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THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

America and the League. The situation in America in regard to the League of Nations is still obscure. As long ago as December 30th, Senator Knox, spokesman of the Irreconcilables in the League controversy, had an interview with Mr. Harding, after which he published a statement to the Press declaring his conviction that Mr. Harding was not considering the acceptance of the Covenant of the League, even if shorn of Article X. and other objectionable features. A letter written by Mr. Harding to the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Sulgrave Institute, just before the conclusion of the Marion conferences, neither confirms nor contradicts this opinion. Mr. Harding speaks of his country being "summoned to assist the world in building a workable, as distinguished from a bungling, agreement or association for the prevention of war," and predicts that "the unity of the English-speaking peoples" will play an important part in bringing about this result. Whether this means that America should enter the existing League, with reservations, or that she should endeavour to replace it by some other "association of nations," it is impossible as yet to predict.

America and Disarmament. Meanwhile, the disarmament campaign in the U.S. is progressing vigorously. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has reported favourably on the "naval holiday" scheme for the U.S., Great Britain, and Japan, with an amendment substituting "general limitation" for a specified 50 per cent. reduction. A more serious contribution to the disarmament campaign is the proposal for an international disarmament conference to be convened by the U.S. The Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives has approved a joint resolution asking President Wilson to call such a conference, and though there is not the slightest chance of Mr. Wilson acting on this suggestion, there is every likelihood of Mr. Harding doing so immediately after taking office. He has indeed practically said as much, and is strongly supported by Senator Daniels. The difficulty with which he will then be confronted is that machinery is already in existence for bringing about a reduction of armaments, and that the Members of the League who have begun to set this machinery in motion are unlikely to wish to turn their attention to any other scheme with the same object.

The Chance of Utopia. But America is not the only country in which there is a movement in favour of a reduction of naval armaments. The remarkable memorandum of the Navy League, on January 1st, is proof that our own country at least prefers, in the words of Lord Grey, "the chance of Utopia to the certainty of destruction." The Executive Committee of the Navy League recognises that with the disappearance of the German fleet, defensive large-scale ship-building has become unnecessary, but that the only alternative to competitive ship-building is an international naval agreement. Accordingly, they suggest that the U.S. and Great Britain should give the lead to the world by proposing a conference between the maritime Powers of the world to put an end to competition in naval armaments. This suggestion, like that of the American President-elect, ignores the existence of the League of Nations, but there is nothing to prevent any member of the League—our own country, for instance—from bringing it to the notice of the Council under Article 8 in order that this body might convene the proposed conference, and make use of the machinery already created to deal with the armaments question.

The Collapse of Austria. The decision of the Austrian Cabinet to hand over to the Reparations Commission the government of the country—in other words, to file a petition in bankruptcy—is to be attributed to causes issuing partly from the peace settlement, and partly from Allied policy towards Austria since the Armistice. Not only do the territorial arrangements of the Treaty of St. Germain deprive Austria of an enormous proportion of her industrial regions—thereby making it impossible for her to supply manufactured goods to exchange for food and raw materials—but the Treaty saddles Austria alone with the total war debt which was incurred by the whole of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, in addition to which there are extensive indemnities. Only prompt action on the part of the Allied Powers in the direction of the creation of credits could possibly have availed to save the country. That action appears at last to be forthcoming, but it has not been prompt, and it may have come too late. Sir William Goode, President of the Austrian section of the Reparations Commission, declared recently that nothing save Bolshevism, annexation to Czecho-Slovakia or Hungary, or reunion with Germany, was possible unless a large loan of £50,000,000 over five

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years was given immediately by the Allies. With this sum Austria might possibly stand on her feet. Together with this suggestion must be taken the decision of the Council of the League last December to create a committee to prepare legislative measures to facilitate in various countries the realisation of credits, and to establish under the auspices of the League an international Commission to put into action a scheme for international credits, allowing impoverished nations to procure the necessary resources. As a temporary measure, the Council decided to authorise the Economic and Financial Commission to ask for the services of a business man to take charge of the Financial Section, to draw up the statutes governing the International Commission, and to establish the details of the scheme.

Technical Organisations.

Health, transit, and finance are three of the very greatest questions of the day, and cannot be ignored by the League of Nations, and opinion in the Assembly was strongly in favour of international co-operation in these matters. The Report of the Commission appointed to deal with the establishment of the technical organisations which are foreshadowed in Articles XXIII. and XXIV. of the Covenant, was extremely elaborate and dealt principally with the relationship of these bodies to the other component parts of the League, and also with national governments of the various States. The debate in the Assembly developed along two lines of criticism, first that the permanent establishment of such organisations would involve the League in expense which it was impossible to estimate; second, that if the representatives were to be men of weight and standing that it would involve their absence from their national duties for many months in the year. The geographical difficulty had already been raised by the Japanese delegation with regard to the yearly meetings of the Assembly, but had been accepted as one of the inherent difficulties of any international co-operation, and one which will have to be carefully considered during the next few months. To meet Mr. Rowell's objection on the score of expense, it was finally decided that the expenditure on the technical organisation set up should not exceed 2,000,000 gold francs per annum, with power to transfer such sums from one organisation to another as may seem necessary and desirable.

Finance, Transit and Health.

The Assembly then approved the establishment of an Economic and Financial Organisation, the first duty of which body would be to advise the Council as to the best methods of giving effect to the resolutions of the Brussels International Financial Conference. The body will act as an Advisory Committee, and is not at the present constituted on a permanent basis. It was decided that members of the League should be invited to send special representatives to a General Conference on Freedom of Communications and Transit, to meet at Barcelona as soon as possible. This Conference, among other duties, is charged with organising a standing Communications Committee, which will be a consultative and technical body to consider and propose measures calculated to assure free-

dom of communications and transit at all times, and assist the League in discharging its duties under the Covenant and the Peace Treaties. Resolutions were passed approving of the establishment of the international health bureau. The aim of this organisation is the prevention of epidemic disease, and the preservation of public health, or, where disease exists, to combat it with the very best medical knowledge and skill aided and supported by the very wisest administrative experience. The foundations have been laid for the constructive work which the League is to do for the world during peace, and the inclusion in these technical organisations of representatives of States not yet members of the League should prove of the utmost value both for the work to be accomplished and for paving the way for their entry into the League. Thus, the four Baltic States, whose admission was refused, are allowed representatives on the technical organisations of the League.

Rumours of Wars.

In Central Europe the air is still full of rumours of wars. Reports appear daily in the Continental Press of mobilisations upon the frontiers of Hungary or Roumania. In some quarters they are declared to be occasioned by fears of Bolshevik attack, while others explain them by the necessities of maintaining internal order. In all the conflicting versions of facts there is probably truth; in none of them are we likely to find the whole truth. But they are an accurate reflection of the uncertainties and the uneasinesses which prevail in the countries that border upon Russia, and which are the natural result of neighbourhood with that great Unknown Quantity. We, in our comparative security, must make allowance for this when we pronounce our criticisms and condemnations. Nevertheless, we cannot but remember the history of last year, when the fear of Russia was undoubtedly used by the Poles as a cloak for offensive action for the purpose of land-grabbing. That history must not be allowed to repeat itself. The League of Nations is now a living force. Let those States who believe their safety to be threatened lay before it their evidence for that belief and their plans for self-protection, whether in the way of defensive alliances or of mobilisation of their existing forces. The countries of Eastern Europe have a clear conception of the value of public approval. They are in fact perpetually clamouring for it. They ought therefore to be able to see that in obtaining the sanction of the League for their proceedings they can secure it in its highest form, and place their motives above suspicion. By so doing they would immeasurably increase the strength of their position.

The Fate of Armenia.

The conclusion of the first session of the Assembly saw the difficult question of the future of Armenia referred once more to the Council, who will consider, among other things, the Roumanian proposal for the despatch of an international expeditionary force to Armenia. It is possible, however, that by the time the Council comes to consider the matter, the Soviet Armenian Government, with the support of Moscow, may have solved its own difficulty with the Turkish invaders. The current news, scanty and unreliable as it is, points to a certain hardening of the

Armenian resistance leading to the evacuation by the Turks of Alexandropol and Kars. The Armenians are reported also to have demanded the withdrawal of all Turkish troops to the frontiers of 1914. Meanwhile, Mr. Wilson's award, fixing the frontier between Turkey and Armenia, has been made public, but the award only indicates theoretically the new western and southern boundaries of the Republic. Kars, Erzerum and Trebizond are given to Armenia, the frontier running, roughly, from a point on the Black Sea west of Treboli, southwards so as to include in Armenia the towns of Mush and Bitlis and a fair stretch of territory south of Lake Van. The Treaty of Sèvres seems no nearer ratification than it was two months ago, but should it be ratified in the near future this will raise the curious question of whether Armenia, as a signatory of that Treaty, is not from that moment a member of the League of Nations. In that case the possibility of finding a mandatory for Armenia would, of course, be excluded. That the Assembly contemplated the admission of Armenia to the League at some future date is proved by its passing *nem. con.* Mr. Rowell's recommendation, according to the terms of which the Assembly gave its blessing to the efforts of the U.S., Spain, and Brazil, and the Council of the League, and hoped that these would prosper "so that the Assembly may be able to admit Armenia into full membership of the League at its next meeting."

