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THE MONTH.

The League of Nations is an organisation at present of fifty-four nations whose aim is to promote international co-operation and to achieve peace and security throughout the world.

The League of Nations Union is a British organisation whose aim is to educate and make effective public opinion in support of the League of Nations.

DAY by day the tragedy of Central Europe deepens. The fitful flame of the so-called Entente has all but flickered out of existence, and in its continued preservation small comfort can be found, save in so far as this country has been successful (as in some degree it has) in its opposition to proposals that would have substituted for mere confusion and peril utter chaos and disaster. Lord Curzon has done most of what can be done in the pass to which affairs have been brought, though he still shows little sign of realising the possibilities of a policy directed towards reconstructing Europe from the East. Of Germany itself it is futile to write. What the term Germany signifies at the moment the pen traces the word one can hardly know. What it may mean by the time these lines are in print is beyond all prediction. America, holding still resolutely aloof politically, is preparing once more to exercise that charity of which she has shown herself so magnificently capable since the day Belgium was invaded, and, just as in the Tacitean phrase it is inevitable that you should hate the man you have injured, so, conversely, does the exercise of charity kindle invariably emotions of friendship towards those you are endeavouring to benefit. That fact may have psychological effects capable of translating themselves insensibly and spontaneously into political action.

MEANWHILE the League is left aside. From those measures of enforcement whose discussion has almost split the Ambassadors' Conference in two, she is far better dissociated. To make the League in appearance—much more in reality—a mere instrument of Allied ends would be fatal to its hopes for the future. If Germany showed any sign of welcoming it as arbiter the case would be different. But this at least is certain, that if and when a final settlement does come, the help of the League in the execution of its financial provisions will be indispensable. To the experience acquired in Austria is being added the further experience gained in Hungary, and in lesser measure in Greece. Already the League Financial Commission is an instrument unequalled in efficiency, within the limits of its sphere, by any other either to-day or in past history. Of the problem as a whole it can still be claimed that, given a free hand, the League could solve it equitably and effectively even now. But the League should be as unwilling as the American Government to plunge into a situation hopelessly and deliberately embroiled with its hands tied in advance by impossible restrictions. To that extent regret at the refusal to make use of Geneva is in some degree modified.

* * *

CORONETS are pronounced by a poet who subsequently wore one to be things of relatively small account. Lord Robert Cecil will no doubt bear his symbol of ennoblement with becoming grace, though it can be no improvement on the good, black, broad-brimmed tile whereat Italians quake. It is labouring the obvious to say that the loss of the Commons will be the gain of the Lords. In the Commons' loss the public will share, too, in some degree, for it is in the cut-and-thrust of what is

known by a long inappropriate tradition as the Lower House that reputations are made and lost and policies influenced. A Minister with a cause at heart can do far more for it there than in the Chamber on the other side of the Central Lobby. None the less it can hardly be doubted that Lord Robert has chosen wisely. His health is not precarious, but he can take no liberties with it. The breakdown after the Assembly was a warning he has done well to heed. He cares for one thing supremely, and there is nothing to be gained by squandering his strength, as a Front Bench Minister in the Commons, on the necessary hack-work (for so it relatively is) of defending party-measures that have no connection of any sort with the League. Whether Lord Robert will be a Minister at all after the middle of December depends, of course, on the result of the coming polling. In any case he is far less a party man than most politicians, and in the Lords, with the League as an absorbing and ever-enlarging field of activity, he can follow his own bent untrammelled, and in following it render his highest service to the world.

* * * *

THE decision of the Secretary-General of the League to include Rome in the tour he had already arranged to make to several European capitals was clearly well-advised. After visiting Belgrade, Buda-Pesth, and Bucarest, Sir Eric Drummond saw Signor Mussolini at the Palazzo Chigi early in November. Though certain Italian papers have gone out of their way to hail this as a sign of submission on the part of the Secretary-General, it is quite certain that Signor Mussolini entertained no idea so grotesque. The conversation between the Prime Minister and the Secretary-General appears, indeed, to have been singularly useful. As a matter of fact, Italy's complaint that her nationals are neglected in the staffing of the Secretariat at Geneva has very little substance, but no doubt something can be done to meet her wishes a little more fully. Sir Eric Drummond was able to give the Italian Prime Minister a good deal of needed information on the working of the League, and there is some evidence that serious Italians are beginning to realise the obvious truth that if Italy chooses to throw herself into the work of the League, she will find every opportunity of asserting herself at Geneva as a Power of the first standing in international politics should. Despite the events of September, no one at this or at any other time has ever desired for a moment to deny Italy her due, and her fuller co-operation in the work of the League will be as beneficial to the League itself as it unquestionably will be to her.

* * * *

THE deputation that waited on the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary to convey to the Government the approval of the Union of the protest already made by this country at the active promotion of the Rhineland Separatist movement by the French authorities on the spot, if not by those in Paris, was remarkable equally for the high quality of the speeches addressed to the Minister and for the depth of feeling which manifestly underlay Lord Curzon's reply. The event is referred to elsewhere in these pages, and it

is enough to say here that in a collection of speakers so varied as to include Professor Gilbert Murray, Dr. Scott Lidgett, Lord Buckmaster, Lord Phillimore, Mr. Fred Bramley, Sir Hugh Bell, Admiral Drury-Lowe and Lady Selborne, not one contribution could have been dispensed with without loss. The Foreign Secretary spoke with almost unlooked-for emphasis. He accepted unreservedly Mr. Bramley's contention that the state of the Ruhr and the state of British employment represented direct cause and effect, and he declared roundly that the Separatist movement would be a profound misfortune even if it were spontaneous, and that he himself had no doubt that in fact it was in large degree artificially fomented. With it all it has to be recognised, unhappily, that Lady Selborne got somewhere near the truth when, in expressing sympathy with Ministers' difficulties, she acknowledged that the deputation had in effect been asking them to differ radically from France without imperilling the Entente, and while virtually disarmed ourselves to impose the solution we favour on a nation still armed to the teeth. Not that, in point of fact, all means of political suasion are lacking. France is already alarmed at her growing isolation.

* * * *

THE recent dispute between Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria has provoked a good deal of short-sighted and superficial comment. It is suggested in particular by papers which might be expected to study facts more closely that the incident proves in some way the impotence of the League and the unfortunate effect the Italian affair has had on its prestige. That, of course, is sheer nonsense. The situation was simple. The Jugo-Slav military attaché was made the object of a murderous attack in his house in the Bulgarian capital, and the Belgrade Government promptly called on Bulgaria to make various apologies, which did her no material and very little moral harm, and, in addition, to allow the question of compensation to be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice. A reply within forty-eight hours was requested. If Bulgaria had considered the conditions grossly onerous, which they were not, she could have appealed to the League. Instead of that she decided—wisely under all the circumstances—to comply with Jugo-Slavia's demands. That being so, the question of intervention by the League (which had shown itself in the Albanian quarrel of November 1921, fully capable of dealing with Jugo-Slavia) never arose. The important feature of the whole affair is that Jugo-Slavia voluntarily proposed the submission of the question of damages to the Permanent Court, thereby registering a most welcome advance on the Mussolini model which has been so inappropriately quoted in this connection.

* * * *

THE replies made by the Prime Minister on the day the session opened to questioners who endeavoured to extract information regarding the Ambassadors' scandal are singularly instructive. Would the Government, asked Mr. Butler, publish the evidence on which the Ambassadors took their decision? Impossible, said Mr. Baldwin, to act without our Allies in such a matter. Did the British member of the Commission of Enquiry,

asked Mr. Butler, think Greece guilty? That question, said Mr. Baldwin, did not arise. Were they not, asked Capt. Benn, to have the report of the Commission of Enquiry at all? That, said Mr. Baldwin, was another question. Did Lord Crewe, inquired Capt. Berkeley, assent to the Ambassadors' decision on instructions or without them? That question, said Mr. Baldwin, required notice. Had Lord Crewe, asked Mr. White, sent in a report on the decision, and would that report be published? He had made a report, said Mr. Baldwin, but it would be against the public interest to publish it. Did the Government, pursued Mr. White, approve the Ambassadors' findings? That question, said Mr. Baldwin, required notice. Did the Court, asked Capt. Benn, find Greece guilty of negligence or not? The Prime Minister regretted he could not remember. Such accretions to the sum of human knowledge does question-time bring forth.

* * * *

THE *English Review* for November contained an article by M. Stéphane Lauzanne, Editor of the Paris *Matin*, on the League of Nations, with special reference to the recent Assembly. M. Lauzanne, who mentions that he was present at the discussion of the Græco-Italian problem by the Council on September 5, describes with an eye of unique discernment how, when Lord Robert Cecil rose with flashing eye to make certain observations, "a shudder ran round the galleries." The incident appears to have escaped the attention of other eye-witnesses—possibly because neither in the room in which the Council discussed the Italian affair on September 5, nor in any room in which it discussed it on any other day, is there the smallest vestige of a gallery. A good deal of the rest of M. Lauzanne's article is on the same level of accuracy. A reply is likely to appear in the December number of the *English Review*.

* * * *

TWO or three correspondents have suggested in regard to the leading article in last month's HEADWAY that the opportunity should have been seized to urge the complete abolition of the Conference of Ambassadors, while exception is also taken to any words indicating approval of Mr. Baldwin's declared attitude towards the League, in view of the fact that, as Prime Minister, he has to bear his share of responsibility for the Ambassadors' decision regarding Italy's 50,000,000 lire, seeing that the British Ambassador, Lord Crewe, concurred in that decision. To take the later point first, there were factors affecting the Paris decision which in some degree forced the Prime Minister's hands. It is not practicable to go into that whole matter here, but the circumstances do not appear to be such as to make it reasonable or just to deprive Mr. Baldwin of the credit that is certainly due to him for the consistent support he has given to the League both in word and in deed. With regard to the abolition of the Ambassadors' Conference, while there is obviously much to be said for that, it would be eminently undesirable to hand over to the League the business of enforcing the terms of the various Peace Treaties for the benefit of the Allies alone. The Ambassadors' Conference ought to be confined strictly to the execution of those particular duties,

and it may even be that some other body could be found to take them over. But the matter is not quite as simple as it sounds, and for that reason the Union Executive which recently discussed the question at some length, refrained from going so far as demanding the complete and immediate abolition of the Conference.

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IT is surprising how much satisfaction certain critics of the League of Nations derive from the simple process of setting up dummies of their own construction and triumphantly knocking them down again. Lord Birkenhead is the latest exponent of this attractive art. His Glasgow speech on "Idealism in International Politics" contained, as might have been expected, a series of paternal admonitions to the League of Nations to keep itself well in the background, coupled with the implied intimation that if it stayed there and made no trouble it might be quite an adornment to the scenery. "The larger claims made on its behalf" have always seemed to Lord Birkenhead "frankly fantastic." Well, perhaps they may be. If what the ex-Lord Chancellor had in mind, as other words he used suggested, were wild ideas of the League as a kind of Super-State, "fantastic" is as good enough a word to apply to them as any other. But what Lord Birkenhead omitted to remark was that such views were never held, and are not held to-day, by any responsible person. Claims advanced on the League's behalf by its supporters are based on what the League has accomplished in four years. There is nothing fantastic about that. It rests on a foundation of as hard facts as any in history.

