

# KELLOGG'S DEFENSE OF PACT REVEALED

He Denied to Senate Committee  
That War Against Treaty  
Violators Is Obligatory.

SAID SECURITY WAS UPHELD

AN Signatories, He Declared,  
Understood No Right of Self-  
Defense Was Surrendered.

BRITAIN'S NOTE EXPLAINED

Secretary Called Monroe Doctrine  
Reservations Unnecessary—  
Reed Disputed Him.

Special to The New York Times.  
WASHINGTON, Dec. 28.—Publicity given today to the verbatim report of Secretary Kellogg's recent testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations discloses that he made an emphatic defense of the multilateral treaty renouncing war and contended that it was well understood that nothing in the treaty imposed a moral or legal obligation on the United States to go to war against any nation violating its terms.

The Secretary declared it was equally well understood by all signatories that the treaty did not take away the right of any signatory to adopt measures of self-defense if its security was menaced.

These things, said Secretary Kellogg, were made clear in the correspondence preceding the conclusion of the treaty. For that reason there was no necessity to attach reservations or interpretative resolutions to the pact, he maintained.

A speech which he had delivered explaining the treaty set forth the position of the United States, and as copies of it had been transmitted to all the governments concerned he felt there was a thorough understanding that all the rights, including those under the Monroe Doctrine, claimed by this country were fully protected.

Questioned on Chamberlain Note.

Questioned by members of the committee, Mr. Kellogg went into details with respect to the note of Sir Austen Chamberlain clarifying the right of the British Government to adopt measures of self-defense under the treaty. He also surveyed the Locarno security pacts, and related how the obligations imposed by them were not inconsistent with the multilateral treaty.

Explaining what he meant in saying that the treaty imposed no obligation on the United States to submit to any tribunal a question concerning its right to self-defense, and that the United States still possessed the right to determine for itself what constituted self-defense, Mr. Kellogg said:

"The right of self-defense is not limited to territory in the continental United States, for example. It means that this Government has a right to take such measures as it believes necessary to the defense of the country, or to prevent things that might endanger the country; but the United States must be the judge of that, and it is answerable to the public opinion of the world if it is not an honest defense, that is all."

With particular reference to the British explanatory note, Mr. Kellogg said:

"Now, then, they did not say 'we reserve the right to make war against anybody in the world that we want to because we want peace in the country.' The British Government put it solely on the ground of self-defense. I apprehend that the United States has got interests, the peace and security of which are necessary to the defense of the United States. Take the Canal Zone. Self defense, as I said, is not limited to the mere defense, when attacked, of the continental United States. It covers all our possessions, all our rights; the right to take such steps as will prevent danger to the United States.

Sees No British Reservation.

"We have a right to assume—Great Britain said nothing else—that Great Britain was insisting upon the maintenance of certain rights which are necessary to the self-defense of the British Government. She did not say anything else. Furthermore, she signed this treaty without asking any reservations to it at all, with an absolute obligation not to go to war; of course, subject to the right of self-defense that every country has.

"I can illustrate that by another question that was raised. Great Britain and France raised the question as to whether this treaty would prevent them from going to the assistance of any country attacked, party to the Locarno treaties. I think they both abandoned the idea that there was any obligation to use military forces to apply sanctions under the League, because all but one of the countries had refused to accept that interpretation. But that would not make any difference as to the principle.

"I refused to put a clause in this treaty to make it subject to the conditions of any other treaty or guarantee of neutrality that they had in the world; but I did say that they had an easy way for their own self-protection, if they wished to do it; that (is?), if all of the Locarno powers that I have named, which signed those guarantees and agreements to come to the help of the nation attacked, also signed the multilateral treaty.

"If they broke the Locarno Treaty they would break the multilateral treaty, and the other parties to either one of the treaties would be released and could take such action as they saw fit as to the belligerent nations.

Treaty Stood on Its Own Feet.

"There is no principle of law better established than that. Therefore it was not necessary for them, for their protection, to have any clause

that this treaty was subject to the other treaties that they had made. They could avoid that by simply having all the original parties to the Locarno treaties sign this treaty; that is all. They knew perfectly well that the United States would never sign a treaty imposing any obligation on itself to apply sanctions to come to the help of anybody.

"You will find that early in the negotiation of this treaty I took occasion to say in a speech that it must be understood that the United States

would never obligate itself to any military alliance or to use its military forces to enforce any treaty or any obligation."

Secretary Kellogg was questioned closely as to his speech interpreting the anti-war pact. In mentioning that every nation concerned received a copy of it in order that it could understand the position of this government, he quoted a pertinent paragraph of the address as follows:

"Since, however, the purpose of the United States is, so far as possible, to eliminate war as a factor in international relations, I cannot state too emphatically that it will not become a party to any agreement which, directly or indirectly, expressly or by implication, is a military alliance. The United States cannot obligate itself in advance to use its armed forces against any other nation of the world. It does not believe that the peace of the world or of Europe depends upon, or can be assured, by treaties of military alliance, the futility of which as guarantors of peace is repeatedly demonstrated in the pages of history."

Reed Takes Up Inquiry.

Senator Reed of Missouri, questioned Secretary Kellogg pointedly. It was apparent that he did not agree with Mr. Kellogg's contention that the treaty did not need further clarification as to the rights of the United States.

"The Secretary has stated," Mr. Reed said, "that there were a lot of negotiations and a lot of things occurred which were afterward abandoned, and they were abandoned when they signed the contract; and I take it from that statement that his viewpoint is that when you sign this agreement it wipes out all ambiguities and everything else that occurred prior to the signing of the treaty. If this is his view, I would like to have it."

"That is rather difficult to answer without some explanation," Mr. Kellogg replied. "For instance, France desired that only aggressive warfare should be prohibited by this treaty. I discussed that and declined it. France's claim that she did not sign any treaty against aggressive warfare of course would not be a part of this treaty, because she abandoned it."

"France claimed that this treaty ought to be subject to the obligations of the Locarno treaties. I declined it; but I pointed out a way that made it safe for her. This treaty, therefore, could not be said to be subject to the conditions of the Locarno treaties, because France signed a treaty absolute, without any such conditions. Those positions were abandoned."

Could Not Define "Self Defense."

To a question as to whether the British position did not modify the treaty Mr. Kellogg responded:

"No, I do not think it modifies the treaty."

"Is there any doubt in your mind," asked Senator Reed, "if after these treaties were signed, some nation was guilty of some act with reference to these possessions that Mr. Chamberlain is talking about, which England regarded as an interference with her rights, that England would claim that they had construed this treaty in advance, and had excepted those rights?"

"There undoubtedly is doubt in my mind," Mr. Kellogg replied. "Great Britain was talking about nothing but self defense."

Answering a question of Senator Bayard, Democrat, of Delaware, Secretary Kellogg said:

"Nobody on earth, probably, could write an article defining 'self defense' or 'aggressor' that some country could not get around; and I made up my mind that the only safe thing for any country to do was to judge for itself within its sovereign rights whether it was unjustly attacked and had a right to defend itself. And it must answer to the opinion of the world."

Disagrees on British Stand.

In pressing Secretary Kellogg, Senator Reed contended that the language of the British note must be read into the treaty.

"We have our Monroe Doctrine," he said. "We sign this treaty and, of course, it means something. It

is supposed to have very great binding effect upon nations. I am not speaking about punishment at all. England has said very clearly to all the world:

"We have our Monroe Doctrine—they do not employ that term, but that is what it means—and we want it understood that any interference with our rights here would be regarded by us as a cause warranting self defense."

"All right, Mr. Kellogg thinks that that language amounts to nothing, because the treaty was afterward signed, and we must judge everything by the treaty."

"If we were sure that would be accepted, we might remain silent. I do not agree with the Secretary—with all the respect in the world."

"I think when you come to try this case of a violation before the public opinion of the world, if England were, under the circumstances, to regard any invasion of or any interference with her possessions as justifying self defense, she can go back and point to the fact that at the time and before the treaty was signed Mr. Chamberlain said these things to you, and all the world knows what they mean."

"But suppose the Monroe Doctrine was invaded, and we had said nothing about it. England has specifically reserved her rights over there, and we have said nothing. What would be our position before the world?"

"Either this treaty ought to be signed with the complete wiping out of everything that has been said, or we ought to make our proper declarations when we sign it. That is the way I look at it."

Says We Could Defend Panama.

Senator Reed of Pennsylvania asked:

"Suppose that some important European power declared war upon Panama and invaded the territory of Panama. Would you construe our right of self-defense to authorize us to object to that?"

"Certainly," Secretary Kellogg replied. "We have guaranteed the independence of Panama. Outside of that question, we have a right to defend our treaty for maintaining the integrity and independence of Panama just as much as we have a right to defend San Francisco or New York."

"How about Colombia?" Senator Reed of Pennsylvania inquired.

"That brings up the Monroe Doctrine," said the Secretary. "The Monroe Doctrine is simply a doctrine of self-defense. It does not consist of any agreement between the United States and any country in the Western Hemisphere, or anywhere else. It is unnecessary for me to go through all the utterance of every statesman from the time of Monroe to the present to show what the Monroe Doctrine is."

"Immediately after the Revolution there was the Holy Alliance in existence, whose object was to impose monarchical government, monarchical rule, on every country. We considered that a menace to the United States, and that was the basis of the Monroe Doctrine. President Monroe said that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system of government to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. And over and over again it is stated that the Doctrine is based solely on the right of self-defense to the United States."

"Shadow," Kellogg Declares.

Senator Borah declared:

"It is perfectly certain that every nation, when the time arrives, will construe this treaty in the way it regards as justifying self-defense. Every nation will construe the treaty for itself, as to what constitutes self-defense, and it does not make any difference what you said and what was stated afterward, when the time comes, what she regards as self-defense she will construe as self-defense."

Questioned as to whether the treaty should not reserve to the United States the right to support the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Kellogg said:

"Why, gentlemen, every country in Europe which could make war on Central or South America has signed this treaty, and if they did make war they would break it, and we would

be released anyhow. Here is a shadow! Even without this treaty, does anybody believe that the present governments of Europe are in any position to attack any one of the South American countries and impose their form of government? And they have definite forms of government now from what they had 100 years ago."

Secretary Kellogg also maintained that, although Russia was a party to the multilateral treaty, that fact did not mean recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States.

KENWORTHY QUESTIONS  
BRITTEN ON PARLEY

M. P. Asks if He Represents Committee—Suggests London and Washington Meetings.

Special Cable  
LONDON

Kenworthy, member, representing the pro of American British Con anglo-Amer

After speaking for representatives and what position of commander Kenworthy said: "I wish to know whether you are able to hold a meeting in the Spring in Washington, doubt, be a committee of Parliament. Commanders suggest that well as discussed."

Special Cable  
WASHINGTON

Representative I had not received a message from and therefore what would be the result.

"I can see that I am not on the Naval Affairs committee on record, another of limitation mean the ships which Washington. I think another date to be reference and no misund. We are not engaged in a think and tend to be standing."

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## WILSON EULOGY HITS PARIS PACT AS 'TIMID'

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Views

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picking men of ability for subordinates, kept in close touch with government affairs and had built up an efficient administration organization even before the war period.

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honeymoon half way around the world by automobile. She is now resting in a hospital at Peshawur, suffering only from overstrained nerves.

Describing her experiences to The Daily Mail Peshawur correspondent she said:

"I guess that must be the most remarkable honeymoon ever spent. We had nearly given up hope. My ears are still resounding with shock of shell fire and I shall never forget that period of anxiety. Of course, I am still anxious for the safety of Allen, my husband, who is still in Kabul."

Mrs. Isaacson explained that when they arrived they were entirely unaware that trouble was brewing and did not realize the danger there. Intimation came from the

the hotel she said. ad and we ld in the into the Humphrys er] was a the most r gathered h flag. we were hots fired ped up in e women firmishing hundred the dark t fire and the lega-phrys in- e of cour- s by her orror that e of fire g forces, indeed in ells were ell in the ordered rooms in servants e we did range for nificant es of the the lead-compara- All this ory firing nd again y. ay when ually left he whirr early in d to pre- ly for a rt to the t saw of rom the ng. One ne outer he beau- and torn

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MENDEZ RESUMES  
FLIGHT TO BOGOTA

Leaves Canal Zone, Where He Arrived Dec. 1 From New York, for Cartagena.

DUKE STARTS MAIL SERVICE

Does 300-Mile Trip From France Field to Lima, Costa Rica, in 3 Hours 23 Minutes.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
BALBOA, Dec. 28.—Two airplanes left the Canal Zone today, flying in opposite directions. One, the Ricaurte, piloted by Lieutenant Benjamin Mendez, Colombian aviator, headed east bound for Cartagena, 350 miles away. The other, the Pan-American Airways Amphibian, piloted by Lieutenant Donald G. Duke, set a course for Limon, the Atlantic port of Costa Rica, roughly 300 miles distant.

Lieutenant Mendez is completing the flight from New York to Bogota, interrupted by his accident here when the plane was damaged in landing at France Field on Dec. 1. The Ricaurte was anchored in Gatun Lake last night in order to have a long runway for lifting its heavy load. Lieutenant Mendez waited from dawn till 10:35 A. M. for improved weather conditions before leaving. He was accompanied by Tod Hunter, mechanic, who made the flight from New York in the Ricaurte.

In addition to the first stop at Cartagena, the Lieutenant expects to visit Barranquilla where he was once employed as a chauffeur. He will then follow the Magdalena River to Giradot, where the plane's pontoons will be replaced by landing gear for the flight to Bogota, where the flier hopes to arrive on New Year's Day.

The Pan-American Airways plane left France Field at 9:22 A. M. after the rainstorm had passed and it completed its flight at 12:45 p. m. Lieutenant Duke carried a load of spare parts for the plane, and 188 pounds of first-class mail.

Fifteen army planes will leave France Field tomorrow morning bound for San José, Costa Rica, to join in the annual holiday celebrations at the invitation of the President.

Duke Meets Hard Conditions.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LIMON, Costa Rica, Dec. 28.—Skirting the jungle-fringed coast of the Isthmus at almost 100 miles an hour, Lieutenant Duke started the first airmail service today between Panama and Costa Rica for the Pan-American Airways. Leaving France Field at 9:22 A. M. he bucked into a 45-mile wind, but arrived safely here, landing on the open bay after a flight of 3 hours 23 minutes.

The first bag of airmail was formally handed to Lieutenant Duke, former chief of the army airways section, by the Cristobal postmaster, Gerald Bliss, just before the plane's departure, for delivery at Limon and San José. The plane will establish a regular service between these Costa Rican cities until railroad communication, interrupted by recent storms, can be resumed.

During the first leg of the trip low hanging clouds were met, causing at times the 500-horsepower Loening amphibian to skim the surface of the water, with a visibility of only a few yards. The conditions were typical of the rainy season, with the air bumpy.

Hartwell F. Ayers, a Panama newspaper correspondent, was the only traveler in the six-passenger cabin on account of the heavy load, totaling 1,200 pounds. Mechanic E. [unclear] the cockpit with

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DAN SOCIETY of NEW YORK

ORDS of the five boroughs of 1928, together with a forecast for 1929, will appear in the of The New York Times on Sunday news in this section will be of to real estate brokers, builders, house owners, building material



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June 4, 1929.

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Dear Chairman:

As Miss Morgan pointed out in her letter of May 13th, two of the items on our "Program for Support" have become active measures: Disarmament, and American Entry into the World Court.

Mr. Hoover's Inaugural Address, Ambassador Gibson's speech on April 22nd, and Mr. Hoover's Memorial Day address called public attention to the problem of disarmament and indicated the seriousness with which the present administration views the problem. Unquestionably official steps will be taken in the near future to limit armaments by international agreement. When this happens, we may call upon you to make felt your support of disarmament, in various ways. To help you prepare League members for this we are publishing a pamphlet entitled "The Problem of Disarmament" which we will send to you inside a week.

Since the Root Formula will probably be laid before the Senate in December, the World Court issue may demand much attention and support in the autumn and winter. Although we do not advise beginning any active campaign for the Court at the present time, it is clear that the more educational work on the Formula that is done during the summer, the sounder will be the foundation for active support in the future. Our new pamphlet, "The Root Formula and the World Court," will be ready in ten days.

Since these two issues are both of great importance, we have prepared the enclosed postcard to be used in advertizing the new League publications. We will furnish you with these postcards in as large quantities as you desire, so that you can send them out to all your local chairmen, the members of your state and local boards, and to any additional mailing list that you may see fit. The price that we charge for them is one dollar a hundred, just the cost to us of the stamped cards as bought at the post office. Please let us know as soon as possible how many of them you will need.

Very sincerely yours,

*Beatrice Pitney*

Beatrice Pitney,  
Assistant Director, Department  
of International Cooperation.



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June 19, 1929.

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affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Mrs. G. A. Seel,  
3806 Avenue P,  
Galveston, Texas.

My dear Mrs. Seel:

Miss Morgan is at present in Europe attending the congress of the International Woman Suffrage Association. In her absence I am writing you to express how glad we are that you have been made Chairman of the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War for the state of Texas.

Under separate cover I am sending you a complete set of the pamphlets of this department, and also three copies of each of our two most recent publications on disarmament and the World Court. This spring Miss Morgan has laid great stress on the special importance of both these issues at the present time. I believe you will find that your first active work as chairman of the department will be to arouse interest in your state so that League support of United States entry into the Court and of President Hoover's disarmament policy may become effective.

For your information I enclose copies of the two most recent letters sent out to all state chairmen.

Very sincerely yours,

*Beatrice Pitney*

Beatrice Pitney,  
Assistant Director.



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May 13, 1929.

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*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

We have three great policies, all in action, for which we are responsible. They are the Pan American treaties, the entrance of the United States into the World Court, and the proposed disarmament conference. Of the two Pan American treaties, the conciliation treaty passed the Senate February 20, 1929. The arbitration treaty, which provides for compulsory submission to arbitration of legal international disputes, is still before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and has not been reported out to the Senate, itself. There is a widespread impression that the Senate is unwilling to ratify this treaty without attaching either a note or a reservation providing that each case appropriate for arbitration shall be referred especially to the Senate for its consent before it may be submitted to arbitration. Certain members of the Senate are convinced that this body has a constitutional right and responsibility which demands this reservation. One effect of such a reservation might be that Latin American countries would not ratify the treaty.

Literature is being prepared upon the World Court proposal. While the entry of the United States cannot come before the Senate until December, yet the summer months can be properly spent in considering the World Court proposal and preparing for action.

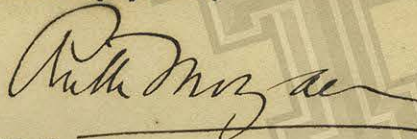
You will also receive a pamphlet on disarmament very soon, and in the meantime we are sending you a copy of the speech by the Hon. Hugh S. Gibson, American representative at the meeting



of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, in Geneva, April 22, 1929. I am enclosing also a questionnaire in relation to the distribution of literature.

I am at once pleased and concerned with the constant activity of this department. Nevertheless, while pressing our responsibilities upon you, I am glad to quote to you from M. Pierre de Lanux, Director of the League of Nations Information Office in Paris. He speaks of the great progress made in the seven years since he was last here. He gives credit for this advance in public education to the associations which make it their duty to educate public opinion. He refers to the League of Nations Association, the Foreign Policy Association, and the League of Women Voters, and calls them, with the press, "the collaborators of statesmen."

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Ruth Morgan', written over a horizontal line.

Ruth Morgan.



July 12, 1929.

Mrs. Seel:

As State Chairman, you of course know that you are a delegate to the Convention in Houston October 30th, 31st and November 1st.

In due time I will send you credential slip.

Mrs. Kempner



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN V

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July 27, 1929.



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

July 27, 1929.

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Dear Chairman:

I telegraphed you on July 17th, asking you to congratulate the President upon the proclamation of the Kellogg Pact on July 24, and suggesting that the World Court was the next international step. As you may have noted, Mr. Hoover, on the 24, made other important pronouncements. Those of us who are interested in peace through international cooperation can have no doubt that the President has offered enlightened leadership in this field. The reduction of army expenses and the curtailment of naval building plans are to be part of an international program. It is hoped that we, with the other naval powers, will join in a peace program to make reduction logical instead of encouraging rivalry in preparedness.

