand, with thirty-four branches. Nevertheless, it lived somewhat dangerously during the war. The desperate patriotism burning in the hearts of the people made them nervy and suspicious; for many of these patriots could not recognise their ideal in the larger ideals for which our League works. There existed a "totally unnecessary conflict," as Jane Addams put it, "between the great issues of internationalism and of patriotism, the two great affections which should never have been set one against the other."

One subject provocative of the bitterest misunderstanding was conscription, with its offspring, the conscientious objector. The W.I.L.

concerned itself with this matter. On December 16th, 1915, it held a public meeting at the Portman Rooms in Baker Street in opposition to the Conscription Act, and at its Annual Council in February of the next year, it added opposition to conscription, whether military or industrial, to its programme. The previous month Catharine Marshall, acting in her individual capacity, gave herself up to work for the No Conscription Fellowship, and, on the imprisonment of its Hon. Secretary, Clifford Allen, she became secretary in his place.

It was impossible during the war to carry out effective work in co-operation with other national sections of the International League, owing to the refusal of passports and the rigorous censorship. In August, 1916, at the beginning of the third year of conflict, some six million fighting men were reported killed, and at least a like number disabled, the cost in money to Great Britain alone being nearly two and a quarter million of pounds.

But, in these dark days, the W.I.L. (the "will" to adopt Mrs. Swanwick's pet pun) never relaxed in its spiritual fight. By writing, by speech, by petition, it kept its purpose before the Government and before the public. It laid to heart and gave publicity to a speech delivered by Mr. Asquith shortly before the war, at the Anglo-American Peace Centenary: "The diplomats went to Ghent, they spent a

good many months in more or less futile negotiations, *and then by one of those curious and significant waves of feeling, of which we have so many examples in history, the public opinion of the two great countries took the business out of their hands, and said with authoritative and unmistakeable emphasis, 'Peace must be made!'*" (the italics are ours). Such dramatic success was not for us, but the Memorial of October, 1916, to which signatures were obtained in large numbers, is typical of the methods adopted to arouse a public opinion powerful enough to call a halt. The call to sign is given in full, for it did indeed contribute to the slow growth of a will to peace among not only the "ordinary" people, but also among those in responsible positions:

"The war in which our country is engaged was supported by the mass of the people, as a war for the defence of freedom and the rights of small nationalities. It was believed by many, moreover, to be a war to end war.

In the name of such sacred ideals as these, the young men of our country were called out to fight. In their name they responded magnificently. And in their name many have laid down their lives.

We who are not called to the fighting line to endure the unspeakable horrors of modern war, are bound in the name of all who suffer, again to demand whether the objects for which so many have already died cannot be attained by negotiation. If this is possible, it is an imperative duty, for the refusal of the Powers to attempt negotiation has led to the war becoming one of attrition, and such a war is a moral iniquity, involving cruelty and

suffering no words can describe. It is doubly and trebly iniquitous if the cause for which these sufferings are endured is in fact already attainable by negotiation, and Germany ready for a just and lasting peace.

We are the more bound to press the Government immediately to take steps to ascertain whether a just peace is not now possible by negotiation, that we see liberties for which our brothers went out to fight and to die, steadily undermined at home; the poor suffering from the exploitation of national need by profiteers, the dependents of soldiers and sailors—soldiers and sailors themselves—suffering hardship from the rise in prices, discontent stifled (though not removed) by the growing militarism of our governing class, and our civil and political liberties destroyed.

The Women's International League therefore calls upon the people to rally in support of the Memorial for a Negotiated Peace which 'urges His Majesty's Government to seek the earliest opportunity of promoting negotiation with the object of securing a just and lasting peace.'

Understanding is a well-spring of life.

Proverbs, 16, 22.

5. BRAINS NEEDED AS WELL AS HEARTS.

THE growth of public opinion referred to in the last chapter was slow. Kindness, goodwill, is often to be found in the hearts of ordinary people; their hearts are mostly and in the long run in the right place. It is their heads which are not. Early in its history the W.I.L. realised this fact. To enlighten and to educate was a task as necessary as any to which it had set its hand. It recognised the truth expressed in a recently published League of Nations pamphlet: "Governments alone cannot establish the reign of law throughout the world. That can only be done when the public opinion of this and other democratic countries *understands* the need for the world-wide reign of law."

As early as February, 1916, the League arranged the first of many series of small conferences, dealing, week by week, with topical matters. For example: "What is the Freedom of the Seas?" "What has the Investment of Money to do with War and Peace?" "Patriotism and the Pocket," "What are Women for?"

A bolder experiment was the Conference on the Teaching of History and Scripture held at Central Buildings, Westminster, on January

6th, 7th, and 8th, 1916, with Maude Royden in the chair. Its scope may be indicated by a summary of the argument of Dr. Gooch's address: "History should be taught (*a*) In its whole breath, (*b*) Its whole length, (*c*) Internationally, and (*d*) Impartially"; by Miss M. V. L. Hughes: "In teaching scripture we need peculiarly to stress that God is the God of all nations," and by Maude Royden's question: "Is it possible to teach a revolutionary ethic such as that of Christ in state schools?" A general introduction to this Conference had been given the previous month by Lord Haldane in his lecture on Educational Reform.

Another educational venture which aroused much interest was the series of lectures given after the war (in February, 1919) by Homer Lane, of The Little Commonwealth, on "Authority: The Fundamental Problem of Society."

W.I.L. Summer Schools have also proved a delightful way of acquiring knowledge; special mention may be made of that at Keswick in April, 1923, and that at West Hill in 1928. There have also been several most fruitful schools on the continent. In the late Autumn of 1924, four lectures on the Draft Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes were given at Essex Hall by Mrs. Swanwick, W. Arnold Forster, Philip Baker, and C. Delisle Burns, respectively. In February, 1928, the Gate Theatre was packed for a Conference on

War Films, addressed, among others, by Reginald Berkeley, whose film "Dawn" had that day been banned by the Censor.

