

## Index

---

- aggression, 22, 29, 38, 44, 48, 61, 64, 84, 103, 128, 130, 132, 157, 159, 181, 184
- alliance, 3, 14, 48, 96–97, 106, 109, 113, 122, 128, 130, 132–33, 139, 153, 155–56, 159, 162–64, 168–70, 181, 183
- Allies, 77, 109, 116, 131, 137–38, 142, 149, 151–53, 173, 183
- anarchy, 3, 22, 34, 37, 53, 63, 95, 128, 153, 156, 159, 162, 175, 186
- Angell, Norman, 31, 47  
*Great Illusion, The* (1910), 31
- anti-Germany, 14, 56, 71, 122, 128–29, 153, 155, 159, 175
- anti-war, 21, 56, 72, 76, 114, 162, 179
- arbitration, 29–30, 36, 49, 52, 84, 102, 125, 170, 177, 185
- Ashbee, Charles R., 47, 112
- Asquith, Herbert, 32, 75, 107, 122
- authoritarianism, 108, 132, 140, 154, 158, 164, 182
- autocracy, 14, 80, 108, 141, 147, 151
- balance of power, 3, 9, 14, 22, 32, 34, 46–48, 52, 58, 80, 95, 97, 108–9, 121, 128, 163–64, 166, 168–69, 184
- Balfour, Arthur James, 75, 84, 107, 113, 118
- barbarism, 97, 151, 177, 182
- Boer War, 62
- Bourgeois, Léon, 30, 152, 157, 168, 170
- Brailsford, Henry, 21, 178
- Britain, 2–6, 10–13, 15, 28, 32, 34–35, 39, 44–45, 75, 81–82, 88, 91, 93, 96, 99–100, 104, 107–10, 112, 115–16, 121, 126, 128, 140–41, 144, 148, 150, 153, 160–61, 165, 170, 172, 174–75, 181, 184
- British government, 35, 109, 111, 113, 135, 148–49
- Foreign Office, 6, 40, 113, 136, 147, 166
- Imperial War Cabinet, 150, 166
- British Neutrality Committee, 45, 47
- Bryan Treaties, 1913–14, 30, 75
- Bryce Group, 2, 6, 11, 13–14, 20–21, 39–41, 44, 46–51, 54–57, 60, 62–64, 66–67, 69, 73, 77, 88–89, 91–93, 95, 110, 128–29, 132, 153, 156–57, 159, 161–64, 179, 184, 186
- Proposals for the Avoidance of War*, 12–13, 39, 41, 48–49, 54–55, 57–59, 61–62, 64, 66–67, 69–70, 88, 91–93, 95, 110, 162–63
- Bryce Report, May 1915, 59
- Bryce, James, 21, 35, 45–46, 54–57, 61, 64, 73, 76–77, 80–84, 87, 94, 96, 99, 111, 113, 115, 118, 120, 122–23, 132, 155, 158
- Carr, E. H., 42–43, 65
- Cecil, Hugh, 83, 86, 111
- Cecil, Robert, 6, 111–12, 118, 122, 135, 148, 151–52, 155, 157, 165–67, 170
- censorship, 72, 74
- Christianity, 16, 23, 33, 50, 84, 86, 112, 139, 142–44, 146, 153, 176
- Church of England, 142–43, 145–46
- civilisation, 16, 34, 36, 69, 72, 97, 128, 146, 151, 153, 159, 172, 175–76, 179
- Clemenceau, Georges, 152, 166, 168–70
- Cobden, Richard, 29
- collective security, 1, 12, 16, 22, 38–39, 41, 43–44, 48–51, 55, 58, 61, 64–65, 69, 84, 94–95, 101, 159, 162, 167, 169, 173, 184–86
- Concert of Europe, 9, 11, 18, 25, 31–33, 38, 46, 80, 173, 183
- Council of Conciliation, 41, 49–51, 53–54, 60–61, 64, 70, 78, 94–95, 101, 104, 119, 185
- Courtney, Kate, 139
- Crewe House, 134–35
- Crimean War, 29, 32