* * * *

WILL you give "Headway" away? A branch of the Union (Hampstead) has made the admirable suggestion that subscribers who do not keep "Headway" for reference should be encouraged to post their copy to someone abroad. Steps are already being taken to put such an arrangement on a working basis. Carried out systematically it may form the most effective possible propaganda for the League, and should in time increase substantially the membership of League of Nations Associations in the different countries to which copies of "Headway" are sent. In many cases no doubt correspondence between giver and recipient will develop. There is already at Headquarters a list of people all over the world who want to see "Headway," and who, for one reason or another (in countries with depreciated currencies the cost itself is a deterrent), are not themselves subscribers. As the result of enquiries about to be made in different countries that list will shortly be considerably lengthened. In addition it should be easy and would certainly be valuable to arrange regular exchanges between individual subscribers to "Headway" and individual subscribers to the "League of Nations Herald," the organ of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association in the United States. Those readers of "Headway" who would be willing to post their copy abroad in this way every month, beginning with the January issue, are invited to send their names and addresses to the Editor of "Headway," at 15, Grosvenor Crescent. If they prefer that their copy should go to any special country, endeavours will be made to arrange it so. There are likely to be more offers than there so far are requests, but this is a case in which the will is as welcome as the deed. An absence of acknowledgment will mean only that advantage will be taken of the offer later, as further names come in from abroad.

OUR RULERS.

WITHIN a week after this issue of HEADWAY appears, the twenty million voters of this country will have elected their rulers. With the particular political choice they make we have no concern. The League of Nations Union counts all the three main parties in the country its friends. The leaders of each have made the League a plank, of varying thickness and solidity, in their platform, and we look to whatever party or combination of parties forms the next Administration to base its foreign policy increasingly on the League of Nations. That does not mean for a moment that supporters of the League can take everything for granted when an election comes. There has, it is to be hoped, been no disposition to that kind of apathy in the last fortnight, and there must be none in the days remaining before the votes are cast. If the outgoing Government has done its duty by the League, as it may justly claim that it has, that is due in no small measure to the activity of branches of the Union at the election of 1922 in challenging candidates of all parties to state plainly the attitude they adopted then, and would adopt if elected Members of Parliament, in relation to the League. If that activity has been maintained, as it should have been in the contest now quickening to a finish, we shall have a House in which a vast majority of Members is pledged to give unswerving support to the League and to press for the use of its machinery at all times and in all emergencies where opportunity offers.

But assume that done. Let everything be as we desire. Have we chosen our real rulers after all? Or is it true that—supreme tribute to our twentieth-century civilisation—we are ruled in the last analysis, not by Parliament, but by the Press? It is true and it is not true. It is true that the Press to a large extent makes the electorate what it is, and the electorate necessarily makes the House of Commons what it is. But, fortunately, the electors as a whole have a curious way of showing themselves harder-headed than the newspapers they read, and the average Member of the House of Commons, no matter what his party, has commonly a breadth of outlook and a fundamental honesty of purpose (not inconsistent with occasional shifts and evasions on secondary issues) which goes some way to neutralise the influence that a powerful and syndicated Press may attempt to exercise. Constitutionally at any rate it is the House of Commons that rules us, and unless Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook can intimidate Members of the House they are impotent to achieve their purposes.

For all that, the power of the Rothermere-Beaverbrook combination cannot for a moment be disregarded. It is estimated that those two noble Lords between them provide the mental sustenance of thirteen million purchasers of daily and weekly papers, and of those thirteen million probably twelve and three-quarter buy their political views from the newsagents just as they buy their bread from the baker's or their milk from the dairyman—and usually with even less concern about quality. Thus Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook, highly successful business men as they are, can guarantee 7 per cent. on the £8,000,000 stock they have permitted the eager investor to scramble for.

Now, Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook are fully entitled to whatever opinions they hold. They have as much a right to disbelieve in the League of Nations as readers of HEADWAY have to believe in it. Whether they are equally entitled to misrepresent it, or suppress news of its activities except when they seem to go wrong, is a matter of journalistic ethics, and that is a question there would not be great profit in discussing

with the Great Twin Brethren *de nos jours*. Neither is it much worth while to consider why the lords of the Press Trust dislike the League of Nations. Broadly speaking, the reasons are obvious. The League stands for some degree, at any rate, of altruism. It postulates the possibility of reconciliation with past enemies. It presents the common good of humanity as a better thing than the material prosperity of one-half the world gained at the expense of the other. It conceives of patriotism as a spirit that impels those it animates sometimes to give and not always to get. It declines to put military domination on a higher level than moral leadership.

These views, of course, are fantastic and repellent in those purlieus of Fleet Street where Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook rule. Their horizons are variously limited. Lord Rothermere's goes, at any rate, as far as Marseilles. Lord Beaverbrook is a Canadian, and to him the Empire means something—whether as something great or as something merely big is a matter of question. However that may be, every man, as has been said, is entitled to his opinion. The point for readers of these columns is this: Any Government that takes office at Westminster this month knows that in pursuing a sound League policy it will have against it newspapers preaching daily or weekly to thirteen million readers—preaching as lustily as Lord Birkenhead, and with far more effect—the gospel of materialism and self-interest, and attacking the so-called idealists of the League day in and day out with a certain crude ability it would be bigoted and foolish to deny.

That means heavy odds for a Government to face. With that against them, what have they at their backs? So far as quality goes they have (with the exception of the *Morning Post*, and it at least is always fair to the League in its news columns) all the best of the Press of the country. They have the Churches, almost solid, but the Churches are too apt to be content with mere platonic support when what is needed is systematic organisation and mobilised pressure at moments of crisis. They have, further, the League of Nations Union, exerting an influence, as everyone who sees it from the inside knows well, far beyond what the figures of its membership alone would suggest. But that is nothing like enough. A Government anxious to do everything possible for the League—be it Conservative or Liberal or Labour—is put in a wholly unfair position. Look at the figures: Rothermere-Beaverbrook, 13,000,000; League of Nations Union, 320,000. The latter figure does not, of course, represent a third or a quarter of the League supporters scattered up and down the country. But why are they scattered when they need to be organised? Why, in particular, are the congregations in the tens of thousands of churches in England and Scotland and Wales represented by some utterly trifling percentage of their members? This is not a case of mere numbers. It is a question of mobilising and giving direction to energies and beliefs and enthusiasms that exist, but that are running to waste like a river percolating away through the sands. We are electing our rulers. Let us be fair to them. A year or two ago a daily paper friendly to the League said the Union ought not to be able to hold up its head in the streets till it had half a million members, and not to begin to be satisfied till it counted a million. If every member registered to-day would bring in two others the million would be reached. And then that million can be set to double itself. When that day comes this country will be an immovable rock in whose shelter the League will find safe mooring in any weather, and where, to vary the metaphor, Great Britain goes forward the nations of Europe will not hold back. Leave that duty unaccomplished and Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook remain in possession of the field.

A GOOD EUROPEAN.*

By S. K. RATCLIFFE.

THE first thing to say about Mr. Spender's admirable biography is that it is an invaluable document in the history of England between the Victorian Jubilee and the preliminaries of the Great War. And the second, I think, that it will dispel at least one common error. English people have been far too ready to assume that the feuds in the Liberal Party compelled the choice of C.-B. as leader merely because he was the best available stop-gap, a sound party man who divided the ranks far less than any other would have done. Those whose political memory covers the miserable time of the Boer War have always known that the truth did not accord with assumption, and now the full record makes that triumphantly clear. C.-B. was no stop-gap; he was the indispensable man of the epoch. The root, the essential quality, of English statesmanship was in him. No other man (certainly no one from the post-Gladstone front bench) could have performed his task, for, as we now know, there was no other in whom were combined the gifts of character, of mind, and temper, that were needed during the opening years of the century.

His place among the Prime Ministers is, I imagine, determined mainly by three things: The steadfastness and skill with which he restored the Liberal Party after the Boer War, the South African settlement, and his relation to foreign affairs in the stage that followed the making of the Anglo-French Entente.

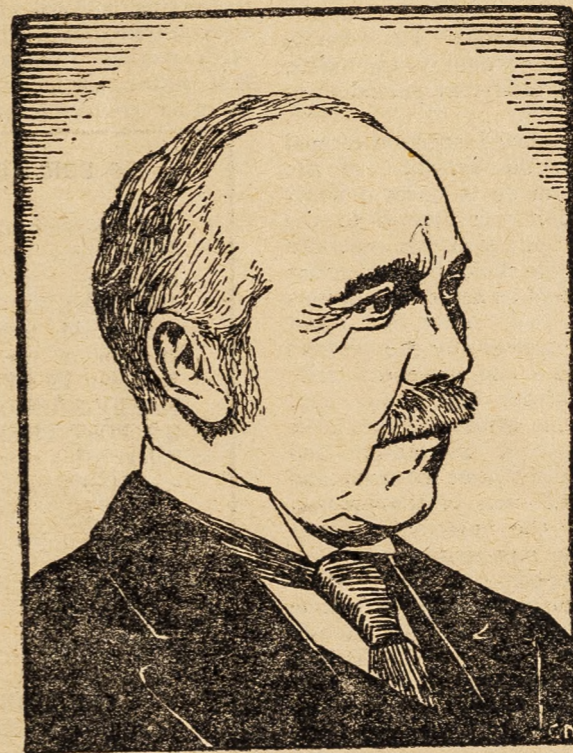
The first was an astonishing achievement. His colleagues, as we know, had the highest regard, not only for his private character, but also for his diplomatic talent. As War Minister he had retired the Duke of Cambridge from the perpetual headship of the Army in a fashion which even the later Haldane could not have approached. There is, however, no sign that they saw in him any positive quality of leadership. Nor was this to be wondered at. No statesman in England ever accepted a more glaringly thankless task than that of leading the Liberals in 1899. Their chief men were hardly on speaking terms with one another then, and for nearly three years they were driven apart by a vital question of thought and principle. During at least half of that period there cannot have been more than a small section of the party that had any belief in C.-B.'s reserve force, or in his power of survival. He won by virtue of his fidelity to principle. It was not till the return of peace, in 1902, that the party, and the country, began to realise that C.-B. was a strategist not given to making mistakes, and a political leader who, with no showy talents whatever, had the character which the British people are always ready to honour. During

* The Life of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, G.C.B. By J. A. Spender. (Hodder & Stoughton. Two vols. 42s.)

some five years C.-B. had to suffer the embarrassing rivalry of the most brilliant amateur of the age. There is nothing in our modern political history to compare with the masterly directness, with which he played Lord Rosebery off the stage.

The making of the South African Constitution was, of course, the crown of his career. Mr. Spender does the fullest justice to this great accomplishment, and he prints letters which make it perfectly plain that the thing was done by C.-B. Many have held that the credit for the piece of statesmanship which in 1914 so triumphantly justified itself should not be claimed for the Prime Minister alone. But the testimony is conclusive. A single decision was called for: the affirmation of a downright British principle, the brushing aside of all proposals for attempts at compromise. That came in the Cabinet from C.-B., and it closed the era of strife and suspicion among the white peoples of South Africa.