The Russian Problem.

President Wilson has refused the invitation of the League Council to mediate between the Armenians and the Turkish Nationalists because the Armenian question is "only one detail of the vast Russian problem," which cannot be dealt with satisfactorily unless the Great Powers enter into a "public and solemn engagement" to guarantee Russia from aggression. Unless some of the Great Powers suffer an altogether unexpected change of heart it is extremely unlikely that such an agreement will come within the bounds of possibility for some considerable time, in which case, Mr. Wilson's plan bars the way to any effort towards an Armenian settlement. Nevertheless, if such a general agreement is impracticable, the Armenian cause would be considerably aided if one or two of the Powers, perhaps England and Italy, would declare peace with Russia. At the present moment, Russia is co-operating with the Turkish Nationalists in order to add to our embarrassments in the Near East, and if we removed the mainspring of this desire there is every reason to suppose that the Soviet would cease its activities in the Caucasus. Trade with Russia would be a step towards this goal, and the recently published draft trade agreement between Britain and Russia appears a moderate document whose main features may prove acceptable to the Russian Government. The prompt resumption of trade would be of enormous value to both countries, and indeed to the whole of Europe. A great market that has been inaccessible for three years would be thrown open again; inevitably this would react favourably upon our labour problems and materially assist in stabilising the exchanges. But it seems an inevitable feature of Allied negotiations with the Soviet Government that these should be interminably prolonged.

The best part of a year has been wasted in discussions between the Cabinet and the Russian Trade Delegation over the trade agreement. The Peace Treaty parleys at Riga between Russia and Poland, which began early in October, bid fair to be as protracted, although the Polish delegate, M. Domski, has predicted that the treaty will be concluded within the first fortnight in February. If this is not an unduly optimistic estimate, Poland will soon have composed all her international difficulties with the exception of the dispute with Lithuania. Happily, there are signs that this also will be amicably settled by means of an agreement between the two Governments themselves without recourse to the plebiscite suggested by the League Council.

To our Subscribers.

We do not know if all our members have grasped the fact that HEADWAY is now the sole organ of the League of Nations Union. Owing to the continued rise in the cost of paper and printing, and to the fact that Headquarters received from Branches only half the published price of "The Covenant" and "To-day and To-morrow"—the former quarterly and monthly reviews published by the Union—a considerable loss was incurred every quarter in supplying members with these two periodicals. Accordingly, it was found necessary last September to suspend publication of "The Covenant," and in December the Executive Committee came reluctantly to the conclusion that "To-day and To-morrow" must also come to an end. We believe that our members will appreciate the advantages of having one single organ, instead of three, to represent the policy of the Union, but at the same time we realize that subscribers of 10s. and over who joined the Union prior to December last are entitled to claim to have a proportion of their subscriptions refunded to them because of the suspension of "To-day and To-morrow." It is, however, hoped that, in view of the difficulty of raising sufficient funds to carry on the work of the Union, they will be generous enough to forego their claim, more especially if they find HEADWAY a satisfactory substitute for the former monthly. On the other hand, the possibilities of producing a monthly review on the lines of "The Covenant" are still being investigated, and we hope before long to be able to give our readers some definite information upon the subject.

The Adriatic Question.

The last day of the old year saw the final collapse of the d'Annunzio "adventure," which began in the autumn of 1919. An agreement was signed at Abbazia on December 31st by General Ferrario, representing the Italian Government, and Signori Gigante and Venturi, representing Fiume, according to the terms of which the State of Fiume assents to the application of the Treaty of Rapallo, which makes Fiume an independent State having territorial contiguity with Italy. While it is all to the good that the two countries have at last been able to solve this vexed question amicably between themselves, it is a matter for regret that the town of Fiume has not been placed under the control of the League of Nations, and we still hope that this plan may be adopted.

A Plea for the Facts.

What are the facts about the decision of the Allied Conference with regard to the admission of Germany to the League? There have been reports that the Allies, in the event of Germany not complying with her new obligations, intend to exclude her from the League. This decision has elsewhere been represented as a private agreement between the members of the Conference merely to vote against Germany's admission. In either case, the propriety of such a decision would be dubious, for the new terms of reparation appear to go outside the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles both in the prolongation of the period from thirty to forty-two years, and in the imposition of the 12½ per cent. duty on exports (if it may be so described). Nothing was more definitely in the minds of the Assembly at Geneva than that the conditions of election prescribed by Article I. must never be added to nor taken away from. It may, of course, be argued that "international obligations" envisages obligations incurred at any time, and this is unquestionably the fact. But Germany's obligation to the Allies rests upon the Treaty that she has signed. Under that an indeterminate sum of reparation, to be assessed by a particular date (May 1st, 1921) by a particular body (the Reparations Commission) on which Germany is entitled to be heard, must be paid within a specified period (thirty years). A sum has been arrived at by the Allied Conference, on which, apparently, Germany was not represented, the payments are spread over a period more than a third as long again, and a specific tax is levied as one of the means of collecting it. If it is correct that the Allies intend to regard non-agreement with their entirely new terms (as they appear to be) as showing such bad faith on Germany's part as would justify

her exclusion from the League, we can only say that, in the absence of some convincing explanation, we regard such a proceeding as inconsistent with Article I. of the Covenant. Nothing is to be gained by criticising the proceedings of the Conference—they had a difficult task to perform, and at least they have arrived at a definite decision. But we do think the public is entitled to an official announcement as to exactly what arrangement the country has been committed.

The Mesopotamian Mandate.

The draft British mandate for Mesopotamia has been published by the *Times*. It is, on the whole, a very satisfactory document, and there is every reason to suppose that if it had been communicated to the Assembly at Geneva, it would have received in its main lines the endorsement of the Assembly there and then. The mandate implies a serious attempt to give effect to Article 22 of the Covenant, and silences those critics of the League of Nations who have maintained that the provisions of the Covenant concerning mandates are a dead letter, and the talk of "a sacred trust of civilisation" mere hypocrisy. In one or two main respects the mandate falls short of the ideal. It would, for instance, be improved by the inclusion of the provision concerning monopolies or concessions of the draft B mandate prepared by the League of Nations Union:—

"the grant of any monopoly or concession in the nature of a monopoly shall not be valid unless communicated to the League of Nations," and by making more explicit provision against enlisting soldiers in the mandated territory. It is to be hoped that these points will receive due consideration when the draft mandate is submitted to the Council on February 22nd.

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ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By LORD ROBERT CECIL.

THE decisions of the First Assembly of the League were of special importance, because precedents were thereby created for the settlement of future questions. The decisions given, and the reasons for these decisions, in the case of applications for membership from new States, had a very special significance in view of future applications. By the rejection of the application of Lichenstein, for example, the Assembly laid it down that very small States should not be admitted to the membership of the League. It is unlikely that any very small State will in the future seek admission. By admitting Albania, the Assembly showed that it gave great weight to the previous recognition of a State by the members of the League.

Again, in merely adjourning, without rejecting, the application of the Baltic States of Esthonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, and of Georgia, the Assembly clearly indicated its sympathy with new and small States, struggling into a position of complete independence and self-government.

Article X. of the Covenant, which has a very important bearing on the question of admission of new members to the League, was given at the Assembly an interpretation which constitutes a very valuable precedent for the future. This Article has been widely misunderstood as meaning that the members of the League undertake to guarantee in perpetuity the present territories of its members. It was definitely laid down in the Assembly that Article X. does no more than declare that no attempt must be made to change the present distribution of territory by external aggression, and if any such attempt is made, the members of the League will consult on the best means of resisting it. It does not involve any objection to any such changes which are brought about by peaceful means or even by internal revolt. This interpretation was illustrated practically in two cases. When Austria was admitted to the League, M. Motta, President of the Swiss Confederation, gave his vote in favour, on the distinct understanding that the case of the Voralberg (an Austrian canton, which had expressed by plebiscite its desire to be united with Switzerland) was not definitely settled thereby, and that some future re-arrangement of that piece of territory was possible. When Finland was admitted it was expressly stipulated that this admission in no way prejudiced the settlement of the Aaland Islands question, the Council of the League being actually entrusted at the moment with the decision as to whether these islands are to belong to Sweden or Finland.

The ruling of the Assembly on the interpretation of this Article is of the very greatest value, and should have the effect of converting to the support of the League many whose objections were based mainly on a misunderstanding of this provision of the Covenant.