## 222 Index

- Cross, Richard, 21, 45–46, 50  
 Crucé, Eméric, 26, 29, 31
- Davidson, Randall (Archbishop of Canterbury), 66, 83, 86–87, 112, 142, 144, 148
- Davies, David, 121, 130, 134, 136, 138, 145, 155
- democracy, 3, 11, 14–16, 80, 97, 108–9, 114, 117, 122, 128–29, 133, 139, 141, 147, 150–54, 156, 159, 163–64, 169, 175, 177, 179, 181, 185
- democratic confederalism, 26
- Dickinson, G. Lowes, 20–21, 34, 36, 45, 50–52, 54, 56–58, 60, 62–64, 69–71, 74, 88–89, 94, 105, 130, 133, 140, 155, 158, 165, 174, 178  
*European Anarchy* (1916), 34, 36, 46
- Dickinson, Willoughby, 6, 45–46, 69, 77–78, 81–83, 87, 89, 94, 111, 118, 130, 155, 158, 161, 183
- disarmament, 15, 29, 53, 86
- domestic analogy, 102, 106
- Dunfermline, Lord Shaw of (Shaw, Thomas), 79
- Entente, 109, 173
- Fabian Society, 20, 39, 72
- federation, 28, 40, 46–48, 50, 56, 76, 97, 108
- First World War, 2, 4, 7, 9–11, 14, 16–19, 22, 24–25, 28–29, 32, 34, 37, 39, 51, 55, 57, 161, 177, 180–83, 186  
 armistice, 116, 139, 149, 156, 158, 164–65, 180  
 outbreak, 3, 11, 17–18, 24, 29, 32, 34, 36, 44–45, 51, 55, 62, 70, 94, 111, 135, 144, 161, 179, 183  
 victory, 11, 15, 76–77, 109–10, 114, 128, 131, 138–40, 146, 149, 151–53, 155, 158–60, 163–64, 173–74, 182–83
- Fisher, Irving, 96–97
- France, 32, 96, 100, 109, 111, 118, 136, 151–52, 166, 168–70, 184  
 French government, 151  
 French internationalists, 125, 170  
 international force, 126, 170
- free trade, 26, 29
- Germany, 3, 14–15, 58, 72, 77, 86, 100, 108, 113, 117, 122, 128–32, 134–35, 137–39, 141, 146, 149–56, 159–60, 163–64, 166, 168–69, 172, 174–75, 182–84
- Gladstone, William Ewart, 21, 32–34, 75
- Great War, 2
- Grey, Edward, 6, 33, 46, 74–75, 84, 87, 98, 107, 122, 137–38, 140, 153
- Grotius, Hugo, 24, 27
- Hague Peace Conferences, 1899 and 1907, 30, 36, 125
- Hobson, John A., 20–21, 36, 45, 47, 50, 59–60, 179  
*Towards International Government* (1915), 36
- Holt, Hamilton, 94–95, 118–19
- idealism, 2, 8, 12, 25, 27, 40, 43–44, 51, 53–55, 59, 62–63, 65, 162, 174, 184
- ideology, 9, 14–15, 80, 108, 141, 150–51, 153, 164, 173, 181–82
- international law, 16, 24–25, 27–28, 32, 34, 36, 39, 45, 50, 52–53, 64, 69, 73, 75, 89, 95, 101, 119, 176
- international reform, 9, 48, 102, 109, 116, 164, 183
- intervention, 32–33, 52, 56, 96, 167, 172, 177
- jingoism, 10, 14, 32, 36, 46, 60, 62, 65, 71–73, 87, 99–100, 128, 153, 159, 175, 179
- judicial settlement, 48–49, 51, 60, 64, 93–94, 97, 119, 162, 185  
 Hague Court, 49, 58, 69
- just war, 22, 24–25, 27, 33
- Kant, Immanuel, 27–28, 31, 35, 59, 186
- Keen, Frank N., 69, 161
- Kerr, Philip, 108, 135, 141, 147, 149, 151, 167
- Keynes, John Maynard, 3, 172
- Lansdowne, Lord (Petty-Fitzmaurice, Henry), 109, 146, 148
- League of Free Nations Association, 7, 121, 130, 132, 135, 137, 145, 154–55, 159
- league of nations, 3–7, 9–10, 12, 14–15, 17, 19, 26, 30, 37–38, 45, 54–55, 57, 62–63, 66–71, 73–74, 76, 78–86, 88–89, 91, 93, 96, 99–100, 104–7, 109, 111, 113, 116, 118–19, 121, 124–25, 127–28, 136, 143, 145, 150, 154, 157–58, 162, 172–73, 177, 181–83, 185