The memory of these occasions lingers in the minds of those who were present, but the W.I.L. educational publications make a wider appeal. The four lectures referred to above were published in pamphlet form, and Mrs. Swanwick produced a series of three pamphlets of great value on the Covenant of the League of Nations. Among other similar publications must be mentioned W. Arnold Forster's booklet "The Victory of Reason" (Hogarth Press), written at the request of the League and as valuable now as when it appeared in 1926. These occasional booklets, together with the leaders and notes in the Monthly News Sheet, referred to below, form a library of sound information which, though popular in form, is for the most part of real political and literary value. Mrs. Swanwick, whose literary contribution to the League is incalculable, thus sums up an ideal to which each member of it is morally pledged: "Well for us if our thought and our discussion, our give and take, our comradeship and our organisation, are fitting us to take a brave and honest part in the thought and the deed which are to remould the world in pieces It is not enough to feel vaguely kind. We must get knowledge and get understanding, and we must socialise them."

The positive conception of freedom displaces the idea of limitation by that of natural growth. The flower grows, not to a limit, but to its natural height. . . . "The perfect lady" may be preserved, as we keep a bird of paradise in the Zoo; but she has no right to affect public policy.

C. Delisle Burns in *The Philosophy of Labour*.

6. THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.

TO an ardent pacifist it is a hard saying that he, or even she, need concern himself about so seemingly irrelevant a subject as votes for women. Yet, as mentioned above, the founders of the movement of which the Women's International League forms part, decided with the utmost deliberation that the promotion of that group of reforms of which woman suffrage is typical, is essential to the attainment of permanent peace. In their opinion, a main contributory cause of the situation in which the world finds itself has been the political irresponsibility hitherto fostered in women. Therefore it came about that our British League concerned itself from the first with things appertaining to the full, free, citizenship of women.

As early as 1916 the question of a revision of the register of parliamentary voters was

mooted, and it soon became evident that in order to secure the vote for men serving with the forces, an amendment of the Ballot Act would be necessary. The W.I.L. at once, in co-operation with fellow suffragists, and with those who stood specifically for adult suffrage, brought all the political pressure at its command to compel provision for the women's claim. Its position may be summed up in a quotation from a letter it sent to Mr. Asquith in August, 1916: "In our opinion the only just and democratic electoral reform, and the only workmanlike way out of the present franchise tangles, is the single franchise—a vote for every adult man and woman on a short residential basis."

The various developments leading to final victory in 1928 are familiar to our readers. Other more insidious menaces to the freedom of women were harder to combat. The increase of venereal disease, always associated with periods of great military activity, alarmed the authorities and led to panic legislation. Regulation 40 D. under D.O.R.A., issued about June, 1918, reintroduced in effect the compulsory medical examination of women, with all the concomitant circumstances of their terrorization, whether guilty or innocent, as was shown when two respectable married women were falsely accused by plain-clothes police at Shepherd's Bush.

At the Annual Council in November, 1918, the League called for the immediate withdrawal of the offending regulation (which occurred shortly after), and declared its opposition to this kind of legislation for reasons similar to those which it had expressed in connection with the publication of the valuable Report of The Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases in 1916, as follows: "Realising the grave peril to the race by the prevalence of venereal disease, this League of women desires to identify itself with the principles broadly laid down by the Royal Commission after receiving the evidence of experts from all parts of the world, namely, that compulsion is more calculated to drive the danger underground than to avert it, and that the true line of advance is to be found in the provision of free facilities for treatment all over the country, the spread of knowledge and the raising of the moral standard The Council protests against the proposals in some quarters for compulsory notification and treatment on the ground that all these punitive proposals would operate against defenceless women and not against the rich and powerful of either sex." The League also associated itself with the protests of the French Union for Woman Suffrage in 1918 against the order of the Minister concerned for the establishment of further tolerated houses for the French troops.

At the 1918 Council the W.I.L. also passed a reasoned resolution in support of equal pay and family allowances, a subject to which two leading members, Maude Royden and Kathleen Courtney, had been the first to call attention in this country in the little book, "Equal Pay and the Family Wage."

Not only in the matters referred to above somewhat at random, but in all things affecting the liberties and status of women, the League has recognised a definite responsibility.

"When I landed in Ireland that morning (about 3 a.m.) I was happy once more. . . . The sandhills were full of skylarks, rising in the dawn, the first I had heard for years—the first sound I heard through the surf was their song as I waded in through the breakers, and they kept rising all the time up to the old rath at Currshone, where I stayed and sent the others on, and all round were primroses and wild violets and the singing of the skylarks in the air, and I was back in Ireland again. . . . It is a cruel thing to die with all men misunderstanding—misapprehending—and to be silent for ever."

From a private letter of Roger Casement written in the condemned cell at Pentonville, and quoted by H. W. Nevinson in "Last Changes and Chances."

7. MISSION TO IRELAND.

WHEN rumours of wrongs and crimes reach it, the W.I.L. likes, so far as possible, to see and judge for itself. Therefore it was that in 1920 it resolved to send delegations to Ireland.

Though our delegation at the Hague in 1915 was known as that of "Great Britain and Ireland," our Irish sisters, under the vigorous leadership of Louie Bennett, lost no time in establishing a national League of their own

across the Irish Channel, working at all times in close friendship with the British League. Their path was thorny. Full of passionate sympathy with their "rebel" countrymen and women, yet they remained through all temptation staunch to their belief in spiritual, rather than physical, force. At Easter, 1916, the Dublin rebellion took place, with its aftermath of British reprisal, including the putting to death of that gallant and sincere pacifist, Sheehy Skeffington. "The Irish rebellion is haunting," wrote Mrs. Swanwick. "It has been the result of so many mistakes and stupidities and corrupt old practices, and of such high idealism and reckless sacrifice, endeavouring to force fate." It was indeed a tragedy of dark fates equal to that sung by any ancient Greek poet. That the putting to death of Skeffington was in itself a criminal error is shown by these few words from his Open Letter to Thomas MacDonagh about eighteen months before: "I am not blind to the movement's merits. It is a clean open-air movement which gives the young men of Ireland something better to do than cheer at meetings and pass resolutions. It gives them self-respect and self-reliance. It is militarism at its best. But it is militarism. It is organised to kill." And again, "as your movement grows towards the stature of a full grown militarism, its essence—preparation to kill—grows more repellent to me." It was,

if not a coward, then a hero indeed, who could write such words to his beloved fellow countrymen dying day by day for their country. And a British officer had him done to death.