The Kellogg Pact is the cornerstone upon which these further steps are built. The World Court and our membership in it are vital to peace, and organizations are coming together to work for this. In the meantime will you write to the President expressing sympathy and approbation for what he has already proposed? Even if you have congratulated him upon the Kellogg Pact, such a letter is still in order and will be appropriate at any time within the next few months.

We have never seen so much progress made in this field in so brief a time and we may therefore be courageous and optimistic as to the future.

Very sincerely yours,

*Ruth Morgan*

Ruth Morgan.

RM/D



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September 6, 1929.

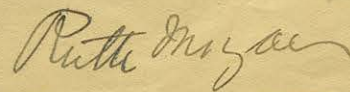
Dear Chairman:

As state member of the Department of International Co-operation To Prevent War, I am asking you to consider carefully the program of our Department.

The present program-making procedure calls for your personal suggestions and for those of your committee members at this time for the program to be submitted to the Convention next April. These proposals may be for elimination, modification or addition — unless in case of emergency the program cannot be curtailed, altered or enlarged in the following two years. I am also sending you the new pamphlet on Program-Making Procedure. All replies should be returned to me by October 10th and I shall return to you by October 20th a summary of the suggestions received for further discussion by state groups.

There is no field of public interest where changes occur so rapidly as in the field of international affairs. We have at the present time a progressive leadership in Washington in harmony with many of the proposed steps in our program. You as an individual are an educated and responsible citizen of the United States at a time when your country has for the first time assumed a necessary prominence in world affairs. The National League of Women Voters has united informed women citizens in effective support of international measures. You have now an opportunity to consider and offer suggestions as to the policies of the present and future, and your state groups as a whole will have the further opportunity after October 20th.

Very sincerely yours,



Ruth Morgan



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

October 21, 1929

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Dear Chairman:

In my letter of September 6th I asked you to send me some suggestions as to the program of our Department. I am enclosing a summary of all the suggestions received.

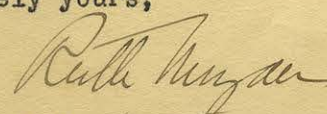
I am also enclosing the proposed program of work of the Department for your consideration. This represents the combined opinions of myself, our Department Directors and experts consulted. It is designed to include all of the subjects which we foresee as likely to be important within the next two years. Any alterations or device which you would like to suggest as resulting from your own consideration or discussion with state groups should be sent to this office before December 1st.

It would be helpful if you would include in your reply a selection of three subjects which you would especially prefer to have discussed in the open conference of the Department in the National Convention in April.

It is evident that in the immediate present the subject of international reduction of armaments is the one to which study groups and meetings should give consideration. The Naval Conference to be held in London in January will, if successful, draft disarmament treaties for submission to the Senate of the United States, and this Department should be prepared to discuss the situation and to give discriminating and intelligent support when the moment for national action arrives.

Our program now relates itself to world events and, therefore, should receive your special consideration.

Sincerely yours,



Ruth Morgan



21. 8 large cruisers, 10 small cruisers and 15 large cruisers authorized by Congress in 1929.

In view of the naval conference which is to be held in London in January 1930, President Hoover has ordered a temporary suspension of work on the five large cruisers which were to be begun this year.

22. In order to avoid the same deadlock which occurred at the Geneva Conference as to the relative value of large and small cruisers, Mr. Hoover has announced that the United States will try to reach an agreement with England on a new way of measuring cruiser strength. Instead of using tonnage as the sole basis of measurement, he proposes that tonnage, gun calibre, age and speed should all be used. The exact details of such a measuring rod have not yet been worked out. England will probably be allowed a slightly larger tonnage than the United States to compensate her for the fact that her cruisers are smaller, carry smaller guns and would, therefore, be less effective in battle.
23. The day before the Kellogg Peace Treaty went into force, Mr. Hoover announced that the combined appropriations of the United States for the army and navy represent the "largest military budget of any nation in the world."
24. In 1928-9 the army and navy expenses of the United States were \$684,700,000. For new ships alone, the appropriation for 1930 is \$48,550,000.
25. Mr. Hoover said in his radio address on September 18, 1929.
- "Preparedness must not exceed the barest necessity for defense or it becomes a threat of aggression against others and thus a cause of fear and animosity in the world."

#### SUGGESTED READING ON DISARMAMENT

##### PAMPHLETS

*Problem of Disarmament*, by Beatrice Pitney, National League of Women Voters, June 1929, price ten cents a copy or nine dollars for a hundred copies.

*Newsletter on Disarmament*, by Beatrice Pitney, National League of Women Voters, October 1929, price five cents a copy or three dollars for a hundred copies.

*Anglo-American Naval Understanding*, by Raymond Leslie Buell, Foreign Policy Association, 18 E. 41st St., New York City, July 1929, price 25 cents.

##### ARTICLES

*The Risks of Peace*, by Ramsey MacDonald, special supplement to Foreign Affairs, October 1929.

*Navies and Peace, a British View*, by Philip Kerr; *An American View*, by Charles P. Howland, Foreign Affairs, October 1929.

##### BOOKS

*American Foreign Relations 1928*, Charles P. Howland, Yale University Press, 1928, price five dollars. This contains a section on disarmament which is both clear and interesting.

## WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT NAVAL DISARMAMENT

by  
BEATRICE PITNEY

Published by  
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
Department of  
International Cooperation to Prevent War  
1015 Grand Central Terminal Building  
NEW YORK CITY  
November, 1929

Price five cents per copy  
\$4.00 per hundred copies.



## WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT NAVAL DISARMAMENT

### QUESTIONS

1. What are the five chief naval powers?
2. What are the chief classes of naval craft?
3. What is the method of securing naval disarmament which has been most fruitful in the past?
4. On what classes of naval vessels is there at present a limit?
5. In the past what has been used as the standard for measuring each nation's naval strength in each class of vessel?
6. What other factors besides tonnage are of importance in measuring naval strength?
7. What is meant by the age limit of a ship?
8. What are the two outstanding dates in the history of naval disarmament?
9. What did the Washington Conference accomplish?
10. What is meant by the 5-5-3 ratio?
11. What did the Geneva Naval Conference seek to accomplish?
12. What did the United States propose as the basis for the discussion at the Geneva Conference?
13. What is a large cruiser?
14. What is a small cruiser?
15. What were the chief differences between the United States and Great Britain which developed at Geneva?
16. What was the effect of the failure of the Conference on the relations between the two countries?
17. What is the "Preparatory Commission"?
18. How and when were Anglo-American disarmament discussions resumed after the failure of the Geneva Conference?
19. Around what classes of ships have the discussions of 1929 centered?
20. How many cruisers has England at the present time?
21. How many cruisers has the United States?
22. What is meant by the new yardstick?
23. What statement has Mr. Hoover made in connection with the expense of the armaments of the United States?
24. What is the annual cost of the armaments of the United States?
25. What has President Hoover stated regarding the psychological effect of large armaments?

### ANSWERS

1. England, United States, Japan, France and Italy.
2. Capital ships, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers and submarines. Capital ships have been considered the backbone of the fleet. They are large, often slow, heavily armored and carry very large guns. They can be used against the enemy capital ships or for bombarding strongholds on the enemy's coast. Cruisers are designed for scouting and protecting merchant or troop ships. Destroyers are primarily intended as a weapon against submarines and also for scouting purposes.
3. Limitation of the vessels in each class separately.
4. Capital ships and aircraft carriers.
5. The total weight of all the ships in that class. This is called tonnage.
6. (A) Age, because old ships are less effective than new ones.  
(B) Gun power, because guns of a larger caliber can shoot farther.  
(C) Speed.
7. It has been found that naval vessels cease to be effective weapons of war after a certain length of time. This length of time is their "age limit." The age limit for cruisers is accepted as twenty years. After twenty years they are usually "replaced" by new cruisers.
8. 1921—Washington Naval Conference.  
1927—Geneva Naval Conference.
9. It placed a limit upon the tonnage which each of the five chief naval powers might have in capital ships and aircraft carriers. In order to stay within this limit, many capital ships were "scrapped." The Washington Conference thus made an actual reduction of one type of vessel.
10. At the Washington Conference, the limits placed on the capital ships of the five chief powers were in a certain proportion to one another. England and the United States agreed to a position of equality and for every 5 tons of British or American vessels, the Japanese were allotted 3 and the French and Italian each 1.75. This ratio at present applies only to capital ships and aircraft carriers.
11. It sought to limit the three classes of vessels not limited by the Washington Conference.
12. The United States proposed that these three classes of vessels be limited in the 5-5-3 ratio, or, in other words, that England and the United States should have equality in cruiser, destroyer and submarine tonnage, while Japan should have sixty per cent. of this strength.
13. A large cruiser is one of approximately 10,000 tons carrying 8 inch guns.
14. A small cruiser is usually between 5000 and 8000 tons and carries six inch guns, which cannot shoot so far as the guns of the large cruisers.
15. Great Britain desired to use her tonnage to build a large number of small cruisers and a small number of large cruisers. The United States, on the other hand, preferred to build a large number of the big cruisers and a much smaller number of the small cruisers. Great Britain claimed that this would be an unfair arrangement, as it would give the United States greater combat strength because of the superior fighting value of the larger cruisers. Instead, she proposed an agreement as to how the total cruiser tonnage of each nation should be divided as between large and small cruisers. Furthermore, Great Britain never showed complete willingness to agree that American cruiser strength should be equal to hers.
16. It created a certain amount of rivalry between the two governments, stimulated the big navy parties in each country and led to increased cruiser construction by both nations. It seemed for a time as though Anglo-American naval negotiations could never be successful and made many people pessimistic about the possibilities of disarmament.
17. The League of Nations has since its beginning been interested in the problem of the disarmament of both naval and military forces. Up to the present time, however, it has accomplished nothing in this regard and is still making preparations for a world wide disarmament conference which it hopes to call. The preparations for this League Conference are being made by a League commission called the "Preparatory Disarmament Commission." To its meetings, the United States has always sent delegates, who have participated in discussions of all phases of the disarmament problem.
18. For one and one-half years Anglo-American disarmament seemed hopeless. It was not until President Hoover in his inaugural address and in numerous subsequent speeches announced that he was in favor of renewing discussions that there again seemed to be a possibility for naval reduction.
19. The cruiser is still the main problem, but President Hoover has announced that he hopes that the limitation of destroyers and submarines will also be secured. Furthermore, there seems to be some possibility that capital ships will be reduced below the level set in 1921, or even abolished.
20. 10 large cruisers and 5 large cruisers being built.  
42 small cruisers and 3 small cruisers being built.  
Of the small cruisers, 14 will reach the age limit during the next 5 years.  
Of the large cruisers which are still being built, the British Government has recently ordered that the construction of two be suspended.



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

November 13, 1929.

*Answers to questions on international  
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*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
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Dear Chairman:

THE FIFTH CONFERENCE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR will be held at the Hotel Washington, Washington, D. C., January 14-17 inclusive. Every state League has the privilege of naming two delegates and two alternates. It is suggested that you make four additional nominations to avoid loss of time in case it is necessary for you to make a second choice. Please confer with your state President, who has received a similar letter from Miss Sherwin, with regard to your delegation. These names, with their addresses in full, should be reported before December 8th, to Miss Ruth Morgan, Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War, 1015 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City. The places which remain unfilled on December 8th will be assigned to the states by selections made in this office.

The main subjects for discussion at the Conference — the work of perfecting the machinery to prevent war, economic phases which may lead to war, and disarmament — are a sure promise that the delegates will go home strongly fortified for their work for peace. Since a meeting of the Conference in January last year, the General Pact for the Renunciation of War has come into force. This means, therefore, that each citizen of the countries who have signed the Treaty (54 in number), is responsible not only for the creation and support of machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, but should study, and if necessary oppose, such policies for settlement as involve war. The Conference hopes to clarify these new points of view.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Morgan

*Ruth Morgan*



TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Houston, Texas.

November 16th, 1929.

Dear Mrs. Seel

This is to say officially that at the 1929 Post-Convention Board Meeting of the Texas League of Women Voters you were appointed State Chairman of International Cooperation for 1929 - 31. I am glad to welcome you in this capacity because I know that you will be able and willing to help build for the Texas League of Women Voters the kind of strength that comes from thorough understand of our Program of Work. Such understanding of the Program is dependent upon the preparation of adequate study material by the state chairman and its effective use in the local Leagues.

The Texas League has completed a most successful two years since its last bi-ennial convention. With a firm foundation upon which to build, we can and do expect even greater progress in the coming two years. The goals which the Post-Convention Board Meeting set for program development are as follows:

State Chairman recognizing responsibility for:

- a. Preparation of adequate study material
- b. Development of closer personal relationship with local Chairmen by:
  1. Committee conferences, state-wide, if possible.
  2. Visits to as many local Leagues as possible.
  3. Regular monthly letter to local Chairmen.
  4. Passing on promptly to local Chairman mimeographed and other educational material, and legislative information coming from the National office.
- c. Prompt replies to communications from the National.
- d. Keeping National Chairmen informed on State work.

Unified Program work throughout the State.

Constant readiness for prompt cooperation with the National in Legislative work.

The State Chairmen are to have more help in fulfilling their responsibilities than has ever before been available. Each of you will soon receive a "Tool Kit" containing mimeographed and printed League material with which every one of us carrying state responsibility should be conversant. This "Tool Kit" will contain, among other things, a report of the Conference on Department and Committee Methods held at the last National League Convention - an excellent summary of the duties of a State Chairman which will, I am sure, prove of inestimable value to you.



Best news of all! Beginning November 15, The Texas League of Women Voters is to have an Executive Secretary, Miss Margaret Heye of San Antonio, a charming young woman with a splendid mind and excellent background. She will advise with the State Chairmen as needed in the preparation of study material and will help the local Leagues build up the personnel and emthods necessary to make the best use of this material.

Now, May I make several requests of you?

Will you take stock and advise me at once which publications, if any, you lack to make complete your library of the publications of your department? It is essential that every Chairman have the material she will need to work with, and if you will let me know your needs, the State Office will supply them as soon as an order can be filled by Washington.

Will you also find out what facilities will be available in your community for typing and mimeographing letters and study material and advise me whether you would prefer to supervise the work yourself or to have it done in the State Office? I shall make a part time arrangement for work of this kind and I think we will want to take into consideration the comparative expense of having all work done here or of letting the Chairmen who wish to arrange for their own typing and mimeographing.

I am correct, am I not, in believing that study material is already available from the National Office for Federalism Cooperation and World? This leaves the following measures on the State Program of Work which we in Texas must underwrite with adequate study material. Will you let me know as soon as you think it through, how soon you can have ready on these measures study kits including outlines, bibliographies and any pamphlets and mimeographed material you wish to accompany the outlines? I assume that you will advise your local chairmen when they may expect this material, but I should like to compile this information on the entire program so that in making plans for the year, the State Office and the local President may see at a glance when they may safely plan to take up various measures on the Program.

Let me know when I or our State Executive Secretary can be of service to you. We are yours to command.

Faithfully yours,

*Ernest J. Wacker*







November 27, 1929

Mrs Harris Masterson, President  
Texas League of Women Voters  
3702 Burlington, Avenue  
Houston, Texas

My dear Mrs Masterson,

On August 19th and again on October 25th I wrote you in regard to work in support of three of the League's major measures in the 71st Congress. As the date for convening the regular session of the Congress approaches, you will wish to hear - may indeed have been anticipating hearing- about work in support of international measures.

I have been in conference with Miss Morgan and though no measure has yet been introduced in the special session, it is clear that we must be prepared to support whenever it is introduced the entry of the United States into the World Court according to the Root Formula. The League of Women Voters is prepared by explicit statement in the Program of Work to support this important step in a program toward permanent peace and to support also the London Conference for the Reduction of Naval Armaments. Recent publications of the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War will be of use to individuals or small study groups, namely

The Root Formula and the World Court

Eight Questions on the Root Formula for  
United States Entry into the World Court

The Problem of Disarmament

What Do You Know about Naval Disarmament?

It is very desirable that leaders in League groups everywhere should be familiar with these publications.

At the time of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War the League with other organizations will have an opportunity to present resolutions or other expressions of opinion to the senators from the various states, or possibly to the President of the United States. Will you, therefore, plan with your chairman of the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War for as many meetings in local Leagues on the World Court and the Reduction of Naval Armament as is possible at this time of year, particularly planning for January and February?

In the second week in December the National Board, meeting in Washington, will discuss effective co-operation in support of these measures and the presidents of the state Leagues and the state members of the Department will be informed promptly of a definite plan resulting from that discussion. Much will depend on the active support given by the League to the Court and the London Conference in the near future.

Faithfully yours,

(Belle Sherwin--President)



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

## OFFICERS

PRESIDENT  
MISS BELLE SHERWIN  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT  
MISS KATHARINE LUDINGTON  
CHAIRMAN OF FINANCE COMMITTEE  
OLD LYME, CONNECTICUT

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT  
MRS. ROSCOE ANDERSON  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT  
MISS RUTH MORGAN  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL  
CO-OPERATION TO PREVENT WAR  
NEW YORK CITY

FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT  
MISS ELIZABETH J. HAUSER  
DEPARTMENT OF EFFICIENCY  
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GIRARD, OHIO

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DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE  
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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DETROIT, MICHIGAN

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MRS. FRANK P. HIXON  
LAKE CITY, FLORIDA

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1015 GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL BUILDING  
NEW YORK CITY  
TELEPHONE—VANDERBILT 7018

DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION  
TO PREVENT WAR

## COUNCIL ON POLICIES

MISS RUTH MORGAN, CHAIRMAN  
MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT  
MRS. F. LOUIS SLADE  
SPECIAL COUNSELOR ON THE  
FAR EAST  
MRS. JAMES MORRISON  
MR. JAMES G. McDONALD  
MR. BRUCE BLIVEN  
MRS. L. EMMETT HOLT  
MRS. QUINCY WRIGHT  
DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

November 27, 1929

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Dear Chairman:

In my letter of November 13th, I pointed out that the League of Women Voters this year must concern itself in the Congress with the consequences of the General Pact for the Renunciation of War. Two important consequences are seen so clearly ahead that we must be prepared to support them - first, the entry of the United States into the World Court according to the Root Formula, and, second, the London Naval Conference for the reduction of Naval armaments. Will you be prepared to support in the program of work both these important steps in the program for permanent peace? This Department has recent publications on each measure for the use of individuals or small study groups. It is very desirable that leaders in League groups everywhere should be familiar with these measures.

At the time of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War in January, the League, with other organizations, will have an opportunity to present resolutions or other expressions of opinion to the Senators, or possibly to the President of the United States. Each state Chairman of this Department - each state member of the Department - should, therefore, plan with the President of the State League for as many meetings on these two subjects in local Leagues as is possible at this time of year, particularly in January or February.

In the second week in December, the National Board then meeting in Washington will discuss effective cooperation with other organizations in support of these measures, and the State President and state member will be informed promptly of the definite plans resulting from this meeting. Much will depend on the active support given by the League to these two measures.

Very sincerely,

*Ruth Morgan*  
Ruth Morgan



3806 Avenue F,  
Galveston, Texas.  
December 3rd, 1929.

Miss Ruth Morgan,

New York City.

Dear Miss Morgan:

In compliance with your letter of November 18th, relative to the appointment of two delegates to represent the Texas League of Women Voters at the FIFTH CONFERENCE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR to be held in Washington, D. C. January 14-17, I am pleased to advise that the following delegates have been appointed:

Mrs. Harris Masterson,  
3702 Burlington Ave.,  
Houston, T e x a s.

Mrs. Semmes Steele,  
1902 Avenue J,  
Galveston, Texas.