- German admission, 129–30, 132, 135, 139–40, 142, 146, 149, 155, 159–60, 163–64, 172, 175
- membership, 58, 106, 153, 156, 160
- League of Nations, 2–6, 12, 14, 16–18, 28, 39, 41, 43, 63, 65, 111, 127, 158, 162, 164, 167–68, 173, 175, 177, 180–81, 183–86
- Covenant, 1, 6, 12, 22, 25, 40, 156, 167, 185
- establishment, 12, 15, 44, 117, 126, 129, 159, 178, 186
- membership, 156, 169, 172
- League of Nations Society, 2, 6–7, 12, 21, 39, 66–70, 75, 77, 80–81, 85, 87–89, 91, 95, 106–7, 110, 113, 129, 131–33, 135–38, 142, 145, 147, 154–55, 159, 161, 163
- First public meeting in 1917, 67–68, 81–88, 112, 142
- and the League to Enforce Peace, 92, 94, 99, 101, 104, 117–18, 120–22
- pamphlets, 74–75, 78–79, 144
- strategies, 68, 73–75, 77–78, 84
- on the United States, 104, 110, 121
- League of Nations Union, 7, 123, 128–29, 137, 140, 153–54, 157, 159, 163
- amalgamation, 7, 129, 137–38, 140, 153–55, 163
- League to Enforce Peace, 13, 39, 91–92, 94, 96, 99, 101–2, 105–7, 114–15, 117, 119–23, 125, 160, 163
- on American participation, 96, 98
- and British politicians, 98, 107, 118, 124
- and the League of Nations Society, 92.
- See League of Nations Society
- and Wilson, 100, 107, 114, 116
- Lenin, Vladimir, 9, 58, 80
- liberal internationalism, 2, 13, 15, 17–18, 20, 22, 34–35, 37–38, 43, 45, 47–48, 54–55, 65, 92–93, 125, 158, 166, 175, 177, 180, 184, 186
- difference in Britain and the United States, 92, 97, 99, 102, 124
- institutional arguments, 34, 37–38, 48, 62–64, 175
- moral arguments, 34–35, 37, 48, 62, 64
- progress, 15, 21, 34–35, 37, 44, 47, 59–60, 62–63, 92, 105–6, 125, 175, 178–79
- Lloyd George, David, 84, 107–8, 130, 135, 150–51, 166, 169, 172
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 107
- Lowell, Abbot Lawrence, 95, 99, 102–3, 114–15, 120, 123
- MacDonald, Ramsay, 6, 21
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 23, 36
- Marburg, Theodore, 39, 78, 94, 98–99, 101, 106–7, 120–21, 123
- mediation, 100, 109
- militarism, 77, 108–9, 116, 122, 128, 132, 138, 140–41, 146, 150–55, 157, 160, 164, 181
- Montesquieu, 26–28, 59
- moral, 12, 16, 24, 27–28, 34, 36–37, 44, 50, 53–55, 60, 62–63, 97, 117, 152–53, 156, 164, 170, 173–74, 176, 178–79, 181
- moratorium on hostilities (cooling-off period), 48–49, 52, 61, 64, 185
- More, Thomas, 24
- Morel, E. D., 6
- Murray, Gilbert, 134, 138, 157, 174, 178–79
- Nation, The* (magazine), 21
- National Liberal Club, 20, 45
- National War Aim Committee, 141–42
- nationalism, 11, 18, 28–29, 31–32, 38, 84, 86, 179
- negotiation (negotiated peace), 100, 109, 134, 140, 146, 148
- norm, 6, 11, 14–15, 19, 24, 64, 128, 155, 159, 162, 169, 175–76, 180
- Northcliffe, Lord (Harmsworth, Alfred), 134
- pacifist, 7, 36, 54, 76, 99, 132, 140, 162
- Paris Peace Conference, 2–4, 6, 14, 40, 93, 127, 156, 160, 165–67
- Cecil-Miller draft, 168
- Hurst-Miller draft, 168
- Parmoor, Lord (Cripps, Charles Alfred), 145
- peace
- intellectual tradition, 22–24, 26–27, 31–32, 38
  - negative peace, 53
  - positive peace, 53
- peace movement, 8, 31, 38
- Phillimore Committee, 6, 40, 113, 166
- reports, 6, 40
- Poincaré, Raymond, 152
- Ponsonby, Arthur, 45–46, 51–57, 60, 64
- pro-league of nations movement, 2–4, 6–8, 10–12, 14, 18–19, 28, 32, 35, 37–39, 66–68, 70, 80, 89, 91, 93, 125–26, 128–29, 137, 143, 153, 158–59, 161–65, 173, 177, 180–83
- background, 11, 19–21