The Irish W.I.L. showed a like courage in their manifesto of October, 1916. "Rather than arm for civil slaughter, let us join with the finest and most constructive thinkers of our generation who are striving to release humanity from the barbarities of force"

On August 3rd, 1916, Roger Casement was hanged in Pentonville, the Attorney-General, Sir F. E. Smith, having, by an exquisite irony of circumstance, conducted the prosecution. Casement's letter, quoted at the head of this chapter, tells us more than many pages of history, of the passion of self-sacrificing patriotism felt by her sons and daughters in those dark days of Ireland's martyrdom. While there still seemed hope, Mrs. Swanwick wrote a short strong letter to the Home Secretary, beginning, "I beg you, in the name of the League, not to hang Roger Casement," and ending "his death can in no way help England, even for a moment; it would be a stain for ever."

From this year onwards things grew worse. The errors and the crimes of the almost desperate Irish continued, continually met by reprisals. Evidence on either side was hard to come by in the state of terrorism existing. H. W. Nevinson saw much at first hand on

his several visits. Writing of November, 1920, he says: "As I returned through Cork from Dublin, the officials in Mountjoy gaol were hanging a boy, Kevin Barry, on a dubious charge of complicity in the murder of a soldier, and men and women were kneeling in prayer around the prison walls. . . . Tralee was a centre of Black and Tan activities. The City Hall and several houses had already been burnt. From time to time during our night there I heard the smashing of doors and the outcries of the inhabitants as private houses were raided. . . ."

Hearing of such things, the idea mentioned above came to the Manchester Branch of the W.I.L., who laid it before the Executive, by whom it was decided that the League should send its own delegations to see for themselves where truth lay. The Irish League gave the suggestion a hearty welcome, and the first group started on October 4th. It consisted of Mrs. Swanwick, and Mrs. Watts of Manchester, who were followed later by Mrs. Annott Robinson, Dr. Catherine Chisholme, Amy Herford, Mrs. Gee, Ellen Wilkinson and Miss Melland of Manchester, and Miss Newhort, with Mrs. Dollan of Glasgow. They divided the work and visited Belfast, Derry, Lisburn, Dublin, Balbriggan, Limerick, Lahinch, Ennistymon, Tuam, Cork and Mallow. As the British press and authorities had always given

the fullest publicity to the errors or the crimes, actual and alleged of the Irish "rebels," the mission rightly tried to redress the balance by seeking to understand and make known what violence had been done to these Irish in the name of British law and order.

A few lines only can be given of what the women reported: "Sometimes there was method in the destruction, only known sympathisers with Sinn Fein being attacked; sometimes the destruction was perfectly indiscriminate; sometimes, as in the murder of Mr. Lynch in Dublin, it seemed likely that the man was killed in mistake for another. . . . The presence of secret agents, spies, agents-provocateurs, was a frequent subject of conversation and added greatly to the prevailing state of nervous tension." The mission was shown copies of a printed sheet called the Weekly Summary, supplied by Government to the Black and Tans, and filled with incitements to bad feeling; this sheet persistently identified the whole Sinn Fein movement with what it called "the murder gang."

It would seem useless to recall the unhappy things of what appears to be long ago, but it is not useless if it shows us once more that ceaseless vigilance on the part of the ordinary public is necessary to preserve the honour even of our own dear country.

The mission's recommendations may be sum-

marised as follows: "Ireland at the general election of 1918 chose her own Government, and a majority of over seventy per cent. was cast for Sinn Fein. Therefore Dail Eireann rules over the Irish people by overwhelming consent, and the British Government can only pretend to govern by force and fraud, leading to the moral injury of Great Britain and the injury of her reputation throughout the world." These facts being so, the mission advocated the immediate liberation of the Irish political prisoners, and the offering of a truce, during which armed force should be withdrawn and the keeping of order placed in the hands of the Irish local elected bodies, thus creating conditions under which the Irish people might determine their own form of government.

*I have no name :
I am but two days old ,
What shall I call thee ?
I happy am,
Joy is my name.
Sweet joy befall thee !*

William Blake.

8. TEATS FOR A MILLION BABIES.

Everybody wishes the best of luck to a newborn baby. That is, in time of peace. But in wartime the baby is most luckless. This is what H. W. Nevinson wrote of the German babies in 1919: "Food of all kinds was scarce and becoming scarcer owing to the British Blockade, which was shamefully prolonged for nine months after the armistice. Professor Siegert, in charge of the children's hospital in Lindenburg, a south-west suburb of Cologne, took me several times over the wards and showed me rows of infants dying of starvation. They had no weight, no growth, no sense. Their limbs were as thin as sticks, but shapeless and boneless. The mothers had no milk, the French had requisitioned vast numbers of cows, and those that remained gave unwholesome milk. *Even where milk could be found, the babies could not drink it, as there was no rubber for the teats of the bottles, and they could not suck the substitutes of glass or bone.*" On December 27th,

a letter from him was published in the "Manchester Guardian," appealing for the rubber teats.

The W.I.L. is essentially a political organisation, founded to promote peace and the emancipation of women by the education and organisation of public opinion, and by bringing such political pressure as it can command upon the official representatives of the country. It deliberately chose this method, knowing that for one woman who makes this difficult use of her citizenship or potential citizenship, there are always thousands who will apply themselves to the relief of distress—to "picking up the bits."

Yet there are moments when the response to some simple human need overrides every theoretic consideration, and is its own justification. The Executive decided that the "enemy" babies should have the sort of teats they wanted. Within a few weeks £6,000 was raised, all obstacles were surmounted and the million teats despatched. A small thing, perhaps, but one which made the political work seem all the more worth while, for by this alone could the aspiration "never again!" become a reality, and the babies of the future be able to sing as they ought, "I happy am, Joy is my name!"

Peace is an active quality, peace is not a negative thing, peace is not the mere denial of war. Peace is the readiness to use your brains and your goodwill to solve every problem as it arises. You have to make peace every hour of the day and every day of the year.

H. M. Swanwick.

9. SOME MORE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES.

The Congress at the Hague in 1915 resolved that another Congress should meet "at the same time and place" as the Peace Conference of the Powers.