Please see that proper credentials are forwarded to them in due time.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. George A. Seel

SVS:E



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

## OFFICERS

PRESIDENT  
MISS BELLE SHERWIN  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT  
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OLD LYME, CONNECTICUT

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ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

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MISS RUTH MORGAN  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL  
CO-OPERATION TO PREVENT WAR  
NEW YORK CITY

FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT  
MISS ELIZABETH J. HAUSER  
DEPARTMENT OF EFFICIENCY  
IN GOVERNMENT  
CIRARD, OHIO

FIFTH VICE-PRESIDENT  
MRS. W. W. RAMSEY  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE  
IN GOVERNMENT  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

SECRETARY  
MRS. HENRY STEFFENS, JR.  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

TREASURER  
MRS. FRANK P. HIXON  
LAKE CITY, FLORIDA

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DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION  
TO PREVENT WAR

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SPECIAL COUNSELOR ON THE  
FAR EAST  
MRS. JAMES MORRISON  
MR. JAMES G. McDONALD  
MR. BRUCE BLIVEN  
MRS. L. EMMETT HOLT  
MRS. QUINCY WRIGHT  
DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

December 10, 1929

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Dear Chairman:

The President of the United States has recently directed that the signature of the United States Government be affixed to the World Court Protocol preliminary to its submission to the Senate in treaty form.

The National Board of the League of Women Voters has today congratulated the President on this important forward step in the Peace Program. The Board has further approved the plans of the Department of International Cooperation, which now proposes to you that

1. League meetings, large and small, be held; and that these with individuals, signify to the President and to their Senate representatives by letters and publicity their endorsement of United States entry into the World Court.

2. The National Board today voted that the groups which came together in your state on behalf of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, although organized on a temporary basis, may properly hold joint meetings again in support of the Court.

3. Where joint resolutions are passed with other organizations, copies of such resolutions be sent to me at this address.

We shall be called upon in due time pursuant to the endorsements in our Program of Work to support treaties for the reduction of naval armaments resulting from the forthcoming Naval Conference. Therefore, speakers, study groups, etc. on the subject are urged in advance of legislative action.

It is, indeed, rare to see the climax of many Peace endeavors advancing rapidly at the same time.

Very sincerely,

*Ruth Morgan*

Ruth Morgan



TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

HOUSTON, TEXAS

December 10, 1929

Mrs G. A. Seel  
3806 Avenue P  
Galveston, Texas

My dear Mrs Seel,

I am enclosing a copy of Mrs Catt's letter to Mrs Mastersonso that you may be able to understand the Resolution which shall also be enclosed. Mrs Masterson suggests that you promote this Resolution through the League.

Very truly yours,

*Margaret Heys*  
state secretary



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

## OFFICERS

PRESIDENT  
MISS BELLE SHERWIN  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT  
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OLD LYME, CONNECTICUT

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MRS. ROSCOE ANDERSON  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT  
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DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL  
CO-OPERATION TO PREVENT WAR  
NEW YORK CITY

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DEPARTMENT OF EFFICIENCY  
IN GOVERNMENT  
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DEPARTMENT OF  
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FAR EAST  
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MR. JAMES G. McDONALD  
MR. BRUCE BLIVEN  
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MRS. QUINCY WRIGHT  
DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

December 11, 1929

Mrs. George A. Seel  
3806 Avenue P.  
Galveston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Seel:

Thank you for your letter of December 3rd  
naming your delegates to the Conference on the Cause  
and Cure of War. I have sent them the preliminary  
material, and the credentials will follow in due  
time.

Sincerely,

*Ruth Morgan*  
Ruth Morgan

RM/D



Room 303, Chamber of Commerce Bldg.,

**HOUSTON LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS**  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

Dec 11, 1929.

Mrs. G. A. Seel, Chairman Department of International  
Cooperation to Prevent War,  
3806 Ave P.,  
Galveston, Texas.

Dear Mrs. Seel:

Our local chairman of the department of international Cooperation to Prevent War, is beginning work on her program for study groups, and we would appreciate it greatly if you would send us any available material on this topic.

Very truly yours,

*Gertrude Maurin*

G. M.

*Authentic  
sent Mrs. G. A. Seel*



TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRIS MASTERSON  
3702 BURLINGTON AVE.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

SECRETARY

MRS. ANNA B. CADE  
CHESTER, TEXAS

TREASURER

MRS. O. H. CARLISLE  
SHOREACRES  
LA PORTE, TEXAS

HEADQUARTERS

303 CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BLDG.

HOUSTON, TEXAS

December 19, 1929.

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. CHAS. J. STUBBS  
1828 AVENUE I  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. S. C. LONG  
655 UPSON AVE.  
EL PASO, TEXAS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
DALLAS, TEXAS

LIVING COSTS

MRS. J. W. HOPKINS  
1516 AVE. H  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

MISS RUTH HASTINGS  
4503 AUSTIN AVE.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

CHILD WELFARE

MRS. CHAS. J. STUBBS  
1828 AVE. I  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

EDUCATION

MRS. ANNA B. CADE  
CHESTER, TEXAS

SOCIAL HYGIENE

MISS OVETA CULP  
CITY HALL, LEGAL DEP'T.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

LEGISLATION

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

MRS. CARL VOSS  
DALLAS COUNTRY CLUB  
DALLAS, TEXAS

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION  
TO PREVENT WAR

MRS. G. A. SEEL  
3806 AVE. P  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

IMMIGRATION

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

MEMBERSHIP

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

FINANCE

MRS. SEMMES STEELE  
1819 BROADWAY  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

Mrs. G. A. Seel,  
3806 Avenue P,  
GALVESTON, Texas.

My dear Mrs. Seel:

If you haven't our quota full  
for "Cause and Cure of War" delegates and alter-  
nates I'd like to ask Gertrude Maurin, Executive  
Secretary of Houston League, as an alternate,  
she is interested and can go.

Sincerely yours,

TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS.

By Mrs. Harris Masterston  
President.

LJM-H



December 28th, 1929.

Miss Ruth Morgan,  
New York City.

Dear Miss Morgan:-

Supplementing my letter of December 3rd, relative to delegates and alternates from the Texas League to the FIFTH CONFERENCE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR, to be held in Washington D.C., January 14-18, I am writing to inquire if it would be possible at this late date for us to add the name of Miss Gertrude Maurin as alternate to our list of representatives?

I fully realize that all lists were to have been completed by not later than December 8th, but it has been rather difficult to find interested persons who were in a position to attend the Conference and we would like very much to have our full quota. And it is for this reason that I am presuming to forward her name at this time, trusting that by some kind dispensation you may still be able to accept our appointment. If so, please forward proper credentials to

Miss Gertrude Maurin,  
303 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.,  
Houston, T e x a s.

Sincerely yours,



December 30th, 1929.

Mrs. Harris Masterson,  
Houston, T e x a s.

Dear Mrs. Masterson:-

Your letter of December 19th did not reach me until Christmas Eve, but I have forwarded Miss Maurin's name as an alternate with an urgent appeal that she be accepted.

Please advise Miss Maurin that I expect to have such material as has come to me on International Relations ready by the 10th of January, and will rush the outlines as much as possible. This in reply to her inquiry of December 11th.

If you have any League stationery I would appreciate your sending me a supply of same. I would like to use the League letterheads in multigraphing the study outlines for the International Relations Chairmen.

I have received the copy of the Convention Minutes and thank you for it.

I greatly appreciate your good wishes and greetings and sincerely trust that both in your official and private life, the New Year may bring you great happiness and success.



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

## OFFICERS

PRESIDENT  
MISS BELLE SHERWIN  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT  
MISS KATHARINE LUDINGTON  
CHAIRMAN OF FINANCE COMMITTEE  
OLD LYME, CONNECTICUT

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT  
MRS. ROSCOE ANDERSON  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT  
MISS RUTH MORGAN  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL  
CO-OPERATION TO PREVENT WAR  
NEW YORK CITY

FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT  
MISS ELIZABETH J. HAUSER  
DEPARTMENT OF EFFICIENCY  
IN GOVERNMENT  
GIRARD, OHIO

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MRS. FRANK P. HIXON  
LAKE CITY, FLORIDA

OFFICE OF THE THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT  
1015 GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL BUILDING  
NEW YORK CITY  
TELEPHONE—VANDERBILT 7018

DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION  
TO PREVENT WAR

## COUNCIL ON POLICIES

MISS RUTH MORGAN, CHAIRMAN  
MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT  
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FAR EAST  
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MR. JAMES G. McDONALD  
MR. BRUCE BLIVEN  
MRS. L. EMMETT HOLT  
MRS. QUINCY WRIGHT  
DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

December 30, 1929

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Dear Chairman:

The eleven organizations composing the committee on the Cause and Cure of War have agreed to memorialize the London Conference on Naval Reduction, believing that the women of the United States as represented in the Committee should take advantage of the occasion to express their profound desire to see the Kellogg Peace Pact supported by action of the Conference.

To this end a memorial has been drafted, approved and printed on many separate sheets of paper to be circulated in the several organizations, thus to receive as many signatures as possible, to be bound in volumes and finally to be presented in London by women chosen to represent the organizations of this country. The members of the National Board, which was in session when the memorial was proposed, will sign the first sheet in the volume to be sent by the League of Women Voters.

Herewith I am sending you sheets to be distributed widely and to receive as many signatures of women members, and particularly officers of the League as can be obtained in the limited time before returning to Miss Ruth Morgan, 1015 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City. All the signed sheets must be in this office the morning of January 21st, 1930. Miss Sherwin will also send out today the same number of sheets to the president of your state in order that it may be circulated and receive the signatures of as many more members of the League as possible.

To avoid returning the sheets wrinkled and travel-worn and thus unsuitable for binding, it is suggested that each page or package of pages should be sent out not folded in pasteboard envelopes or be otherwise carefully protected through the mails. Because time limits the number of signatures which can be secured, I would suggest that you make the first sheet one of signatures from the officers of your state League



and ask the local Leagues to get the signatures of the members of their boards with their titles in each case. Put the name of the League at the top of the page, as "Otisville (New Jersey) League of Women Voters." The official character of the petition will compensate for its failure to achieve great length although of course as many signatures are wanted as can be obtained in the brief period available. To increase the number several pages may be sent to the larger local Leagues. In order to increase the number several pages may be sent to the larger local Leagues. The signatures thus secured should follow those of the state board, all the members of which should sign as far as practicable.

In all probability women representing other nations will be present at the London Conference. We know now that Japanese women are working to secure 100,000 signatures to a petition, the wording of which we do not know. It is our hope that when the signatures of women from this country are assembled that they will be a creditable indication of the undoubtedly vast amount of interest felt in the outcome of the London Conference.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ruth Morgan".

Ruth Morgan



3806 Avenue P,  
Galveston, Texas.  
January 4th, 1930.

Dear Madam President:

I am enclosing herewith copies of a Memorial which I have today received from the office of Miss Ruth Morgan, National Chairman of International Co-operation to Prevent War. The letter accompanying same says, in part:

"The eleven organizations composing the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War have agreed to memorialize the London Conference on Naval Reduction, believing that the women of the United States as represented in the Committee should take advantage of the occasion to express their profound desire to see the Kellogg Peace Pact supported by action of the Conference"

The enclosed Memorial was the result. It is the desire of the National organization to secure as many signatures as possible to the sheets, which will then be bound in a volume and taken to the London Conference by our League representative and presented there. Will you please promptly sign the Memorial as president of your League, have your officers sign and secure as many signatures of your League Members as is possible and forward the Memorial (in an envelop like the one I am using) directly to Miss Ruth Morgan, 1015 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City?

For your further information, I again quote from Miss Morgan's letter: "All the signed sheets must be in this office the morning of January 21st, 1930. To avoid returning the sheets wrinkled and travelworn and thus unsuitable for binding, it is suggested that each page or package of sheets be sent out NOT FOLDED in pasteboard envelopes or otherwise carefully protected through the mails."

In returning your Memorial, please advise Miss Morgan that it was sent to you by the State Chairman of International Co-operation to Prevent War and that she requested you to return same directly to the National office in order to eliminate several handlings and thus save valuable time.

I am most eager that every one of our local League shall have a Memorial sheet in the volume presented to the London Conference and shall appreciate your prompt cooperation to the end that your League shall be represented.

With kind personal regards and best wishes for the success of your League in the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

State Chairman, Department of  
International Co-operation to



3806 Avenue P,  
Galveston, Texas.  
January 4th, 1930.

Mrs. Harris Masterson,

Houston, T e x a s.

Dear Mrs. Masterson:-

Herewith copy of my letter to the local Chairmen of my department in re the Memorial. I am sure you, too, have received copies of the Memorial and information from Miss Sherwin and will attend to the matter of securing signatures of members of the State Board.

I would suggest, that in order to save time and needless correspondence, you sign the Memorial as State President of the League, forward it to your First-Vice, asking that she forward it to Second, and so on until each one has signed - the last member signing will, of course, send it directly to Miss Ruth Morgan, 1015 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City.

My letter from the National office, states "All the signed sheets must be in this office the morning of January 21st, 1930."

Will you please give this matter your usual prompt attention to the end that Texas may be well represented at the London Conference?

This Memorial just came and although I have been confined to my room for the past three days with a most severe cold, I am giving it the best attention possible under the circumstances.

Most sincerely yours,



TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRIS MASTERSON  
3702 BURLINGTON AVE.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

HEADQUARTERS

303 CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BLDG.

HOUSTON, TEXAS

January 6, 1930

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. CHAS. J. STUBBS  
1828 AVENUE I  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

SECRETARY

MRS. ANNA B. CADE  
CHESTER, TEXAS

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

TREASURER

MRS. O. H. CARLISLE  
SHOREACRES  
LA PORTE, TEXAS

THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. S. C. LONG  
655 UPSON AVE.  
EL PASO, TEXAS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
DALLAS, TEXAS

Mrs G. A. Seel  
3806 Avenue P  
Galveston, Texas

LIVING COSTS

MRS. J. W. HOPKINS  
1516 AVE. H  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

My dear Mrs Seel,

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

MISS RUTH HASTINGS  
4503 AUSTIN AVE.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

I supposed you have received com-

CHILD WELFARE

MRS. CHAS. J. STUBBS  
1828 AVE. I  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

munication and "sheets" on the London Naval Reduction Conference from the National League office to be acted upon, signed and returned. Are you getting the signatures of the State Board and locals? We will get them from Houston for you. How can we best help? We realize that this must be done so hurriedly. We must hear from you and act with you.

EDUCATION

MRS. ANNA B. CADE  
CHESTER, TEXAS

SOCIAL HYGIENE

MISS OVETA CULP  
CITY HALL, LEGAL DEP'T.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

LEGISLATION

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

MRS. CARL VOSS  
DALLAS COUNTRY CLUB  
DALLAS, TEXAS

May we hear from you tomorrow?

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION  
TO PREVENT WAR

MRS. G. A. SEEL  
3806 AVE. P  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

Sincerely,

*Lorne J. Masterson*  
State President

IMMIGRATION

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

MEMBERSHIP

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

FINANCE

MRS. SEMMES STEELE  
1819 BROADWAY  
GALVESTON, TEXAS



# TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

## PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRIS MASTERSON  
3702 BURLINGTON AVE.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

## SECRETARY

MRS. ANNA B. CADE  
CHESTER, TEXAS

## TREASURER

MRS. O. H. CARLISLE  
SHOREACRES  
LA PORTE, TEXAS

## HEADQUARTERS

303 CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BLDG.

HOUSTON, TEXAS

January 7, 1930

## FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. CHAS. J. STUBBS  
1828 AVENUE I  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

## SECOND VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

## THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

MRS. S. C. LONG  
655 UPSON AVE.  
EL PASO, TEXAS

## COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

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MERCANTILE BLDG.  
DALLAS, TEXAS

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### SOCIAL HYGIENE

MISS OVETA CULP  
CITY HALL, LEGAL DEP'T.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

### LEGISLATION

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

### EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

MRS. CARL VOSS  
DALLAS COUNTRY CLUB  
DALLAS, TEXAS

### INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION TO PREVENT WAR

MRS. G. A. SEEL  
3806 AVE. P  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

### IMMIGRATION

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

### MEMBERSHIP

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

### FINANCE

MRS. SEMMES STEELE  
1819 BROADWAY  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

Mrs G. A. Seel  
3806 Avenue P  
Galveston, Texas

My dear Mrs Seel,

You will kindly sign the enclosed sheet and get the signatures of the other Board Members who reside in Galveston, namely Mesdames Kempner, Stubbs, and Hopkins.

Telephone Mrs Helen B. Moore in Texas City before sending the sheet to her. She very probably is in Austin at this time. In that event "our Chain" would be broken. If Mrs Moore is not in Texas City forward the Memorial to Mrs. Anna B. Cade, Chester, Texas and she will in turn send it to Mrs Hughes in Dallas.

Mrs Minnie Fisher Cunningham will be in Galveston tomorrow afternoon. I shall see her tomorrow morning and tell her to call at your home on her arrival so that she too can sign the Memorial.

I hope you have completely recovered from your cold and are well and strong again.

Sincerely,

*Margaret Hughes*  
State Secretary

*Mrs. Hallock's Drug Store*



To the Delegates who have attended previous Conferences  
on the Cause and Cure of War:

We are expecting you to attend the Fifth Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, January 14-17, 1930, and shall be disappointed if any one of you fails to come. We have secured a rate on the railroads of one and one-half fare, provided 150 delegates secure a certificate when they buy their tickets.

We have the most challenging and thoroughly up-to-date program we have ever had. We begin with a banquet on the 14th and we have no less a speaker than General Jan Christiaan Smuts of South Africa, who, when the morale was low in England, was persuaded to come from his native country and make speeches to the British who during the Boer War had been his enemies. He inspired not only the British but all of the allied countries.

We will also have as guests of the Conference distinguished women from Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan. These four, together with Miss Ruth Morgan of our own country, will take part in a Round Table on "How May Women Stimulate the Progress of our respective Nations in Building Peace Machinery?" The rest of the program is good and strong with many able home speakers. There will be a men's Round Table on Disarmament, each one of the four speakers having a different point of View.

A unique feature of the Conference, however, will be a new order of getting the delegates to speak more and take part in discussions. The program will contain two questionnaires, one on the World and one on Disarmament, and these questions will be put to the delegates from the platform, and, like children, the delegates will be expected to answer them. If you stay you will certainly miss more entertainment and inspiration than has come your way for a long time.

Meanwhile, we want you to do something to help. One morning of the Conference we have set aside for the delegates to visit the Senators. Those delegates, however must have something to take to the Senators to show that in their State there is a demand on the part of the people for the final steps which will take us into the World Court. I enclose a resolution which I hope you will have passed in as many bodies as you can reach. We are asking for two copies of this one to be sent to the national headquarters of the organization whose auxiliary has passed the resolution, and the other is to come to Washington to be collected and presented to the Senators. Wherever the Kellogg Pact Committee is not fast and not other takes its place, bring your resolutions to Washington and the delegation must then organize the resolutions for presentation. Of course, it is your privilege to ask any organization from a church meeting to a trade union meeting to pass this resolution.