## 224 Index

- propaganda, 60, 70, 100, 114, 130, 134, 136, 141, 154
- public opinion, 3, 12, 26–27, 29, 31, 36, 38, 42, 44, 48, 56, 59–62, 64, 67, 70–71, 82, 85–86, 89, 130, 139, 143, 169, 171, 175, 182
- education, 31–32, 35, 37, 60, 65, 71, 134, 154, 175
- Rainbow Circle, 21
- realism, 2, 7–8, 12, 40, 42–44, 51, 53, 55, 59, 62–63, 65, 104, 162, 170–71
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 107
- Root, Elihu, 123
- Rousseau, 26–28, 35, 59
- Russell, Bertrand, 20, 182
- Russia, 30, 32, 81, 88, 100, 111, 184
- Russian Revolution, 80–81, 108, 141, 147, 150
- sanctions, 17, 28, 41, 52, 57, 62, 100–3, 105, 125, 184–86
- economic, 17, 50, 101, 104, 119, 121
- military, 17, 50–52, 54, 56–57, 62, 64, 85–86, 101–2, 104, 106, 119, 121, 125, 162, 170, 184, 186
- Scott, C. P., 76
- Scott, James Brown, 123
- security against attack, 100, 105, 119
- self-mobilisation, 3, 128, 140, 159
- Short, William H., 120, 123
- Smuts, Jan Christiaan, 66, 82, 85–86, 88, 110, 112, 148, 151–52, 166–67
- Social Darwinism, 98, 102, 125, 180
- St Augustine, 22, 24
- Taft, William H., 95, 102, 113, 116, 123
- transnational community, 92
- transnational movement, 14, 92, 125–26
- transnational network, 92
- Treaty of Versailles, 158, 169, 171
- Union of Democratic Control, 6, 39, 45–47, 56, 72, 179
- United States, 5, 13, 28, 39, 46, 75, 88, 91, 93, 96–98, 104, 107, 111, 126, 136, 150, 163, 166, 168, 170–71, 182, 184
- American entry into the war, 80, 100, 108, 110, 113, 141, 147
- Civil War, 97, 99, 106
- Democratic Party, 172
- manifest destiny, 97, 121
- Monroe Doctrine, 96
- neutrality, 99, 109
- Republican Party, 116
- Unwin, Raymond, 69, 104–5, 133
- utopian, 2, 7, 12, 42–43, 55, 64, 76, 80, 82, 110, 168, 171, 174, 183
- value, 5, 10, 55, 128, 176–77, 180, 185
- Vattel, Emmerich de, 25, 30, 52
- Wadhams, William, 118–19
- Wallas, Graham, 20–21, 45, 47, 70
- war
- cause, 3, 11, 18, 22, 25–27, 31, 37–38, 46, 48, 52–53, 58, 80, 86, 96, 128, 130, 132, 150, 153, 156, 158–59, 162, 164
- limitation, 52, 56, 95, 105, 183, 186
- prevention, 5, 8–9, 11, 13, 16, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 33, 37, 39–41, 44–45, 47–52, 54, 56–57, 59–64, 67–68, 71, 84, 89, 93, 95–96, 101, 103–4, 106, 109–10, 133, 143–44, 154, 159, 162, 168, 178, 181, 186
- war aim, 81, 88, 108–10, 114, 117, 134, 140, 150–52, 160, 182
- war-weariness, 1, 80–81, 127, 129, 140, 150, 181
- Webb, Sidney, 20, 72
- Wells, H. G., 118, 130, 135–36, 157
- The War That Will End War*, 130
- Williams, Aneurin, 68, 77, 81, 118, 123, 133, 146, 173
- Wilson, Woodrow, 1, 9, 74, 80, 84, 86, 107, 127, 151, 161, 167–68, 172
- Fourteen Points speech, 1918, 80, 150, 157
- ideas about a league of nations, 109, 112, 115, 117, 124, 135, 152, 169–70, 184
- on international order, 91, 109, 150, 166
- on international politics, 109, 116, 164, 171
- peace without victory, 1917, 109
- and pro-league activists, 100, 107, 112, 114–15
- and US politics, 116, 172
- Wolf, Leonard, 20, 118, 157, 178, 186
- Zimmerman, Alfred, 2, 136