In fact, the next Congress met at Zurich in that very week of 1919 when the Conference in Paris was enlarged beyond the membership of the allied and neutral countries and thus became the formal Peace Conference.

But in the terms of peace there forced upon the defeated lay the seeds of future war, as was pointed out in a reasoned resolution passed by the Women's Congress at Zurich.

This Congress, which lasted from May 12th to 17th, was, to all who attended it, a most moving and unforgettable experience. There for the first time since the beginning of this movement, the women of the belligerent countries met each other again and saw in each other's faces the havoc of war, and renewed their pledges of comradeship. The traces of

starvation recognisable in the delegates from the Central Powers were harrowing, and the terrible suffering which the French and the Belgians had endured in the devastated areas also. Nevertheless they had held firm and one after another testified to their faith. Jane Addams presided, as she only can, and summarised her aspirations later in a message which ran: "May the similarity of experience in the several countries and the identical conclusions presented by widely separated delegations give a sanction to the sincerity and worth of our deliberations so that we may be able to abide by them as we face a starved and bewildered world so sadly in need of women's ministrations."

The Congress was held at a dramatic moment—while the Treaty of Versailles was in the making—and most of it was taken up with consideration of a true League of Nations and a Peace which would not sow the seeds of future wars. President Wilson declared to Miss Addams that ours were "the best formulations I have so far seen"; in response to an urgent cable asking for the lifting of the cruel blockade, he replied: "Your message appeals both to my head and to my heart and I hope most sincerely that means may be found"

The most dramatic moment of the Congress came when Jeanne Melin arrived, late, from

the devastated area of Carignan and spoke of what she had witnessed, appealing to "les forces de demain," and Lida Gustava Heymann sprang to her feet, clasping the Frenchwoman's hands and pledging her German colleagues to the work of reconciliation. The whole Congress was led in response by Emily Balch lifting her hand to declare: "I dedicate my life to the cause of peace!" an example which was immediately followed by all the delegates.

They parted in a mood of exaltation overshadowed by tragedy. The Germans who came from Bavaria were in the middle of their revolution, and one of them called in bidding farewell, "Do not forget us, we are going back into the night!" A few weeks after, one of the Austrian delegates died of a slow starvation disease.

The deputation appointed to carry the findings of the Zurich Congress to members of the Peace Conference were Jane Addams, Gabrielle Duchéne, Charlotte Despard, Chrystal Macmillan, Rosa Genoni—all from the "Great Powers," and Clara Ragatz, who failed to get a permit.

Twenty national societies within the Women's League were represented at the Congress, and it was here that its name, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, was chosen, a constitution adopted and the headquarters ordered to be removed to Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations.

The 1921 Congress met in Vienna under the local president, Yella Hertzka, from whose address of welcome these words are taken: "If you get to know only the parts of Vienna where the foreigners' hotels stand, you may easily get a wrong impression of the town. You can only get a true idea of what war has meant if you go out to the workers' districts. Thank God we have one comfort in Vienna, that is art and music. In the town where Beethoven, Mozart and Schubert have lived, music sounds from the Kathleenburg to the Danube and sounds through this hall as you have just heard for our comfort. Music has filled the Viennese with joy when they have come to this concert hall, often with empty stomachs and heavy hearts to forget the bitterness of their lives in the enjoyment of music. I say this, not to praise the Viennese, but to make their psychology clear to you."

The most dramatic resolution passed was that moved by the delegate from the Irish League: "Whereas throughout her long struggle for independence, Ireland has from time to time shown wonderful powers of non-resistance and capacity for martyrdom, such as that of Sheehy Skeffington and of Terence MacSwiney, the W.I.L.P.F. in Congress assembled at Vienna ventures to make the appeal to Dail Eireann and to the Irish people that, when their independence is secured, they incor-

porate disarmament as part of their national policy."

Less dramatic, perhaps, but most characteristic of Vienna, city of culture, were the series of resolutions on education, and among other subjects dealt with which are still troubling the peace was the matter of minorities and their rights.

It was strongly felt indeed that there were still many unsolved problems retarding progress towards universal peace, some of long standing but some caused directly or indirectly by the so-called Peace Treaties of 1919. Therefore another Congress was held the very next year, 1922, for the specific purpose of demanding a New Peace. As in 1915, it met at the Hague, this time in the winter, December 7th to 10th, with Jane Addams again at her post as President. The British W.I.L. sent a full delegation, and eighteen important organisations outside the League also sent delegates. It was claimed that, in all, some twenty million persons were represented.

The resolutions went in some detail into the causes of offence and the remedies for them. Suffice it here to say that the Congress declared as follows: "The present terrible state of Europe and its reactions on the rest of the world are the result not only of the world war, but also in very large measure of the existing Peace Treaties, and that therefore it demands

a New Peace based on new international agreements, and it resolves to work for the convening of a World Congress through the instrumentality of the League of Nations, or of a single nation or a group of nations, in order to achieve this New Peace."

At a special session of the W.I.L. representatives it was decided to repeat in some sort the dramatic action of 1915 by sending messengers to the neutral and late belligerent governments. After approaching the governments of Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, the messengers, Jane Addams, Mlle. Melin and Catharine Marshall, came to England, and on January 2nd, 1923, a great demonstration in their honour was held at Kingsway Hall in London.

Few things could bring home more forcibly the world-wide scope of the International League for Peace and Freedom than the fact that the following Congress was held at Washington, far from fever haunted Europe. The dates were May 1st to 7th, 1924, and once more Jane Addams presided. Nineteen out of the twenty national sections were represented, and during the sessions new sections were admitted from Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Haiti and Japan.

Some hostility was shown by certain of the press. Here is Jane Addams' comment upon the fact: "I beg of you not to take this situation

too seriously. The American delegation does not, for it knows only too well how easily newspaper attacks are manufactured and how ephemeral is the consequence of such attacks. Perhaps you will permit me to illustrate this: When in the interests of the League I was in London in 1915, the business portion of that great town was everywhere placarded by huge posters, black on a yellow ground, which fairly shouted to the passer-by "To the Tower with Ramsay Macdonald," "The pacifist to the Tower," etc. These placards had been put up by one Horatio Bottomley, the editor of "John Bull," who is, as our English delegates know, at present in jail, in the Tower, himself, so to speak, while at the same moment Ramsay Macdonald is Prime Minister of England." It may be noted, in passing, that one thing which became the occasion of hostility was a certain train chartered to convey speakers to some twenty cities and bearing that delightfully American cognomen, "The Pax Special."

