#### The Promise Of Peace

By FRANK H. SIMONDS Copyright, 1924 by McClure Newspaper Syndicate

Washington, May 24.—Now that the top. But all things considered the surprise over the French election returns has passed away it is both possible and perhaps useful to examine this amazing phenomenon at more moderate than Polnicare, who close range. It cannot, however, be studied by itself, for it was unmistakably the result of things which in part took place outside of France, notably the arrival of a Labor Government in Great Britain and the appearance of a Dawes report in Paris. close range. It cannot, however, be studied by itself, for it was unmistakably the result of things which in part took place outside of France, notably the arrival of a Labor Government in Great Britain and the appearance of a Dawes report in Paris. Five and a half years ago the World War having come to its end rather abruptly, men and wemen in many countries were discussing the future in terms of the past, which had been well nigh intolerable. Mr. Wilson's famous phrase about "making the world safe for democracy" was on many millions of tongues and people of most nations were hoping and believing that the peace which was to be made would be a peace which would resister the triumph of democratic ideas and open the way to a world dominated by liberal conceptions.

The thing did not turn out as people hoped and believed. Instead all the great democracles of the west, including our own, were swept by a wave of reaction. The parliament elected in Britain, immediately after the Armistice in December, 1918, that chosen in France after the making of the Trance of the making the world before the convertion of the Ruhr, however, permanently allenated Britain

The thing did not turn out as people hoped and believed. Instead all the great democracles of the west, including our own, were swept by a wave of reaction. The parliament elected in Britain, immediately after the Armistice in December, 1918, that chosen in France after the making of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and finally the Congress and the President chosen in the United States in 1920 represented conservative and, so far as Europe was concerned, reactionary principles.

It is patent that events in Russia France.

mocracies for the first years of peace. The men who dominated in France and in Great Britain were men who had little real sympathy or evel patience with the ideas Mr. Wilson had championed and the Russian peril gave point to their apprehensions.

Aside from Russia the first nations to "goo" democratic or perhaps more exactly radical were Germany and Italy. How far the German change was real, how far a deliberate effort to deceive the conqueror, and invite easier terms is a matter for debate. Certainly the reality fell short of the appearance. At the outset only italy seemed to have gone the whole distance and to have invited Socialism in a form which had direct inspiration from Moscow.

Reaction Follows Radicalism

Tory.

In the end this aspiration wrecked him. Failing abroad he was overthrown at home by the more conservative wing of the Tory party which rejoiced in the significant name of "Die-hard." Then power passed to Bonar Law, who had been the titular leader of the old Tory party, from him it devolved upon Stanley Baldwin, also a "die-hard" while the Foreign Office and Foreign policy passed to the control of Viscount Curzon, of the same Tory tradition.

Thus, beginning with the "Khari"

Thus, beginning with the "Khaki Election" of December 1918 and lasting right down to the general election of last autumn, a period of five years, reaction dominated in Great Britain and, following the Bonar Law election late in 1922, its control has been absolute.

The situation in France was measureably different. Clemenceau was a radical, but in the last analysis he was Clemenceau and he dominated

demenceau and he dominated by virtue of the fact that he was Clemenceau. When he retired, after the Treaty of Versailles, he was de-nied the Presidency because he had refused to follow the advise of Foch and Poincare in making the treaty of peace; that is, to put it simply, he had listened to Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson rather than to Frenchmen of the Poincare and Foch opinion.

Why Briand Fell
But the French Parliament, chosen in 1819, was a feactionary par-liament comparable in the main to that chosen in England in the Khaki election, some months cartier. It was parliament committed to maintaining for France the fruits of the victory, such fruits as remained after the Treaty of Versallies. It began with a Millerand Cabinet, but Millerand shortly after became President of the Republic. Then came a Leygues Cabinet which was but a makeshift, then came Briand.