Anticipating the pleasure of seeing you in Washington, I am,  
Very truly yours

Carrie Chapman Catt



El Paso - June 4. 83

My Dear Mr. [unclear]

The "Memorials" came all right - we meeting tomorrow will have them signed and forwarded immediately to Miss Scott Morgan - as requested - and will push her by the

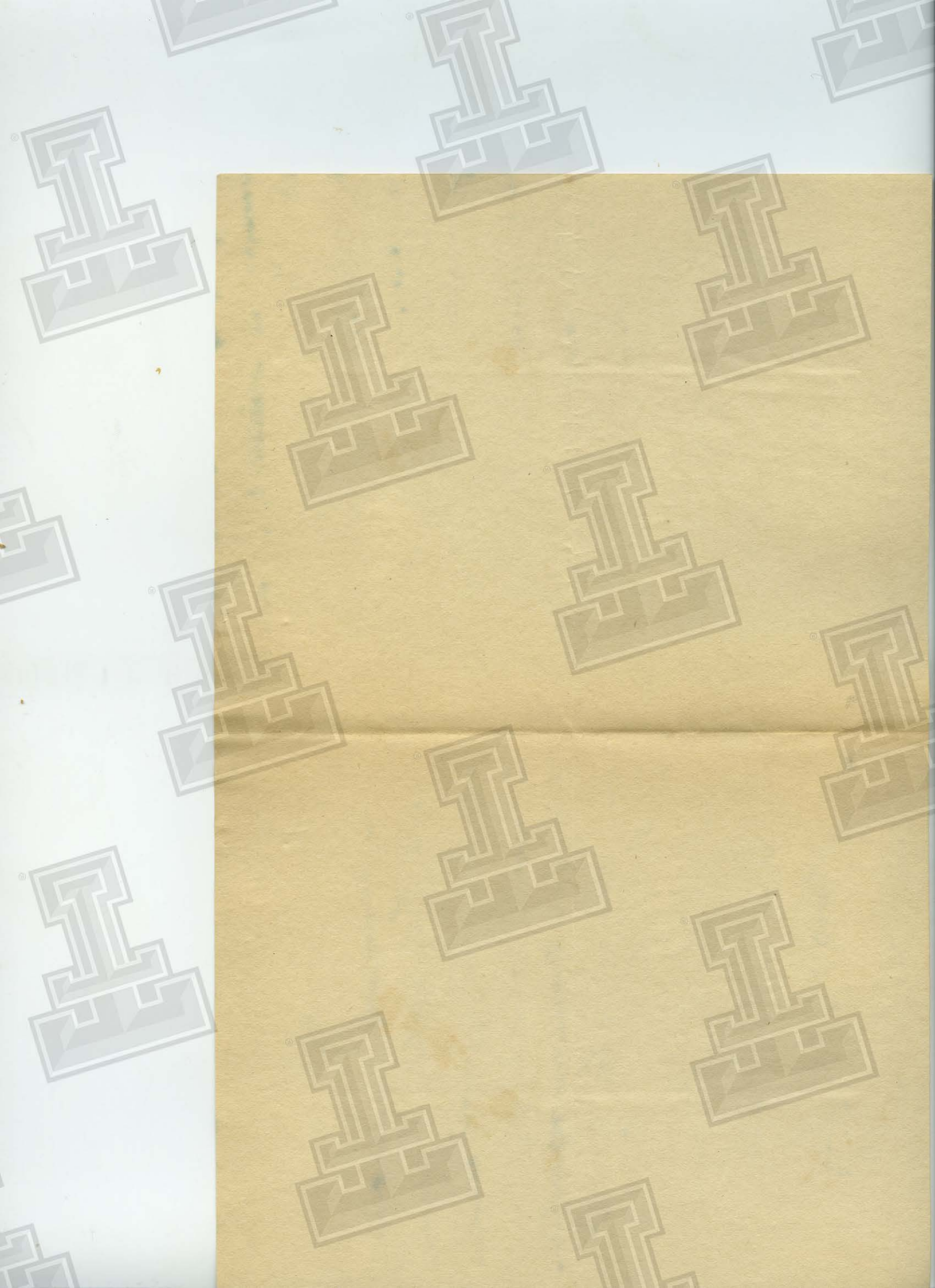
file and they came to the

San. Date of [unclear]

Yours

Wm. [unclear]







El Paso, Texas. Jan 26/30

My Dear Mrs Deel:

Our Chairman of International Cooperation  
to prevent war is = Mrs Gallett Reynolds,  
#1309 E. Rio Grande St.,  
and in conjunction with her is one of our  
members who lives wholly to work for International  
Peace, a wonderful woman = Mrs S. J. McCune,  
#905 = Upton Ave.

Yours: Mrs A. C. Long, President.  
El Paso League of Women Voters.

655 Upton Ave =



#### IV. STEPS IN PAN-AMERICANISM

- A. Early Congresses.
- B. The Central American Court of Justice.
- C. International American congresses and their results.
  - 1. The founding of the Pan American Union.
  - 2. The International Commission of Jurists.
  - 3. The Havana Conference, January 1928.
  - 4. The International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, Washington, D. C., December 1928-January 1929.
- D. Pan American Treaties of 1929.
  - 1. General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration.
  - 2. General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation.

#### Suggestions for Discussion

- 1. What arrangements for the conduct of relations between the republics of the Americas have been found most satisfactory? Why?
- 2. What is the distinction between arbitration and conciliation?
- 3. In what respects will these treaties modify strongly our relations with Latin America?

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- Latane, J. H., The United States and Latin America. New York.
- League of Women Voters, 1015 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City:
- Mexico, 5 cts.
  - Kit on the Pan American Treaties of 1929, 25 cts.
- Moon, P. T., Imperialism and World Politics. New York 1927.
- Mowrer, P. S., Our Foreign Affairs. New York 1924.
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- Paxson, F., The Independence of the South American Republics.
- Rhodes, J. F., The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897-1909. New York 1922.
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- Sherwell, G. B., Investments in Latin America. Washington 1925.
- Ugarte, M., The Destiny of a Continent. New York 1925.
- Vanguard Press, New York:
- Americans in Santo Domingo, by Melvin Knight.
  - Our Cuban Colony, by L. H. Jenks.
- Winton, Mexico, Past and Present. Nashville. \$2.
- Woman's Press, A Device Book for Interpreting Latin America. Program suggestions and bibliographies. 600 Lexington Avenue, New York. 75 cts.

NOTE: At any library may be procured the publications of the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass., of which the following are especially good:

- The Tacna-Arica Dispute, M. Stuart.
- Nicaragua and the United States, J. Cox.
- The Mexican Revolution and the United States, C. W. Hackett.

The publications of the following are also full of excellent material, and should be available at libraries:

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York City.
- Reports of the Williamstown Institutes of Politics.
- Foreign Affairs (magazine)
- Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia.
- Current History (magazine).

## STUDY OUTLINE for FOUR LESSONS ON LATIN AMERICA

by  
LOUISA K. FAST

Published by  
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
Department of  
International Cooperation to Prevent War  
1015 Grand Central Terminal Building  
NEW YORK CITY  
March, 1930.

Price: Five Cents a Copy  
Four dollars for a hundred copies



## I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

- A. Independence of South and Central America.
  - 1. Revolt of the Spanish colonies.
  - 2. Plans of the "Holy Alliance".
- B. The Monroe Doctrine.
  - 1. Statements of President Monroe which constituted the "doctrine".
  - 2. Subsequent interpretations and applications.
    - a. Cuba, 1825.
    - b. Mexico, 1867.
    - c. Panama canal controversies.
    - d. Venezuela, 1895 and 1902.
    - e. Policies of President Roosevelt.
    - f. Policies of President Wilson.
    - g. Covenant of the League of Nations.
    - h. Report of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate on the General Pact for the Renunciation of War—January 1929.
  - 3. Latin America and the League of Nations.

### Suggestions for Discussion

- 1. What historical and economic factors tend to make Pan Americanism inevitable?
- 2. Is it likely or desirable that a common policy adopted and declared by the countries of North and South America will take the place of the Monroe Doctrine?
- 3. How does the Monroe Doctrine affect the entry of the United States into the World Court?
- 4. How will the Inter-American treaties of 1929 affect the Monroe Doctrine?

## II. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATE AND LATIN AMERICA

- (a) The interest of the United States in Central America and the Caribbean.
- A. Central America.
  - 1. Panama Canal politics.
  - 2. Nicaragua.
    - a. Interventions by the United States.
    - b. The Nicaraguan Canal.
- B. The Caribbean.
  - 1. Cuba.
    - a. Attitude of the United States toward Cuba until the Spanish-American War.
    - b. The Spanish-American War and its results—the Platt amendment and its application.
    - c. Present status of Cuba.
  - 2. Possessions of the United States.
    - a. Porto Rico.
    - b. The Virgin Islands.
  - 3. The United States and the "republics" of the Caribbean.
    - a. Santo Domingo.
    - b. Haiti.

### Suggestions for Discussion

- 1. How far does the right of the United States extend to intervene in the countries of South and Central America for the protection of American property interests?
- 2. Do the loans to backward countries for their economic development involve imperialism theoretically? practically?
- 3. How much of the expansion of the United States in the Caribbean is necessary for our safety and for the preservation of order?
- 4. How can the position of the United States in the Caribbean be made secure without the application of a policy of imperialism?

## III. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

- (b) Interests of the United States in Mexico.
- A. Internal problems of Mexico.
  - 1. Relations between church and state.
  - 2. Social reform.
  - 3. The agrarian question.
    - a. Importance of land in Mexican politics.
    - b. Steps toward land reform.
    - c. Method of land distribution.
    - d. Policy of the United States toward Mexican land reform.
- B. Relations with the United States, 1910-1929.
  - 1. The *de facto* principle.
  - 2. Oil controversy.
    - a. Nationalization of oil deposits under the constitution of 1917.
    - b. United States' objections.
    - c. Settlement of dispute.
    - d. Policy of United States government regarding remaining points of dispute.
  - 3. Position of United States in revolution of 1929.

### Suggestions for Discussion

- 1. What right has the Mexican government to disregard the property interests of foreigners in legislating for the social and economic progress of its own people?
- 2. Compare the Mexican law regarding land ownership by foreigners with the California law regarding land ownership by Asiatics.
- 3. Discuss pro and con the *de facto* policy.



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March 1, 1930

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Dear Chairman:

I enclose a questionnaire which is sent to all departments and committees of the League for final recording in Washington. If you do not approve of the questions asked or would like others added, will you make such comments on the questionnaire?

The London Naval Conference is passing through a very difficult period. The League of Women Voters and many other organizations are supporting the Conference with resolutions and publicity. While endorsing the declared objectives of the Naval Conference — namely, its policy of reduction of naval armaments — the Executive Committee of the League passed the following resolution:

The Executive Committee of the League of Women Voters, recognizing the obligation incurred by its support of the Kellogg-Briand Pact for the renunciation of war declares its hearty support of the statement recently made in the Conference on Limitation of Naval Armaments now sitting in London:— namely that the governments signatory to the Pact, including the government of the United States, declare their recognized obligation under the provisions of the Pact to proceed to International Conference should any difference arise between them.

This is in line with the many resolutions sent to London by members of the League, and its repetition at this time is both encouraging and wise.

The Latin-American Treaty on Arbitration is in the hands of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, but so far entirely inactive.

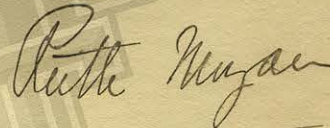


Present advices indicate that the World Court measure will be sent by the President to the Senate in April, but until this is done, Senators may reply to inquiries that they have no official copy of the new Root Formula, and that until they have an opportunity to study it, they cannot commit themselves. This is not unreasonable, although many of them intend to vote for it if it is in line with the published statements about it. In the meantime, every effort to secure discussion of the Formula itself, both in the state and by the Senators, is valuable. Copies of it can be sent to them, and opinions can be secured from lawyers with knowledge of international affairs who are willing to express them to you or to the Senators. It also would help if in sending your resolutions you were able to say that your group had studied the Root Formula besides studying the World Court. This would answer the criticism made by certain of the Senators - namely, that women are influenced by the propaganda of certain eastern organizations, who had in reality presented but one side and had made no effort to present the difficulties.

I want to call your attention to our special plans for the National Convention in Louisville, hoping, certainly, that you can attend. Our executive or closed conference will take place on Tuesday morning, April 29th. Our open conference is to assume a slightly different character this year. The Committee on Living Costs and the Department of International Cooperation have united in an open meeting with invited speakers on Monday evening, April 28th, and you are expected to sit upon the platform that night as a member of our Department. You will also be expected to come to the platform on the afternoon of Friday, May 2nd, when our program will be discussed and voted upon.

I will send you a personal note inviting you to dine as my guest on Thursday evening, May 1st, and I am certainly looking forward to the opportunity to confer with you then about the Department.

Very sincerely,



Ruth Morgan



# TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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3702 BURLINGTON AVE.,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

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March 7, 1930

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INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION  
TO PREVENT WAR  
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FINANCE  
MRS. GEMMES STEELE  
1819 BROADWAY  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

Mrs G. A. Seel  
3806 Avenue P  
Galveston, Texas

My dear Mrs Seel,

Plans and programs and information of all kinds about the National Convention at Louisville, Kentucky are beginning to pour in from Washington. Miss Sherwin's letter rings like a silver trumpet --heralding the occasion and calling us from far and wide. Will you not be one to answer the call? to join our Texas motorcade? -- to go to convention? --and the Birthday party?

The Anniversary and Memorial Celebration, you know, is something very special. Not all League conventions have a birthday cake. This feature alone is an inducement to be present.

The Convention opens at ten o'clock Monday morning, April twenty-eighth with conferences on Methods and Leadership. The program is a full and varied one consisting of addresses and conferences on most important topics to ride through the parks and a trip to "My Old Kentucky Home". The Convention formally closes Saturday, May third, at noon with the introduction of the new officers.

Mrs Masterson and I are hoping you will be "among those present". Kindly let me have your answer so that I may send you further information concerning transportation (rates have been secured), hotels and many other details that will make your trip comfortable.

Sincerely yours,

*Margaret Heye*

State Secretary



Galveston, Texas.  
March 12th, 1920.

Miss Margaret Heye,  
Houston, T e x a s.

Dear Miss Heye:-

Oh, yes, I have the convention fever the very worst way since talking to Mrs. Masterson on the occasion of her last visit here. Miss Morgan's letters have increased my determination to be "among those present" and I believe that a seat is reserved for me in Mrs. O. H. Carlisle's car. Please ascertain if I am correct in this assumption, for I considered that point fully settled.

Mrs. Masterson sent me a query sheet covering the work of the department of International Cooperation for the past ten years. I had already received one from Miss Morgan's office, and shall attend to filling it in as soon as I have obtained information from former State Presidents which I trust will be within a few days.

Incidentally, the International Relations Program is now ready for typing and will be in the hands of all local chairmen within a very short time. You will readily understand the delay when you see it!

Very sincerely yours,



TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRIS MASTERSON  
3702 BURLINGTON AVE.,  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

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303 CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BLDG.  
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March 17, 1930

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Mrs G. A. Seel  
3806 Avenue P  
Galveston, Texas

LIVING COSTS

MRS. J. W. HOPKINS  
1516 AVE. H  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

My dear Mrs Seel,

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

RUTH HASTINGS  
4503 AUSTIN AVE.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

Mrs Masterson and I are so glad you are

planning on a trip to Louisville. I am enclosing the

CHILD WELFARE

MRS. CHAS. J. STUBBS  
1828 AVE. I  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

Call to Convention and a copy of Miss Sherwin's letter

EDUCATION

MRS. ANNA B. CADE  
CHESTER, TEXAS

which I know will be of interest to you. Please share

SOCIAL HYGIENE

OVETA CULP  
CITY HALL, LEGAL DEP'T.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

these with the Galveston women as we have so few copies.

LEGISLATION

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
DALLAS, TEXAS

If you are not successful in promoting a motor ride to

Louisville, you will be interested to note the railroads

EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

MRS. CARL VOSS  
DALLAS COUNTRY CLUB  
DALLAS, TEXAS

are offering the trip for a fare and a half. But it

would be so much fun to have an imposing motorcade from

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION  
TO PREVENT WAR

MRS. G. A. SEEL  
3806 AVE. P  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

Texas....so before you resort to the train use your in-

fluence in interesting friends to join you in a motor

trip. But regardless of how---the idea is GO!

IMMIGRATION

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

Mrs Carlisle has engaged a few rooms

at the Brown Hotel. You might communicate direct with  
her if you wish to make this hotel your headquarters.

MEMBERSHIP

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

The Seelbach is a nice hotel and offers rates of two

dollars and fifty cents. You may also be accommodated

at the Y. W. C. A. But the important thing: MAKE YOUR

RESERVATION EARLY!

Yours very truly,

*Margaret Hey*

State Secretary

FINANCE

MRS. SEMMES STEELE  
1819 BROADWAY  
GALVESTON, TEXAS



3806 Avenue P.  
Galveston, Texas.  
March 27th, 1930.

Miss Ruth Morgan,  
New York City.

Dear Miss Morgan:-

I am enclosing herein questionnaire sent out by your office the early part of the month, and I most sincerely apologize for the delay in returning same but assure you it has not been my fault.

In the first place, I have tried to secure definite information from former State Presidents covering the achievements of the past ten years. I have written several letters but so far have not had any reply. I have a long distance call in now, and should I receive any information from Mrs. Moore will forward same in a separate letter as this one goes forward by Air Mail in a few minutes.

It was the good fortune of the local league to secure Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe as the speaker on the International Relations program last November. We selected as his topic "The London Naval Conference" and were greatly impressed with what he had to say. He outlined very clearly the prevailing English sentiment regarding the conference but warned us "not to expect too much of the Conference" and gave us his reasons for making that statement. We had an attendance of 135 people - men and women.

*Bibliographical*  
I am sending you, under separate cover, copy of my study outline on International Cooperation to Prevent War, which is just completed. I have endeavored to make it as comprehensive as possible and to use readily available ~~biographical~~ material. May I have your opinion of the course when you have gone over it?

I hope to be at Louisville and look forward to meeting you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. George A. Seel



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LX, NEW YORK NY MAR 27 1930

MRS G A SEEL

3806 AVENUE P  
GALVESTON

MISS SHERWIN AND I THINK PRESIDENT HOOVER SHOULD RECEIVE BY WIRE AT  
ONCE ASSURANCE OF WIDE SPREAD SUPPORT AND CONFIDENCE IN HIS UTMOST  
ABILITIES TO FIND SOLUTION IN LINE WITH THE KELLOGG PACT FOR PRESENT  
GRAVE CRISIS IN LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE STOP LEAGUE HAS TAKEN  
NO ACTION ON FORMS OF SOLUTION NEWS LETTER FOLLOWS.

RUTH MORGAN

617AM28



D A Y L E T T E R.

Hon. Herbert Hoover,  
President U. S. of America,  
Washington, D. C.

As State Chairman of International Cooperation to Prevent War for Texas  
League of Women Voters I want to assure you of our support and confidence  
in your abilities to find a solution in line with the Kellogg pact for  
the present grave crisis in London Naval Conference.

Mrs. George A. Seel



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1930

My dear Miss Masterson:

The President has received your telegram of March 29th and wishes me to thank you for the interest which prompted you to send it.

Sincerely yours,

*Lawrence Richey*  
LAWRENCE RICHEY  
Secretary to the President

Miss Louise Masterson  
Texas League of Women Voters  
Houston, Texas



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1930

My dear Mrs. Seel:

The President has received your telegram of March 28th and wishes me to thank you for the interest which prompted you to send it.

Sincerely yours,



LAWRENCE RICHEY  
Secretary to the President

Mrs. George A. Seel  
Texas League of Women Voters  
Galveston, Texas



INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO PREVENT WAR

Filled in by  
Mrs. George A. Seel

Report of Department for year beginning April 1930  
(State) Texas League of Women Voters

\_\_\_\_\_ This report is requested for the purpose of including in the annual Department report all the activities of the Department during the year beginning April 1, 1930. Please fill in the blanks and return the sheet BEFORE April 1, 1930, to Miss Ruth Morgan, 1015 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City.

1. How is your state department of international cooperation organized?  
With a state chairman who supervises the work of the local chairmen
2. How many of your Local Leagues have chairmen of international cooperation, or someone responsible acting for them?  
Practically all of them. I know of only one exception.
3. Do your Local Leagues conduct study groups, making some portion of the national program the basis of your discussion? Yes. And this is going to be done in a well-organized manner within the next 30 days.
4. Do you have any meetings on international topics or larger meetings with outside speakers? Houston has been having regular monthly meetings. The other locals are just beginning to function. Galveston had a large meeting on Nov. 27, 1928, with S.K. Ratcliffe as speaker.
5. What items on the national program are of chief concern to your state at present? Latin-American problems. Domestic Problems affecting International Relations. World Court situation. Military education.
6. Did you secure signatures this year for the Memorial to London Conference? Yes.  
Did you secure World Court Resolutions? Yes.  
Did you approve these activities? Yes.
7. Have you had any international institutes or schools in your state this year? No.
8. How do you get information to and from Local Leagues? Usually by mail.
9. In order to help in the presentation of the achievements of ten years at the Convention, outline briefly the activities of the Department in your state since 1920 which you consider to be most outstanding.