We come to a difficult and still much-disputed chapter when considering C.-B.'s relation to foreign affairs. He was, in the full sense of the term, a good European. His instinctive feeling was towards France. He delighted in French life and culture, found much of his recreation in the reading of French books, and (as the famous utterance on the Duma showed) was one of the few English public men who could make a good speech in French. He inherited from the Balfour Ministry the understanding with France, in which Rosebery alone of his contemporaries had seen danger; and on taking office he had announced with emphasis that, so far as the Liberal Government was concerned, it implied not the smallest design of diminishing the friendly feeling of England for Germany. The crucial



stage in the new alignment of the Powers began, as Sir Edward Grey made known on August 3, 1914, during January, 1906. Mr. Spender prints a series of extraordinarily interesting documents: Brief notes from the Foreign Secretary to the Prime Minister about the naval arrangements; Sir Edward Grey's précis of conversations with the French Ambassador, with M. Cambon's requests for the specific promise of support; Sir Edward Grey's careful recital of the reasons which compelled him to keep within the limits described by him in Parliament more than eight years later; C.-B.'s acknowledgments, coupled with his hint of the need for caution and queries as to when the Cabinet should be called to consider the steps taken, or proposed, for giving effect to the arrangements rising out of the Lansdowne agreement. The record as given by Mr. Spender is strictly objective, and it is of necessity incomplete. Two points, however, emerge. The first is the fullness of the continuity in foreign policy established in England a quarter of a century ago. The second is the virtual freedom from control by either Prime Minister or Cabinet that was enjoyed by the Foreign Office during the period which covered the re-entry of England into the European system.

SAFETY FOR WORKERS.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT AT GENEVA.)

THE prophets were wrong when they asserted that the International Labour Conference would be killed by its subject. The event has given them the lie. Forty-eight States sent delegations, the majority of which were "complete," in that they represented the three national groups; there was no falling off in the quality of the elements comprising them as regards personality, significance or distinction in the national sphere; and work, both in the plenary sessions of the Conference and in all Commissions, was keen and thorough, maintaining its liveliness throughout the week. There was some real advantage in the concentration of interest on a single subject, and that a severely practical one, forming part of the warp and woof of industrial life. Nothing could have been further removed from the theoretical discussions of the visionary "oracles" supposed by a certain section of an imaginative Press to assemble annually at Geneva than the debates of the Labour Conference of 1923. The debaters could not have taken flight, if they would, to the realms of theory, for the hard facts of their text pinned them to the ground.

The General Principles of Factory Inspection formed the theme. The "Inspection du Travail" of the French texts could have been made to cover a wider field, but in practice discussion was limited to the narrower one; and that such limitation was generally accepted appeared clearly from the choice by the various governments of factory inspectors as technical advisers to their delegates. There can be no doubt that, apart from the invaluable contribution made by the advisers to discussion both in conference and more especially in committee, the more informal intercourse that went on between them during the whole period of their stay in Geneva—the exchange of information and experience, the comparison of different systems and methods of inspection in detail—was of the greatest value, and will bear fruit in the immediate future. It was especially helpful to the representative officials of younger and less-developed countries, where factory inspection is still in the early stage, and those who have to build up a national scheme are anxiously seeking the best plans for their edifice. The British Delegation was strong in the experience for which the situation called. The appointment as senior Government delegate of Mr. Betterton, M.P., already a member of the governing body, with that of his adviser, Mr. Oswald Allen, was announced in HEADWAY for October; the other Government Delegate was Sir Malcolm Delevingne, of the Home Office, whose expert knowledge on the subject of the Conference is unrivalled. The employers' delegate was Mr. Lithgow, while the workers were most efficiently represented by Mr. Poulton as delegate, with Miss Bondfield and Mr. Cowley as advisers.

The main difficulty in dealing with the subject before the Conference lay in the somewhat indeterminate character of the end to be reached. It is so easy to become vague when one is invited to talk of "principles," especially when these are sought to be applied within the borders of half a hundred States, many of which stand at varying levels of industrial development, social customs and standards of conditions in factory life. To obtain agreement on such points as the scope of the Inspectors' work, their powers and functions, their position in relation to local administrative authorities, their rights and duties in connection with accident prevention and investigation, and—perhaps, in anticipation, the thorniest point of all—the equal authority of women inspectors, seemed far from easy. There was no question of a Draft Convention: the Conference could not seek to impose uniform practice in circum-

stances which differed so widely; but could it agree to a recommendation of general principles on which all alike might safely build? By goodwill and careful consideration, with some amendment of the proposal drafted by the Labour Office, this was found possible. Agreement was reached, and it was complete. The Draft Recommendation embodying the reports of all the five Commissions was passed by the Conference unanimously, without abstentions.

This Recommendation established no principle which is new to this country. But in these matters it behoves us to think internationally. To many of the smaller nationalities represented—such as the Baltic States and the Succession States of the old Austrian Empire, who played a considerable part in the Conference—and to some of the greater industrial countries, too, the laying down of the principle of complete independence for the factory inspectorate of all changes of Government and local administrative interference, means a valuable weapon in the fight for freedom from hampering political and economic influences. We are so accustomed in Great Britain to consider the protection of the worker in the factory from accident as one of the first duties of a factory inspector that the importance, in other countries, of the international assertion of

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that duty, may fail to impress us sufficiently. But everyone who knows the position of the woman inspector in most Continental systems, even in the highly-developed systems of France and Germany, cannot fail to be struck by the character of that part of the Recommendation which declares for the assignment to them in general of the same powers and duties, together with equal authority, as are assigned by men inspectors, and, subject to their possessing the necessary training and experience, of right to promotion to the higher ranks. It is remarkable that this "revolutionary" clause should have passed the Conference without a voice being raised against it.

On the whole, then, a good Conference, if a short one, with solid achievement to its credit, won in an atmosphere of businesslike friendliness. Its session was preceded, on Sunday, October 21, by the laying, on the site handsomely presented by the Swiss Government and the Canton of Geneva, of the three foundation stones of the new International Labour Office, which is to replace the organisation's present cramped, inconvenient and none too healthy quarters outside Geneva.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, November, 1923.

THIS is a busy period for the League. The Customs Formalities Conference is scarcely over before the General Transit Conference begins, and both these meetings have covered and are covering extensive ground. Officials of the Secretariat have visited Hungary for the purpose of a preliminary investigation concerning Hungary's financial position which was considered by the League's Financial Committee at its meeting in London. There have been several other committee meetings, and early next month the Jurist's Committee which is to consider the juridical points arising out of the Italo-Greek controversy is to assemble at Geneva. The meeting of the Council was fixed for December 10 or 12, but at the time of writing it seems possible that it may be postponed.

Perhaps in the midst of a General Election fight in England it is a far cry to call attention to some considerations arising out of the Customs Formalities Conference which concluded this month in Geneva, but it is a subject of considerable importance to British foreign trade. There are two kinds of States to be considered in this matter: those who seek all possible avenues of foreign trade, such as Great Britain, and those who defend themselves against foreign goods by various methods. Several States have used customs formalities as a means of prohibition, and even where they have entered into trade agreements, it has happened that they have misused customs formalities to defeat the purpose of the agreements. The Conference showed a unanimous desire for simplification and co-ordination of customs formalities, and it was obviously difficult for any States to proclaim publicly that prohibitive formalities have been purposely introduced to defend their markets. The result of the Conference has been, broadly and at least, to exercise moral pressure for the abolition of prohibitive formalities.

It has drawn up a Convention, signed by twenty-one States, which lays definite obligations upon such States as eventually ratify it. The first implication is that the question is not exclusively national, but in a great measure international, and it is recognised as an obligation that each State must publish its rules and regulations to the world before applying them, so that all the conditions may be known before traders and travellers are subjected to hindrances and annoyances through insufficient publicity. If a State applies rules before publishing them, or if it refuses means of considering complaints regarding the application of rules, it can, if necessary, be cited before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The contracting parties undertake to examine the best methods of making more uniform or more reasonable, whether by individual or concerted action, the formalities relating to the rapid passage of goods through customs, the examination of travellers' luggage, the system of goods in bond and warehousing charges, co-operation of the services in different States, &c. They undertake to observe strictly the principle of equitable treatment, to reduce import and export tariffs to a minimum, and to simplify the procedure for delivering and recognising certificates of origin. A great many detailed suggestions are made under all the headings, and the Convention foreshadows another international conference between the administrations and organisations concerned to establish detailed arrangements. Separate agreements in the same direction are not excluded. The main thing is that the contracting parties definitely accept certain principles and obligations and undertake, in putting them into practice, to give favourable consideration to certain

particular recommendations. The Convention as adopted should command the serious attention of all traders, commercial travellers, and the travelling public, as each of these sections has experienced only too fully the loss and inconvenience caused by the exasperating conditions which they have to face in passing from one country to another and in despatching merchandise from one country to another.

It is too early to say much about the Transit Conference (which has a definite programme of four carefully prepared conventions to consider), except that it is in fact another part of the problem dealt with by the Customs Formalities Conference. They are both part and parcel of the gradual process of easing the whole machinery of international transit and exchange, which is being approached in carefully prepared stages.

There is a special point in connection with the Transit Conference which it is important to mention. It is the common stock-in-trade of the hostile friends of the League to belabour it with full rhetorical force for "excluding" Russia and Germany. You have yourself dealt adequately with this completely ill-informed attitude, and there is a practical illustration of the difficulties unrecognised by these critics. At the last session of the International Union of Railway Administrations held in Paris the delegates of the Russian Transport Commissariat strongly protested, in the name of their Government, against the fact that Soviet Russia had not been invited to participate in this technical Transit Conference of the League which opened on November 15. The Members of the Council were consulted about this and agreed to an invitation being sent, but M. Chicherin declined the invitation, declaring that his Government was against the establishment of the control of the League of Nations—a political organisation—in matters of international communication. It was an organisation (he said) which in no way safeguarded the equality of nations, and which constituted an instrument of domination by a coalition of certain Great Powers, whose control could only prevent the normal development of international transport in making it an instrument in their hands. He also added that the draft railway convention implied the recognition of the Treaty of Versailles, which the Soviet Government had no intention of recognising.

This reply is a mass of absurdities and is not likely to encourage any further efforts of the kind to meet Russian wishes until Russia becomes less childishly truculent. They first of all protest officially against not being invited to participate in a technical conference of the League, and when they receive the invitation as a result of the protest, they decline to take part in it because the League is a political organisation, and because one of the subjects has some relation to the Treaty of Versailles. If Russia makes up her mind never to take part in any international work which has anything to do with the Treaty of Versailles she will exclude herself from international work for a very long time, because—for good or ill—Europe to-day is largely based on the Treaty, and if a State decides that it will not participate in any work arising from it, such as improving transit communications and trade or labour conditions, and many other matters, it will never have a recognised voice in anything international; it will exclude itself even from a complete reconsideration of the Treaty which exists, much as Russia may dislike it. This sort of attitude is playing the fool with the world and with the Russian people, and it is just as well that the facts should be recognised by those who talk of "exclusion."

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

THE Executive Committee, having so ordained, the Union organised a representative and influential Deputation, which waited on the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary on November 8, to express its appreciation of the Government's action in protesting against the Separatist movement in the Rhineland, and to urge the Government to insist that members of the Rhineland High Commission carry out their duties with strict neutrality and in accordance with the provisions of the agreement that brought the Commission into being.

The Deputation was introduced by Professor Gilbert Murray, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and seven of its members made brief speeches. Lord Buckmaster urged specifically that a reply be now given to the German Note of last June, which has remained unanswered ever since, and also that the question of the legality of French action in the Ruhr be definitely tested by submission to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Lord Phillimore, going rather further, asked that some gesture of sympathy with Germany be made and, in particular, that the Government forgo definitely the untenable claim to reimbursement of the cost of pensions and allowances.

Both Mr. Baldwin and Lord Curzon replied, the principal speech being made by the Foreign Secretary, who spoke in scathing terms of the Separatist attempts and made it clear that the Government would discountenance the whole artificial movement as decisively in the future as they were already doing in the present. Both he and Mr. Baldwin emphasised the extraordinary difficulties of the situation and the supreme need of acting, if possible, in concert with America. Mr. Baldwin, however, declared that if, in the last resort, independent action by this country proved necessary, he would not shirk from the responsibilities involved.