Now Briand is by political habit a conservative radical. He started as a socialist of the extreme type, as did Millerand, but like the President he has been marching to the right all the time he has been climbing to election, some months earlier. It was

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elected in Britain, immediately after the Armistice in December, 1918, that chosen in France after the making of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and finally the Congress and the President chosen in the United States in 1920 represented conservative and, so far as Europe was concerned, reactionary principles.

It is patent that events in Russia materially contributed to the character of the governments chosen in western nations and even more to the policies pursued by western democracles for the first years of peace. The men who dominated in France and in Great Britain were men who had little real sympathy or even patience with the ideas Mr. Wilson had championed and the Rushr, however, permanently allenated Britain even, permanently allenated Britain had even primarily 10 p

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Reaction Follows Radicalism

Then, by an odd coincidence, at least, the countries which had gone radical began to turn conservative, we saw the coming of Musolini with his Facismo, seizing power by something closely approximating a revolution but a revolution made by the right, by the conservatives and finally legalized by the still recent Italian election. Then we saw the drift for right in Germany moving steadily and impressively until it culminated in the recent election, which was a transformation the extent of which remains difficult to measure but the direction of which was and is patent.

Meantime in England Lloyd George, mainly supported by Tories, ruled for four years. Little by little he lost the support of the Liberals, that of Labor was lost from the start. In the end he became solely the creature not merely of the Tortes, but of Tory principles, although in his own heart he was always hoping for a chance to form a middle, moderate party drawing from Liberal and Tory.

In the end this aspiration weeked him. Falling abroad he was overthrown at home by the more conservative wing of the Tory party. It was the Dawes Commission, for little was the Dawes Commission, for

But the Dawes report for the first time gave the French financial 1922 as she had turned to Poincare in 1922 as she had turned to Clemencial 1922 as she had turned to Poincare in 1922 as satisfied in 1922 as statemence in 1922 as satisfied in 1922 as satisfied in axination. But when the Dawes war Committee had vindicated the Poin-tear claim, then the real usefulness of Poincare had terminated.

their rights; but whose strength, unfortunately aroused British and even American criticism and roused German reaction to the war pitch. Poincare could not get along with Britain, or more exactly Britain, or more exactly Britain, or more exactly Britain, or more exactly Britain, or be exactly Britain, or more exactly Britain, opean peace, and since, in any event his task was done, it was time to choose other men to negotiate with both Britain and Germany.

Now, if France had been at heart militaristic, as has been so often alleged, she would not have turned away from Poincare at this moment. On the surface it was as wild an experiment as the British choice of MacD mald a few short months be-

drop Poincare as Clemenceau had, in fact been dropped?

Bear in mind that the mass of Frenchmen during the period of the break between Great Britain and France had made up their minds that France must in the end work with Britain or get nothing. Bear in mind also that a surprising number of Frenchmen had come to the conclusion that at least a basis of economic co-operation between economic co-operation between France and Germany was essential to France—as to Germany—and it

willing to let Germany go scot-free must become evident with what ap-and France fall into defenseless prehension Frenchmen looked at the bankruptcy, France, all parties, or prejudice and even worse against enough of the members of each par-ty, stood by Poincare.

of Poincare had terminated.

Why Poincare Fell

At last the moment had arrived when the French could dispense with the strong man, necessary to defend their rights; but whose strength, unfortunately aroused British and even American criticism and roused German reaction to the war pitch. Poincare could not get along with Britain, or more exactly Britain could not get on with Poincare, but here in the Dawes report was a basis of co-operation between the countries.

On the surface it was as wild an experiment as the British choice of MacD mald a few short months before. But in reality both countries



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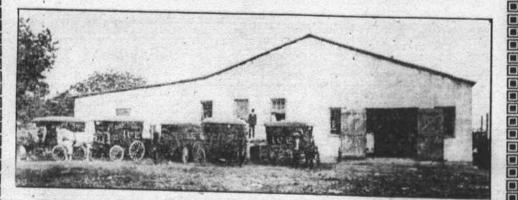
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