## Fifth National Conference on Cause and Cure of War

Session of Wednesday Evening, January 15, 1930

Mrs. John E. Sippel, President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, assumed the Chair and said: Last night, in introducing General Smuts, Mrs. Catt said that when she went to Africa, there were two outstanding personalities that she wanted to meet. Were a group to come to the United States, from France, from Germany, from New Zealand, from Africa, I am not sure the man they would say they wanted to meet, but I know the woman they would want to meet.

I can look into the eyes of everyone of you and realize how you are envying me my privilege tonight, but you would be just as inadequate as am I to express the joy of those present in hearing the great world leader of women, Carrie Chapman Catt.

### Gaps in the Machinery of Peace

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

✓ Within the past five years many delegates to the Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War have learned three things, and learned them well.

1. The causes of war, which we were told in 1925 numbered 257, now, by the application of logic and hard study, have been reduced to one. That one is the competition of the war systems of nations.

2. All possible cures of war have likewise been reduced to one; the demobilization of the war institution, not by ruthless destruction, but bit by bit, as fast and as far as it may be replaced by a well-constructed, successfully-operating peace institution. It must be remembered that every nation has a war department, a navy department, probably an air department, and that the possibility of war is the last resort of every diplomatic act. Every nation is prepared for war, and the entire nation quickly slips into a condition of war whenever a carefully spread publicity awakes the war spirit. Wrongs, insults, indignities committed by the opponent, are broadcast as explanations, but when the war is over, historians discover the sole cause to have been rivalry in war equipment. One cause, one cure.

3. The work yet to be accomplished before there will be a warless world is the demobilization of the war system and the mobilization of a substituted peace system.

Five years ago no one of us recognized any one of these three points as truths. Now very many of us know they are incontrovertible, fixed facts. Yet today no king, president, or prime minister would officially acknowledge these points as facts, since the discussion has not gone so far in official conferences, but there are millions of men scattered among all nations who



know these facts. Truths spread; what a few know today many know tomorrow. I predict that in the year 2000, when many conferences of statesmen, citizens, and women like ourselves may be held to review the progress of the twentieth century, the leaders of the entire world will then admit that Numbers 1 and 2 are undeniable facts, and that all the peace progress of the seventy years lying between 1930 and 2000 has strictly followed the pronouncement of No. 3. Accepting these three points at least temporarily as facts, I ask you to survey with me the situation as it appears in the beginning of the year 1930.

To predict that the twentieth century will be known to future generations as the great peace century requires no particular insight, since the fact appears so plainly obvious. A single century has several times recorded changes so fundamental as to alter completely the trend of human progress. It is not unlikely that at this moment the most revolutionary events of all human history are taking place.

Certainly within the past ten years more constructive progress has been made toward permanent peace than in all the fifty millions of years preceding it. A League of Nations, with most of the world's states in its membership, has pledged itself to find a way to abolish war. While it has not yet attained its ultimate aim, no one can deny that it has marched steadily forward in that direction.

A World Court, first suggested by our own nation at the Hague Conference in 1899 and again in 1907, has been established with fifty nation members, and we hope with another entering soon. It provides a place and a method for the settlement of all international disputes described by the lawyers as juridical.

*if* Nations with men, money, and munitions enough to start a big war or to engage in one are now called the Great Powers, and at present there are six. Four of these, namely, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, have signed the optional clause of the Court statute which places them under compulsion to submit all juridical causes to this Court. Some thirty-three nations have signed the optional clause. The diplomatic initiative has not yet been ratified by the governments of these powers, but when and if the clauses are so ratified, and when and if Japan and the United States follow their example, all of the great fighting powers will have given and recorded their solemn pledge to submit to the World Court all justiciary causes and the accomplished fact will be the most amazing act in ten thousand years of history. More, in the decade just closed, the chief nations of the world have bound themselves to their neighbors by additional treaties of arbitration, all of them important, and some truly astounding. This has been a plan particularly respected on the Western Hemisphere. Several nations have treaties of arbitration with every other nation on the two continents. One reason, if not the chief one, why Canada asked for independent treaty rights was because she desired a share in linking the two continents together by arbitration treaties. A treaty now pending, including all the nations of the Western world, making arbitration com-



pulsory in certain causes, will probably become the law of these two continents, although the process promises the consumption of considerable time and temper.

*Article 16*  
The most astounding of the arbitration treaties are the famed pacts of Locarno. They are more complete than any that had preceded them, and they bind together in compulsion to peace the nations that occupied the very center of the late war. Lastly, in this marvelous evolution of ten years, came the most dashing and astonishing of them all, the Briand-Kellogg pact renouncing war, and now signed by fifty-one nations.

Can this be the history of the same world in which thirty-two nations eleven years ago were tearing at each other's throats? Are these the nations that then were piling high their borrowed billions in order to buy bigger and more destructive munitions than had ever been known before? As Doctor Shotwell wrote recently, we have become "suddenly aware of vast new forces at work for peace." Standing on the threshold of this new decade, looking backward, all thinking citizens must pronounce the record a glorious and almost unbelievable achievement. It is a reflection that fills our hearts with happy satisfaction. The greatest achievement of those ten years, however, is none of the things enumerated, but the far less thrilling fact that the three points have now been isolated from the confusion of thought of five years ago and are now held by many millions of people as clean-cut and unassailable facts. Our great cause is moving on!

Shall we, then, fold our hands and wait? There are 70 more years in this century, and, alas, I venture to predict that the hardest work in the business of making this the great peace century is yet to come. All the progress of the past ten years has been in the direction of building new peace machinery that will keep the world out of war; yet splendid as it is, all the world knows that it is not yet complete enough to prevent war. Any nation in a state of grouch may withdraw from the League of Nations and thus withdraw from its vows. Any nation may withdraw from the World Court. Any nation may withdraw from any treaty. Therefore, any and all peace machinery might break down in a time of stress.

*forced peace*  
When the Covenant was written, all delegates at the Peace Conference were convinced that sometime, somewhere, a nation would violate its vow, refuse to arbitrate its disputes and rush into war. A vigorous opinion sprang up in favor of an international army and navy ready to punish such a nation and to enforce peace by arms, but no organized plan was established. A compromise was written into the Covenant that has been called the economic boycott, but that process has never been developed and organized. It remains little more than an untried theory. It was this division of opinion concerning a possible nation that might violate its vow and deserve a penalty which called forth two theories;—one, that peace must be enforced by arms, and two, that peace might be controlled by moral suasion. Opposition to sharing in an international armed force to apply a penalty was the chief cause that kept the United States out of the League of Nations, and that attitude of mind is still largely maintained

*a chained dog in a cage  
surprised  
beetle  
neighbor  
yard  
Get rid of the dog*



by this country. We are frequently asked by foreign guests whether the United States will join the League. Personally, I believe it will not do so until the Covenant has been revised and amended and the offending clauses omitted.

At present, most countries believe that a nation will one day violate its vow, but by what term that nation shall be officially known, what penalty shall be applied and how, are as yet quite undetermined facts.

The nations never have lost sight of this big gap in the peace machinery. Now, there is talk of reviewing the best part of the Geneva Protocol, much discussed a few years ago, and either to create a new and separate world treaty, or to tack an amendment on the Briand-Kellogg Pact which would define a nation violating its pact and put a penalty upon its misbehavior. It is proposed to define the status of the nation which refuses to submit its causes of dispute to arbitration or, having done so, declines to accept the award, as an aggressor nation, and for this violation of its signatory pledge a penalty yet to be determined at the conference table will be applied by the method also determined there. To achieve this result may consume years of time. Meanwhile, because this gap is not filled, disarmament conferences move slowly, and many a proposal which would help tighten the peace machinery is not presented at all.

There are many smaller gaps which plague authorities and darken their vision with signs of future wars. "The freedom of the seas" which is supposed to be the pet of Great Britain: "high tariffs" which Americans are supposed to adore: "economic rivalries" which vex all the nations, are a few of a large number of gaps which may take years to fill with peace machinery. (To my mind there is one gap larger than any other, in fact it includes all the rest.)

In a world which not long ago won a war to end war, which set up a League of Nations to find the processes to achieve that end, which displays much peace machinery, which has now piously renounced war, it is strange, is it not, that no sign exists of the diminution of the war machine? Nowhere have men ceased marching, flying, building ships, making munitions, inventing new equipment, and everywhere taxpayers note that despite all the peace conferences the burdensome cost of war rises each year. Recently a fresh review of war figures has been brought forward by Mr. Hoover. He informs us that the combined nations of the world are now investing annually nearly four billions three hundred millions in the maintenance of war machinery. We are told that this is a larger sum than war preparation in time of peace has cost the world at any previous time. It is a larger sum than was invested in preparations in the year 1914, when all the nations in the world believed that the way to preserve peace was to prepare for war. No nation can possibly believe that now, yet our own government pays annually for war, past, present, and future, 82 cents from every dollar of its income. At the same time it pays two cents from every dollar to maintain the State Department. Here is where peace machinery is built. The Kellogg Pact cost so little that it did not change the total amount expended



for the State Department. We may, therefore, say that we spent annually 82 cents from every dollar of the government's income for war and two cents for peace. Professor Latané says that the cost of maintaining the League of Nations for one year is the equal of the cost of one submarine; the cost of maintaining the World Court must be about half a submarine, and as all the rest of the peace machinery of the world is maintained by state departments, we may call the cost of the present peace machinery the equal of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  submarines. When a cruiser or two is cut off the amount saved does not lessen the total cost of war in any country, because all that is saved is expended in new adventures of war. The sum that we pay for war is about the same that we paid before the Great War. The larger proportion goes to pay for pensions of past wars and for their cost; but, curiously, our preparedness for future war cost in 1929 twenty millions of dollars more than in the year 1928.

*a pm  
mailed  
letter  
ship*

Mr. Hoover pointed out in his recent congressional message that we are paying a larger annual war bill than any other nation in the world, and this statement caused widespread comment throughout our own and other nations, and brought forth the familiar statement that there are more men under arms today than at any time before the Great War, and from many sources came the remark that probably no nation was really sincere when it renounced war. Senator Borah, commenting upon these figures, added that Great Britain is spending a thousand dollars a minute for armaments, we are spending no less. "In fact," said he, "we lead the world in two things—in talking about peace and in expending money for armaments." Every hour that Premier MacDonald spent on his peace mission to this country the two nations so profoundly moved in the cause of peace were each expending over sixty thousand dollars in preparation for war.

Dr. Shotwell is right that there is a vast new force for peace, but there is also a vast old force for war. It is building ships and cruisers, airplanes and submarines, making guns and bombs, inventing new equipment and spending millions of dollars every day in keeping up to date the war machinery. Hundreds of thousands of men in many lands are building, building armaments of war, and in their midst the psychology and the tradition of war, the vast old force is playing upon the hearts and minds of men which cry out for war, more war.

*Building  
ships  
machinery  
on*

Most newspapers and correspondents abroad found delight in lifting from its context a paragraph in Mr. Hoover's message to Congress: "Upon the conference shortly to be held in London will depend such moderation as we can make in naval expenditure. If we shall be compelled to undertake naval construction which would appear to be necessary if no international agreement can be completed, we shall be committed in the next six years to a construction expenditure of upwards one billion two hundred millions, besides the necessary further increase in costs for annual upkeep."

Is it possible that Mr. Hoover really believes that if the Naval Conference now gathering in London loses sight of its main object in a maze of parity, size of cruisers, tonnage, admissibility of submarines, elevation of



guns, etc., that no policy is left for us, who so recently renounced war, except to build a bigger war machine? I do not accept this interpretation of Mr. Hoover's views. I do not think he meant to set forth this proposed policy, although he has not denied it.

Another factor concerned in disarmament conferences is not recognized by governments. A naval conference is made up of technical men who deal with technical questions. But in the event the coming Conference fails, I predict that we will not go back to a big building program, but that another conference may be called and what the technicians could not do, the people will do. This appears to be a case where too much knowledge of the questions involved produces incapacity to act. The people at least know that it is inconsistent to renounce war and then build battleships.

There are other vexatious matters. How may we explain the recent headlines in our newspapers announcing the building of fifty new war planes? What possible need can a nation that has just renounced war have for fifty new war planes? Upon whom do we propose to drop bombs and why? To paraphrase a sentence of that king of cynics, Clemenceau, one may say that the world's statesmen speak like the angels of peace, but they act like Mars. If we ask our own government why we are to have fifty new war planes, or should we ask a similar question of any other government—for all are equally guilty of talking like the angel of peace while building war machines behind her back—there would be returned a quick and pious answer. "We build only for defense" each righteous nation would reply.

Once nations took what they wanted and when they wanted it.

The ancient rule sufficeth them, the simple plan

That they should take who hath the power, and they should keep who can.

This was once the universal rule. But wars of aggression are no longer in good form. The ten years of peace building has put them completely out of good standing. They have ceased to be ethical, they have in fact become indecent and immoral, yet careful examination will show that every nation has its statesmen who strategically can wring from any situation as many *just causes* for *defense* as its war power needs.

A nice green island in the Pacific, perchance one with rubber possibilities, or a nice arid desert in the Near East, with prospects of oil, might once have come under the domain of any wandering power that planted its flag upon it. Now the results may be similar but the processes are different. The backward people of the green island who have never heard of "the vast new forces at work for peace" must at least throw coconuts at the heads of the invaders before a war can begin righteously, and then it becomes, of course, a war of defense for the protection of the lives and property of its citizens at whom the coconuts were thrown.

On the desert naughty natives, perhaps mischievous boys, may steal the cat of the major in charge of the mandate, as was once the case, and a war



of defense must follow to avenge the horrible insult. All wars hereafter will be wars of defense. All the nations of the great war said they fought for defense. None of the thirty-two nations admitted any other motive. Defense is the greatest gap in the peace machinery. The first perplexity is that there is no definition of the word defense as it is now used. So revered, so sacred is this word that any attempt to define or even to discuss its real meaning sends shivers down every back. No international commission has dared approach the questions that defense involves, yet this mystical word that no cabinet officer could define acceptably to his own and other nations is the gap through which armies and navies, poison gases, airplanes, submarines, ambulances, nurses and doctors, may unexpectedly be hurled helter skelter any day into another war. It seems that when the angel of peace speaks of defense she means protection against assault of a wicked neighbor, but when Mars speaks of defense he means keeping all the war machinery ready and oiled so that if a native should steal the major's cat a penalty may be administered to the people to whom the native belongs, and that in the logical name of defense. The word defense as now used reminds me of portraits which certain artists make and call interpretative; a pair of bold eyes, a well defined nose, and a broad forehead emerging from an aureole of bushy hair and whiskers set into a fuzzy background of cumulous clouds. There is great need to lift defenses out of its environment of clouds and whiskers, set it before a world conference of brave statesmen with the query, "When you except defense from the disputes subject to settlement by peaceful methods, what is the character of the offense that you so except?" The nations of the world must define exactly what defense is and under what conditions defense is really defense before there will be sufficient intelligence to approach the task of filling this gap.

The next step must be a series of treaties which make the submission of disputes of all varieties to peaceful methods of settlement compulsory. It will probably be a long period before any proposition of this kind is officially made. When it is made, the controversy aroused will be long, bitter, and interspersed with an enormous number of righteous debates, but the development of this question and its final conclusion will probably prove the great historical event of the peace century. It is possible that some proposal including all these gaps may arise and win the approval of all the nations. It is easier, in any event, to know that we must engage in the gap-filling business for a long time to come. Some of you will live to see all these gaps filled.

Should ships and guns be sunk in deep seas, others could be built; should armies be disbanded, others could be mobilized; but when nations by voluntary agreement have pledged themselves to submit to peaceful settlement all causes of disagreement with any other nation, and to recognize the pledge as compulsory, war will end. To except any dispute which a nation may choose to define as an affront leading to justifiable armed defense is a certain method of continuing war. To make compulsory the settlement of all disputes of all nations by peaceful means is the end of war.



Stand fast then by the one cause, the one cure, of war and the certain policy that a warless world lies at the end of a constantly applied policy of building up the compulsory peace institution and tearing down the outworn war institution. Meanwhile let us try to put less of the taxpayers' cash in ships and guns, planes and bombs, and more in the type of foreign policy which makes for friendship and good will.

1 Cause (Competition of war systems) -  
nations rate their prestige according to navies.  
2 Cure Change basis of Natl prestige  
Demobilization of war systems  
Mobilization of peace systems



REPORT OF PUBLICATIONS  
Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War  
April 1, 1930 to April 1, 1931

Total number of orders received:

April	89
May	54
June	24
July	63
August	30
September	38
October	64
November	80
December	62
January	71
February	100
March	105
	760

Sent to Washington Office:

Arbitration Kit - 6
Arbitration, Twenty-five Questions - 320
Disarmament Kit - 27
Explanation of Program - 400
Foreign Policy, Conduct of - 100
Foreign Policy, Know Own - 38
History of Department - 20
Inter American Kit - 6
Latin America, Study Outlines - 10
League of Nations - 400
London Naval Treaty - 800
Multilateral Treaty - 53
Pan American Treaties - 50
Neutrality, Interpretation of - 15
World Court Kit - 40
World Court, Root Formula and - 100
World Court - 8 Questions on - 400

Total pieces of literature distributed:

April	1203
May	825
June	294
July	642
August	1524
September	384
October	773
November	719
December	1980
January	1448
February	682
March	2178
	12832

Total cash received:

April	\$ 83.17
May	24.76
June	25.57
July	118.66
August	26.50
September	37.37
October	39.78
November	58.05
December	57.53
January	51.07
February	95.20
March	40.56
	\$658.23



Leaflets Distributed April 1, 1930 - April 1, 1931

Name of Leaflet	No. free Office	No. free General	No. Sold	Total Number Distributed
Arbitration (Discontinued)	4		12	16
Arbitration Kit			12	12
Arbitration, Review of	5	3	36	44
Arbitration, Twenty-Five Questions	767	7	130	894
Ask Me Another	5		25	31
Bolivia-Paraguay Dispute			18	18
Bureau, The Issuing of	4	2	5	11
Disarmament, Problem of		28	200	228
Disarmament, Four Study Outlines		18	21	39
Disarmament Kit	7	2	66	75
Disarmament, What Do You Know Naval		8	157	165
Explanation of Program	729	17	430	1176
Foreign Policy, Conduct of		4	154	158
Foreign Policy, Know Your Own	5	3	71	79
History of Department		1	86	87
Inter American Kit	9	1	66	76
Latin America, What Do You Know		6	147	153
Latin America, Study Outlines on	4	20	184	208
League of Nations	364	46	380	790
London Naval Treaty	259	58	818	1135
Mexico	5	11	22	38
Multilateral Treaty	5	7	37	49
Pan American Treaties		4	256	260
Problem of Philippines	5	5	45	55
National Defense Act	5	21	7	33
Neutrality, Interpretation of	4	4	9	17
New Letters	1361	137	1991	3489
Spirit of the League		3	23	26
World Court Kit	9	3	345	357
World Court, The Root Formula and	124	37	928	1089
World Court, Eight Questions on		55	1516	1571
Miscellaneous	18	189	46	253
	3698	700	8234	12632

Total number of orders 1558.23  
Receipts for literature \$1508.23

- 5 States having largest number of orders
- (1) New York - 101 orders (1541 pieces)
  - (2) Ohio - 39 orders (433 pieces)
  - (3) Pennsylvania - 27 orders (387 pieces)
  - (4) Connecticut - 22 orders (342 pieces)
  - (5) Michigan - 22 orders (303 pieces)

Comparative Statistics - New York Office only

	1929-30	1930-31
Number of orders received -	1104	760
Pieces of literature -	34,668	12,772
Cash received for literature -	\$1508.00	\$658.23



NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO PREVENT WAR  
ANNUAL REPORT

April 1, 1930 - April 1, 1931

STATE MEMBERS

Membership of the Department: 44 (including District of Columbia and Hawaii)

New Chairmen: Arizona, District of Columbia, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, New York, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin - 14

Vacancies: Idaho, Nevada - 2 (No League organizations in Arkansas and Wyoming)

Analysis of number active and inactive: 30 chairmen have shown activity by replying to questionnaires, or reporting on other state work. Though no specific questionnaire was sent out, the correspondence reveals that the following states held study groups on the program of this department: California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Hawaii.