It was obvious that the two Ministers recognised fully the desire of the Deputation to strengthen their hands, and the Union, which was responsible for the arrangements, had every reason to be satisfied both with the quality of the speeches and with the sympathetic nature of the replies.

THE LEAGUE OR THE AMBASSADORS?

We have not heard the last yet of one side of the Corfu affair—our own side. The Government of this country can apparently pursue a fair and upright policy through its representative on the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, and at the same time and on the same issue concur, through its representative on the Council of Ambassadors, in one of the most iniquitous and overbearing decisions that history can record. The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union have taken upon themselves to draw the Governments' attention to its Janus-like attitude, and have ventured to suggest that "the activities of the Conference of Ambassadors should be strictly confined to completing as soon as possible the duties already imposed upon it as a result of the Peace Treaties; and that in any case where its sphere of action may overlap with that of the League of Nations, the latter should be recognised as the superior authority."

THE GREAT CONFERENCE.

Our hopes of a "Great Conference" to discuss the Reparations problem seem to be temporarily frustrated. The Executive Committee of the Union urged the Government to give its most earnest attention to the proposal made by General Smuts, and suggested that some such scheme for the financial reconstruction of the German republic as had already produced successful results in Austria should be initiated without delay.

Since then France has smashed the expert enquiry plan and the South African Premier has again urged the

General Conference. Meanwhile Europe totters on the edge of the abyss.

"... NAKED AND YE CLOTHED ME..."

The first parcels of clothes are beginning to come in as response to Dr. Nansen's appeal on behalf of the Greek refugees from Asia Minor. These parcels have been despatched to Athens. If only the winter can be tided over, there is every hope that the League settlement scheme will enable the refugees to be self-supporting for the future. *But these winter months have to be passed first*, and all philanthropic societies and individuals are earnestly requested to send any clothes, however old, and blankets, to the All-British Appeal, New Hibernia Wharf, London Bridge, S.E. If the appeal is not successful, thousands of people will die of cold this winter.

AFTER TYPHUS—MALARIA!

I was struck by the number of eminent doctors that were assembled at Lady Mond's reception on November 14 to meet Dr. Norman White, who is in charge of the medical side of the work of the Epidemics Commission of the League's Health Organisation. It is always worth listening to a man who has been "on the spot" and can talk about work of which he has first-hand knowledge; and it was good to hear from Dr. White that as a result of the League's work in Russia and the border States of Eastern Europe cholera had almost disappeared, and that typhus and relapsing fever—which at one time had threatened to overrun Europe—are now well in hand. One could have wished that the story had ended there; unfortunately typhus seems to be like the Hydra's head: when it is cut off another head appears. Malaria is now assuming serious proportions in these areas, and it will need all the courage and patience of the League's health service to combat this fresh outbreak.

Dr. White has recently returned from a tour in the Far East, and is shortly to present his report on this tour to the Health Commission.

NEXT YEAR'S BUDGET.

The next regular meeting of the General Council of the Union will be held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday and Friday, December 13 and 14. The first session will commence at 11 a.m. on the 13th. One of the most important items on the Agenda will be the question of how much the Union is to spend next year. May one hope that by the time the Council meets the election fever will have cooled off and that there will be a full representation from all parts of the country?

A. E. W. T.

THE EMPIRE'S TASK.

THE dinner given by the Union to the Dominion Premiers and the British and Dominion Delegates to the League Assembly is old history by now, but it is history that demands to be chronicled none the less. Never, probably, in the Union's still short annals has any function organised by it achieved a more complete success.

The company was "large and distinguished," as the daily papers hastened to proclaim, but that circumstance was a satisfaction rather to the company itself than to the world at large. What counted, and will count in its effects on reading men and women far scattered over many lands, was the temper that inspired the speeches and the high level of oratory uniformly attained. The Prime Minister and most of his Cabinet colleagues were unfortunately at the Unionist Conference at Plymouth, and the absence of Lord Robert Cecil, through illness, was a great disappointment. But out of evil some good came, for it was of manifest value that a right-wing Conservative like Lord Salisbury, who proposed the toast of "The League" in Lord Robert's place, should deliver himself as he did thus publicly of a

temperate but unqualified eulogy of the League, declaring himself, not merely in his own person "a humble supporter of the League, but a member of a Government that is a great supporter of it."

Of the two Prime Ministers who responded to the toast, Captain Bruce of Australia impressed particularly those who had already heard him at the Second Assembly at Geneva by the force of his words and the emphasis of his confession of undimmed and unflinching faith in the League. He declared that as a result of its handling of the Greco-Italian crisis the League had sensibly increased its prestige and its claim on public confidence; he warned its traducers that if this League broke down, only through a welter of blood and tears more terrible than the last could another League be brought to birth, and he ended with a most timely tribute to the work of education so assiduously carried on by the League of Nations Union both here and in Australia, where, said Mr. Bruce, any help he personally could give was always to be had for the asking.

In contrast with the Australian Prime Minister, who spoke without a note, General Smuts* read from manuscript every word of his considered declaration. His grave analysis of the condition of the world five years after the Armistice was within twelve hours before men's eyes in every Continent. The measured denunciation of broken treaties and unavailing sacrifice—"our promises to our peoples, our vows to God, our sacred obligations to the dead, all forgotten"—fell with solemn beat on an audience stilled into silence that made applause a sacrilege. Out of the despair there emerged for the speaker one ray of hope. "Unto us a child is born," a child whom many Herods seek to kill. For that child, the League, the opportunity must come, and sooner, it might be, than many thought. Against the armies of force—that force which always in the end defeats itself—the greater armies of "the imponderables" were on the march.

A speech sombre in its resolute and relentless facing of realities, stimulating and strong in its affirmations of the triumph of right—a triumph which the League could do more to achieve than any other force.

Of the other speeches less must of necessity be said, though none of them fell below the high level set by Mr. Bruce and General Smuts. Professor Gilbert Murray can never have spoken better. His call to the British Empire "to stand between the living and the dead," to take up a burden from which America to all appearance shrank, and his impressive reference to the fact that the Empire had made it possible to associate, in response to the toast of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the proudest prince of the proudest province of India, descendant of generations of royal rulers, and the chosen representative of the toiling masses of Britain, formed a fitting culmination to a speech marked by that elevation of thought and perfection of phrasing which any audience that knows Professor Murray has come to demand as of right.

No two speeches could have been in greater contrast than those with which the evening closed. The Maharajah of Alwar,* in the faultless English which so many of his countrymen have so remarkably mastered, passed from an ardent tribute to the ideals of the Empire to an appeal on the highest moral and religious grounds for the translation of those ideals into action in a yet wider field through the instrumentality of the League. It was the Empire, too, that carried Mr. Thomas to the same level of eloquence as his predecessors had reached. His own party, he remarked (throwing in a happy personal reflection on "the engine-driver of to-day being the Minister of to-morrow"), would in the evolution of time find itself the trustee of supreme power. When that day came no party would be found more cease-

* The speeches of General Smuts and the Maharajah of Alwar have been published by the League of Nations Union, Nos. 134 and 135, price 1d. each.

lessly solicitous for the well-being of the Commonwealth. What symbolises the true ideal of Empire for Mr. Thomas is the flash of inspiration and the impulse of courage that made General Smuts and the republics he fought for into friends instead of foes. Was there, he asked, no room in the world any longer for that generous and wise conciliation?

With that unanswered and challenging question on his lips the engine-driver slowed the train into the terminus, and the passengers scattered their several ways.

GENEVA JOTTINGS.

IT is announced that the United States Social Hygiene Bureau has informed the Secretary of the League that it is prepared to contribute £15,000 to finance the enquiry into the facts of the White Slave Traffic approved by the Assembly last September. American money is already being used to finance various sections of the work of the Health Organisation of the League, and in one way and another Americans are contributing as much yearly to the League work as any State Member of the League, except Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

Among other modest but useful endeavours to simplify life for travellers the Transit Committee of the League has been trying to arrange for the issue of a new kind of International Road Certificate for motor drivers. Various improvements, such as an increase in the number of journeys that can be taken on the basis of the certificate, are being considered, and will probably be made operative in course of time through a new International Convention.

The important Transit Conference which opened at Geneva in the middle of November has been dealing specially with the preparation of a Convention on Railways, a matter which has a good deal more interest for the ordinary traveller than the discussion of such a question as river transport, dealt with by the first Transit Conference at Barcelona in 1921. The Convention is meant to be a kind of International Railway Charter. It is to deal, for example, with such matters as the use of one station for Customs formalities at frontiers instead of two, one each side of the frontier, which is the cumbersome method in common use at present. Questions of free tickets and through carriages, the obligation to maintain a certain standard of speed and comfort, the standardisation of charges and the removal generally of all avoidable impediments to the satisfactory carriage of persons or goods, were among the matters on which permanent decisions were expected to be reached. There is enough practical materialism in all this to satisfy even Lord Birkenhead's exacting requirements.

The Special Committee of Jurists appointed by the League Council to consider questions concerning the League's competence in disputes has been summoned for December 4th. As the Council itself meets on the 10th, the jurists (Great Britain is represented by Lord Buckmaster) will be on hand to answer any questions arising out of the report they are to present.

A small committee of experts on wireless telegraphy convened by the League Jurist Commission, and including as its British member Mr. F. J. Brown, Assistant Secretary of the G.P.O., has decided to invite the League Council to convoke a general international conference on wireless communication. And quite time, too.

"I was one of the first to express my profound belief in the principles of the League, and nothing has happened to shake my faith."—LORD LANSDOWNE, in the *St. Martin's Review*.

THE MAN WHO SPOKE OUT.



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[These verses are reprinted by the special permission of the Proprietors of "Punch."]

GONE are the various Premiers who
Sat at Versailles dispensing fate;
Of all their company none but you
Holds tenure of that high estate;
Where are the Big Three? Where are they,
Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson, and O
Where is their little friend to-day?
Has anybody seen Orlando?

And now you've come from oversea
And said the actual things you felt,
Speaking a language large and free
As are the winds that wash your veldt;
Frankly you talk and unafraid
To us whose mealy mouths are muffled,
Who fear to call a raid a raid
Lest France should find her feelings ruffled.

Taught by a generous English foe,
You hold that wars are won in vain
If those who took the knock-out blow
Are not allowed to breathe again;
Careless of being called "pro-Hun,"
You broadly hint that decent races
Who have the enemy down and done
Do not proceed to kick their faces.

And, if you've heard about a Trust
Whose organs urge our starving poor,
Filling their hollow eyes with dust,
To hail the victors of the Ruhr,
You're friends with France, but I infer,
Whatever Press Combine may do it,
You'll take no headgear off to her
Just for the joy of talking through it.

O. S.

THE NEW WORLD.

XV.—RUMANIA.

By D. N. CIOTORI.

[M. Ciotori represented Rumania as a delegate at the Conference between Rumania and Russia at Copenhagen in 1920, at the Conference between Rumania and Russia at Warsaw in 1921, and at the Genoa Conference in 1922.]

MANY English travellers early in the seventeenth century spoke with some astonishment mixed with sympathy about the existence of a people different in character and language from the Slavs, Turks, Poles and other races, and living around the Carpathian mountains and eastwards towards the Danube.