Though, as Miss Addams has remarked, "The International League has always avoided at its congresses a mere repetition of first principles and has tried to proceed from the place in which it has found itself at the time of its meetings," yet, for various reasons, the Washington Congress issued a declaration of policy, in which it affirmed that its first principles remained unshaken, and that the course of

events since 1914, and the then condition of Europe, were the inevitable result of the violation of those principles.

Already in 1924 most of the problems with which we are still struggling were under consideration, and among the general resolutions passed at Washington was one on the "optional clause," and one calling for an international conference for the outlawry of war, and warmly welcoming the suggestion of the President of U.S.A. for the summoning of a conference to deal with the limitation of armaments and the codification of international law.

At the Washington Congress the women themselves again made constructive proposals for a system of world organisation for peace. The International Executive at its Dresden meeting in 1922 had invited all the national sections of the League to submit such schemes, and the results of their efforts were presented at Washington. The name given to them was "Cahiers of Peace," the word cahier being explained by the President as, in this connection, a statement of principles. Gabrielle Duchêne, in introducing the Report of the Cahier Commission, referred to a hint given by Professor Ruysen to the effect that women, experts in criticism, were unable to do any kind of constructive work. His challenge had been taken up, and Madame Duchêne reminded her hearers that the fifty thousand cahiers presented to the

States General before 1789 had been instrumental in producing a new world order. The British cahier was presented by Eva Macnaghten, who pointed out that it was designed for the use of study circles. It should be noted that at Washington only four parts of the contemplated plan were presented, viz. (a) General Principles of the New International Order, (b) Its political aspects, (c) Its economic aspects, and (d) Its relation to the life of the individual. "Steps towards realisation" were left to be dealt with on a future occasion.

That occasion came in Ireland in July, 1926, when the Congress assembled in the National University in Dublin, again under Jane Addams, and welcomed by Mr. Cosgrave, President of the Free State, and by Eamon de Valera, Republican leader. "The great thing about the Dublin Congress," observes the editor of the report of it, "is that it brought people together. Ireland, torn by war with Britain and then by civil strife, turned pacifist for the moment." Twenty countries were represented, and Great Britain sent her full delegation of thirty, as well as consultative and visitor members. Its general subject, as set forth at the great mass meeting in the Dublin Mansion House, was "Next Steps towards World Peace." Jane Addams opened the meeting with characteristic grace by quoting these words from Sheehy Skeffington: "I advocate no mere slavish

acceptance of injustice. I am, and always will be, a fighter, but I want to see the age-long fight against injustice clothe itself in new forms suited to a new age." She also told of her visit to China and of a question which a young man there asked her, a question to which as yet there is no answer: "We have accepted the West's doctrines. We have thirty-two provinces, and in each there is a military governor hoping eventually to make himself the ruler of China What technique have you worked out for such circumstances as these?" "If we are not careful," she concluded, "the western civilisation will pass away from us to the new countries in the East, who are working out this new technique."

The Irish votes of thanks were from the heart. Here are a few words of them: Senator James Douglas, of the Free State, "I have lived in Ireland during what was called the Great War; I have lived through the struggle with England, and have been here during the civil war, and I am still of the opinion that Sheehy Skeffington was right Unavoidably war brings more evils than it could possibly bring good," and R. J. P. Mortished, "The Women's International League has come to us with that incredible but triumphant declaration that the ideal must become real, that what ought to be, will be they have brought us a new beauty; they have shown us their beauty of

costume, their beauty of person, their beauty of language, but above all, they have brought us a beauty of spirit."

The Congress, however, concerned itself not only with the delights of spiritual comradeship, but also with hard thinking. The British Section gave it as its opinion that the "next step towards peace" must be a general commitment to the principles of arbitration, adding a useful clarification of that word: "We use the word arbitration in its wider and popular, rather than in its purely technical, sense, as meaning the judgment of reason, in place of decision by force, in all international disputes. The term covers the methods of conciliation and judicial courts as well as that of arbitration in its restricted sense." Our own section was also responsible for Hilda Clark's valuable report on the minorities question, and for Mrs. Swanwick's comments upon it, from which come these words: "In listening to the reports both from majorities and minorities, I think we cannot fail to be struck by their resemblance. The same follies, the same cruelties and tyrannies lead to the same results, and the conclusion we must reach is that what the world is suffering from at present is diseased nationalism—diseased both in the oppressing majorities and in the oppressed minorities" Ireland presented its own report on its own majority and minority problem.

The work of these international congresses of the W.I.L.P.F. may be summed up in Jane Addams' words: "This theory of running the world without violence is being tried out; it is no dream, it is an actual living concern for many thousands of people in many parts of the world."

*A piper in the streets to-day
Set up and tuned and started to play
And away, away, away on the tide
Of his music we started; on every side
Doors and windows were opened wide,
And men left their work and came
And women*

Seumas O'Sullivan.

10. THE PAGEANTRY OF PEACE.

WHEN five international congresses are treated of in one chapter, the inattentive reader may get the impression that our internationalists spend their lives in countries other than their own. On the contrary, both leaders and rank and file within the W.I.L. have been, since that April of 1915, when the pledge was given, engaged untiringly upon the crusade for peace among their own countrymen. Meetings, conferences, schools; schools, conferences, meetings; a round of incessant work requiring at times something of the dogged determination which kept our men in the trenches. Yet no one who bases his conduct on the assumption that man is a creature governed by reason alone will go far. Reason, without doubt, plays its part, but it is not reason which sends peoples to war and it is not reason alone which will cause them to refrain. Hitherto the common people have

understood little of war but its glory, its pageantry; the art, the literature, the music which have been its handmaidens. The peace movement has not as yet so grown into the hearts of nations as to be rich in art and music and literature. But it is beginning slowly to learn, as the woman suffragists learnt, that such things are necessary to its life.