The following states reported directly to this department on correspondence with Senators in regard to the London Naval Treaty: (20)

California, Colorado, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington.

The following states reported directly to this department on correspondence with Senators in regard to the World Court: (20)

California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Rhode Island, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

Interesting copies of circular letters from state chairmen to local chairmen have been received by this department, indicating that this method of disseminating information is increasing. Valuable outlines for use in the study of the program of this department have been prepared by New Jersey, New York, Texas, and Vermont. Dramatic presentations of the work have been written by the Tennessee and Minnesota chairmen.

11 chairmen were delegates to the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War: Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Maryland, Minnesota, New Jersey, North Carolina, Rhode Island, West Virginia, Virginia, New York. Miss Morgan entertained them at a dinner where the problems of the department were discussed.



## NUMBER AND CHARACTER OF FORM LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS - 12

May 9th - telegram asking chairmen to urge Senators to support London Naval Treaty.  
May 17th - letter to chairmen in explanation of new items on program.  
June 26th - telegram to chairmen in states of doubtful Senators.  
July 3rd - telegram to chairmen requesting them to urge Senators to attend special session for passage of treaty.  
July 25th - letter to chairmen suggesting they express to President their sincere appreciation of ratification of London Naval Treaty.  
October 14th - letter to chairmen regarding delegation to Conference on Cause and Cure of War.  
November 17th - letter to chairmen regarding support of World Court at proper time.  
January 3rd - letter to chairmen urging prompt campaign on behalf of World Court.  
January 3rd - letter containing questionnaire regarding implementing Kellogg Pact.  
March 2nd - letter re World Court status.  
March 20, 1931 - letter re future procedure with reference to World Court.  
March 20th - letter calling attention of chairmen to program given by Voter's Service on international topics.

## PUBLICATIONS

New: London Naval Treaty - Beatrice Pitney Lamb - 3000  
The League of Nations - Beatrice Pitney Lamb - 3000

Revisions: Twenty-five Questions on Arbitration and Peaceful Settlement - 3000  
The Root Formula and the World Court - 2000  
Explanation of the Program - 3000  
8 Questions on the Root Formula - 5000

Reprints: Pan American Treaties of 1929 - 2000  
Conduct of the Foreign Policy of the United States - 3000

In Preparation: The Monroe Doctrine - Miss Morgan  
Disarmament Pamphlet - Mrs. Lamb  
The Cost of the Army and Navy - Mrs. Wittich  
Economic Pamphlet - Mrs. Lamb

News Letters: Disarmament Nos. 5,6,7,8,9 - Beatrice Pitney Lamb  
World Court Nos. 2,3,4 - Beatrice Pitney Lamb

## GENERAL SALE OF LITERATURE

No. of orders - 760  
No. of pamphlets - 12632  
Receipts - \$653.23



## DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL ACTIVITIES

### Miss Ruth Morgan, Chairman:

Attended National Convention in Louisville in April; attended Board meeting of the League in Lyme in June; spent greater part of July in Europe, where there were opportunities to confer with a number of representatives of Board of the Alliance and to make a special report to the League on Bureau International Bibliographique; attended Executive Committee meetings of League in Lake Forest in September and in Washington in February, as well as Board meeting in Washington in December, and a small Executive Committee meeting in New York in March.

As Chairman of the Program Committee of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, took active part in formation of program for 1931 Conference, attended six general meetings and attended the Conference itself in January.

### Speaking Engagements:

Virginia State Convention in Richmond, Virginia - April 2, 1930  
World Affairs Conference organized by New Rochelle League - October 9, 1930  
Wisconsin State Convention - November 18th and 19th - Fond du Lac  
Brooklyn League of Women Voters - December 16, 1931  
Montclair League of Women Voters - January 26th

### Prepared following articles:

The World Court - January issue "Woman's Journal"  
The Christmas Gift - December issue League Bulletin  
The World Court - April issue League Bulletin

### Pamphlets written:

The Monroe Doctrine  
Explanation of Program

### Miss Louisa E. East, Secretary:

#### Field Work:

Visited Third, Fourth, and Sixth Regions during October and November - 1 League in Mississippi; 6 Leagues in Virginia; 1 League in Kentucky; 3 Leagues in Texas; Georgia and Louisiana Conventions; 3 Leagues in Tennessee.

Visited First Region during February and March - 8 Leagues in Massachusetts; 1 in New Hampshire; 2 Leagues in Vermont; 5 Leagues in Connecticut.

#### Miscellaneous:

Attended Louisville Convention in April, Organization Conference in Washington in December, Conference on Cause and Cure of War in Washington in January; assumed responsibility for the League delegation to the Conference and led one of the discussion groups. Spoke for Briarcliff, New York, League in December.

### Mrs. Beatrice Pitney Lamb, Specialist in preparation of pamphlets:

Responsibility for office during July in absence of Chairman and Secretary; attended Conference on Cause and Cure of War.

#### Pamphlets and News Letters written or revised:

The London Naval Treaty	The League of Nations
The Root Formula and World Court	Twenty-five Questions on Arbitration
8 Questions on Root Formula	Disarmament News Letters Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
	World Court News Letters Nos. 2, 3, 4



In the early part of 1930, the London Naval Treaty was made a major political responsibility for this department. The Women's Joint Congressional Committee had a special committee on naval disarmament, and Mr. James McDonald was made chairman of a cooperative committee on the same subject in New York. Miss Morgan became identified in the latter group with the more conservative organizations, and the League supported the passage of the treaty when it was finally submitted to the Senate in a special session July 1931. Miss Josephine Schain was secured as a special legislative worker for the League, and Miss Gwen Geach, head legislative worker, remained for the same purpose - namely to support the naval treaty. Miss Elizabeth Eastman, representing the sub-committee of the Joint Congressional remained part of the time in Washington also, but in the main the special and very active support was given by the legislative workers of the League and their supporters in the states. Miss Morgan sent two letters and three telegrams to her department chairmen regarding this measure, and five news letters.

At the meeting of the Council in Louisville in May 1930, the World Court measure was selected as the foremost legislative measure of the League of Women Voters. It was sent by the President to the Senate at the opening of Congress in December 1930. Prior to this, Senators had been asked by League deputations how they stood on the World Court, and for some years the subject had been a matter for education and political support. The League had studied the Root Formula embodied in the new protocols and had provided literature to underwrite the question. In December 1930, after conference with the Acting President, Miss Wells, a member of the Washington office staff, Miss Edith Rockwood, was appointed temporarily as special legislative worker for this Department. The Women's World Court Committee, a subordinate committee of the Women's Joint Congressional, became active during 1930-31, and the League was an active member of this group. A joint committee for cooperation on the subject of the World Court between the organizations was created in New York City with Mr. Everett Colby chairman, and while its membership was composed of individuals and not of organizations, Miss Belle Sherwin, President of the League, and Miss Ruth Morgan, Chairman of this Department, became members. This committee has met constantly during the past six or eight months. The League did not advocate a special session of the Senate, as its World Court friends in the Senate were in the main opposed to such a step. Miss Morgan was a member of the small delegation from the cooperating groups which visited the President, in order to beg him to support the World Court, and, if necessary, call an extra session of the Senate in the autumn of 1931. This department has issued three news letters on the World Court situation, and Miss Morgan has written four letters to her chairmen urging support of it. The general effort has been to keep the issue before the Senate and before the public and to secure an early and favorable vote without alienating any of its supporters by undue pressure.

#### FUTURE POLICY

An important policy has been the stimulation of the League as a whole by program tours which Miss Fast has undertaken on behalf of this department in 1930-31 and for which plans are to be made by the Council for 1931-32. The whole travel expense of the department will be invested in this enterprise. The expense of attendance at the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War will not be considered budget expense.

The general energies of this department will be devoted first to the World Court and second to preparations for the international Disarmament Conference of February 1932.

The necessary economies for 1931-32 will somewhat restrict the increasing developments of the past year. Most of the items on this program have been underwritten. It is planned to publish promptly pamphlets on the Cost of the Army and Navy, the Monroe Doctrine, and on economic problems and disarmament (all in preparation). Revision of "The Problem of Disarmament" is essential and revision of "The National Defense Act" is contemplated.



There remains not underwritten and for which no definite plans have been made the following: The Relation between the Executive and Congress; Education for Peace; Applications of the Peace Pact; China and Japan; special emphasis of the Freedom of the Seas. This Department will secure the best pamphlets available from other organizations to underwrite these items until our own publications are available.

The point of legislative policy which your chairman has carried out has been not to urge pressure for a special session of the Senate to consider the World Court before the Congress adjourned. This has been very difficult and in some instances disappointing to local chairmen, but it has received a good deal of support from the other groups interested in the World Court.

It is obvious that the World Court responsibility is the chief legislative one in the immediate future, not only for this department, but for the League as a whole. It seems necessary, therefore, to strengthen our legislative group as much as possible, and Mrs. Park is considering coming down the first of November to help in the fight. Miss Morgan will return to New York the 3rd of June and there will be two main activities for the summer - one is the work with Senators, who, up to now have declared themselves doubtful, providing them, possibly through Mr. Philip Jessup, with legal opinions as to the satisfaction given in the new protocols to Senate Reservation five; the other, which is indeed a main responsibility, is the cause of international disarmament, centered this year in the General Disarmament Conference to be held in February, 1932. The Conference on the Cause and Cure of War is hesitating between a declaration to this Conference and a petition, either of which will require signatures. Mrs. Catt's suggestion has been that the League assume responsibility for getting 135,000 signatures. If the proposal is accepted, Miss Morgan suggests that the number be reduced to 100,000.

The Connecticut group is very eager to put Russia in the study program this year. Inasmuch as their is the only group to have made this suggestion and as it is now very late, it would be impossible to do it officially. The chairman of this department would like the approval of the Board in suggesting to groups that if they have completed study of the other items, they can prepare for putting Russia in the program of study for 1932.



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**Corresponding Secretary**

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2700 Travis Ave.  
Dial 4-2870

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**Legal Status of Women**

Mrs. O. W. PETERSON  
Stop Oakland  
Dial 5-3274

**Living Costs**

Mrs. E. C. DAYTON  
1420 Throckmorton  
Dial 2-2541

**Women in Industry**

Mrs. W. S. WALTON  
1041 Baltimore St.  
Dial 4-7359-W

**Child Welfare**

Mrs. W. W. WILKERSON  
925 Eighth Ave.  
Dial 4-1595

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Mrs. CHAS. SCHEUBER  
Carnegie Public Library  
Dial 2-8669

**Social Hygiene**

Mrs. B. G. CORDER  
1715 May St.  
Dial 4-3002

**Efficiency in Government**

Mrs. O. E. CARR  
2236 Sixth Ave.  
Dial 4-1076

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Mrs. J. T. ALVIS  
810 Hammond St.  
Dial 4-1157-W

**Publicity**

Mrs. SAM VAUGHN  
2700 Travis Ave.  
Dial 4-2870

**International Relations**

Mrs. CATO SELLS  
2016 Windsor Place  
Dial 4-1653

# FORT WORTH LEAGUE of WOMEN VOTERS

1929-1930

**First Vice-President**

Mrs. THOMAS BREEN  
808 Presidio St.  
Dial 3-2175

**Second Vice-President**

Mrs. F. N. GRAVES  
2538 Cockrell Ave.  
Dial 4-0775

**Third Vice-President**

Mrs. FRANKLIN WOLF  
1422 College Ave.  
Dial 4-4614-J

April 17, 1930.

Mrs. George A. Seel  
Galveston Texas.

My dear Mrs. Seel,

Your letter just received,  
and I hasten to thank you for the course  
you are sending on International Coopera-  
tion to Prevent War. I'll endeavor to  
meet with the women for study as soon  
as the material arrives. If it does not come  
soon, I'll notify you, for we need this  
thought developed, and will report our suc-  
cess after first gathering.

Our problems are not  
so hard to solve with such a cooperative spirit  
from our State Chrs. Allow me to thank you again  
for your help - Sincerely

Mrs. J. W. Kuykendall  
1903 Homan Ave.



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LX NEW YORK NY MAY 9 1930

MRS G SEEL  
3806 AVE P  
GALVESTON

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS BOARD AND CONVENTION HAVE ENDORSED  
LONDON TREATIES FOR LIMITATION NAVAL ARMAMENTS STOP HEARINGS BEGIN MONDAY  
WITH PROSPECT OF ACTION WITHIN WEEK STOP DESIRABLE TO SEND IMMEDIATE  
EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT BY LETTER AND WIRE TO SENATOR BORAH CHAIRMAN  
FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND YOUR OWN SENATORS MRS ANDERSON ACTING  
PRESIDENT HAS WIRED YOUR STATE PRESIDENT URGING ACTION

RUTH MORGAN

632AM10



Wite Letter.

Galveston, Texas. May 12, 1930.

Senator William E. Borah,  
Chairman Foreign Relations Committee,  
Washington, D. C.

Texas League of Women Voters joins the National League in urging prompt ratification by United States senate of London treaties for limitation of Naval armament. Stop. We feel that treaties offer opportunity for United States to co-operate in reduction of naval burden and materially contribute toward world peace.

Mrs. George A. Seel, Chairman  
International Cooperation to Prevent  
War of Texas League of Women Voters.

Senator Morris Shppard,  
Washington, D. C.

Believing that United States should take lead in steps towards world peace, Texas League of Women Voters joins with National Woman's League in urging your support for prompt ratification by senate of London treaties for naval limitation.

Mrs. George A. Seel, Chairman  
International Cooperation to Prevent  
War - Texas League of Women Voters

Senator Tom Connally,  
Washington, D. C.

Texas League of Women Voters feels that United States has opportunity to make material contribution toward world peace by prompt ratification of London treaties for naval limitation and joins with National League of Women Voters in urging your support.

Mrs. George A. Seel, Chairman  
International Cooperation to Prevent  
War - Texas League of Women Voters.



REED SMOOT, UTAH, CHAIRMAN

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ISAAC M. STEWART, CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

May 14, 1930.

Mrs. George A. Seel, Chairman,  
International Cooperation to Prevent War,  
Texas League of Women Voters,  
Galveston, Texas.

Dear Mrs. Seel:

Your telegram of yesterday in behalf of the Texas League of Women Voters is at hand advising me of the views of your league with regard to the London treaty.

In reply, beg to say that hearings have just begun before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on this treaty and we are awaiting the outcome of the hearings and the report of the committee. I may say, however, that I am in sympathy with the general principles of disarmament and you can be certain that I shall approach the consideration of this treaty in this attitude.

Thanking you for your telegram, I am,

Sincerely,



TC:2M



# TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

## PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRIS MASTERSON  
3702 BURLINGTON AVE.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

## HEADQUARTERS

303 CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BLDG.

HOUSTON, TEXAS

STATE SECRETARY - MARGARET HEYE

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GALVESTON, TEXAS

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DALLAS, TEXAS

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MRS. ANNA B. CADE  
CHESTER, TEXAS

## TREASURER

MRS. O. H. CARLISLE  
SHOREACRES  
LA PORTE, TEXAS

June 14, 1930.

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MERCANTILE BLDG.  
DALLAS, TEXAS

### LIVING COSTS

MRS. J. W. HOPKINS  
1516 AVE. H  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

### WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

RUTH HASTINGS  
4503 AUSTIN AVE.  
HOUSTON, TEXAS

### CHILD WELFARE

MRS. CHAS. J. STUBBS  
1828 AVENUE I  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

### EDUCATION

MRS. ANNA B. CADE  
CHESTER, TEXAS

### SOCIAL HYGIENE

OVETA CULP  
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### LEGISLATION

MRS. SARAH T. HUGHES  
MERCANTILE BLDG.  
DALLAS, TEXAS

### EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

MRS. CARL VOSS  
4031 WYCLIFF ST.  
DALLAS, TEXAS

### INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION TO PREVENT WAR

MRS. G. A. SEEL  
3806 AVE. P  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

### IMMIGRATION

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

### MEMBERSHIP

MRS. D. W. KEMPNER  
2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

### FINANCE

MRS. SEMMES STEELE  
1902 BROADWAY  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

Mrs. G. A. Seel,  
3806 Avenue P,  
Galveston, Texas.

My dear Mrs. Seel:

Mrs. Hoxie has offered the assistance of Miss Langan during July to any of us who may need her help in setting up a program of work for this fall.

My address for the summer will be Chautauqua, Boulder, Colorado. I am leaving July first.

Hoping that you may have a happy and restful ? summer,

Sincerely,

*Louise J. Master son*  
Louise J. Mastersen.

LJM-H



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LX NEW YORK NY 1150AM JULY 3 1930

MRS G A SEEL

3806 AVENUE P

GALVESTON

MRS ANDERSON HAS WRITTEN ALL STATE PRESIDENTS TO URGE SENATORS  
TO ATTEND SPECIAL SESSION FOR PASSAGE OF TREATY PLEASE WIRE  
OR WRITE YOUR SENATORS ALSO TO DO THIS URGENT.

RUTH MORGAN

1213PM

*Wired  
Senators*



NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR  
1511 Grand Central Terminal Building  
New York, N. Y.

September 6, 1930

To the Presidents of Organizations Cooperating in the  
National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War:  
(Copy sent to National Chairmen of International  
Relations)

My dear Coworkers:

CONCERNING  
DELEGATES

As I have already informed you, the Registrar's (Miss Ketcham's) report at the close of the last Conference indicated that our hall had vacant seats to the number of two hundred, which should have been filled with delegates. No organization except the League of Women Voters had one hundred delegates last January. I have already given you the report on the number of delegates from each organization and, undoubtedly, you have the record in your own file. I am, therefore, writing once more to urge that the utmost endeavor be made to secure the largest number of delegates possible for your organization.

The influence upon public opinion made by the Cause and Cure as a whole and the organizations which compose it depends altogether upon the information, enthusiasm, and understanding of the great problems involved in the cause of war and its cure. One delegate to the last conference made thirty-three speeches about the conference and what she had heard there. This year we wish to ask each delegate who makes any report of the conference at a meeting, or who gives a series of speeches, to report to us in order that we may estimate the extent of education emanating from the Conference. We must attempt to answer the question: - Is the Conference worthwhile?

The rules which I sent out for a vote were adopted and a copy is enclosed.

The program of the coming Conference will be thoroughly up to date and even more novel than any preceding one. If the speakers we are inviting accept, we shall have the most distinguished list we have yet presented to the organizations composing the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. The usual banquet will be omitted and in its place will be presented a drama showing a Naval Conference in operation. This is being prepared under the able direction of Mrs. George B. Ford. There will be round tables and discussions of new types and we are hoping that we may soon announce an even greater program surprise.

Cordially yours,

(signed) CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT  
General Chairman

CCC:HW



Nov 17 - 11 A.M.

Review of reconstruction  
reading text psychology  
economic conditions  
(physical debris, etc.)

704th Weds

3802 M  
Mrs C. J. Walker



COPY

September 20  
1930

Dear Mrs. Stubbs:

Some more good news for you and Mrs. Seel and Mrs. Voss. Mrs. Masterson before she left, urged that some one of the National workers be brought to Texas this fall to do the sort of work that has been done in some of the other states in starting study groups and teaching study group technique. We hoped before Mrs. Masterson left that Texas could have Miss Fast, National secretary of International Cooperation, who is to be in Louisiana November fourth and possibly a few days later.

Just now comes a telegram saying that Miss Fast has been assigned to Texas, so now we can go ahead with our plans.

Mrs. Seel has done an enormous amount of work on her International Cooperation study outlines, and will find that the visit of Miss Fast will back up her past and present efforts to start continuing study groups in her subject in the local Leagues. And Mrs. Voss will find these study groups will give just what she needs to stimulate and encourage organization and keep newly organized groups growing.

Miss Fast will notify me when she knows definitely her last date in Louisiana. We ought to be ready by that time to tell her how many stops we want her to make in Texas, so that she can arrange the rest of her trip after she leaves your state.

We do not send workers like Miss Fast to make speeches. The conditions which a local League must meet in order to get her are outlined on the enclosed sheets. I thought these might make it easier for you to place the matter before your local Leagues.