The most important result, however, of all the discussions on the admission of new States, was the meaning arrived at of the expression in Article I. of the Covenant, "effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe

its international obligations." Many discussions centred around this phrase, particularly in the examination of the application of Bulgaria. The importance of these discussions lay in the fact that the import given to the expression would set up a precedent when Germany's admission to the League came to be discussed. The precise way in which this expression is to be understood was put into words, to the great satisfaction of the Assembly, by M. Viviani in his speech on the admission of Austria.

The criterion of the sincerity of the intention is not words, but deeds. M. Viviani declared that when Germany had shown to the satisfaction of the peoples of the world by actual fact that her intention to carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles was sincere, she would find a place waiting for her in the Assembly of the League. The question of the admission of Germany was not raised at the Assembly as no application by her has been received but there is no doubt whatever now, that if Germany should, with a clear conscience as to her fulfilment of treaty obligations, make an application to the next Assembly, she will be unanimously elected to membership of the League. It is not essential that she should discharge all her obligations under the treaty. If that were insisted on she would be excluded for a generation. Moreover, neither Austria nor Bulgaria have fulfilled all the terms of the Peace Treaty. It is enough if an applicant can show by her acts that she has done her best to keep her word.

In all, six new members were admitted to the League—Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Costa Rica, Luxemburg, and Albania. There is ground for hope that by next Assembly the States whose applications were adjourned may be admitted.

On the whole, the Assembly meeting of 1920 is to be congratulated, not only on its actual decisions on the applications for admission to its membership, but on the enunciation and elucidation of the principles which guided and will guide it in building up its membership till the League becomes, in every sense of the word, universal.

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IS THERE A LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

[Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, to whom we recently applied for his opinions regarding the League, replied to us with the following letter. As his reply was highly controversial we applied to him for, and received permission, to publish it with comments from prominent readers of HEADWAY. We hope Mr. Shaw will reply to his critics in the next issue.]

G. BERNARD SHAW SAYS NO!

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The difficulty is that there is no League of Nations. There is an Alliance which has given free tickets to a crowd of second class neutral Powers in order to give itself an air of being something wider and more disinterested; but a League of Nations with Germany, Russia, and the United States omitted cannot impose on anybody.

At any moment the three omitted Powers may make a counter-Alliance and say, "We are the genuine League of Nations; and he that is not with us is against us." The present League would have to admit them or else reduce the whole idea of the League to absurdity. But if they were admitted, France and England would either withdraw or attach reservations to their remaining in, which would be equally ridiculous.

For the moment, however, I think it is better to let the wretched thing struggle on for what it is worth. What it has done and can do is better than nothing; and it weakens the moral position of the Allies when they refuse to refer questions of determination to it and persist in settling them by violence, as in Ireland. Therefore, perhaps, least said soonest mended, for the present.—Yours, &c.,

G. BERNARD SHAW.

PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY DISAGREES.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Allowing for certain vivacities of expression, I think Mr. Shaw's letter may be analysed thus:—

- Paragraph 1. True.
- Paragraph 2. False.
- Paragraph 3. Mixed.

He will, I hope, recognise that I am here allowing him a very large proportion of truth.

1. It is true that "there is," in a complete sense, "no League of Nations," as long as Germany, Russia, and the United States are outside.

2. It is grotesquely the reverse of truth to say that the majority of the League wish to keep them out. Everybody wants the United States in; a very large majority, including Great Britain, Italy, and Japan, wants Germany in. Her admission this time was only postponed because (1) she did not apply, and (2) M. Viviani made an incontrovertible technical point against her. By Article I. of the Covenant, a new member has to give "effective guarantees of its sincere intentions to observe its international obligations," and Germany's "sincere intentions" are, at the present moment, the subject of vehement controversy. I am a prudent man, and I do not wish to reduce HEADWAY to the position of a sporting paper; but I will go so far as to bet Mr. Shaw sixpence that if Germany applies for admission in September, she will be admitted by an overwhelming majority. The case of Russia is quite different. If Russia would consent to become a genuine Member of the League, about half the worst difficulties of international politics would disappear. But Russia loathes and repudiates the League. Mr. Shaw should realise that the comparative moderation of tone with which the Russian Government speaks of "the blood-sucking tortoisés" of the English Fabian Society and Labour Party is chiefly due to their having exhausted all the stronger language on the League of Nations.

Certainly Great Britain, to the best of my knowledge, has never made the faintest suggestion that it would withdraw from the League, or make reservations if Germany or America came in.

3. "What the League has done and can do is better than nothing." Here I am in hearty agreement with Mr. Shaw, and I also agree that it could do a great deal more if it were stronger. My conclusion is, let us help to make it stronger.

Mr. Shaw's is, "Let the wretched thing struggle on for what it is worth." I cannot help thinking that mine is the more logical.—Yours, &c.,

GILBERT MURRAY.

SO DOES MR. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Mr. Bernard Shaw is so good a friend of a League of Nations that we must not be surprised at a justifiable gibe at the League of Nations which so far we have got.

But a League with limits is better than no League. He is right in his search for perfection, but he will be wrong if he lets "the wretched thing struggle on" without a powerful word for the work which the League of Nations Union is doing in this country to give us the perfect League.

His letter is less of a censure than a stimulant to further effort, and until improved world opinion can give us the world unity for which the principle of a League of Nations stands, Mr. Shaw's criticism "is better than nothing." A rousing message to the world from him on the need for the League would be better still.—Yours, &c.,

J. R. CLYNES.

MR. SHAW IS ASKED TO EXPLAIN.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—No doubt there is a catch somewhere: no doubt if I try to pin down what to my simpler mind appear to be the misconceptions of Mr. Shaw, that wily controversialist will clout me over the head with a blackthorn of argument and show what he has said to be merely an original way of proclaiming an obvious truth. However, the most inexperienced of novices can sometimes avoid the net of the *retiarus*. So, have at you, Mr. Shaw.

What do you mean by free tickets? The second class neutral Powers are under precisely the same obligation as the first class Allied belligerents, and, indeed, two of the former enemy States. They are jointly and severally liable to maintain the Covenant by the imposition of the automatic economic blockade and ultimately by providing armed forces. They contribute to the funds of the League: they are eligible for election to the Council of the League. They occupy in the Assembly exactly the same status as a first class Power. They have actually at the Assembly shown in the most unmistakable manner that they will not put up with dictation even by their own Council—far less by the Great Powers. Where are your free tickets? And why "an air" of being wider and more disinterested? The League, as it stands now, has demonstrably shown itself wider and more disinterested than the Supreme Council of the late Allies.

Why do you lump Germany, Russia, and the United States together as "omitted" from the League? America was not omitted: she was included, but refuses to ratify her inclusion. Whatever may be the truth about Russia and Germany, to say of America that "if they were admitted France and England would either withdraw or attach reservations to their remaining in" is grotesquely to invert the facts. It was not England or France who raised the question of reservations in connection with America's entry; it was the Foreign Relations Committee of the American Senate.

Passing that over, who has ever suggested that the League is complete without Germany and Russia? On the other hand, seeing that Germany has not applied for admission, and that the Bolsheviks refuse to have anything to do with the League, how do you propose to get them in? It's all very well to say "the present League would have to admit them"; but you can't pitchfork them into it against their will. Germany, I personally believe, will see the advisability of applying for membership at the next Assembly, but it may be years before Russia will be prepared to co-operate with other civilised Governments. Till all three, Germany, Russia, and America, are in, the League will neither be complete nor, in the absolute sense, safe. But to go to the other extreme and try to frighten us with the spectre of an alliance between these three countries is really to advance something which, in your own words, "cannot impose on anybody."—Yours, &c.,

REGINALD BERKELEY.

[We shall be glad to receive further letters on the subject raised in this correspondence.—ED. HEADWAY.]

THE NEW DEPARTMENT FOR "BACKWARD PEOPLES."

By SIR SYDNEY OLIVIER, K.C.M.G., C.B.

MINISTERIAL responsibility for the administration of territories for which Mandates on behalf of the League of Nations have been assigned to Great Britain, is to be vested in one Department—a transfigured Colonial Office—for which Mr. Winston Churchill is to be the first Secretary of State.

This development is one which it has been obvious would be necessary, and from the point of view of League of Nations policy it is entirely acceptable and of hopeful promise. The title, "Imperial Department," forecast for it, would not, however, appear very tactful.

Some qualms, too, have been expressed as to Mr. Churchill's selection for it in view of his current reputation in connection with Mesopotamia. That is a minor point—for Ministers are not permanent: but it is, in any case, encouraging to remember that Mr. Churchill, when Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, took a very energetic and influential, and, in its outcomes, beneficial personal interest in the settlement of the government of Nigeria, a territory also predominantly Mohammedan. Moreover, Colonial Office policy when Mr. Churchill was associated with it, was still unblemished by certain inconsistencies with the essential principles of the Covenant, which have been imported into it during and since the war, in the interests of British manufacture and to facilitate the exploitation of natives' land and labour by British settlers.