The existence of such a people situated like an island in the Slavonic world can be explained only as being the result of a colonising process. Just at the beginning of the second century the Romans under Trajan, after destroying the power of the most important barbarians inhabiting nearly the same territory as that occupied by modern Rumania, and known as Dacians and their country as Dacia, transformed the conquered lands into a Roman colony. After that time the land was known as Dacia Trajana.

When we take into account the fact that the Roman domination did not last more than one hundred and seventy years, the existence of a neo-Latin people in this part of Europe appears as a most extraordinary example of the tenacity of the race. In spite of the barbarian invasions these colonists have not only survived, but have grown into a strong nation capable of assimilating other alien elements, and continually affirming its strong individuality. These facts only will suffice to show that the process of colonisation and Romanisation of the local tribes must have been very intensive.

Towards the end of the third century Dacia Trajana was left unprotected, and Rome could not offer more than an invisible force for the defence of her colonists. For nearly one thousand years the hordes of barbarians—Goths, Huns, Vandals, and Avars—streamed over the territory which now forms modern Rumania, but the ethnic and spiritual individuality of the population has not been greatly changed. Travellers will be impressed to-day, as were those of many centuries ago, by the language of the people, which is Latin in its fundamental character, by their customs and traditions, their mode of living, their courage in the face of danger and their superstition, and will at once realise that these people are entirely different from all their neighbours. The tenacity, the unrestricted endurance and patience, the strong belief in their own destiny and self-confidence, will also impress the foreigner.

But the geographical position of the lands inhabited by the Rumanians will also help to understand how the making of the nation was facilitated. The Carpathian mountains, which take the form of an arc opening towards the west, are now in the centre of new Rumania. They form the backbone of the country, and during the

invasion of the Asiatic hordes, and later on during the Wars of the Middle Ages, these mountains were the citadel which helped the nation to defend its existence. It was the Carpathian mountains which protected the welding together of the various tribes with the colonists of Rome into a new race.

The XIVth century, which should have been a period of consolidation for the newly-formed Rumanian principalities, unfortunately witnessed the beginning of their fight against the Turk. During long and terrible centuries—in fact, right down to 1877—this neo-Latin people were fighting the Ottoman power, and, together with their neighbouring Christians, delayed the battle of Mohacz by more than two centuries. One of their great Princes, Stephen the Great (1457-1504), after many victories, planned and nearly succeeded in forming a Christian League, composed of all the people of Central and Eastern Europe, to arrest the advance of the Sultans towards the heart of Europe.

But, in spite of most unfavourable conditions, the social and political evolution of the Rumanian Principalities continued on national lines right

down to the first year of the XVIIth century, which saw the complete union, though only for a short time, of all the Rumanian lands, including Transylvania, under Michael the Brave (1601).

In 1859, when the union of the two Rumanian Principalities Wallachia and Moldavia took place under the same ruler Alexander Cuza I., the Rumanians were still subjects of the Turk, and this continued until 1877, when the victory of their armies, allied with those of Russia, brought their independence, and Rumania became a kingdom (1881).

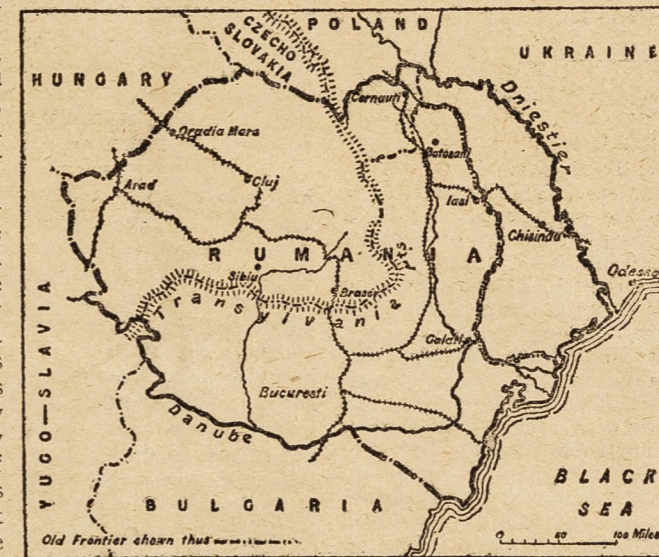
During the great war Rumania fought on the side of the Allies, and after the common victory the complete unity of all Rumanians was achieved.

Modern Rumania is nearly as big as Great Britain, and is one of the principal food producing countries of the world. In addition it has immense fuel resources in the form of oil and natural gas. The principal exports of the country are cereals—wheat, barley and maize—oil, timber, salt and live stock.

The Rumanian language, as spoken all over the new Rumania, is unique, in that there are no appreciable differences of dialect in the different parts of the country.

Rumania is essentially a peasant state, and perhaps one of the most characteristic examples of a country, the great majority of whose population is deeply rooted in the soil. Out of a total of nearly 18 million inhabitants, over 14 millions are villagers.

The Rumanian is still a true child of nature, and is deeply attached to the land. He is very fond of nature, and many of his songs are heart-to-heart talks between himself and the forest, the birds, the mountain streams, the flowers, or his horse. The life of the peasant is a simple one, his costume very picturesque, and popular art, together with popular literature, possess elements which could adorn and enrich European art and poetry. The Rumanian peasant is the most solid foundation upon which Rumanian security rests, and is the great



generator of a life more true to the national character of the race.

The great agrarian reform based on the principle that the land must be given to those who work it, and on the sole condition that they shall pay for it over a long period of years, will not only give permanent stability to the national life, but will even influence the future social development of Eastern and Central Europe.

Agrarian reform, together with that of popular education, which was laid on a sound basis many years before the war, opens up a real democratic era in the life of the Rumanian nation.

The geographical form of modern Rumania is, perhaps, the most natural and rational of all the new states of Europe. More than half of her frontiers are natural—on the south the Danube, the Black Sea and the Dniester on the east.

Ethnically modern Rumania is also in an advantageous position. There are less than 24 per cent. foreign elements of the whole population, and these races are scattered around the central mass of the Rumanian block, except the Szeklers in Transylvania.

The contentment of the people and their self-confidence is a guarantee that modern Rumania will continue to be a state of order and peace in the East of Europe.

Correspondence.

SILENCE AND UNITY.
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—May I, with some diffidence, draw the attention of members of the Union to the practice which I have discovered is becoming increasingly frequent of opening League of Nations Union meetings with a prayer. When the meeting concerned consists entirely of members of a certain Church, or when it is definitely known that the audience all belong to the same religion, it is most surely an excellent thing that guidance should be sought from Him whom the meeting consider the Fount of Wisdom. When, however, the meeting is of a local Branch or a public meeting, which should, and generally does, include, not merely members of one sect of organised Christianity, but also people who belong to other religions or who are agnostics, it is, I think, a mistake to open the meeting with a spoken prayer.

It has, I know, brought into the meeting a feeling of separation and difference when such a feeling is the last thing desired by those who adopt the practice. In our support of the League we should recognise no difference of religion, race, class, or political opinion.

May I suggest as an alternative, if it is desired that those who wish to offer a prayer at the beginning of a meeting should have the opportunity of doing so, that there should be silence for one minute, a silence during which each individual could pray or meditate in the way that seemed best to him?—Yours, &c.,
AN AGNOSTIC.

"We must find in the League of Nations the focus of our contacts with Europe. We must have no sectional alliances. We must give no guarantees of a special kind; we must regard the League no longer as an Executive Committee of the victors, with other nations invited to look on and give an appearance of respectable authority to what the victors (and not always all those) decide. But until the League has obtained the confidence of all the important nations, we must not become the mere catspaws of the League's devotees, and do nothing except through the League. As British interests cannot be dissociated from Continental conditions, so Continental interests cannot be dissociated from World conditions. America had the very best reasons for declining to enter the League, and where American co-operation is obtainable the League (particularly as it now is) should not be allowed to stand in its way."—Mr. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P., in the *Sunday Times*.

THIS MONTH'S COUNCIL.

THE next meeting of the League of Nations Council opens at Geneva on December 10th, and in view of the volume of business on the agenda is likely to last close on Christmas. At least five important decisions will have to be taken, quite apart from the ordinary run of routine business. In the first place, the Council must deal with the Memel question, handed on to it by the Conference of Ambassadors, which has failed to secure agreement between the nations concerned—primarily Poland and Lithuania—on the status of this last remaining area still left in the hands of the Allies more than five years after the Armistice. It is clear enough that the sovereignty over Memel will go to Lithuania, but it is by no means clear precisely what rights of transit will be given to Poland and other States, including Russia, interested in the navigation on the Niemen, which flows into the Baltic through the Memel territory. That, and the measure of protection to be given to the population (mostly German) under Lithuanian rule, are matters for the Council of the League to determine.

Another territorial question of equal importance is the government of the Saar. The five members of the Saar Commission have to be re-appointed or otherwise at this Council meeting, and it is confidently anticipated that certain necessary changes will be made. The Danish member, who has not distinguished himself for that complete neutrality which should be the chief characteristic of a neutral on such a Commission, is likely to be replaced, and there will certainly be a strong move to appoint a Saarois member in a position to represent the views of the majority of the inhabitants, a qualification which no one pretends that the sitting member, M. Land, possesses.

Then there are the reconstruction schemes through which the League is making so valuable a contribution to the restoration of Europe. A report on Austria may be taken as a matter of course, but things are going so well there that there can be nothing startling to record, the main event of the last few weeks being the return to power of a Government pledged to the full execution of the League's scheme. In the case of Hungary, the Financial Commission which sat in London in the last week of November, will present a scheme of reconstruction—based, no doubt, on the Austrian model—which, after approval by the Council, must be referred to the Reparation Commission. That body, however, is morally pledged to adopt it, and the discussion at Geneva will therefore indicate clearly enough what line the now imminent reconstruction of Hungary is to take.

As regards Greece, matters are rather further advanced, for the refugee settlement scheme was approved by the Council at its September meeting, and Mr. Henry Morgenthau, the American chairman of the League Commission which is to put the scheme into execution, is already on the spot. He expects to be at Geneva during the Council meeting to report personally the results of his preliminary survey.

Finally, but not least important, the Council will have to receive and consider the report of the special Committee of Jurists appointed in September to consider various questions concerning the competence of the League arising out of the Græco-Italian dispute. Lord Buckmaster is the British representative on that Committee, and, in the event of an agreed report not being presented, it is likely that an attempt will be made to refer any points still left doubtful to the Permanent Court of International Justice. That course, it is true, was opposed by Italy in September, but the atmosphere has changed since then—partly as a result of the visit of Sir Eric Drummond to Signor Mussolini—and there is every reason to hope that the Italian representative on the Council will take as dispassionate a view as any of his colleagues of the issues to be reported by the Jurists.

The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,

I had no space left in my letter last month to tell you of Mr. Lloyd George's *Is It Peace?* (Hodder & Stoughton, 10s. 6d.); it shall occupy the first place now. There is nothing new in the book; it is a collection of articles and speeches of which he has delivered himself during the present year, but they are none the less valuable for being reprints; indeed the lapse of months serves to show how accurate have been his judgments upon such matters as the occupation of the Ruhr. I will not worry you with certain chapters which deal with domestic politics; they form a small and the less important part of the book; by far the most important part is what Mr. Lloyd George has to say about Continental happenings; this is important not only because of the position which he has held in the past, but because his political career is not yet ended. As I read the book, I was tempted to ask myself, What would Mr. Lloyd George have done in regard to the League if he had been still in power and had had a free hand? The League in a real sense is the child of his own rearing, and he has a firm belief in the possibilities that lie before it; I think that it is quite clear that he would have taken steps during the past months to bring the whole question of reparations under the jurisdiction of the League; he might have been foiled, but I think that he would have made the attempt. He recognises that one of the weaknesses of the League is that "no Great Power has so far permitted any International question in which it has a direct and vital interest to be submitted to the League for decision." You may tell me that if he had made the attempt and insisted on his point, he would have broken the League; that may be so, but it is a question which Mr. Lloyd George does not answer. He is quite definite on the need of the support of public opinion. In his address to the General Assemblies at Edinburgh last May, in emphasising the duty of the Churches to work for Peace, he said: "A public opinion must be worked up that will be strong enough to sustain International right. Without it the League of Nations is a farce." This is a book which is worth reading at the present moment both for the opinions of a political leader, and also for the facts which it contains.