I shall see Elizabeth Longan Tuesday morning in Nebraska, and find out whether she thinks San Antonio far enough along in organization plans to be able to get a study group there. Also Mrs. Voss should be asked where she would like study



groups started in places where she has hopes for organization. Time should be taken for interchange of ideas between yourself, Mrs. Seel, Mrs. Voss and Elizabeth, and dates should be fixed for Miss Fast only after that.

Also, the date of the State Conference should be arranged so that you can have Miss Fast there, and it seems to me that November 13 and 14 will fit in admirably. By October first, the date you were planning to send out the notices, you should know definitely. You can reach Elizabeth and me September 23, 24 and 25 in Lincoln, Nebraska, at the Lincoln Hotel, if necessary.

In Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma, where Miss Fast went last year, the study groups in International Cooperation continued all through the year, and were a great success. The local Leagues which had her got so much benefit and liked it so much that this year they are all taking Miss Frederic for similar work on Efficiency in Government subjects. The entire state, in each case, felt a great impetus in program work.

Cordially yours,

(signed) Ida Shaper Hoxie

Enc.



Miss Louise K. Fast, Secretary of the International Cooperation Department of the National League of Women Voters, at the request of Mrs. Masterson, the state president, has been made available for work in Texas early in November. Miss Fast will visit local Leagues which want help in conducting study groups in her subject.

Miss Fast does not go to local Leagues to make speeches at general meetings. She goes to meet organized groups, plan study outlines with them or help them in carrying out plans of the State Chairman of International Cooperation, and demonstrate with them the general technique and procedure for study groups. At some places she has visited, the study group demonstration has been given before the general membership, in order to stimulate interest in the membership so that they may join similar groups.

The conditions to be met by a local League to secure Miss Fast's services are:

- (1) That a leader of the group be found. (She need not be an advanced student of the subject. Leaders as well as other participants are all students together. A leader is necessary simply to call meetings, assign questions, and preside at the meetings so that the discussions may be orderly.)
- (2) That from six to a dozen people be listed who will continue in the study group until the course is completed.
- (3) That this group organize at least a week (preferably longer) before the date of Miss Fast's visit, and that questions arranged in advance by Mrs. Seel, your State Chairman of International Cooperation, and Miss Fast, be assigned for reading and thought, so that the group members will have time to prepare themselves before the day of Miss Fast's demonstration.
- (4) That the State Chairman of International Cooperation be kept informed of the progress of the study group during the year, so that she may be able to appraise the results of the visit. (The National League pays all expenses of Miss Fast's trip.)



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL  
CO-OPERATION TO PREVENT WAR  
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OFFICE OF THE THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT  
1015 GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL BUILDING  
NEW YORK CITY  
TELEPHONE—VANDERBILT 7019

DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION  
TO PREVENT WAR

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MRS. L. EMMETT HOLT  
MRS. QUINCY WRIGHT  
DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

September 22, 1930

Mrs. G. A. Seel  
3806 Avenue P  
Galveston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Seel:

My correspondence with Mrs. Hoxie in regard to my visit to Texas has finally reached the point that I am allowed to write to you directly. I am very glad, because I am anxious to hear what plans you have for my visit. Mrs. Hoxie has written only of the State Conference, where she wants us to have some kind of a demonstration of educational methods. You, no doubt, have some very definite ideas as to how this should be carried out, and I should be glad to cooperate with them as far as possible. I am familiar with your general outlines, which are excellent. I am enclosing some questionnaires on the World Court pamphlet and on the London Naval Treaty, as well as those of Mrs. Hoxie on the functioning of public opinion. The latter you probably have already. On the general subject of Disarmament, I have been using the printed questionnaire "What Do You Know About Naval Disarmament".

I should say that some point midway between your exhaustive general study and these specific questions should be the one at which we should meet at this conference. However, we develop it, it should result in having those interested thoroughly acquainted with the steps in Federal legislation which we support, - especially, the entrance of the United States into the World Court and the Inter-American Arbitration Treaty. Mrs. Hoxie feels that the World Court should receive the greatest emphasis and I think she is right. Please let me know your suggestions and the approximate length of time you will want me in Texas. I expect to leave Louisiana by the 5th of November at least.

Very sincerely,

*Louisa E. Seel*



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

## OFFICERS

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MISS BELLE SHERWIN  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT  
MISS KATHARINE LUDINGTON  
CHAIRMAN OF FINANCE COMMITTEE  
OLD LYME, CONNECTICUT

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DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL  
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1015 GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL BUILDING  
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TELEPHONE—VANDERBILT 7018

DEPARTMENT OF  
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION  
TO PREVENT WAR

## COUNCIL ON POLICIES

MISS RUTH MORGAN, CHAIRMAN  
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SPECIAL COUNSELOR ON THE  
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MRS. L. EMMETT HOLT  
MRS. QUINCY WRIGHT  
DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

October 14, 1930

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

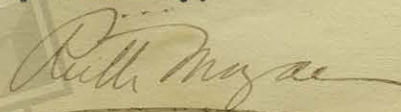
Dear Chairman:

THE SIXTH CONFERENCE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR will be held at the Hotel Washington, Washington, D. C., January 19-22 inclusive. Every state League has the privilege of naming two delegates and two alternates, but it would be wise for you to make additional nominations to avoid loss of time, in order that your second choices be listed now; as this year a certain number of the states nearer to Washington, who provide the largest number of delegates, will be notified earlier that it is their privilege to add to their groups. Although last year the League was the only organization to have a complete delegation, there was too small a number of alternates. Will you, therefore, make your choices as early as possible? Your state President will receive at this time the official letter with regard to the naming of delegates.

The main subjects for discussion at the Conference are the Technical situations which surround international disarmament and our hopes for the future in perfecting the machinery to prevent war. These subjects will be treated by well known armament and political experts. Since the meeting of the Conference in January last year, the London Naval Treaty has been signed and a definite date for the discussion of the World Court is promised. This means, therefore, that the citizens of the United States are responsible not only for the creation and support of machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, but should study, and if necessary oppose, such policies for settlement as involve war. The Conference hopes to clarify these new points of view.

This enclosure which was sent by Mrs. Catt to the Presidents of the organizations indicates the importance of the quality and number of delegates selected.

Very sincerely,



Ruth Morgan



## CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable sign above or preceding the address.

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DB10 43 NL=SANANTONIO TEX 28

1930 OCT 29 AM 3 13

MRS GEORGE SEEL=

3706 AVE P GALVESTON TEX=

WILL ARRANGE FOR MISS FAST TO BE IN GALVESTON NOVEMBER  
FIFTEENTH UNLESS YOU THINK YOU MUST HAVE HER ON THE ELEVENTH  
ALSO SHE CANNOT MAKE TWO TRIPS TO THE SAME PLACE UNLESS I  
HEAR FURTHER WILL SCHEDULE HER FOR GALVESTON NOVEMBER  
FIFTEENTH ONLY=

ELIZABETH LOGAN.



October 31, 1930.

Mrs. C. W. Heaps,  
Houston, Texas.

Dear Mrs. Heaps:

The questions for Miss Fast's Demonstration Class just came, and I am sending you two copies at once so you may have your group prepared along the lines indicated.

I sent a copy of my Study Outline on the Causes and Cures of War to Mrs. Masterson with the request that it be delivered to you, but she told me she wanted it for her own use and asked me to send you another copy.

Will you please make up a brief report of the work done by your group and forward same to me by November 5th in order that I may include same in my report to the State Board?

Thanking you for your cooperation and asking that you call on me at any time I may be of service to you, I am

Sincerely yours,





# THE NEW HOTEL MONTELEONE

600 ROOMS  
500 BATHS

NEW ORLEANS

*Yours truly,  
J. D. Kenney*

November 4, 1930

My dear Mrs. Seel -

A telegram from  
Miss Langan has just  
reached me, with the sug-  
gestion that I come to Gal-  
veston for a luncheon  
meeting on <sup>Thursday</sup> the eleventh and  
I shall be very glad to come  
since it provides me with an  
opportunity to have a personal  
visit to you. The meeting, on the  
eleventh, will naturally be



hurried -

There is a nine-day ex-  
cursion to Galveston \$10.  
for the round trip. I feel  
that I must take advantage  
of it - but to do so I am  
compelled to leave here  
Saturday night. I thought  
that I'd spend the night  
here in Houston, on Sunday  
& come down to Galveston on  
the Southern Pacific, arriving  
in Galveston at 8.30 Sunday  
morning. For I do not want to  
interfere with you  
Sunday.

I am looking forward to  
seeing you -

Sincerely Yours -

Maxwell K. East



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November 10, 1930.

Mrs. George Seel,  
3706 Avenue B,  
Galveston, Texas.

My dear Mrs. Seel:

This is the first moment at which I have been able to put down on paper my suggestions for your recommendations to follow Miss Fast's demonstration study group in Houston. I am sending them to you special delivery so that you will have some time to look them over and make any changes you wish.

Of course the form is not finished. I thought probably you would want to say a word or two about the importance of an informed public opinion which will make itself vocal when the Court is before the Senate for action and that these are your recommendations for building up such a public opinion in the cities of Texas.

It seems to me that it will then be very effective to have the Houston Chairman take up these suggestions and plan with her group right then and there how they will carry them out. Therefore I suggest that you give Mrs. Heaps any changes you intend making earlier in the day so that she will have time to think them over and make her plans accordingly.

Hastily,

*Elizabeth Longan*  
Secretary Sixth Region.



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TO PREVENT WAR

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DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL

November 17,  
1930

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.*

*Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Dear Chairman:

Popular opinion in favor of the entrance of the United States into the World Court has expressed itself through the press and through letters to the President. It seems possible that the President will send the World Court Protocols, revised in accordance with the reservations made by the Senate on January 27, 1926, to the Short Session of the Senate, which convenes December 1, 1930. The best argument for their ratification is the fact that they contain the terms proposed by the Senate itself. Will you, therefore, be prepared, when notified by your President, to ask your Senator to express his views on the World Court, meanwhile informing yourself on the Root Formula for the entry of the United States.

I will advise you as rapidly as I myself receive word on the status of this measure.

Very sincerely,

*Ruth Morgan*



Spouses Chairman of International Cooperation to  
Prevent War.

40  
25

1.50

4.00

1.50

1.18

1.00

2.40  
12.05



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1902 BROADWAY  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

## Expenses Chairman of International Cooperation to Prevent War.

December 1929.

Telephone - Mrs. Masterson re memorial	.40
" " Moore " "	.25

January 1930

Telegram President Hoover re London Conference	1.30
---	------

May 1930 Telegrams to President Hoover, Senators Borah, Sheppard & Connolly re ratifica- tion London Treaty	4.00
---	------

July 1930 Telegrams Senators Sheppard & Connally urging attendance at special session for passage of peace treaty	1.50
---	------

Postage	1.18
---------	------

Nov. 1930 Telegram Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, conveying State League's congratulations on Pictorial Review award of 5000.00 (authorized by Mrs. Stubbs, acting president.	1.00
--	------

Expenses attending November Board meeting.	2.40
	<u>12.03</u>

*Mrs. Geo Seale.*



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
CHICAGO, ILL.  
JAN. 10, 1900

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

FROM THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RESOLUTION

ADOPTED

Dec 10, 1900

Wm. Carlisle



Report of Mrs. C. W. Heaps, Chairman.

London Dept. of International Cooperation  
to Prevent War. League of Women  
Voters. November, 1920.

The London steady group met at the  
League headquarters in January with a  
membership of two besides the secretary  
of the League and the chairman of the  
department. It disbanded for the summer  
in May with an enrollment of four.

The course of steady recommended in  
the Program of Work, 1928-29 was followed  
and all topics including "Problems of Latin  
America" except "Problems of the Pacific"  
were covered. The Round Table discussion  
method was used, based on material issued  
by the League or suggested by the group.  
Bibliographies of these publications were  
or pamphlets were issued.



Washington.

One hundred women attended. Every effort  
was made to stress the aim and value  
of the study groups at this meeting. The  
program of our department is outlined  
and the announcement of class meetings  
was made and an invitation<sup>to</sup> all to join  
was given. I have received various

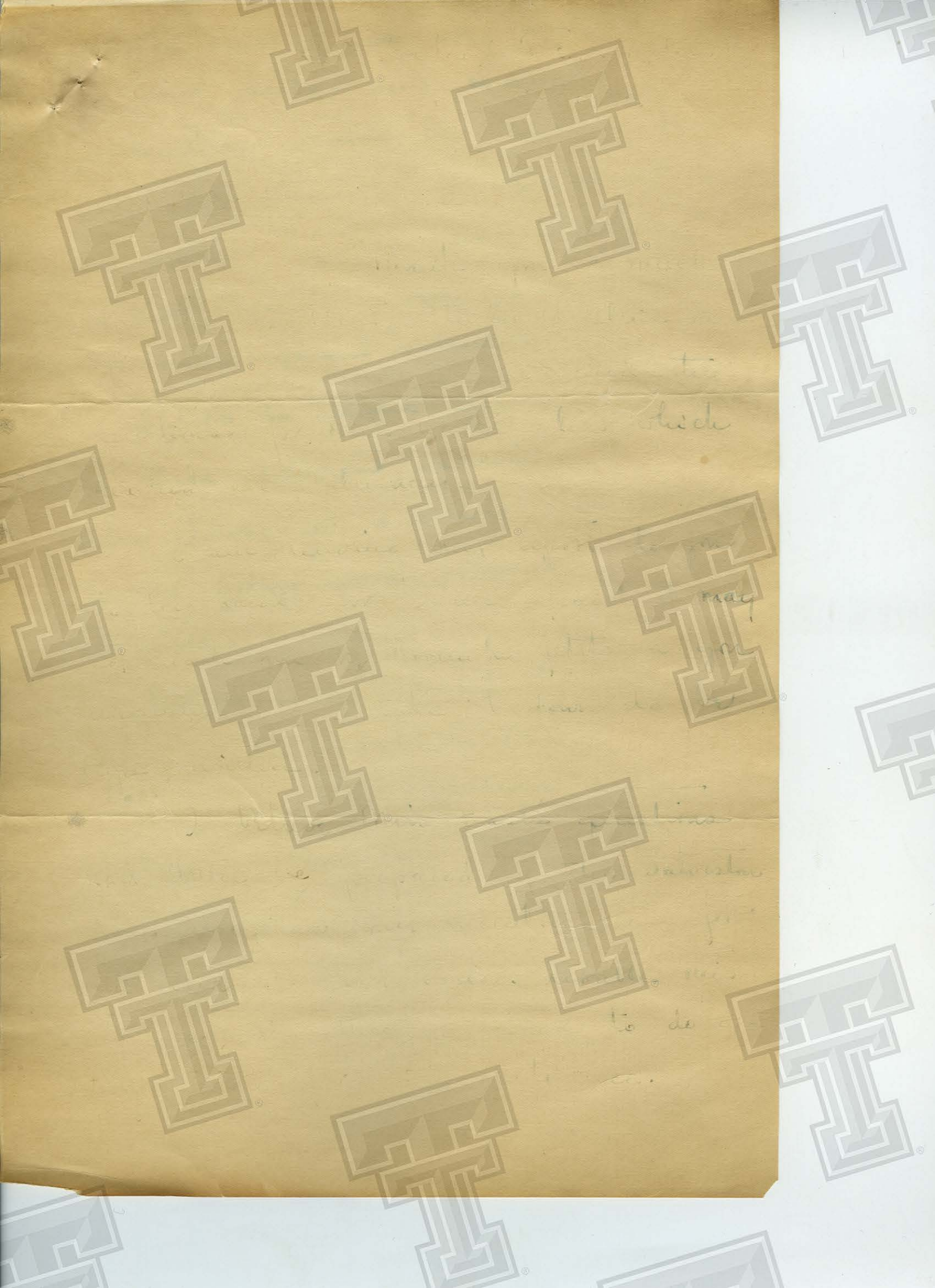


women's clubs of the city were invited as honor guests, and examples of the publications issued by the league and other peace organizations were placed on all tables. Copies of the league leaflet "The Root Formula" were given to every guest as a special "valentine".

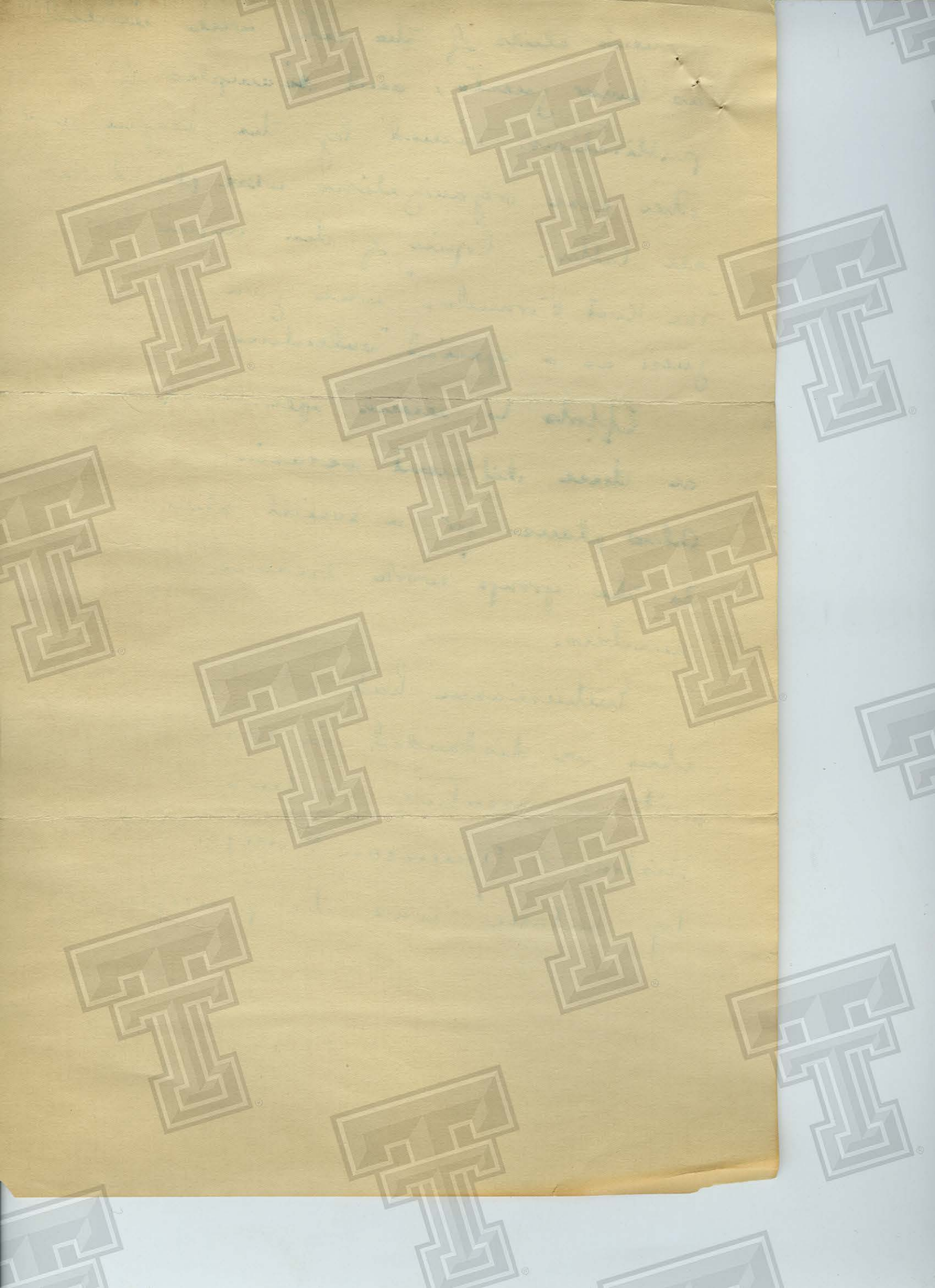
Efforts to secure special speakers on three different occasions failed. Also plans for a social stimulus to the group work because of insufficient members.

Enthusiasm had notably increased when we disbanded in May, each with a vacation reading list of which "History of American Foreign Policy" by ~~batane~~ <sup>which</sup> was the principle title.











