
In this innovative account of the origins of the idea of the League of Nations, Sakiko Kaiga casts new light on the pro-League of Nations movement in Britain in the era of the First World War, revealing its unexpected consequences for the development of the first international organisation for peace. Combining international, social and intellectual history and international relations, she challenges two misunderstandings about the role of the movement: that their ideas about a league were utopian and that its peaceful ideal appealed to the war-weary public. Kaiga demonstrates how the original post-war plan consisted of both realistic and idealistic views of international relations and shows how it evolved and changed in tandem with the war. She provides a comprehensive analysis of the unknown origins of the League of Nations and highlights the transformation of international society and of ideas about war prevention from the twentieth century to the present.

Sakiko Kaiga is a research fellow at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo.

Sakiko Kaiga
University of Tokyo
# Contents

*Acknowledgements*  
List of Abbreviations  
Introduction  

1 Precursors: Thinking about War and Peace before 1914  
2 The Use of Force to Prevent War? The Bryce Group’s *Proposals for the Avoidance of War, 1914–1915*  
5 No Peace without Victory: The League of Victorious Allies, 1917–1918  
Conclusion  

Appendix  
Bibliography  
Index  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Precursors: Thinking about War and Peace before 1914</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The Use of Force to Prevent War? The Bryce Group’s <em>Proposals for the Avoidance of War, 1914–1915</em></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 No Peace without Victory: The League of Victorious Allies, 1917–1918</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

This study originates with the events of 11 September 2001, which had strong impacts on many humanities and social science scholars of my generation. As a teenager who grew up in a country that embraced Article 9 and pacifist education that tended to argue that you should not support war under any circumstances, witnessing widespread support for the US military actions by the press, politicians and the public opinion of my home country left a striking impression. It led me to pursue an academic career, with a focus on how war has historically been regulated in international society and how people discussed it in the past. This book is largely based on my PhD thesis submitted to the Department of War Studies, King’s College London. The greatest debt undoubtedly goes to my PhD supervisor, Joe Maiolo, to whom I would like to express my gratitude and admiration both as a scholar and teacher. I have always been convinced that if I had not been lucky enough to be his supervisee, I could not have learned as much as I have and this book would not be as it is now. I am also deeply grateful to Patricia Clavin and Gaynor Johnson for constantly giving me generous, warm support that has helped me continue my research. For offering advice, encouragement, commentary on drafts of the manuscript and/or sharing unpublished work and sources, I would like to thank John Bew, Martin Ceadel, Hilary Davies, Seung-Young Kim, Hatsue Shinohara, Jan Stöckmann, Takahiko Tanaka and Corinna Unger. For their valuable insight, I am particularly grateful to Michael Watson, Emily Sharp and the production team at Cambridge University Press. I would also like to thank the two anonymous readers of the manuscript for their encouraging and helpful comments, which strengthened the book.

I wish to acknowledge the institutions that have sponsored this project since I defended my thesis. I owe thanks to friends, colleagues and staff at each of these places. Special thanks must go to the Max Weber team of the European University Institute, who allowed me to spend a memorable and beautiful time in Florence, and to the Peace Research Institute at International Christian University, especially Norie Takazawa and Kei

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org
Acknowledgements

Nasu, who accommodated me in a warm academic base in Tokyo when it was really needed.

This project became possible thanks to invaluable financial assistance. In particular, I am grateful to King’s College London, the Gilbert Murray Trust, the Canon Foundation, the Panasonic Foundation, the Rotary Foundation and Japan Student Services Organisation. Earlier versions of chapters were presented in London, Birmingham, Bristol, Dublin, Lisbon, Florence, Niigata and Tokyo. I would also like to thank the audiences in these places.

My friends, some of whom also helped this study by commenting on the drafts and providing useful references, have been sources of inspiration and motivation. I would especially like to thank Pablo Marcello Baquero, Takahiro Chino, Amparo Fontaine, Jens van ‘t Klooster, Misun Lim, Joy Peng, Bilyana Petrova, Danilo Scholz, Christopher Roberts, James Lee, Sophia Moesch, Kanako Morishita, the late Klaus Neuberg, Annie Morley-Slinn and Koji Yamamoto.

My final and most important thanks go to my grandparents for their incredible amount of love and to my family, Toshihiko, Keiko and Yuta Kaiga, for supporting me as I finished the book and for raising me in such a happy family. To them this book is dedicated.
Abbreviations

ALLPP  Abbott Lawrence Lowell Peace Papers
       (Harvard University, Houghton Library)
BL     British Library, London
BLEPS  British Library of Economic and Political Science
CKC    Cambridge, King’s College Archives
CNC    Cambridge, Newnham College Archives
HUHL   Harvard University, Houghton Library
LEPR   League to Enforce Peace Records
       (Harvard University, Houghton Library)
LPL    Lambeth Palace Library
NAS    The National Archives of Scotland
NLW    The National Library of Wales
OBL    Oxford, Bodleian Library
PA     Parliamentary Archives
TNA    The National Archives