The most notable experiment in pageantry made by the W.I.L. was the Peacemakers' Pilgrimage, which it carried out in co-operation with twenty-eight other representative organisations in the Summer of 1926. The idea of a propaganda pilgrimage was taken from the pilgrimage carried out with such remarkable success by the woman suffragists in 1913. The purpose of the 1926 pilgrimage was to enlighten public opinion and to demonstrate to the Government the strong demand existing in the country for a policy of arbitration and disarmament.

Put briefly, the idea was: to choose a certain number of the main routes converging upon London from all parts of the country, and to promote the formation of groups of "pilgrims," sometimes large, sometimes smaller, to work along each route on foot, with the aid of car, cart, bicycle or train, holding indoor and outdoor meetings, distributing literature and having little talks with all and sundry. Some pilgrims went all the way, others would

join for a month or a week or a day, and all who could, met at the great mass demonstration in Hyde Park on June 19th, while a group of leaders went on deputation to the Foreign Secretary on July 6th.

In spite of the General Strike occurring in May, the Pilgrimage proved, as in 1913, one of the best means possible for reaching thousands and thousands of people who never go to ordinary meetings. Here are a few words from some of those who went on pilgrimage in 1926: "In thinking over the Peacemakers' Pilgrimage many different impressions jostle one another in one's mind—its picturesqueness, the grey front of York Minster, the blue peace banners fluttering in the wind of a northern morning as the procession of women filed into the cathedral from their early meeting in Exhibition Square; or the four great processions as they entered Hyde Park on June 19th, with their many coloured banners and each headed by a picturesque symbolic figure on horseback—the courage, good humour and enthusiasm of the pilgrims; or the amount of support to the resolution found as we passed through the country."

It may be added that each of the eight routes had its distinctive colour, with groups of pennons in the colour; the various routes were headed by great two-poled blue banners bearing the route name, and among the thousands of other

flags were those of fifty-six nations, with their national emblems, made specially for the No More War demonstration of 1924. Though the miners were occupied with their own cares, they supported the pilgrims in North Wales and elsewhere. A Welsh pilgrim wrote thus: "From our first meeting at Pen-y-gwes in the hills of South Carnarvonshire, to which came pilgrims from seventeen quarry villages and seaside towns, until Chester, the same enthusiasm followed and sustained us."

This pilgrimage may be taken as a symbol of the whole movement for international goodwill: the fields are white unto the harvest, but the labourers are few.

[Sister] we are surely bound on the same journey
 —and our eyes alike
 Turn upward and onward: wherefore, now thou
 risest,
 Lean on my arm, and let us for a space
 Pursue the path together.

Buchanan.

II. A FRIEND FINDS FRIENDSHIP IN CHINA.

IN previous chapters we have spoken, not only of work at home, but of many international Congresses and Summer Schools. In this chapter is told what even one or two of the right people, going at the right time, can accomplish in making first-hand friendship with the women of another, a far distant, land.

It was Louie Bennett of the Irish Section who, as she pondered upon the happy results of the W.I.L. mission to her own country in 1920, conceived an idea which she laid before the International Executive at their meeting in Liège in March of 1926. This idea was that a mission of friendship should go to the women of China. Prompt and courageous action comes easily to our League; preparations were not allowed to take long, and by December, 1927, the missionaries were in Shanghai. They were Madame Camille Drevet of France, Mrs. Grover Clark of U.S.A., and our British Edith Pye of the Society of Friends. Here are a few words

from the letter Mrs. Swanwick wrote to the Chinese women on behalf of the W.I.L.: "Dear Friend,—The British Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom send greeting to the Federation of Feminist Organisations in China. We hold out to you the hand of friendship We have rejoiced in Young China's movement for freedom The days are full of danger and anxiety, but also of hope. We cordially invite your co-operation with us in the endeavour to spread the truth, to resist the war spirit"

And here is the reply from six societies of whose existence many of us were probably ignorant, viz., The Shanghai Y.W.C.A., the National Association of the Y.W.C.A. of China, the N.C.W., the Shanghai Women's Club, the Women's Suffrage Association, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union of China: "Your many impressive expressions of friendship have moved us to profound gratitude. We reciprocate your kind wishes and heartily welcome your sympathy and lively interest in our struggle for national unity and autonomy. We appreciate your movement for international peace, racial equality and freedom to achieve a better world order, so that our several distinctive cultures may evolve a civilisation broad-based on mutual goodwill and respect."

Here are a few bits from Miss Pye's letters

home in January, 1927: "In the afternoon we went to meet a group of about ten of the leading Chinese women here (Shanghai) in order to have a frank talk with them. The first thing they asked was: What did the W.I.L. think about extraterritoriality? I had our resolutions with me, so could give a categorical answer, and then we did have a really frank talk over the difficulties of the present situation. Those present expressed the greatest thankfulness and gratitude for the opportunity, and did really, I think, get at what the W.I.L. meant in sending the delegation." And again: "The player of two flute solos made a witty little speech, in which he said that the smaller of the two flutes, which had a very sweet and gentle tone, was called 'Peace'; the larger, which had six large holes through which the wind came freely, was called in Chinese 'Freedom,' and that was why he had chosen these two instruments to play to representatives of the W.I.L.P.F."

Chinese affairs, at least as viewed by us Westerns, are so kaleidoscopic in their changes that no attempt will be made in this booklet to chronicle or comment upon them. Sufficient to say that not only Miss Pye's mission, but also the W.I.L. at home, studied constantly to promote the establishment of that free and equal status among nations, for China, which it is hoped is at last in sight.

*The world is so full of a number of things,
I'm sure we should all be as happy as kings.*

R. L. Stevenson.

12. A NUMBER OF THINGS.

STEVENSON'S words are true. But we are not all happy because things have gone awry. The W.I.L. tries in its degree to put them right, and, in trying, it finds that not even its great objective, peace, stands alone. The woof and web of human affairs are closely interwoven, and every would-be reformer finds himself with a number of things upon his hands. One who seeks to epitomise in a few well chosen words the activities of the W.I.L. lays down her pen aghast, and wishes to take up instead the broad brush of the impressionist artist. Impelled by a firm resolve, the pen is taken up again, but her resolve is to take no cognisance of method in the matter, but only to touch at random upon a few of the varied activities.