235 Portland Ave -  
I want very much  
to bring her to -  
Washington -  
say to see you -  
I will find her  
to nothing and  
disturbed - we have  
been in thirty weeks  
together - Mr. Chapin  
is a professor in  
the Institute -

the Cornell go to -  
Washington -  
Of course I am  
convinced we are  
as one of the  
"Cause" -  
and "Cause" -  
are hoping to  
go, shall try to  
go - we are delegates  
and no alternates.  
I wish we could get  
some one from



4-7 with Mr. Peller  
I asked Mr. Peller  
to go, and she  
would be fine, but  
her mother (quite old)  
limo with her and  
occupies most of  
her time -  
Let us know here  
in the office, 303  
Chamber of Commerce  
Bldg, how far way  
help you -  
Cordially yours  
Alice J. Weston

Honorable Texas  
Nov 30  
My dear Mr. Peller -  
Thank you  
greatly for your  
cordial letter of the  
other day. I did cheer  
his humble Chairman -  
I wished to telephone  
immediately and ask -  
you the nicest chair -  
I can possibly  
Mr. C. W. Papper.



# The President Said

MAY BELL HARPER

*(This leaflet may be used as a young people's exercise, or the quotations may be used also in answer to roll call in opening a peace meeting.)*

*Each quotation is to be pasted on the back of a large card board letter, the letters together to spell "Mr. Hoover said" as they are held up and the quotations are read to the audience.)*

"The experience of the war afforded final proof that we cannot isolate ourselves from the world, that the safeguarding of peace cannot be attained by negative action. . . . Our foreign policy has one primary object, and that is peace."<sup>1</sup>

"By our growth of wealth and power we have a great burden of responsibility for the peace of the world."<sup>2</sup>

"Our duty is to seek ever new and widening opportunities to insure the world against the horror and irretrievable wastage of war. Much has been done, but we must wage peace continuously, with the same energy as they waged war."<sup>3</sup>

"The Kellogg-Briand pact, signed a little over two years ago to further safeguard against the dangers from these conflicts, has already become a powerful influence in international affairs. Several further states have adhered to it since November 1930, bringing the total number of nations up to fifty-eight, which have renounced war as an instrument of national policy and have agreed to settle conflicts of whatsoever nature by pacific means."<sup>3</sup>

"Two obligations flow from that covenant. First, the conceptions of military strength of nations are reduced by that covenant solely to such strength as is required for defense. And, second, we must cultivate methodical procedure by which controversies between nations can be settled by pacific means."<sup>4</sup>

"The magnificent opportunity and the compelling duty now upon us should spur us on to the fulfillment of every opportunity that is calculated to implement this treaty and to extend the policy it so nobly sets forth."<sup>5</sup>

"We have agreed that we shall settle all controversies by pacific means. But the machinery for pacific settlement of disputes among nations is as yet inadequate. We need to strengthen our own provisions for it."<sup>6</sup>



"We have need under proper reservations to support the World Court in order that we may secure judicial determination of certain types of controversies and build up precedents which add to the body of international law."<sup>6</sup>

"The World Court is now a strongly established institution among forty-five nations as a continuing body, performing and facilitating justiciable determinations which can only be accomplished sporadically under special treaties of arbitration. Its permanency is assured, and there is a steady growing body of precedent, decisions and acceptance of law in the formation of which we should have a part, not alone in our own interest but in the advancement of peace."<sup>3</sup>

"I have the honor to transmit to the Senate for its consideration and action three documents concerning adherence of the United States to the Court of International Justice. . . I trust the protocols may have consideration as soon as possible after the emergency relief and appropriation legislation has been disposed of."<sup>7</sup>

"The provisions of the protocols free us from any entanglement in the diplomacy of other nations. We cannot be summoned before this court. We can from time to time seek its services by agreement with other nations. These protocols permit our withdrawal from the court at any time without reproach or ill will."<sup>7</sup>

"The movement for the establishment of such a court originated with our country. It has been supported by Presidents Wilson, Harding and Coolidge; by Secretaries of State Hughes, Kellogg and Stimson; it springs from the earnest seeking of our people for justice in international relations and to strengthen the foundations of peace."<sup>7</sup>

" . . . we have pledged ourselves to the use of pacific means in the settlement of all controversies. Our great nation, so devoted to peace and justice, should lend its cooperation in this effort of the nations to establish a great agency for such pacific settlements."<sup>7</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Acceptance speech August 11, 1928, Palo Alto, California.
- <sup>2</sup> October 6, 1928; speech at Elizabethton, Tennessee.
- <sup>3</sup> November 11, 1930, Washington, D. C., at Good Will Congress of World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.
- <sup>4</sup> Speech before the Daughters of the American Revolution, April 14, 1930.
- <sup>5</sup> The proclamation of the General Pact for the Renunciation of War, the White House, July 24, 1929.
- <sup>6</sup> Armistice Day, 1929, the Washington Auditorium, Washington, D. C.
- <sup>7</sup> The White House, December 10, 1930; text of special message submitting World Court protocols to the Senate.

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International Relations For Peace Department  
Price 2 cents; 25 cents per 50; 45 cents per 100

NATIONAL W.C.T.U. PUBLISHING HOUSE  
Evanston, Illinois



# Twenty-Five Questions on Arbitration and Peaceful Settlement

*By*

BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB

1. What are the forms of pacific settlement of disputes?
  - a. diplomatic negotiations
  - b. good offices
  - c. mediation
  - d. conciliation
  - e. arbitration
  - f. decision by an international court —  
“judicial settlement”
2. What is meant by diplomatic negotiations?

Diplomatic negotiations is the oldest method of attempting to settle international disputes and it is still the first step taken when a controversy arises. By this system the government of one of the disputing countries carries on correspondence with another by “diplomatic notes” and through ambassadors or other foreign representatives. No third party is called in to help in the adjustment.
3. What is meant by good offices?

Good offices is the offer of friendly suggestions or advice which a third power may make to the disputing countries in its desire to help them reach a solution of their controversy.
4. What is mediation?

Mediation is the procedure whereby a third nation or a disinterested party gives assistance in the settlement of a dispute and attempts to reconcile the opposing claims.
5. What is conciliation?

Conciliation is the procedure whereby a dispute is submitted to a conciliation commission which carefully examines the facts, defines the issues and attempts to bring the disputing nations together by suggesting some basis of settlement. These suggestions are not binding, but the disputants promise in advance not to resort to war until the commission has finished its work and usually not until a certain length of time thereafter. A conciliation commission is usually composed of members chosen in equal



numbers by each of the disputing parties with an additional member selected by the members themselves.

6. What is arbitration?

Arbitration is the procedure whereby a dispute is submitted to an arbitration commission chosen by the disputing nations, which is empowered to examine the dispute and render a definite decision concerning it. In arbitration the disputing nations agree in advance that they will abide by this decision.

7. What is the distinction between arbitration and conciliation?

(a) The decision of an arbitration commission is binding; the recommendations of a conciliation commission are not.

(b) Arbitration is most often used in settling disputes of a well defined and legal character in which the issues are specific and clear-cut. Conciliation, on the other hand, is more often used in disputes in which the issues are ill-defined and the facts obscure. It is also used in cases when the parties will not agree to arbitrate.

(c) In deciding a dispute, an arbitration commission must be guided strictly by legal principles or the provisions of existing treaties. In recommending a solution, a conciliation commission on the other hand usually takes into consideration not merely what is legally right but also what is practicable and fair by way of compromise. When nations are not willing to arbitrate a question, they may, nevertheless, be ready to submit it to a conciliation commission which may succeed in so quieting national feelings and in so clarifying the issues involved that the disputants are later able to agree to arbitrate whatever aspects of the matter have not been settled by conciliation.

8. What is "decision by an international court"?

Decision by an international court, otherwise known as "judicial settlement," is the most highly developed form of peaceful settlement. As in arbitration the decision is based purely on legal principles and is binding. But, whereas in arbitration the decid-

ing body is a commission chosen by the disputants to handle one particular dispute, an international court is a permanent body chosen by a group of nations to give judgment in any dispute that may be referred to it. For this reason the Court tends to be both more disinterested and more experienced. Decision by an international court eliminates the chief difficulty inherent in arbitration:—namely, the delay involved in setting up an arbitration commission at the very moment that the dispute is most acute.

9. What was the earliest form of arbitration treaty?

The earliest form of arbitration treaty was an agreement between two nations to arbitrate specific questions which had already arisen between them. The Jay Treaty of 1794 which brought arbitration into modern statecraft is an example of this early form. By it England and the United States agreed to arbitrate the question of the boundary between Canada and the United States and two other specific issues.

10. What was the next step in the development of arbitration?

The next step was the drawing up of "general arbitration treaties" by which two nations agree in advance to arbitrate not merely some specific dispute but all future disputes.

This step was taken first by Argentina and Brazil, and Columbia and Peru.

The United States for the first time agreed to general arbitration provisions of this kind in 1848 when it signed with Mexico the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which is still in force. In spite of these provisions, however, arbitration was not used to settle the dispute with Mexico, which led to the landing of American forces on Mexican soil in 1914.

11. In what two ways has the value of general arbitration treaties often been greatly diminished?

The value of general arbitration treaties has been often greatly diminished

(a) by the insertion of clauses which provide that certain classes of disputes shall not be arbitrated.

The United States Senate has often refused to ratify general arbitration



treaties unless clauses of this kind were included.

The Root Arbitration Treaties of 1908, which the United States concluded with twenty-five different countries, contained a provision that no questions which affected the vital interests and national honor of this country should be arbitrated. Since in a sense all serious disputes affect the vital interests of a nation such a clause practically nullifies the rest of the treaty.

- (b) by the insertion of the so-called "compromis" clause providing that whenever any particular dispute arises a special agreement to arbitrate must be drawn up and ratified by the Senate. The Root treaties also contained a "compromis" clause. Such a clause is in conflict with the essential purpose of a general arbitration treaty: namely, to make it clear in advance that arbitration will always be used.
- 12. What is compulsory arbitration?  
Compulsory arbitration is another name for the system by which a nation pledges itself in advance to arbitrate all future disputes. The term, though often used, is misleading, for no compulsion is used either to force a nation to arbitrate or to carry out the arbitral decision. In both steps, the national pledge alone is relied upon.
- 13. Since the Root Treaties of 1908 what new developments have been made in arbitration so far as the United States is concerned?
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  - (c) On the basis of this study model arbitration and conciliation treaties have been drafted and were approved by the League Assembly in 1928. They are now ready to be adopted by all states which desire to bring their arbitration and conciliation machinery up to date.
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# Twenty-Five Questions on Arbitration and Peaceful Settlement

By

BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB

1. What are the forms of pacific settlement of disputes?
  - a. diplomatic negotiations
  - b. good offices
  - c. mediation
  - d. conciliation
  - e. arbitration
  - f. decision by an international court — "judicial settlement"
2. What is meant by diplomatic negotiations? Diplomatic negotiations is the oldest method of attempting to settle international disputes and it is still the first step taken when a controversy arises. By this system the government of one of the disputing countries carries on correspondence with another by "diplomatic notes" and through ambassadors or other foreign representatives. No third party is called in to help in the adjustment.
3. What is meant by good offices? Good offices is the offer of friendly suggestions or assistance which a third power may make to the disputing countries in its desire to help them reach a solution of their controversy.
4. What is mediation? Mediation is the procedure whereby a third nation or a disinterested party gives assistance in the settlement of a dispute and attempts to reconcile the opposing claims.
5. What is conciliation? Conciliation is the procedure whereby a dispute is submitted to a conciliation commission which examines the facts, defines the issues and attempts to bring the disputing nations together by suggesting some basis of settlement. These suggestions are not binding, but the disputants promise in advance not to resort to war until the commission has finished its work and usually not until a certain length of time thereafter. A conciliation commission is usually composed of members chosen in equal



numbers by each of the disputing parties with an additional member selected by the members themselves.

6. What is arbitration?

Arbitration is the procedure whereby a dispute is submitted to an arbitration commission chosen by the disputing nations, which is empowered to examine the dispute and render a definite decision concerning it. In arbitration the disputing nations agree in advance that they will abide by this decision.

7. What is the distinction between arbitration and conciliation?

(a) The decision of an arbitration commission is binding; the recommendations of a conciliation commission are not.

(b) Arbitration is most often used in settling disputes of a well defined and legal character in which the issues are specific and clear-cut. Conciliation, on the other hand, is more often used in disputes in which the issues are ill-defined and the facts obscure. It is also used in cases when the parties will not agree to arbitrate.

(c) In deciding a dispute, an arbitration commission must be guided strictly by legal principles or the provisions of existing treaties. In recommending a solution, a conciliation commission on the other hand usually takes into consideration not merely what is legally right but also what is practicable and fair by way of compromise. When nations are not willing to arbitrate a question, they may, nevertheless, be ready to submit it to a conciliation commission which may succeed in so quieting national feelings and in so clarifying the issues involved that the disputants are later able to agree to arbitrate whatever aspects of the matter have not been settled by conciliation.

8. What is "decision by an international court"?

Decision by an international court, otherwise known as "judicial settlement," is the most highly developed form of peaceful settlement. As in arbitration the decision is based purely on legal principles and is binding. But, whereas in arbitration the decid-

ing body is a commission chosen by the disputants to handle one particular dispute, an international court is a permanent body chosen by a group of nations to give judgment in any dispute that may be referred to it. For this reason the Court tends to be both more disinterested and more experienced. Decision by an international court eliminates the chief difficulty inherent in arbitration:—namely, the delay involved in setting up an arbitration commission at the very moment that the dispute is most acute.

9. What was the earliest form of arbitration treaty?

The earliest form of arbitration treaty was an agreement between two nations to arbitrate specific questions which had already arisen between them. The Jay Treaty of 1794 which brought arbitration into modern statecraft is an example of this early form. By it England and the United States agreed to arbitrate the question of the boundary between Canada and the United States and two other specific issues.

10. What was the next step in the development of arbitration?

The next step was the drawing up of "general arbitration treaties" by which two nations agree in advance to arbitrate not merely some specific dispute but all future disputes.

This step was taken first by Argentina and Brazil, and Columbia and Peru.

The United States for the first time agreed to general arbitration provisions of this kind in 1848 when it signed with Mexico the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which is still in force. In spite of these provisions, however, arbitration was not used to settle the dispute with Mexico, which led to the landing of American forces on Mexican soil in 1914.

11. In what two ways has the value of general arbitration treaties often been greatly diminished?

The value of general arbitration treaties has been often greatly diminished

(a) by the insertion of clauses which provide that certain classes of disputes shall not be arbitrated.

The United States Senate has often refused to ratify general arbitration



treaties unless clauses of this kind were included.

The Root Arbitration Treaties of 1908, which the United States concluded with twenty-five different countries, contained a provision that no questions which affected the vital interests and national honor of this country should be arbitrated. Since in a sense all serious disputes affect the vital interests of a nation such a clause practically nullifies the rest of the treaty.

- (b) by the insertion of the so-called "compromis" clause providing that whenever any particular dispute arises a special agreement to arbitrate must be drawn up and ratified by the Senate. The Root treaties also contained a "compromis" clause. Such a clause is in conflict with the essential purpose of a general arbitration treaty: namely, to make it clear in advance that arbitration will always be used.
- 12. What is compulsory arbitration?  
Compulsory arbitration is another name for the system by which a nation pledges itself in advance to arbitrate all future disputes. The term, though often used, is misleading, for no compulsion is used either to force a nation to arbitrate or to carry out the arbitral decision. In both steps, the national pledge alone is relied upon.
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235 Portland Ave., Houston, Tex.

Dec. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1930.

My dear Mrs. Seel, -

The Houston League of Women Voters is planning its study programs for January and I should like to have an organization meeting for my department the last Monday in this month in order that our actual work may commence by the first of the year. We are to meet at the Y. W. building and they are asking down there for the details of the program with the expectation of co-operating with us for their own peace program.

I do not find a 1930-32 Program of Work and is asking



if you could mail me one I am  
also asking you to say what  
features the League wishes us to  
stress & whether they have indicated  
any immediate work to be done  
on the World Court.

I was so sorry to miss out  
on the conference study group  
with Miss Fast and the opportunity  
to talk with you again.

Very sincerely yours,  
Belle G. Heaps  
(Mrs. C. W. Heaps.)





THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mrs. G. A. Seel  
3806 Avenue P  
Galveston Texas



NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
Room 1015, Grand Central Terminal Building  
New York City

December 14, 1930

Dear Mrs. Leet:

Is it any more from Texas to the  
North at the time of the Conference on the  
Cause & Cure of Blindness? I wrote that  
you could be there.

Sincerely,

Wm. H. East



# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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December 19,  
1930

*Answers to questions on international  
affairs can be secured by correspondence.  
Reference pamphlets and other material on  
application.*

Dear Chairman:

We have begun several letters to you saying that the World Court was once more an active measure. Unfortunately, as you are aware, on December 17th, the Foreign Relations Committee voted by a vote of ten to nine to postpone its consideration until the session beginning December 1931. Friends and foes were found on each side of this vote. So far nothing has been done toward asking for an extra session of the Senate, but in case it should seem wise to press for one, you will be advised at once. In the meantime, a Departmental News Letter as to the whole situation surrounding the Court will reach you within the next week or two. However, in view of Senate action, the League must prove its ability for a long pull. We intend the United States to adhere to the World Court; we, therefore, suggest the following:

(1) Study the Root Formula.

(2) Remember that this will be a new Senate. States with newly elected Senators should reach them in order to give them information on the present status of the World Court and to give them an explanation of the League's support of it.

(3) If there is in your state a joint committee of men and women previously active for the Kellogg Pact, the Naval Treaties, or the World Court, it is in order that you join with them in any expression of opinion in favor of the World Court. Every local League in every state should have at least one meeting to bring its entire membership up to date on the status of the World Court. If this has been accomplished, an attempt should be made to reach other and readymade audiences with the same information.



(4) Will you get together a group of speakers competent to explain the Root Formula in particular, and the fact that the Senate reservations have been answered and that the Senate is, therefore, to a real extent bound by its former action? If you have not a list of such speakers in the League, will you have a school for them, even if it consists of only two or three people? Then will you make opportunities to present the World Court before other organizations, who should welcome an explanation of it in any case, and who may be willing to pass new resolutions in its favor.

(5) If public opinion is not well informed in the community of the various local Leagues the editors might be seen with the explanation of the fact that the Senate has already voted for adherence with five reservations and that these reservations have been met - even the fifth, by the Root Protocol, and how that does meet it.

It is part of the League's task to keep public opinion on the subject of the Court alert during the intervening time. Even if it is a year before the Court is voted upon, can each state League think up one event for each month calculated to keep the subject before the public?

Very sincerely,



Ruth Morgan  
Chairman



# TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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2504 AVE. O  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

### FINANCE

MRS. SEMMES STEELE  
1902 BROADWAY  
GALVESTON, TEXAS

My dear Mrs. Heaps:-

Your letter of the 16th came just when I was too swamped with holiday preparations to even make an attempt to reply intelligently. Today, after a strenuous trip down to Corpus Christi to spend Christmas day with my husband's mother, I'm not sure I can do much better. We left at one p.m. on the 24th, arrived at Corpus at 9 p.m.; left at 2 p.m. on 25th, reached home last night at 9.

The 1930-32 Program of Work is incorporated in the Study Outline on Causes and Cures of War -- and I would suggest that in discussing the details of the program with the representative of the Y, you use this outline as the basis of your study course; beginning with F-Specific Policies of the U.S. Which Cause Antagonism and Resentment Abroad. You will find the Outline from this point adhering most closely to the National Program, which especially stresses:

- 1-The conduct of the foreign policy of the U.S. with special study of the duties and powers of the President, State Department and Senate, and the relation between the Executive and Congress.
- 2-Foreign Policy of the U.S. as regards Problems of Latin-America and ideals of Latin-America. China, the Phillipines, Japan. Interpretation of neutrality.
- 3-Domestic Policies affecting International Relations (listed under H in State Program)
- 4-Causes and Cures of International Economic Friction (G-in State Program)

In a letter just received is this statement "Study the Root Formula. Every Local League in every state should have at least one meeting to bring its entire membership up to date on the status of the World Court"