There is, in fact, nothing in Mr. Churchill's record to justify a fear that he will not, from the outset, study primarily the interests of the populations of which he is to be the Trustee, and do justice to the interests and rights of the other nations in the spirit of the Covenant—which is the spirit which has been repeatedly advertised as that of the British Government.

Apart from such personal questions, this unification of the control of the Mandated territories with those of older British Dominions ought surely to prove all to the good. The principles of trusteeship under the code of the Covenant are clear and unquestionable. The Council of the League must be expected to remain loyal to them. The Powers, rather than the Council itself, are to blame for the degree to which they have been so far evaded. And the temper of the Assembly at Geneva showed very clearly that its members intend to do all they can to keep the Council up to the mark.

Mr. Balfour has insisted on the fact that the Covenant sets up a standard for any Mandatory which must react correctively on his dealings with those colonial territories which are under his independent government. British Colonial administration is still (except perhaps that of the United States of America) the best and most liberal in the world. It will not do worse in applying its still unviolated traditions to its new Mandated territories: whilst it is inconceivable that one and the same Department can both apply the principles of the Covenant in these areas and

THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

Remarkable New Method of Learning French or Spanish.

IT has sometimes been said that the British people do not possess the "gift of tongues." Indeed, Disraeli once said that we were "noble barbarians, speaking no language but our own." This is not the view of the well-known Pelman Institute, which has just opened a special department for teaching Foreign Languages through the post by an entirely new and most interesting method.

The view of the Institute can be given in the following words:—

"The British people live on an island. Therefore they have fewer opportunities of coming into contact with foreigners than are possessed by their Continental neighbours. But apart from this fact they can learn languages just as easily as can any other race.

"Anyone can learn Foreign Languages if taught on right lines. Given the right method, a Foreign Language can be acquired with surprising ease. But the right method is essential. Many people have failed to learn—say—French, after years of school tuition because they have been taught by wrong methods. Consequently, their efforts have ended either in total failure or in very imperfect success."

No Translation.

The New Pelman method of learning languages by correspondence is one of the most remarkable educational achievements of the century, and the French and Spanish Courses, which are now ready, are fully described in the literature which can be obtained, gratis and post free, by any reader who writes for it to the address printed below.

Based on an entirely new principle, the Pelman method is simplicity itself, and one of the most striking features of these Courses is that they do not contain a single English word but are written entirely in either French or Spanish. And yet, even if you do not know the meaning of a single word of these languages, you can study either of these Courses with ease, and read the lessons without a mistake, and without "looking up" any words in a French-English or Spanish-English Dictionary. This sounds almost incredible, yet it is perfectly true.

Another important fact about this new method is that it enables you to read, write and speak French or Spanish without bothering your head with complex grammatical rules, or burdening your memory with the task of learning by heart long vocabularies of French or Spanish words. In spite of this, when you have completed one of these Courses, you will be able to read French (or Spanish) books and newspapers, and to write and speak French (or Spanish) accurately, grammatically and fluently, and without that hesitation which comes when the language is acquired, as it usually, but wrongly, is, through the medium of English.

The process of learning French or Spanish by the Pelman method is an extremely fascinating one. The difficulty of teaching Pronunciation by correspondence has been overcome by an ingenious device, and so simple and effective is the whole method that it enables you to acquire a thorough, practical mastery of the language in question in about one-third the time usually required. Write to-day for a free copy of the book describing this method (mentioning the language—French or Spanish—in which you are interested) to the Pelman Institute (Modern Languages Dept.), 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C. 1.

maintain in our own Dominions the ignorant and dangerous reversions to policies of darker ages which the war has allowed to appear both in West and East Africa.

It is salutary that the control of all such Dependencies should be taken out of the hands of the Foreign Office, which has, in past times, handed over to the Colonial Office Protectorates involved in embarrassing and mischievous heritages of misguided land policy. Moreover, the separation from that Department should be a stronger guarantee that the policies of "A Mandate" territories (Mesopotamia, Palestine, &c.), will be handled in their own interests and not as cards in the old international game of Beggar my Neighbour.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

By J. H. CLYNES.

"Universal peace can be established only if it is based on social justice."—*The Treaty of Versailles.*

This organisation is the outcome of repeated demands on the part of the working class of all nations. The Inter-Allied Trade Union Conference (Leeds, 1916), the Stockholm Conference (1917), the Berne Conference (1919), of international workers were all insistent upon the necessity for a machine for international labour action.

Section XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles is headed "Labour," and covers in forty articles the setting up of an "International Labour Organisation" whose function is to deal with International Labour questions upon much the same plan as the League of Nations is intended to deal with International Political questions.

The International Labour Organisation operates through (1) The General Conference, (2) The Permanent Office, and (3) The Governing Body of the Office.

On the General Conference, Governments, employers, and workers are represented, each country having two "National" representatives, and one each for employers and labour.* Representatives vote individually, and not in national groups, so that differences are probably less likely to occur between nations than between the representatives of different economic and social interests.

The General Conference, which is the chief authority in the Labour Organisation, and chooses the Governing Body, is in no sense dependent on the League for its authority. It may, indeed, upon occasion, act on lines of policy independent of those being followed by the League at any given time.

Conventions agreed upon by a two-third majority at meetings of the General Conference must go before the Governments represented, in the form of draft legislation, in twelve (or, in special cases, not more than eighteen) months after being arrived at.† There is no compulsion upon Governments to pass into law such Conventions, for in the present state of national government, no suggestion of diminished sovereignty can be entertained by any nation. Recommendations coming from a source of such international authority, however, are not likely to be treated lightly by any Government.

The International Labour Office, with its central office at Geneva, under the directorship of M. Albert Thomas, will be concerned with all matters connected with social and industrial legislation. The Staff of this Office, in several specialised sections, is responsible for following

* The strength of Government representation may seem to be high, but when Conventions are arrived at the responsibility upon the Government represented is correspondingly high.

† Article 405 of the Versailles Treaty.

up decisions already taken, collecting information, preparing for future Conferences, and publishing a periodical. If any nation should refuse to carry out the terms of a Convention, complaint may be lodged through this office, and it is possible that a Commission of Enquiry into special cases may advise economic action against the offending Government, or make an appeal to the International Court of Justice under the League of Nations.

The "Governing Body" elected by the General Conference, is to consist of the "eight States of chief industrial importance" with four others. It is, therefore, analogous to the Council of the League, or to a Government, or Ministry, and will be responsible for the presentation of Draft Conventions and the explanation of their terms. It is responsible for the organisation of the Labour Office described above.

The General Conference met for the first time at Washington, on October 29th, 1919, the second time (to deal specially with Maritime questions) at Genoa, in June, 1920.

At the Washington meeting, the following were adopted:—

Draft Conventions concerning

- (a) 8-hour day and 48-hour week.
- (b) Provision against and prevention of unemployment.
- (c) Employment of women before and after childbirth.
- (d) The employment of women during the night.
- (e) Minimum age for child employment.
- (f) Night work of young persons employed in industry.

Recommendations concerning

- (a) Public Employment Exchanges.
- (b) Reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers.
- (c) The prevention of anthrax.
- (d) Protection of women and children against lead poisoning.
- (e) Establishment of Government Health Services.
- (f) Prohibition of use of white phosphorous in match manufacture (according to Berne Convention, 1906).

More than fifty nations now belong to the International Labour Organisation, and legislative measures carrying into effect Conventions and some of the Recommendations have been taken (Greece being the first nation to carry all the Conventions into law). The twelve-months period spoken of in Article 405 of the Treaty was completed on January 28th, 1921, but though Great Britain has already discussed the majority of the Conventions and Recommendations (some of which were in force in this country before the Washington Conference), the Conventions on Unemployment and Maternity have not received the attention due to them.

With the full support of the workers of this country, there is no reason why the League of Nations Union should not be a powerful factor in helping to achieve, during the next six months, the realisation of the promises to which it was a party at Washington in 1919.

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THE BIRTHDAY OF THE LEAGUE.

THE KING'S MESSAGE TO THE UNION.

At the great meeting at the Albert Hall, on January 12th, to celebrate the first birthday of the League of Nations, the following message was read from the King in reply to a loyal greeting sent early in the evening:—

"I have received with much satisfaction the message addressed to me from to-day's Albert Hall meeting of the League of Nations Union. There is every reason to be thankful for what the League has accomplished during the first year of its life. Much will depend in the future upon the confidence and support assured to its members by the peoples they represent. The nations must be true to the faith that in the League lies the sure guarantee of peace, and that only in the fulfilment of its high ideals can the generations to come be saved from recurrent, desolating war, the scourge of which continues far beyond the day when the clash of battle ceases, a scourge from which the whole civilised world is now suffering. I look forward hopefully, believing that it is this faith which will appeal to the men and women of the British Empire."