In *The Friends of England* (Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.), Sir Ian Hamilton has some frank words about the League, but where he is so staunch a believer in its aims and ideals, his frank words need give no offence; if he calls it "the present elaborately-organised dud," it is with no malice, since in almost the same breath he urges the members of the British Legion, who were lucky enough to listen to these breezy lectures, to "support the League of Nations; and above all, remember this—it is the one thing to hang on to in all this groaning Europe." So much for what Sir Ian has to say about the League; for the rest he draws on his own very varied experiences both before, during and since the war, and carries us through most of the countries of Europe to say nothing of Japan and the United States; almost everywhere he finds friends, or at least potential friends, of England. It is good to travel with such an entertaining companion who even in these dark days can keep a cheery outlook upon life. Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, of Harvard, in his *Europe Since 1918* (Jonathan Cape, 16s.) is a very different person, as he takes us over Europe; for him it is a sad, bad world, and of all its failures the League is the greatest. He has a good deal to say about it, and since his publishers describe him as "a student and observer of European affairs for fifteen years, whose sole ambition has been to record what he had observed," my hopes were raised only to be the more disappointed. What is one to think of an observer who knows so little

NEW WAY OF LEARNING FRENCH.

Courses in Spanish and German also Ready.

Marvellous results are reported from the new method of learning French, Spanish, and German devised by the Pelman Languages Institute.

Men and women from all over the country write to say that they have learnt to speak, read, and write French or Spanish or German by this method in a few months, whereas formerly it took them as many years to acquire a far less thorough and useful knowledge of a Foreign tongue.

Here are a few extracts from letters received by the Institute:—

"By your method the pupil learns more in ONE year than in FOUR years by the ordinary method."—(S.M. 163.)

"I have managed, during the past few months, to obtain a better knowledge of colloquial and idiomatic French than I acquired in three years at school."—(C. 416.)

"This is the easiest and quickest way of learning Foreign languages. I was not able to study very regularly, but in the space of EIGHT MONTHS I have learnt as much SPANISH as I learnt French in eight years at school."—(S.K. 119.)

"I have learnt more French during the last THREE MONTHS from your Course than I learnt during some four or five years' teaching on old-fashioned lines at a school. Your way is the only satisfactory method of teaching modern languages."—(S. 382.)

"I am delighted with the GERMAN Course, which I find most interesting. Your method is wonderful."—(G.D. 106.)

No Translation.

This new method of learning languages enables you to learn French in French, Spanish in Spanish, and German in German. You are not asked to translate French, German, or Spanish into English or English into Spanish, German, or French. You learn these languages as a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a German learns his mother tongue. English is not employed at all. Yet no previous knowledge of the particular language concerned is needed for a complete understanding of the method.

No Grammatical Difficulties.

A second important point is that this method avoids those grammatical difficulties which prevent so many people learning languages. You are introduced to the language right away, and are taught to write, read, and speak it accurately. As you go through the Course you acquire a certain knowledge of the grammar almost unconsciously, as it were. If you wish to study the formal grammar afterwards you can do so, but the language comes first, the formal grammar later.

This method enables you to read the leading German, French, and Spanish reviews, newspapers, books and Government publications, and thus to keep in close and intimate touch with Continental opinion.

The new Pelman method of learning languages is explained in three little books, entitled respectively, *How to Learn French*, *How to Learn Spanish*, and *How to Learn German*.



Any one of these books (with full particulars of the method) will be sent you, gratis and post free, on writing for it

to the PELMAN LANGUAGES INSTITUTE, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1. Call or write to-day.

about the relations between this country and the self-governing Dominions that he crabs the League on the score that "the British were to have six votes" in the Assembly? Or when he states with regard to Austria that "the measures imposed and the aid given by the League of Nations are only palliatives." I am afraid Mr. Gibbons has wasted fifteen precious years.

Awakening Palestine (John Murray, 7s. 6d.) contains chapters by nineteen writers who write with the twofold object of setting forth the motive power of Zionism, and also the work that it has accomplished in Palestine in spite of much difficulty and many problems. Each of the contributors, Jewish and Christian alike, writes of what he knows, and the result is that after reading the book, you will get a fine survey of the present situation and the future possibilities. In a concluding chapter Mr. Herbert Sidebotham points out that we have a great opportunity before us if we loyally keep the promises we have made to the Jewish people; we have raised hopes in their hearts, and it were better never to have raised them than prove false to them now; happily there is every evidence that we shall fulfil not only the letter but the spirit of the Mandate.

As I close I can only mention Lord Curzon's delightful *Tales of Travel* (Hodder & Stoughton, 28s.), in which he gives some of his earlier experiences in Asia and Africa, when he was a freer man than he is to-day; if anyone offers you a book for a Christmas present, you won't go wrong if you choose this.—Yours,
THE SHOPMAN.

BOOKS ALSO RECEIVED:

- Handbook of the Ulster Question* (Stationery Office, Dublin, 2s. 6d.).
- In Witch-Bound Africa*, by F. H. Melland (Service, Seeley & Co., 21s.).
- Concise Guide to the 1924 Lessons*, by Ernest H. Hayes (Livingstone Press, 3s. 6d.).
- Land Reform in Czechoslovakia*, by L. E. Textor (Allen & Unwin, 5s.).
- The Gospel and International Relations*, by J. W. Coutts (Student Christian Movement, 4s.).
- International Thought*, by John Galsworthy (W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 6d.).
- A Decade of Woe and Hope*, by the Chief Rabbi (Humphrey Milford, 6d.).
- The Moral Basis of the League of Nations*, by Lord Robert Cecil (The Lindsey Press, 5, Essex Street, W.C.2, 1s.).
- Earth and Her Children: A Pageant Play*, by Fanny Johnson (Daily News Press, Cambridge, 1s.).

A SCHOOL EXPERIMENT.

At a certain school in the North of England the teacher in charge of history and geography is a keen student of the League of Nations, which he regards as a fortunate example of a great institution which the children can actually study in process of growth. The study of a living, growing institution is bound to shed light on the growth of institutions in the past, and vice versa. The history and geography lessons are closely co-ordinated with each other and with the study of the working of the League. A complete account would fill a book. A few points only can be noted.

The scheme of work is briefly as follows:—
Geography.—First and second years: The outlines of the world, treated in an elementary, descriptive manner. Third year: League of Nations and the countries in it. Fourth year: The principles of geography, treated in such a way as to revise the whole world, with the British Isles in detail.
History.—A three years' course in world history (as treated in Webster). The third year's work concludes with a fairly thorough survey of the history of the League. The fourth year is devoted to revision, with reference to

whatever papers are set for the first school examination. This year the Fourth Form are doing English history, 55 B.C.-1880, in outline, with 1688-1880 in more detail.

The 210 pupils under the charge of this teacher (not the whole school) are organised into a League "Assembly." Each of the fifty-four members of the League is represented by a group of pupils who take a special interest in the country they represent, in addition to the ordinary class work. Each class of thirty or so is a smaller Assembly in which thirty countries are represented—one pupil to each country. This individual or group work varies considerably, but quite a number of the pupils can acquit themselves creditably, and one or two have shown a knowledge which one can only describe as verging on the phenomenal. Such work is based on *The Peoples of All Nations*, magazines like HEADWAY, and ordinary history or geography books. Debates can be based on this work, e.g., (1) Which is the best country to emigrate to? (2) Italy v. Greece, &c. The latter would take the form of a meeting of the League Council (plus Greece, of course).

Once the children become familiar with their countries their knowledge can be utilised in many and far-reaching ways. Thus even in the fourth year course, dealing with the general principles of mathematical, physical, and human geography, the following method is useful. In dealing with climate, for instance, the individuals representing countries supply details, which are then co-ordinated, thus Italy, Greece, &c., are noticed to have the same type of climate—the Mediterranean; and the main points of world geography are arrived at inductively.

In addition to the ordinary school library, there is a special history and geography library, including the best textbooks and general works; also all the literature of the League of Nations Union which is of any interest to children. Ten copies of Miss Spaul's *Fight for Peace* were taken to school when the book first appeared, and have been in active—very active—service ever since. Mr. Roth-William's book is greatly appreciated. No doubt Mr. C. B. Fry's book will appeal to the boys.

The school, or, rather, the master concerned, possesses a set of lantern slides showing "The League at Work," which are exhibited periodically, with an accompanying address based on that of Mr. Whelen.

The above brief sketch by no means does justice to the work, but it must suffice. In conclusion, let it be said, no direct propaganda of a sermonising or biased character is indulged in. The history and geography of the world is used to give the children some understanding of the world in which they live, and of which the League of Nations is an important feature. The League of Nations is used to infuse living interest into the history and geography. A history or geography which ends in 1920 or before is (if not antiquarian) at least not the history or geography of the present world.

UNION NOTES AND NEWS.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

Nov. 1, 1918	..	..	..	..	3,217
Nov. 1, 1920	..	..	..	..	49,858
Nov. 1, 1921	..	..	..	..	133,649
Nov. 1, 1922	..	..	..	..	212,959
Nov. 17, 1923	..	..	..	..	321,547

The three best counties in England and Wales, so far as membership of the Union is concerned, are:—

Merionethshire	one member in every 17 of the population
Westmorland	" " " 18 " "
Anglesey	" " " 18 " "

Branches.

On Nov. 17 the number of Branches was 1,542, with 126 Junior Branches and 450 Corporate Members.

New Corporate Members.

- SCOTLAND.—DUNDEE—Downfield League of Nations Circle; The Committee on Social Problems, The United Free Church of Scotland. RUTHVEN—Women's Rural Institute. CHESHIRE.—MACCLESFIELD Trades & Labour Council. ROCKFERRY—Highfield Congregational Church. KENT.—BEXLEY HEATH Women's Co-operative Guild. LANCASHIRE.—SOUTHPORT—United Kingdom Com-

mercial Travellers' Association. LEICESTERSHIRE.—The Council of the County Teachers' Association. LINCOLNSHIRE.—LINCOLN—Girls' High School (Upper School). LONDON.—CAMBERWELL—The congregation of All Souls' Church; UPPER CLAPTON Congregational Church; WEST NORWOOD Sisterhood; The British Humane Association; The Women Launderers' Social Club. NORTHUMBERLAND.—MONKSEATON—St. John's Wesleyan Church. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—NETHERFIELD Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen. OXFORDSHIRE.—OXFORD—Primitive Methodist Chapel. SOMERSETSHIRE.—EXFORD Parochial Church Council. SURREY.—WOKING Baptist Church. WILTSHIRE.—SWINDON Brotherhood. YORKSHIRE.—BRADFORD—Salem Congregational Church. KEIGHLEY—International Brotherhood Alliance; Keighley Branch of National Union of Railwaymen.

Armistice Day and the League.