The Monthly News Sheet makes a good jumping-off ground, because there the whetted appetite can find much food. Number One appeared in April, 1916, and it continues to this day, now price twopence. It has contributors of a distinction which many an editor of a leading review would envy. Irene Cooper Willis' leaders during and for some time after

the war, Mrs. Swanwick's throughout, are brilliant and provocative journalism at its best. The notes and shorter articles form a record of events of first-rate value. Glancing through the News pages from 1916 to 1918, we refresh our memory as regards the part played during the war in many matters.

Those war days were dark not only for the loss of young lives, but for the loss of all civil liberties, and for the fact that, as it has been said, "the first casualty in war is truth." The League took risks in the cause of liberty and truth. It greeted the Russian Provisional Government and tried to send a deputation to see for itself how Russia fared, but was unable to get passports. It declared against the treatment as a criminal of E. D. Morel. It prepared for a mass meeting proposed for July 14th, 1918, in Hyde Park to call upon the Government to "explore every opportunity that may offer in the immediate future for promoting by negotiation a durable peace." This meeting was forbidden by the authorities, and when at last the armistice was declared in November, 1918, it still remained dangerous to speak too much of truth. Nevertheless, typical of the League's courage, it organised a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on April 6th, 1919, calling for the raising of the blockade and for the feeding of the starving peoples of Europe.

In May, 1922, the League found itself in

the middle of a new crusade in opposition to the then threatened allied occupation of the Ruhr. In a letter to the press, it used these words: "This threatened invasion of the Ruhr is the natural consequence of the impracticable Treaty of Versailles, which has, for the past three years, played havoc with the hopes of economic recovery in Europe. The Women's International League urges that Great Britain should frankly declare in favour of revision . . ." In February of 1923, the League held a remarkable conference on the Ruhr situation in Essex Hall, when among the speakers were two from Germany, Graf Harry Kessler and Herr Erkelenz. Marion Fox told a story at this conference of a French officer, "who seemed rather nervous at a hostile crowd while arresting a German burgomaster, but was reassuringly told by his 'prisoner' not to be alarmed as he would take him under his protection." Once again, in November, 1923, a meeting on "What to do about the Ruhr" was held in Essex Hall, which aroused so much interest that an overflow meeting had to be arranged at the Memorial Hall.

*Turn away from us the cross-blown blasts of error,
That drown each other ;*

.....
*Show the soul of man, as Summer shows the
swallow,
The way at last.*

Algernon Swinburne.

13. NUTS TO CRACK.

“**S**HOW the soul of man the way at last !” It is our creed, that the way can and will be found. But it is not easy. Even for those who have pledged themselves to the quest, the light does not always shine very brightly. Those, therefore, who read the history of our little League must not expect to find that we have cracked all our nuts and exposed their kernels, ready food for the hungry. Among the “number of things” with which we have been concerned are all too many still presenting a stubborn front.

For example :—the colour question ; all the problems of “developed and undeveloped” races ; the problem of “development” of new territory as it is too often carried out by private capital with tacit government backing. In April, 1920, we note, among many like activities of the British League, a meeting calling on the League of Nations to prohibit “the importation into Europe for warlike purposes of troops

belonging to primitive peoples.” Yet no one who was present at a certain meeting of the Executive early in the war, will forget the visit of a representative of the coloured races of Africa, who, discussing the question of “black troops,” claimed with gravity and dignity, but with great determination, the right of the coloured races to full facilities in regard to all “arms of precision” and similar means of defence, so long as the so-called civilised nations made use of such means.

It is easy to realise how primitive races may view these things when we turn to the consideration of the system of forced labour. The question of how to regulate and finally to abolish this relic of slavery has engaged the attention of the League of Nations ; and the W.I.L. has also given much thought and study to it. When the International Labour Organisation set up its Committee of Experts in March, 1927, this action was followed by two conferences of women, one in March and another in the following Autumn. In both of these our League took a leading part, its position being that total abolition of the system is the only satisfactory way of dealing with it. This colour problem is indeed one of our hard nuts.

Closely allied to all race questions is that of National Minorities, of special importance being those resulting from clauses of doubtful justice in the Peace Treaties. This matter has

engaged the constant attention of the W.I.L. from the time of the Vienna Congress of 1921 up to March of 1929, when it organised a most valuable conference on the subject at Caxton Hall, at which experts, both foreign and British, took part, and considered proposals were adopted to be laid before the League of Nations who were then reconsidering their minorities organisation and were desirous of suggestions from those qualified to make them.

Other "nuts" concern the methods of attaining to total disarmament of all nations, and the present social system in this and other countries with its bearing on peace at home and abroad, a matter with which our League came face to face at the General Strike of 1926. Another small but hard nut tends at times to light relief in the midst of graver problems, namely, the desirability or otherwise of a universal language and, if desirable, what it shall be. The League has shown but a sorry caution in this, though in most things most courageous. Long may it have a strong heart and a good courage, for the motto inscribed upon our banner is that unwittingly provided by Nietzsche: "Live Dangerously."

"I make nothing of that," she said, when reminded of the difficulties in her path. It was as though one who knew the resistless force of the tides was reminded that there were sand castles in the way.

Blessed Joan of Arc. By A. Maude Royden.

14. JANE ADDAMS.

FROM that February of 1915, when our present British chairman was among the tiny group of women who took upon themselves the grave responsibility of drafting formulas for the first Women's International Congress, up to to-day, our British League has been served by exceptionally able leaders. They are happily, except the well-beloved Isabella Ford and Lady Courtney, among us still, so of them no word. But Jane Addams is across the seas, and as she has in herself most of the gifts desirable in a great leader, this chapter shall speak of her. A woman of gentle appearance and manner, of no special claim to unusual intellectual pre-eminence, belonging to a nation outside the comity of Europe, yet in her person is centred all that is most hopeful in this new women's movement. Without a moment's hesitation she answered the call in 1915, and left her great work at Hull House, Chicago, to preside at the Hague Congress, and since then nearly every congress has enjoyed her quiet authority and kindly humour in the chair.

At her wonderful settlement in Chicago, she had received men and women, most of them immigrants, of almost every nationality; had seen them make friends with each other and work together, and then she had seen the young men from among them march away to be shipped to Europe and to fight the one against the other, in a cause they little understood. This experience fitted her for the call that came to her also from unhappy Europe.