Messages were also received from the Prime Minister and from Mr. Asquith. Mr. Lloyd George wrote:—

"The League of Nations is a great ideal. It embodies some of the deepest hopes of mankind. Its machinery has now been working for a year and has made a good start. But we are only at the beginning of the movement towards international justice and permanent peace. The League will be successful in proportion as it represents all nations, and as the nations really insist on fair and open dealing with one another. Then will the Council and Assembly of the League gain from the high standard of tolerance, honesty, and fidelity which they set, the authority to enable them to deal effectively with international affairs. In pressing for these things the League of Nations Union will be doing invaluable work for the cause of the League, and in that work I wish them all success in 1921."

Mr. Asquith wrote:—

"On the anniversary of the birth of the League of Nations, I with all its other friends, wish to express our hope for its future life and prosperity. After two years of peace we cannot but feel, even more strongly than at the time of its inception, that the chief hope for the restoration of our civilisation lies in the increase of its power and efficiency. The League, by giving body and effect to the public opinion of the world, alone can save us from the rule of force."

THE ALBERT HALL MEETING.

The meeting itself was most successful. Lord Grey and Lord Robert Cecil were the principal speakers, and the latter, together with Mr. H. A. L. Fisher and Mr. G. N. Barnes, gave their views on the Assembly at Geneva in which they took part. Besides distinguished British friends of the League there was a full attendance of representatives of the Foreign Legations and of the Dominion Governments, including the Foreign Ministers of the Netherlands, Austria, Siam, and Czecho-Slovakia.

Lord Robert Cecil said that "two years ago the League was an aspiration, last year it was a project, this year it is a fact." He reviewed its achievements during its first year of existence, but said that in the future still more would be expected of it, and any repetition of the failure of the League to act in a similar crisis to that between Russia and Poland last year, would be extremely serious. He laid stress upon the importance of open diplomacy, and said he hoped that Mr. Lloyd George's

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Rt. Hon. Sir William Bull, M.P., writes:—"The Book of Public Speaking" is extraordinarily well done. It will be useful to young men who are really in earnest in wanting to speak well, whilst no public man's library should be without it. I sincerely congratulate all concerned."

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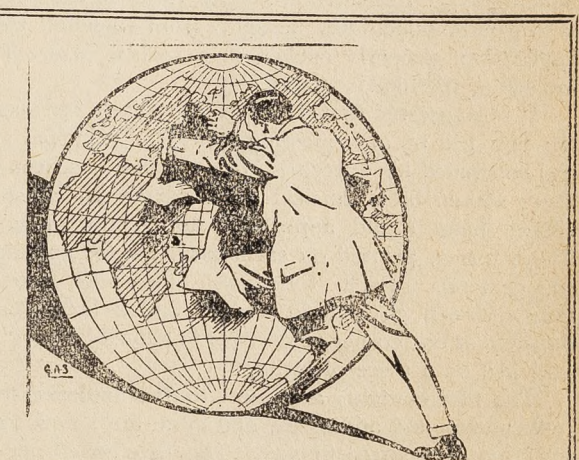
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THE SECRETARY:

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message meant that Great Britain would press for the proceedings of the Council to be held in public.

Lord Grey, who was received with an ovation even greater than that accorded Lord Robert Cecil, declared that the war we had all gone through was an ultimatum to the public opinion of the world to organise itself to prevent a recurrence of the same catastrophe. The League was the machinery by which the organised public opinion of the world could set about this task, and though he had no objection to an amendment of the Covenant which would make it easier for any nation now outside to join the League, at the present moment he would rather see people amending the state of the world than amending the Covenant.

FILMING THE LEAGUE.

The League of Nations film, which was shown at the Albert Hall, gives an excellent notion of the look of the first World Parliament. Views of Geneva and the permanent headquarters of the League were shown, and the work of the Assembly in session, as well as the routine work of the League. The film was prefaced by illustrations of war's havoc in the devastated areas of France.

The experience of the Albert Hall meeting shows that the film offers a magnificent opportunity of securing new members for the Union. It was shown for the first time at the Albert Hall, and nearly 1,000 members were enrolled on the spot, the total amount promised in subscriptions being £275. Branches are urged to make the fullest use of the film, which will be sent from Headquarters on application, properly packed in a special case. The fee for use of the film is £2 2s.

It is suggested that the best opportunity for displaying the film will be at a meeting, after the principal speaker has concluded his speech. After the film has been shown there should be a musical item, during which stewards should hand round application forms for membership. These forms, printed on cardboard, will be supplied free on demand. Each form will be long enough to take between 50 and 60 names, and a hole should be punched at one corner of the card to allow of a pencil being attached by a piece of string.

The film contains a request to the audience to fill in their names and addresses, and state the amount of subscription they agree to pay. They are asked not to pay then and there, but are informed that it will be collected by the local Branch. A body of canvassers should be organised to carry out this work as quickly as possible after the meeting.

* * * * *

We have already received more than 100 reports from Branches on the action taken by them in connection with the Birthday celebrations of the League. In most cases, either public meetings or committee meetings were held, while practically all of the Branches which have sent us their reports took steps to have the League's Birthday mentioned in the places of worship in their towns. There has been a very gratifying response from leaders of

religion of all shades of opinion, Christian and Jewish.

* * * * *

Wrexham honoured the Birthday of the League by flying the flag on the Town Hall on January 10th.

* * * * *

At Hyde, Cheshire, no public meeting was arranged on the famous 10th, but the Mayor availed himself of the opportunity offered by the Monthly Meeting of the Town Council on that date to remind the Council that this was the first birthday of the League of Nations.

* * * * *

At Norwich, on January 9th, the League of Nations Union Birthday Address (Leaflet No. 18) was read in the Cathedral.

* * * * *

NEW PUBLICATIONS ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Leaflets 15, 16, 17, and 18, recently published by the League of Nations Union, should prove of the greatest value to speakers, writers, and study circles. The first drives home the connection between the race between wages and prices and the economic and financial chaos on the Continent, and shows that the remedy is only in united international co-operation, to be realised through the League of Nations.* The second gives a brief summary of the achievements and machinery of the League of Nations up to the date of the meeting of the Assembly. The fourth is an anniversary address on the League of Nations which was read in many parts of the country on January 10th, the Birthday of the League. This also contains a most useful summary of what the League has accomplished during the first year of existence.

Another publication which should be useful in refuting the contention that the League has done little to justify its creation, is the pamphlet by Dr. Inazo Nitobé, Under-Secretary-General and Director of International Bureaux of the League of Nations, entitled, "What the League of Nations has Done and is Doing." This may be obtained from the offices of the Union at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, price 6d.†

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING.

The National Council of the League of Nations Union met at the Caxton Hall, London, on January 26th. Lord Robert Cecil, who presided, gave an account of the work of the Union for the past year, and of the achievements of the League. He laid great stress on the importance of publicity, declaring that, far from making unanimity more difficult of attainment, it made it easier. He referred to the possible danger of the Council turning into a body of "Elder Statesmen," instead of a meeting of representatives of national Governments, and said that it was impossible to divorce action in regard to League matters from the rest of the foreign policy of a country. The Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister ought to represent the

* Mr. McKenna's address on International Exchange to the University of Manchester last November has also been published as a leaflet by the Union.

† We refer on another page to the pamphlet on the Assembly by Mr. Wilson Harris, and to the more complete work on this subject which the Union is now producing.

various nations on the Council. Comparing the composition of the Council and Assembly, he said that the latter was a conference of men representing the nations as a whole, while the former was a committee of the Governments of those nations.

The Council passed the following resolution on disarmament:—

"That this National Council of the League of Nations Union expresses its hearty appreciation of the important steps taken by the League of Nations at Geneva towards international co-operation and peace, but expresses its strong hope that more definite proposals will be adopted in the immediate future in regard to the reduction of armaments, which, on economic, scientific and humanitarian grounds, calls for practical and urgent action."

Certain important alterations were made in the Rules, which will be circulated to Branches in due course.

JUNIOR BRANCHES.

The scheme for the formation of Junior Branches of the League of Nations Union, which is being developed vigorously in the Liverpool and Merseyside district,* is capable of expansion in many directions. Not only may such Branches be formed in schools, but also among junior clerks, apprentices, and others of the same age. Moreover, where it is not possible to form a Junior Branch in a school, there is no reason why League of Nations Societies should not be established in schools in a similar way to other school societies. In this case, it should be registered at the Headquarters of the Union, and copies of the Union's literature should be sent to the Secretary of the School Society. No definite constitution of Junior Branches has yet been laid down by the Executive, but the constitution of the Junior Liverpool and Merseyside District is obtainable from Headquarters, and should be of great help to those wishing to form similar Branches.