As we go to press only a comparatively small number of reports have been received from Branches of Armistice Day Meetings and Services organised all over the country. But those that have come in are an eloquent testimony to the feeling in the country and to the enthusiasm of the Members and Branches of the Union. The appeal published in our last number to "double membership by Armistice Day" has not fallen on barren ground. A Special "League Week" at Hull, culminating in a tremendous gathering of over 3,000 people at the City Hall on Armistice Day, has resulted in 2,000 new members being enrolled by the Hull Branch alone. Some 30 to 40 subsidiary meetings were arranged during this week at Churches, Societies, Clubs, &c.

At Margate Viscount Cranborne spoke to an audience of 2,500; at Tavistock and Launceston audiences of 900 and 1,100 respectively gathered; at Norwich Professor Murray addressed 1,500 people; at Catford 2,500 people were addressed by Dr. Maxwell Garrett and Capt. Thomas. At Grimsby a gathering of about 1,000 in the Prince of Wales Theatre heard with enthusiasm the new Mayor, Councillor Kitching, and Mr. Llewellyn Williams, and the local Labour M.P., Councillor G. Stanley. Partly as a result of the collection taken, Grimsby hopes to be able to vote the whole of the remainder of its quota this month.

The list might indeed be prolonged indefinitely. Edmonton filled its Town Hall, Christ Church (Watford) was packed, there were some 800 people listening to Mrs. Henry Fawcett at Burton-on-Trent, and about 1,000 at Westbourne Park Chapel to hear Sir Maurice de Bunsen. Reigate Town Hall was well filled and the meeting highly successful. A splendidly organised meeting at the Chiswick Empire addressed by Commander C. B. Fry and Miss E. Fell, with the Bishop of Kensington in the chair, resulted in 150 names being handed in on the spot. Doubtless more will follow later. The Derby demonstration was inspiring. The procession contained some 3,000 people and was very representative. Magisterial bodies, civic bodies, Chambers of Commerce, Hospitals, Schools, Trade Unions, indeed every organised body was represented. The Church itself held over 2,000 and was crowded, some of the people in the procession being obliged to go into an overflow service. At Chingford the Pavilion Cinema was crowded at a united service and public meeting, in which music played an important part.

Services were arranged by the Brighton District Branch at Brighton, Hove, Rottingdean, Shoreham and Southwick, preceded in the first two cases by processions which made a deep impression on the onlookers.

Press Publicity for the League.

Many of the Branches of the Union are carrying on valuable publicity work for the League in their local press. The Chairman of the Bexhill Branch, for instance, recently wrote a series of articles on the League for the *Bexhill Observer*, calling attention to what the League has accomplished and urging readers to help the League by joining the League of Nations Union. Very similar work has been done by the Hon. Assistant Secretary of the Crawley Branch, who has been feeding his local paper with articles sent at intervals of a few weeks, based on HEADWAY.

It is almost impossible to overestimate the value of this kind of propaganda, and Branch officials all over the

They SHOULD not
They MUST not
They SHALL NOT
feed on Grass, Herbs & Berries.

During the Summer women and children at several relief camps eked out the bread ration with such fare.

Now, with the Winter's cold and wet, some further provision must be made, warm food must be supplied.

Milk for babies and smaller children. Clothing and blankets provided.

We cannot unless you help.

Christian Refugee Fund

At the Office of The Bible Lands Missions Aid Society, (No Rent or Salaries charged.)
S. W. GENTLE-CAKETT, 358! STRAND.
Hon. Relief Commissioner. LONDON, W.C.2.



ONE SOAP ONLY

smells like this—it is the unmistakable odour of real naphtha, that wonderful dirt loosener that is present in every bar of FELS-NAPHTHA soap. With FELS-NAPHTHA, one can wash clothes clean without boiling them—without even rubbing them. "Soap, soak, rinse," is the Fels-Naptha way.



SEND FOR THIS FREE SAMPLE
to A. C. Fincken & Co., Sole Consignees, Dept. 110,
197, Gt. Portland Street, London, W.1.

Name.....
Address.....

country would be well advised to follow the example of Bexhill and Crawley. *

"Bankers Forms" for Subscriptions.

It is satisfactory to find that members of the Union are discovering the uses of "Bankers' Forms," which will gladly be supplied on application to the General Secretary of the Union.

A Scottish member, for example, writes: "I am posting the order to my bank and have asked that the next annual subscription be paid on October 18, 1924, and thenceforth annually at that date until my death or further order."

You cannot beat the Scotch in financial matters, and all that need be added is: "English members, please copy." *

News from Scotland.

The Aberdeen Branches have been very active this summer and autumn. At a Garden Fête in September takings of over £200 were drawn, of which about £170 is clear profit, divided proportionately amongst Headquarters, the local District Council, and the local City and Aberdeen University Branches.

This month a large meeting was held in the large Y.M.C.A. Hall, Union Street, which was addressed by the Bishop of Oxford. Despite the intensity of the "No License" and "No Change" propaganda, which was going on at the same time, a full house was obtained. The Marquis of Aberdeen, President of the District Council, took the chair, and there was a representative platform party. Other speakers included the Solicitor-General for Scotland, the Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney, and Sir James Taggart, K.B.E., LL.D.

Dr. Burge in his speech made a singularly eloquent appeal on behalf of the principles of arbitration, as opposed to force. He drew from a vast knowledge of history for his illustrations, and pointed out that it was nonsense to say that the League was weak because it had no force by which to make its will obeyed. "All law," he said, "rests upon the consent of the great body of the community, and all our laws and judicial procedure in this country would be worthless if the majority of the community stand up and choose to defy it. In the long run, all law in the world rests on consent." *

Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch has opened its winter campaign in very hopeful conditions. Over 130 meetings have been organised in the district. Among the speakers at these meetings will be Sir George Paish, Capt. Walter Elliot, M.P., and Mr. F. Whelen.

A series of well-attended and fruitful meetings addressed by Miss Muriel Currey, O.B.E., were arranged for the convenience of the Glasgow South Side members and the Branches. Appreciation of this was shown by the large numbers who attended, bringing many non-members who have since enrolled. The clergymen in the district have responded satisfactorily to the letter sent out to them by the Glasgow Branch urging that a League of Nations sermon be preached on Armistice Day and an appeal for membership be made in all the churches.

An unexpected recruiting agent has been formed in the person of Lord Birkenhead, the indignation aroused by his rectorial address to the students having produced a material increase in the membership of the Glasgow Branch of the Union.

Arrangements are also being made at present for the organisation of a Fete to be held in Glasgow in June, 1924 for the benefit of League of Nations Union funds.

A Record Month.

October has been a record month for the distribution of literature. 6,500 copies of the Church Magazine Insets were sold, 2,000 news sheets, 2,000 syllabuses of debates, 2,000 Particulars of Armistice Arrangements, &c., 1,500 copies of General Smuts' Speech, 350 copies of Teachers and World Peace, and the Progress of the League. *

Something New in Pageants.

Branches requiring something original in the way of pageants are recommended to study the "Memorial Celebrations and Services" prepared by Dr. F. H. Hayward, and published by P. S. King & Co. Among the "Services" already prepared is one on the League of Nations. Full particulars may be obtained from Dr. Hayward, 87, Benthal Road, N.16.

Readers of HEADWAY will be glad to learn that Miss Fanny Johnson's pageant play "Earth and Her Children" has reached its second edition. *

America, the League, and the Drug Traffic.

Bishop Brent's anti-opium speech at Geneva last May has been printed in leaflet form by the Edinburgh Anti-Opium Committee, and copies may be obtained free from the Hon. Sec., Rev. S. S. Muir, 120, Braid Road, Edinburgh. Nothing has brought America into closer touch with the League than the latter's campaign against opium, and our readers may like to make the speech widely known. *

"The Moral Basis of the League of Nations."

There is probably no better short statement of the fundamental principles of the League of Nations than appears in this book by Lord Robert Cecil (Lindsey Press, rs.). A few copies are available, "on sale or return," at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, and readers of HEADWAY are urged to make early application. *

Branch Notice Board.

The Budleigh Salterton Branch has placed in a prominent position in the town its own notice board. A permanent exhibit will be a copy of the HEADWAY summaries of the objects of the League and of the Union, and underneath these, in prominent letters, "JOIN THE LOCAL BRANCH," followed by the Secretary's name and address. *

The Right Spirit.

It speaks highly of the Huntington Branch (Herts) that on a cold windy night some sixty people walked between one and three miles along tracks in a wild and desolate district to attend a League of Nations meeting. The keenness and intelligence of the questions asked were noteworthy.

The Walkden and District Branch arranged a public meeting on November 12, which resulted in 50 new members being enrolled in spite of the fact that it was a dreary evening. *

The Isle of Man and the League.

As the result of a meeting addressed by one of the Union's organisers, supported by the Speaker of the House of Keys, the Attorney-General and Clergy of all denominations, a branch of the Union has been formed in Douglas (Isle of Man), and initial steps are being taken towards the formation of another at Ramsey. There is a special interest in the co-operation of the Isle of Man. A self-governing island largely out of touch with English, Imperial and International affairs, it boasts of a constitution only less ancient than that of China. *

THE COUNCIL'S VOTE OF £15,000.

Received to date of going to press ... £ 4,730
 Required before Dec. 31, 1923 ... £10,270

An Earnest Appeal

is made to all Branches to remit their quotas before the end of the year. The following methods are suggested for raising funds:—

- Appeals to individual members who may be able to give donations for this special object.
- Collections at all public meetings.
- Collections in Churches and places of worship on Peace Sunday. Concerts and Entertainments.
- Flag-Days.

It is of the utmost importance that the total sum of £15,000 should be obtained by December 31.

Excellent Propaganda.

The following advertisement in the Glasgow Herald is an excellent piece of propaganda by the local Branch:—

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S SPEECH.

THE MOST ENDURING AND MATERIAL PROTEST WHICH CITIZENS CAN MAKE IS TO JOIN

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION,
 136, WELLINGTON STREET.

BY JOINING THE UNION AND BY PERSUADING OTHERS TO DO SO, THEY WILL MAKE THEIR MORAL INDIGNATION EFFECTIVE AND WILL HELP THE FIGHT FOR A BETTER WORLD-ORDER.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION,
 136, WELLINGTON ST., GLASGOW.

A Jordans Conference.

Nearly thirty people, including delegates from L.N.U. Branches, trade unions, the College of Nursing, the Brotherhood Movement, and other organisations, attended a most successful conference at Old Jordans Hostel, on November 17-19.

Two comprehensive lectures on the League of Nations, followed by useful discussions, were given by Mr. J. Eppstein; and Captain Lothian Small and Captain Stephen Sanders gave lectures on the International Labour Organisation.

Great appreciation of the Conference as a whole, as well as the beautiful surroundings of Jordans, was expressed. *

A School "Assembly."

Last year Mr. Frederick Whelen told a girls' school at Lancaster about the School "Assemblies" at Colchester and Liverpool. When he revisited the Lancaster school in October last he found his words had borne fruit. Lancaster now has a flourishing "Assembly," with a girl of 15 as Secretary-General and some 200 girls representing League States. The school is divided into 53 groups of about 5 each. Each group is a nation and elects a delegate to the Assembly. Mr. Whelen addressed the "Assembly," after which delegates put questions, e.g., "The delegate of Poland desires to know whether the League can intervene in the occupation of the Ruhr by France"—"The delegate of Albania desires to know what steps are taken in other countries to increase knowledge of the League"—and so on. At the last meeting of the Lancaster "Assembly" the Irish Free State was elected, but the case of Ethiopia was postponed until further information could be obtained in regard to slavery. Mr. Whelen accordingly reported on this matter, with the result that Ethiopia was duly elected. *

Spade Work.