There is no space to tell the story of her life from the time, when, as a child of four, she joined in the mourning for President Lincoln, but a few more of her sayings, culled here and there, may be added to those given above.

At the Hague. "These great underlying forces, in response to which so many women have come here, belong to the human race as a whole and constitute a spiritual internationalism which surrounds and completes our national life, even as our national life itself surrounds and completes our family life; they do not conflict with patriotism on the one side any more than family devotion conflicts with it upon the other."

At Zurich. "May we 'learn from life,' to use Dante's great phrase, and also from one another."

At Vienna. "In spite of pseudo-scientific teaching, we venture to assert that war is not a natural activity for mankind; that it is very

abnormal both from the biological and the ethical point of view, that large masses of mankind should fight against other large masses."

At Washington. "Even those least inclined by temperament to abstract and theoretical considerations cannot fail to remember how largely the war was kept going by abstract and theoretical slogans."

And also at Washington she gave us, in the words of the Lincoln of her childish memories, a slogan fit to slay the slogans of the war-mongers: "With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on . . . do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and all nations."

Of Opportunity.

*They do me wrong who say I come no more,
When once I knock and fail to find you in;
For every day I stand outside your door
And bid you wake, and rise to fight and win.*

Walter Malone.

15. TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW.

WHEN one learnt history as a child, how often did one say "Oh, if only I had lived in those days when all those wonderful things happened, what a hero I, too, would have been!" Maybe not quite so frankly conceited, but almost!

Perhaps a reader of this little sketch of the doings of the W.I.L. in those far off days of the great war may, though grown up, incline somewhat to the thoughts of the child. But they need not regret the opportunities of yesterday. For to-day also we live in wonderful times.

We have spoken already of some of our hard nuts, of the Minorities Conference, for example, of the study required to master so technical a subject. These things are not particularly dramatic. But in the last few months something amazingly dramatic has happened. In speaking of Miss Addams, it was noted that she came from a country which seemed to stand aloof from the troublesome and turbulent Europe. But her coming to Europe was a good portent.

It will be remembered that the Covenant of the League of Nations leaves a loophole for war; it will be remembered that the Geneva Protocol (*i.e.*, technically a draft convention binding its signatories to amend the Covenant) of 1924, so widely approved by nations within the League, would have closed this gap, but that it was rejected by this country among others, and, for the time, came to nothing. From that date when, in 1919, the U.S.A. repudiated Wilson's Covenant and decided to hold aloof, the League has been almost as if a bird were to try to fly with one wing paralysed.

Now in 1928 came the dramatic event. In August of that year a Pact was signed in Paris, popularly called, with a just tribute to its chief author, the Kellogg Pact, and officially, the Pact of Paris. Its famous first article runs as follows: "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare, in the name of their respective peoples, that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations to one another." The original signatories were South Africa, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Poland, U.S.A., and New Zealand, and, since that August, a large majority of the other states of the world. Various qualifications of their whole-hearted support have been sug-

gested by Great Britain and France, and even by the Foreign Affairs Committee of U.S.A. herself; what a plain man inclines to call reservations, but what, owing to their form, are happily in technical language merely "interpretations" of doubtful binding force. Attention should be given to a certain phrase in Article I. of the Pact—"in the name of their respective peoples." It is something like a godfather vowing for an unconscious infant, for, without doubt, the peoples at large do not yet fully realise what has been promised and vowed in their name. At this point, therefore, we come back to our Women's International League. The Kellogg Pact would not have been possible if the organised women of U.S.A., with some of the churches and the professors, had not been at work previous to its signature making it clear to their Government that they would not have a certain Navy Bill, but that they would have instead, concrete efforts towards world peace.

In Great Britain, the W.I.L. had been working steadily for the pacific settlement of all international disputes. A Joint Committee of women's organisations had, moreover, remained in being from the Pilgrimage year, and this, in response to an invitation from a similar Committee in U.S.A., with Kathleen Courtney as Hon. Secretary, and Lady Acland as chairman, set to work, changed its name to the Anglo-American Crusade Committee, and later, to

the Women's Peace Crusade. Its first task was to organise public opinion against reservations, and, now that the Pact is signed, its task becomes no less than the educating and organising, in co-operation with other peace societies and with the League of Nations Union, of the whole of the British public so that it shall use its full power to ensure that what has been promised in its name shall be duly performed. Mr. Baldwin has put it thus: "Every man and woman in every civilised country of the world must work without ceasing to bring the common conscience of mankind up to the level demanded by the obligations of this Treaty." For the Treaty is no ordinary treaty; there are no "sanctions" attached providing punishment for those who break it. It rests not upon governments but upon the honour of the common people.

The Women's Peace Crusade, with, it need hardly be said, our League at the heart of things, worked hard, up and down the country, before the General Election, and the work continues.

All-party deputations of representatives of the leading women's organisations have waited upon parliamentary candidates of every shade of opinion, and now that the new Parliament is in being, those who crusaded seek opportunity of bringing the essential points to its notice. These points are: The Pact to be observed without reservations; Great Britain to sign that clause of the constitution of the

International Court of Justice by which she would bind herself to take to the Court any justiciable dispute which cannot be otherwise peacefully settled (the clause ordinarily known as "the optional clause," because, when the constitution was originally drafted, it was made optional whether a consenting state signed it or not); the Government to accept the obligation to settle all disputes by peaceful means; Great Britain to urge the reduction as well as the limitation of armaments and to press for the immediate summoning of the International Disarmament Conference, and, finally, as a pledge of good faith in all these matters, the British Government to promote the immediate evacuation of the Rhineland in accordance with Article 431 of the Treaty of Versailles. These demands provide a searching test for the half-hearted or the timid or the ignorant, but if the human race is to destroy war, not to be destroyed by it, there is no room for the timid and the ignorant.

We live indeed in great times. Our Women's League is small, but it can play a great part if each of its small number of members is without fear, and willing to put the same brains and courage and initiative into the crusade for peace as have been put into the cause of war:—

*No blazoned banner we unfold—
One charge alone we give to youth,
Against the sceptred myth to hold
The golden heresy of truth.*



390016 1796
PAMPHLET