THE PROGRESS OF THE L.N.U.

Our membership on January 31st was 67,895, being an increase of 7,792 on the figures given last month.

Thirty new Branches were "recognised" by the Executive Committee on January 13th.

THE GREAT NATIONAL PILGRIMAGE.

A Pilgrimage is being organised to take place this summer which will start from all quarters of Great Britain and converge upon London, culminating in a great demonstration in Hyde Park, which is to take place on League of Nations' Day—Saturday, June 25th. All members of the Union are urged to take part in this unique opportunity of showing their active support for the cause. Particulars are being sent to all Branch Secretaries by the Committee which has been formed to organise the Pilgrimage, the Chairman of which is Lord Robert Cecil. *Correspondence on this subject should be marked "Pilgrimage."*

THE L.N.U. CANTEEN.

It is hoped that members of the Union, residing in or visiting London, will avail themselves of the opportunity of coming into personal touch with the staff at Headquarters. The fact that the Union is running an excellent canteen on the "serve yourself" principle, will doubtless provide an additional attraction, and Branch Secretaries are urged to impress upon members that they should make the fullest use of this service. Good meals at moderate prices are difficult to find in the West End of London, and the L.N.U. Canteen supplies a real need.

* See p. 26.

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HY.E. 1921.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DO WE NEED DIPLOMATS?

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Mr. Hamilton Fyfe's article, "Do we need Diplomats?" in the December number of "To-day and To-morrow," may bring about considerable injury to the League of Nations Union if allowed to pass unchallenged. Even if his criticism of the type of persons now holding posts in the Diplomatic Service be justified, the logical conclusion is not that we can dispense with diplomats, but that we need better diplomats.

Mr. Fyfe states that the keen and zealous man does not "get on" in diplomacy, being regarded with disfavour by his colleagues. This fault is not confined to the Diplomatic Service. In many professions the man whose personal energy tends to raise the "standard of effort," is regarded as pernicious by his less enthusiastic associates; it is the equivalent of the "ca' canny" policy prevailing in the industrial world. Yet, because life is made intolerable for the bricklayer who lays an excessive number of bricks per hour, it does not follow that the question, "Do we need bricklayers?" must be answered in the negative.

The proposed new system of "direct communication" between Foreign Ministers (to which a single paragraph is devoted on the last page) would probably prove less effective in the settlement of disputes than a system based upon personal interviews. In any case, the change cannot be made in a day. Meanwhile, the present "diplomats" have power to wreck the League or save it. To arouse their antagonism by unfair criticism is—to say the least of it—"undiplomatic."—Yours, &c.,
HEATHERHURST, WIMBLEDON COMMON.

ULICK R. EVANS.

"LINKING UP THE NATIONS."

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In the new and greatly improved HEADWAY for January you mentioned Article 11 of the Covenant, which refers to "the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

The most practical way to establish this good understanding is for us to visit "foreigners" and for "foreigners" to visit us. Just now the exchange is so much in our favour that we can travel and live in France, Belgium and Italy for at least the same amount as in England.

Why should not the League of Nations Union help its members? Imagine a Frenchman, uninformed and ignorant of English, coming with plenty of money to London expecting to be overcharged.

He would probably put up at a noisy, crowded station terminus hotel, get his meals there or at the big restaurants, and think London very expensive.

If he was a member of a keen French branch of the League of Nations Union, his branch secretary might give him the name and address—with a *petit mot*—of one of his English confrères. This branch secretary could tell him of a quiet, comfortable hotel, recommend the sort of place he himself lunched at, introduce him to friends, and also tell him what to see and how to get there. Our French friend would return home with a splendid opinion of English hospitality and be sure the League of Nations was worth while!

Many people select a foreign town from a prettily-pictured pamphlet just as they select a novel by the picture on the paper cover; these people are probably auriferous, and can hand a large cheque to a tourist agency, which will take them about in droves, like dumb, driven sheep. It is difficult to estimate the cost of hotels—to some, eating is a habit, to others, a hobby! A hotel is a convenient place to stay at, or a place to "swank" about, and one pays accordingly.

Let us remember in our financial budget that at present one shilling equals about three francs, and may even be worth more in the summer; also that much of the interest in foreign travel lies in the overcoming of language and other difficulties. Probably in each branch someone could be found who would conduct classes for colloquial French, and could suggest that English and French customs and habits are different. English people have at least as good manners as any other nation, but are too shy to use them; they often behave like barbarians, thinking thus to assert the superiority of their nation!

Perhaps, at some later date, you may let me make suggestions for co-operative camps and travel clubs, like that of a London settlement which arranged for fourteen years a week's travel, board and lodgings for £2 12s., and last year paid £4.

Just now may I suggest that members of the Union should get together in the branches and ask help and advice from Headquarters so that a travel information bureau could be started and a "Hospitality Consul" selected in many foreign towns?—Yours, &c.,
HON. TREASURER, "FELLOWSHIP BRANCH,"
8, DURAND GARDENS, S.W. 9.

CECIL ROGERSON.

REVIEWS.

WHAT THEY DID AT GENEVA.*

We welcome the publication of an excellent and clearly written pamphlet by Mr. Wilson Harris, entitled, "What they did at Geneva," in which, for the moderate sum of 6d., those that run may read a concise summary of the work of the First Assembly. In his first chapter Mr. Harris recounts the steps that led up to the memorable meeting of 42 nations in the Salle de la Réformation in Geneva, showing the spade-work done by the Council at its nine meetings previous to the Assembly, and touching upon its efforts to deal with urgent international problems, such as the Aaland Island dispute between Sweden and Finland and the Vilna dispute between Lithuania and Poland. The actual meeting of the Assembly and the Homeric catalogue of the eminent statesmen who represented the various States provide a chapter of great interest to those who were not there and thus find it difficult to visualise so unprecedented a gathering of the wisdom of the world. The author then explains to us the machinery of the Assembly, showing the methods by which it organised itself into an efficient instrument for carrying out the formidable agenda that lay before it. It is interesting to see the gradual evolution of procedure being built up by a body without precedents or traditions, and gratifying to all except the hardened cynic that such apparently discordant elements can, without friction, be organised for effective work. Even so thorny a problem as the relations between itself and the Council, a problem on which we have by no means heard the last word spoken, was successfully and tactfully dealt with by an Assembly of men obviously determined not to disappoint the hopes and ideals they represented.

The longest chapter in Mr. Wilson Harris's pamphlet is, naturally, devoted to the decisions arrived at by the Assembly, and the merest glance, not merely at the subjects dealt with, but at the definite resolutions decided upon and ratified by the Assembly, is sufficient indication of the vast importance to humanity of the infant League. The few pages given to the creation of a Permanent Court of International Justice, to describing the first steps taken towards the reduction of armaments, and to the establishment of special organisations to deal with finance, health, and transit, are adequate to show that there has been created a force that men will not willingly let die. Much, no doubt, remains to be done. Other States, beside the fortunate six, have to be admitted to the League, and the right arm of the League has to be strengthened by a development of its economic weapons. Mandates, opium, the white slave traffic open up vast fields of vitally important work almost untouched at present by the League. Even the Covenant itself may have to be moulded by amendment into a more perfect instrument. But Mr. Harris's pamphlet bears eloquent witness to the value of what has been already achieved.

Mr. Wilson Harris is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has compressed so much material into the limited scope of the pamphlet. He has made it so interesting that the reader will ask for more. We understand that that natural desire will shortly be gratified, since the Union is about to publish a book by various hands that will deal fully with the work of the Assembly and will undoubtedly become the standard work upon the subject.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS SYMPOSIUM.

We have been asked by the German League of Nations Society to draw the attention of the members of the Union to the following:—

The Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund has had in course of preparation for some time the publication of the collective proposals for a League of Nations which have been formulated since the outbreak of war, irrespective of the influence upon some of these of the creation of the League. The head of the International Policy Department, Dr. Hans Wehberg, has collected all the drafts which he has been able to obtain, and the material is ready to go

*What they did at Geneva. An account of the First Assembly of the League of Nations. By H. Wilson Harris. (6d. net. Obtainable from the "Daily News," 19, Bouverie Street, E.C. 4, or from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.)

to print; it has, however, not been possible to proceed further with the publication owing to the exceptionally high cost of printing. Although the value of the material to those who are engaged with the problem of the League of Nations cannot be denied, the number of purchasers in Germany of such a work would not be sufficient to cover the cost of publication.

As the official texts will be printed in the original, with the exception of the Italian, which is translated into German, this collective work will be of equal value to the adherents to the League of Nations in all countries.

The Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund expresses the hope that support will be obtained in other countries for the work on its publication. If, among the many thousand members of the League of Nations Union, 150 to 200 are prepared to order a copy and to ensure the payment of £1, this, we understand, will lead to the publication of an edition of at least 1,000 copies in Germany. The German Society urgently begs that the publication of the work may be made possible by the placing of orders for the book at the price of £1.

The publication consists of two parts:—

I.—OFFICIAL DRAFTS.

(a) *The Entente Drafts*, consisting of proposals from America, Great Britain, France, and Italy.

(b) *The Drafts of Neutral Governments*, consisting of proposals from Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, and the Netherlands.

(c) *The Draft of the German Government*.

II.—INDIVIDUAL DRAFTS.

Including drafts of individuals, Societies, Committees, Resolutions of Conferences, &c

SINCE WATERLOO. A History of Europe and the British Isles between 1815 and 1919. By DR. ROBERT JONES. (Constable & Co. Ltd., 10-12, Orange Street, W.C. 2. Price 8s. 6d.)

This excellent book, which is the last of the series of "The Evolution Histories," edited by Dr. Robert Jones, is also the first to be issued. The book is written for students of, approximately, the age of fifteen years, but even adults will find it most instructive and interesting reading. Dr. Jones has combined lucidity of style and accuracy of fact, with a human interpretation of history. This is the type of history text-book that should find a place in every school where teachers are anxious that pupils should become acquainted with the great truth which emerges from a proper study of history, namely the Unity of Mankind.

We await the remainder of the series with interest.

LABOUR AND INDUSTRY: A series of lectures by PERCY ALDEN, J. B. BAILLIE, GERALD BELLHOUSE, J. R. CLYNES, G. D. H. COLE, SIR MALCOLM DELEIVINGNE, SIR D. DRUMMOND FRASER, F. W. GOLDSTONE, PERCY J. PYBUS, R. H. TAWNEY, MISS E. B. VOYSEY, J. H. WHITLEY. (Longmans, Green & Co. Manchester, 1920. 12s. 6d.)

The international regulation of Labour under the Peace Treaty, by Sir Malcolm Delevingne, is a useful summary of the Labour aspect of the League of Nations, while a study of the other lectures in the book will give the reader more than a superficial knowledge of labour conditions and the cause of industrial unrest in his own country, thus enabling him to bring an informed opinion to bear upon similar problems in other countries.

The following have been received:—

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEGISLATION. By J. W. HETHERINGTON. (Methuen. 5s.)

THE BACKWARD PEOPLES AND OUR RELATIONS WITH THEM. By SIR H. H. JOHNSTON. (Oxford University Press.)

THE TREATY SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE: SOME GEOGRAPHIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC ASPECTS. By PROF. FLEURE. (Oxford University Press.)

AFTERMATH: A GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE PEACE TERMS. By M. I. NEWBIGIN. (Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d.)

A NEW PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. By A. M. M. MONTIGN, LL.D. (Belingante Brothers, Ltd., The Hague.)

INDEX TO "TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW."

Subscribers to *To-day and To-morrow* may obtain the complete Index (April-December, 1920) to this Magazine on application to the Editorial Department.



**I want £10,000
at once for China's
starving millions.**

A Personal Appeal by General Booth.

"I make this appeal to the generous-hearted British public in the fervent hope that the money will be forthcoming at once. China to-day stands face to face with a peril unparalleled in the history of mankind. She has 50,000,000 of her people starving. The worst famine on record threatens to depopulate whole provinces.

"No tongue or pen can describe the sufferings of the Chinese to-day. The death-rate already is appalling. Our Depots are besieged by thousands of starving people who cry aloud for food.

"We can do but little to help them! Our efforts so far, in the words of Commissioner Pearce, who writes from Peking imploring assistance, are like 'a drop in a bucket.'"

"I have set out to raise £10,000. We can, of course, easily and wisely spend ten times that amount, but £10,000 given now will save a great many men, women, and little children from the slow torture of death by famine.

"Make your gifts as large as you can—the whole of the money subscribed goes to China without any deductions whatsoever. Get your friends to help. Organize meetings in your district, make collections in your Church, your office, your home, in factory, mine and workshop. The need is urgent—the cause the worthiest you ever supported. England must not stand aloof while little children are dying of starvation in China."

BRAMWELL BOOTH.

Send a contribution to-day—get your friends to do the same.

To GENERAL BOOTH,
Salvation Army Headquarters,
Queen Victoria Street,
London, E.C.

In answer to your appeal for £10,000 for the famine-stricken districts of China, I enclose the sum of

Name

Address

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H.

BRANCH ACTIVITIES.

[News intended for publication in HEADWAY, must be sent separately from the ordinary monthly Branch Report, and must reach the Editor without fail by the 27th of each month. Will Branch Secretaries please note that only news which has a definitely educational value can be published?—EDITOR.]

EAST ANGLIAN REGION.

LOUGHTON.—Arrangements have been made for each of the four local schools to be addressed by a member of the local committee, and for the children at each school subsequently to be invited to take part in a competition for four prize books, value 10s. each, one prize to be allotted to each school for the best essay on the League of Nations.

LONDON REGION.

WEMBLEY.—This Branch commenced its activities on October 25th last year, when a great public meeting was held in St. John's Hall, at which Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P., attended and gave an address supported by all parties and denominations. It is now well established with a comparatively good membership of approximately 200. The Executive Committee have formed three sub-committees (1) propaganda, (2) educational, and (3) finance. Active work is being done by both the Educational and Propaganda Committees. A study circle has been formed and intends to meet regularly at the houses of its members. Endeavours are being made to enlist the sympathy and active co-operation of the churches, schools, and societies in the district. A conference was arranged for January 25th at the Council Offices, to which all day and Sunday school teachers, leaders of boy scout troops and girl guides were asked to attend for the purpose of exciting their interest in the League, and possibly forming a junior branch. A reference library and bureau of information are also in course of being established. Shortly a canvass of the whole district will be made for new members, a special leaflet, an adaptation of "Driving Power," being used for this purpose. The Wembley Branch will do its share in supporting the Union, and it is hoped by means of using these columns to excite keen competition in the enlistment of new members. The keener the competition the greater the support for the League of Nations.

MIDLAND REGION.

BIRMINGHAM.—Membership now stands at 1,552. Two new branches have been formed, for the Hay Mills District and the Spark-hill Ward, making a total of six branches in the area. A large number of meetings have been held recently, and arrangements have been made for a mass meeting of women in the Town Hall on February 28th.

BURSLAM.—The second annual meeting of this Branch was held on January 21st, the meeting taking the form of a *conversazione* with a short session for the transaction of business. In order to gauge the probable attendance, printed and stamped reply cards were sent to each member of the Branch, and as a result some 157 members and friends were present. The Executive Committee of the Branch has now three active Sub-Committees, for Study Circles and debates, for propaganda and membership, and for social activities.

DERBY.—Great activity has been shown in the Derby and Derbyshire Branches during the past few weeks. Acknowledgment must be made of the enthusiastic services of the Marquis of Hartington, Lord Vernon, and

Mr. C. F. White, M.P., in addressing meetings and organising branches; of Miss Longdon and Mr. Percy Pask, who have generously placed their motor cars at the disposal of speakers for country meetings; and of the Bishop of Derby, who avails himself of every opportunity in the performance of his episcopal functions of enforcing the value of the League. A successful campaign is being initiated among the Free Churches. On January 7th, at a meeting of the Men's Council of a Primitive Methodist Church, everyone present enrolled as members, the number being about forty.

WELLINGBORO'.—On December 19th, the Pageant Play, "The Crowning of Peace," was performed to a crowded house in aid of the "Save the Children Fund," and over 100 new members of the League of Nations Union were enrolled. The play was given also at Kettering on December 9th, and was followed by a meeting at the Fuller Chapel, Kettering, for the purpose of forming a branch. The new branch started with 119 members.

NORTH-EASTERN REGION.

NELSON.—In addition to the organisation of meetings devoted exclusively to the League of Nations, the Nelson Branch has devised the interesting and successful plan of introducing the subject of the League at entertainments organised for other purposes. Thus, on December 12th, the Branch obtained permission to make a brief appeal on behalf of the League of Nations Union at an entertainment arranged by the Nelson Arian Glee Union. The success of the appeal was strengthened by the fact that it was made by the Mayor, who is President of the Branch. Permission has been obtained to make a similar appeal at the Grand Theatre, the Nelson Palace, the Queen's Cinema, and the New Cinema. Another piece of successful propaganda takes the form of advertisements in the local press, by means of which the chief events in the history of the League of Nations, as well as local events of importance in regard to the same subject, are brought home to the inhabitants of Nelson. The membership of the Branch has increased from sixty-one last April to 1,400 to-day.

NORTH-WESTERN REGION.