The Ambleside Branch has increased its membership from 169 (October, 1922) to 470 (October, 1923). *

Write to your Friends Abroad!

Many readers of HEADWAY must have foreign friends abroad interested, or prepared to be interested, in the League of Nations. It is most important that such potential supporters of the movement should be urged to join their national societies. Will British "Leaguers" bear this in mind when writing to foreign friends? The names and addresses of League of Nations Societies in any country can be supplied from the Overseas Section of the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. *

News from Wales.

On Friday, November 9th—following the precedent set last year—the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union placed at the grave of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey a magnificent wreath of Flanders poppies. The deputation from Wales received by the

AT CHRISTMAS TIME

THE HUNGRY

SHOULD BE FED

THE DISTRESSED

SHOULD BE HELPED

THE SUFFERING

SHOULD BE RELIEVED

THE CHURCH ARMY

earnestly asks

Christmas Gifts

so that by its varied beneficent operations THE MESSAGE OF GOOD-WILL may be carried to those who are "DOWN AND OUT."

Cheques should be crossed "Barclays a/c, Church Army," payable to PREBENDARY CARLILE, D.D., Hon. Chief Secretary, 55, Bryanston Street, Marble Arch, London, W.1.



Nicer than pastry!

and it needs no cooking. Mothers don't trouble to make pastry when there's "FORCE"

in the house. They simply stew some apples and serve with a sprinkling of those crumpy crisp wheat flakes. It's a delicious change, and it saves such a lot of trouble. Eat "FORCE" for breakfast with Hot Milk.

FORCE
 TOASTED MALTED WHEAT FLAKES

FREE SAMPLE.

Fill in this coupon and post to—
 "Sunny Jim" (Dept. A.P.4.),
 197, Great Portland Street,
 London, W.1.

Name

Address



MUST THE CHILDREN DIE ?

To ALL who love children and cannot endure
to see them suffer,

To ALL who would translate into action the
grand ideals of the League of
Nations,

To ALL who believe that the profession of
Christianity without its practice is
a lie in the soul,

Once again the **"SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND"**
addresses its appeal.

Do you realise that in Europe to-day there are multitudes of little children perishing of cold, disease and hunger? That in the Near East, if charity fails, thousands of them, both Greek and Armenian refugees, must die this winter before any help can come from the promised loan? That in many areas of Germany there is stark starvation? That in Austria, Hungary, Poland, yes, and in Great Britain itself, there is still heartrending need?

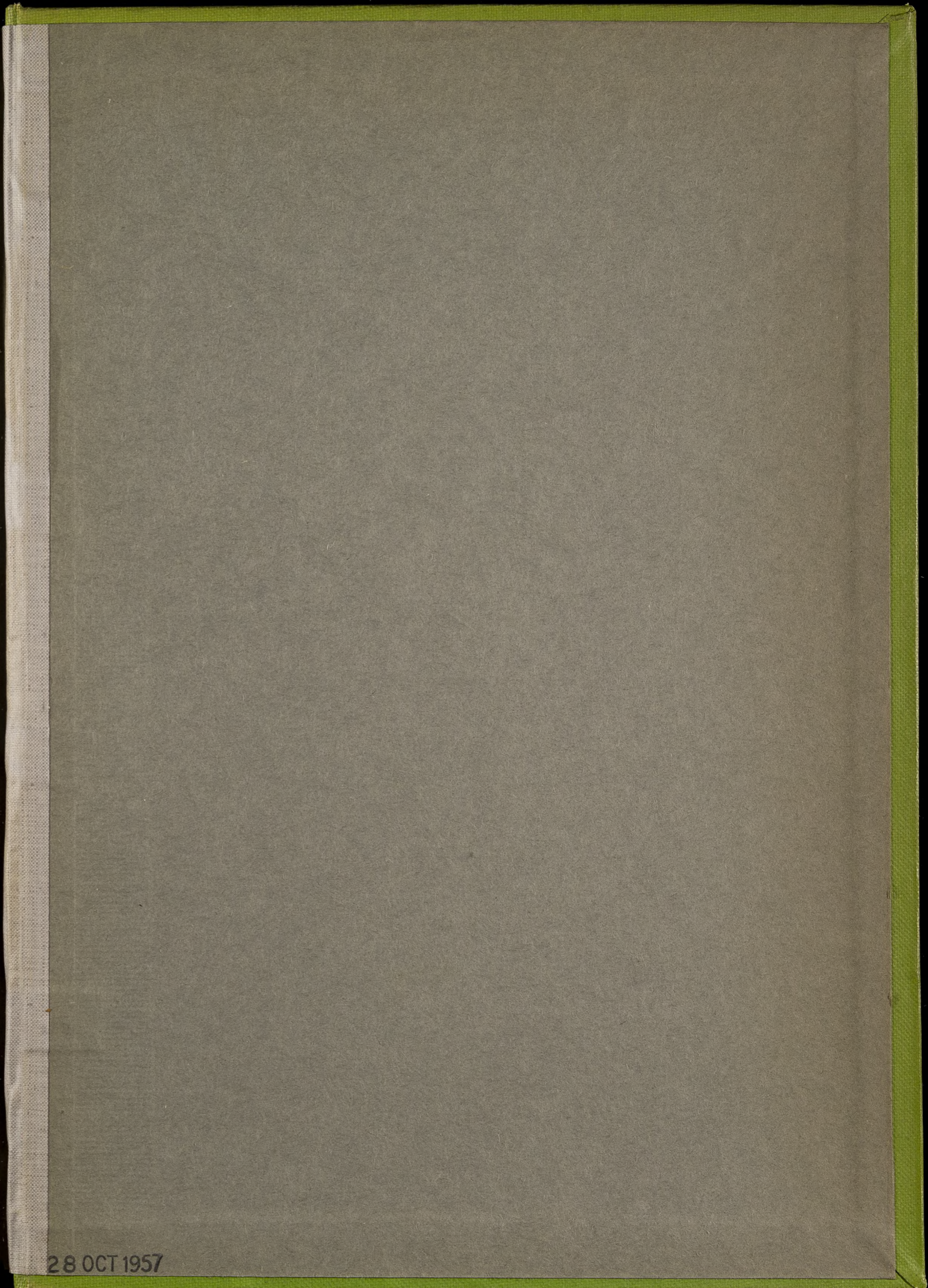
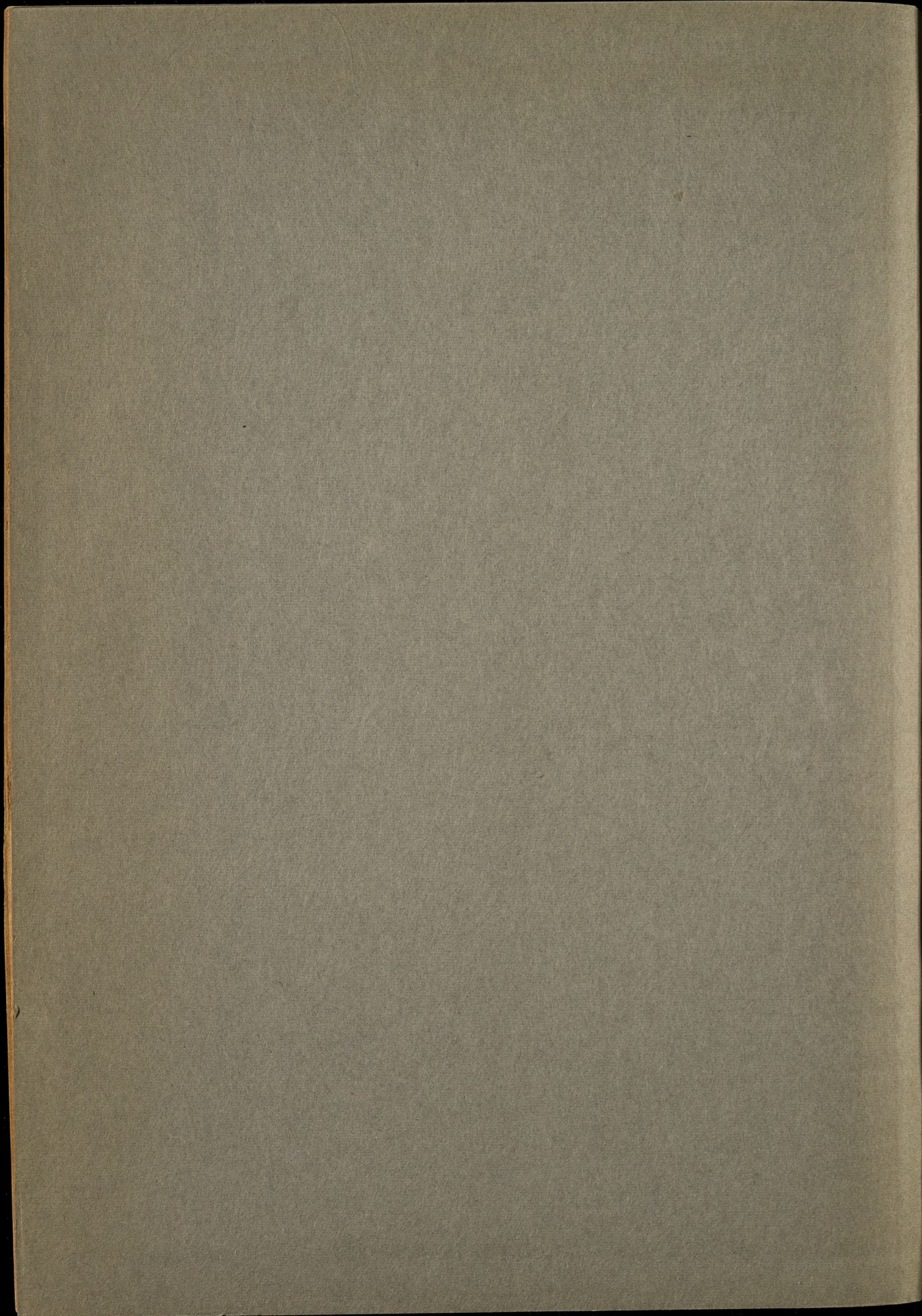
In all these countries the "Save the Children Fund" is at work. With its feeding centres, its workrooms, its grants to children's homes, its adoption schemes, it seeks to preserve for happier days the little lives so near to death. And it acknowledges most gratefully the help towards this work that branches and individual members of the League of Nations Union have given.

But it cannot continue, it cannot enlarge its activities without your further aid. There is no harder thing than to turn away a starving child. Yet this must be done to thousands unless such aid is forthcoming. Will you not help to save these little ones before it is too late?

Contributions (which may be ear-marked if desired for any particular country) may be sent to

His Grace the DUKE OF ATHOLL, President of the
"SAVE THE CHILDREN FUND,"
(Room 70 C.), 42, Langham Street, London, W.1.

The "Save the Children Fund" is affiliated to the "Save the Children Fund" International Union in Geneva and, in so far as regards relief in the Near East, the Fund is co-operating with the Imperial War Relief Fund and the Friends' Relief Committee in the All British Appeal, and also with the League of Nations. A new film of the conditions in the Near East which includes pictures of the constructive work for the refugees inaugurated by the League of Nations has been prepared, and any League of Nations Union Branch that would like to arrange for its exhibition is invited to write to the Cinema Department of the Fund at the above address.



28 OCT 1957