LIVERPOOL.—Considerable progress in the formation of Junior Branches of the Union (Rule 2, paragraph 2) has been made in the Liverpool and Merseyside district. The junior district consists of twenty-four secondary school branches; and at twenty of these schools the pupils pay individual subscriptions of 1s. The four remaining schools have their subscriptions compounded. In these cases the school correspondent or secretary pays a subscription of 10s. or £1, and circulates the literature received by him to other members of the Junior Branch.

It is of further interest to know that a similar arrangement for people of the same age outside the secondary schools, e.g., junior clerks, apprentices, &c., is in process of formation.

SOUTH-EASTERN REGION.

WORTHING.—We regret that owing to a printer's error in our December issue, the large meeting organised by this Branch on October 31st addressed by Prof. Roget, of Geneva University, was reported as having taken place at Woking.

SOUTH-WESTERN REGION.

BRISTOL.—Live Branches have been formed at Redland, Bedminster, Stoke Bishop, Bishopston, Horfield, Tyndale Baptist Church and at Wesley Guild, Upper Knowle

Others are in course of formation at Clifton, Fishponds, Portishead, Mangotsfield, Whitchurch, Brislington, and Broad Plain Mission.

SALISBURY.—An interesting series of Thursday evening meetings has been arranged, at which many aspects of the League of Nations will be studied.

NORTH WALES REGION.

BETHESDA.—Membership now stands at 650, being an increase of eighty-nine for the past month.

SOUTH WALES REGION.

ABERYSTWTH.—The first of a new series of meetings was held on January 24th, at which the Mayor, Councillor Rufus Williams, presided, and an address was given by Miss M. Currey, O.B.E., who had previously addressed a meeting of students and a meeting of women. A house to house distribution of leaflets and announcements of the meeting in churches and chapels, contributed to its success.

FISHGUARD.—Services on the League of Nations were held on January 9th at the English Baptist Church and the Welsh Congregational Church. On January 10th a public meeting was held at Goodwick, at which it was agreed to form a Goodwick Branch of the Union.

TROEDYRHW.—This Branch has adopted the original plan of contributing 10s. towards a prize of £1 to be offered for the best rendering of the League of Nations song as a solo at an Eisteddfod or competitive concert to be held on St. David's Day. Other Welsh branches, please take notice!

SCOTLAND.

BALLATER.—A branch has been formed in Ballater to work under the Aberdeen Committee with Major Milne, M.C., Provost of Ballater, as chairman, and Madame Christen as organising honorary secretary.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

- Feb. 16—Bristol. 7.30 p.m. Museum Lecture Theatre. Speaker, Frederick Whelen, Esq.
- „ 16—Mothers' Union, Manchester Diocese Annual Meeting. 3 p.m. Houldsarrth Hall, Church House, Manchester. Speaker, Canon Bickersteth Ottley.
- „ 17—Burnham-on-Sea. 8 p.m. Burnham Parish Hall. Speaker, Frederick Whelen, Esq.
- „ 17—Bishopsgate. 1.15 p.m. St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. Speaker, Miss M. Currey, O.B.E.
- „ 17—Marlborough. 8 p.m. Grammar School. Speaker, S. Sherman, B.A.
- „ 18—East Ham. 8 p.m. Central Hall. Speaker, Canon Bickersteth Ottley.
- „ 18—Lincoln. Training College. Speaker, Miss M. Currey, O.B.E.
- „ 18—Hull. Evening. Branch. Speaker, C. B. Fawcett, Esq.
- „ 18—Keighley. Evening. Municipal Hall. Speaker, Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.
- „ 18—East Grinstead. 7.30 p.m. Queen's Hall. Speaker, J. H. Clynes, Esq.
- „ 18—Plymouth. 1 p.m. Royal Hotel, Plymouth Rotary Club. Speaker, Frederick Whelen, Esq.
- „ 18—Wantage. Evening. V.C. Gallery or Town Hall. Speaker, R. Foster Jeffery, Esq.

- Feb. 19—Nottingham. Evening. Adult School Room. Speaker, Mr. Norman Angell.
- „ 20—Nottingham. Adult School Union. Speaker, Mr. Norman Angell.
- „ 21—London. N. 16, Stamford Hill. 8 p.m. Congregational Church Lecture Hall. Speaker, T. A. Symmons, Esq.
- „ 22—Battersea Men's Evening Institute. St. Luke's Parish Hall, Ramsden Road, Nightingale Lane, S.W. 12. Speaker, F. W. Raffety, Esq.
- „ 22—Nelson. 8 p.m. Branch. Speakers, Frederick Whelen, Esq., J. H. Clynes, Esq.
- „ 22—Greenwich. 3.30 p.m. Grey Ladies' College. Speaker, Miss M. Currey, O.B.E.
- „ 22—Chelsea. 8 p.m. Town Hall. Speakers, Ben Tillett, Esq., M.P., and Lord Parmoor.
- „ 22—University Club. 8 p.m. 31, Gower Street. Speaker, E. Everitt Reid, Esq.
- „ 22—Glastonbury Town Hall. 8 p.m. Speaker, J. H. Harris, Esq.
- „ 23—Huddersfield. 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Speakers, Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., Miss M. Currey, O.B.E.
- „ 23—Wolverton. 7 p.m. Science and Arts Institute. Speaker, E. Everitt Reid, Esq.
- „ 23—Coulson, Surrey. Church Union Meeting. Speaker, Herbert Bloye, Esq.
- „ 23—Wigan. 7.30 p.m. Technical Institute. Speaker, Frederick Whelen, Esq.

- Feb. 24—Kensington. 8 p.m. Branch. Speaker, Frederick Whelen, Esq.
- „ 24—Wimbledon. 8 p.m. 20, Queen's Road, School. Speaker, Miss Helen Ward.
- „ 24—Sheffield. 8 p.m. Victoria Hall. Speaker, Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.
- „ 24—Llanfair, Caereninion. Speaker, Capt. Morgan Thomas, O.B.E.
- „ 25—Ilkeston. Evening. King's Picture House. Speakers, Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P., and Major-Gen. Rt. Hon. J. E. B. Seely, C.B., D.S.O., M.P.
- „ 27—Peckham Rye. 3 p.m. Tabernacle Brotherhood. Speaker, Canon Bickersteth Ottley.
- „ 28—Penge. 3 p.m. Congregational Church. Speaker, Lady Gladstone.
- „ 28—Birmingham. Town Hall. Speaker, Miss M. Currey, O.B.E.
- „ 28—Harrow. 8 p.m. Speech Room. Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.
- „ 28—Treorchy. Free Church Council. Speaker, Capt. Morgan Thomas, O.B.E.
- Mar. 2—Leytonstone. 8 p.m. Wesleyan Church, High Road. Speaker, Frederick Whelen, Esq.
- „ 2—Wimbledon Park. 8.15 p.m. St. Luke's Parish Hall. Speaker, E. Everitt Reid, Esq.
- „ 3—Streatham. Evening. St. Leonard's Parish Hall. Speaker, Frederick Whelen, Esq.
- „ 4—St. Albans. 8 p.m. Town Hall. Speaker, Miss M. Currey, O.B.E.

- Mar. 5—St. Charles Square. 5 p.m. Training College, W. 10. Speaker, Frederick Whelen, Esq.
- „ 5—St. Michael-at-Bowes. 8 p.m. Social Club, Bowes Park. Speaker, Mr. Raymond Vivian.
- „ 6—London. 6.30 p.m. Ethical Society and Institute. Speaker, G. Stuart Bunning, Esq.
- „ 6—Willesden. 3 p.m. Wesleyan Church, Kensal Rise. Speaker, W. L. Williams, Esq.
- „ 6—St. Katherine's. 11 a.m. Regent's Park. Speaker, Canon Bickersteth Ottley.
- „ 7—Armlay, Church Men's Meeting. 7.45 p.m. Church Hut, Wesley Road. Speaker, Lt.-Col. J. E. H. Forty.
- „ 7—Walthamstow. 8 p.m. Lighthouse Church. Speaker, Canon Bickersteth Ottley.
- „ 8—London, New Cross. 4 p.m. Goldsmiths' College, Training Department for Teachers. Speaker, J. F. Green, Esq., M.P.
- „ 8—Peckham, Young People's League. Rye Lane Chapel, Peckham. Speaker, Mr. S. Sherman, B.A., B.Sc.
- „ 9—Wolverton. 7 p.m. Science and Arts Institute. Speaker, H. Barrs Davies, Esq.

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Contributions may be sent to Rev. Nelson Bitton, Home Secretary, L.M.S., 48, Broadway, Westminster, London, S.W. 1.

Note.—FEBRUARY 13-20 IS L.M.S. MEDICAL MISSIONS WEEK. At least £15,000 is required for this enterprise. Your contribution is invited.

February 28th

is the date on which we close our financial year. £4,150 (unfortunately a much greater sum than before) is needed by then if the income is to come up even to the income (all too small) of the last financial year.

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