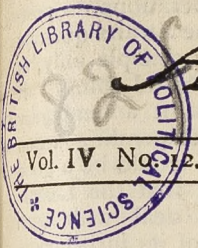


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# HEADWAY

## A Review of the World's Affairs



December, 1922.

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### THE MONTH.

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#### MR. BONAR LAW (Conservative).

"It will be our earnest endeavour to give it [The League of Nations] wholehearted and practical support."—(Election Address, November, 1922.)

#### MR. ASQUITH (Independent Liberal).

"We have insisted, ever since the Armistice, upon the supreme necessity of giving the League of Nations real and governing authority."—(October 27, 1922.)

#### MR. LLOYD GEORGE (National Liberal).

"I am for the League of Nations; I am in favour of all the countries of Europe being enrolled among its members."—(October 25, 1922.)

#### THE LABOUR PARTY.

"This Conference reaffirms its conviction that, in the League of Nations and its International Labour Organisation, remodelled, strengthened and democratised by the inclusion of all free peoples exists the most hopeful official machinery for the preservation of international and social peace and providing security for all the peoples of the world."—(Annual Conference at Edinburgh, June, 1922.)

IT is a remarkable tribute to the energy and enthusiasm of the body of League of Nations supporters who are banded together in the League of Nations Union that out of the 1,386 candidates who went to the poll on November 15th we have so far been able to discover only three who dared face the electors as declared opponents of the League. Two or three others avoided mention of the League; the rest said they believed in it. The pronouncements of party leaders quoted above are typical of hundreds of election addresses and speeches from members of all parties and none, and are a significant proof of the place which the League has begun to establish in the public confidence.

MEMBERS of the League of Nations Union, whatever their differences in domestic politics, are united in believing that the League of Nations, with its International Labour Organisation and its Permanent Court of International Justice, must form the keystone of British foreign policy. At party meetings all over the country candidates who offered the electorate—as what candidate did not?—relief from heavy taxation, improvement of trade, prevention of unemployment, were met everywhere by League enthusiasts pointing out that only by using League machinery could these benefits be realised. Without the League all promises of better conditions are valueless. A vast number of electors have learnt this lesson and they have not been slow in passing the knowledge they have acquired to those who applied for their votes.

THE next step is to hold the candidate to his pledge. There appears to be a mistaken idea in certain quarters that the spade-work on behalf of the League is finished. Indeed, a League

of Nations speaker was recently greeted with the naïve remark: "Now that all parties are united in support of the League I suppose that the League of Nations Union can close its doors after Polling Day." This touching faith in precept as synonymous with practice perhaps does credit to the trustful innocence of the speaker, but we should indeed despair of the future of the League if it were acted upon at present. Very great watchfulness will have to be exerted by those who have the welfare of the League at heart to see that the new Government fulfils the pledge of its Premier to give the League "wholehearted and practical support."

ONE of the changes incidental to the passing of the Coalition and the establishment of Mr. Bonar Law's Government is the transference of work in connection with the League to its proper sphere, the Foreign Office. Under the former Government, League work was in the hands of an official transferred for that purpose from the Foreign Office to the Cabinet Secretariat. This arrangement now comes to an end, with the result that much closer association will now be established between the Foreign Office and the League of Nations.

ONE of the most momentous Conferences in the history of the world has opened in Lausanne. It has the power to relieve the world of the chaos of the past eight years—and the power to plunge the world into chaos anew. The issues at stake for British supporters of the League of Nations fall under two headings—those which revert to the world war of 1914-1918 and those which make for future settlement. The first are to be treated essentially in the light of Allied unity—and can be settled by a united Allied front alone. The second are to be treated as world issues and, as such, issues which vitally concern the League of Nations.

IT is important that supporters of the League of Nations should know when and where the interests of the League are most of all concerned in this settlement of the Near Eastern problem. The issues that are of vital concern to the League of Nations, inasmuch as the League includes more than three-quarters of the States of the world, are such as make for international administration, security of waterways and the protection of minorities. Of these perhaps the most important is the Freedom of the Straits. The principles of the League's Covenant are here called directly into question. Were a Convention drafted at Lausanne excluding access to the Black Sea by ships of war acting on behalf of the League of Nations, the foundation of Articles 10-16 would fall away, and the Covenant would be placed in jeopardy. The League must have access to all seas and waterways to all quarters of the globe if it is to be effective. The keynote to the question of the Freedom of the Straits in the sense of the foregoing—is the Freedom of the Black Sea. Five States directly interested in the Black Sea are members of the League of Nations; these are the Danubian States and Bulgaria. Any settlement of the Straits question which would tend to isolate these States from the main body of the League, or which would deprive these States of the protection which they are entitled to receive under the Covenant, would tend to cripple the League's machinery.

THIS is why access to the Black Sea by ships in the service of the League is vital to the League. Beyond this one requirement and the guarantees that go with it, it is unnecessary to be dogmatic. It would not be wise to be dogmatic—at this stage at any rate, where innumerable forces wholly unknown to all but the participants are revealing themselves and will accumulate daily at Lausanne. It may be found necessary, during the deliberations, to postpone a detailed investigation of the Straits question to a later date, and to agree in principle only, at this juncture. This would be a good thing. It may be found necessary to appoint a temporary Mixed Commission for the Straits pending action by the League of Nations. That would be a good thing. It may be recommended that the League should convene a Conference to deal with such matters as fall within the sphere of its jurisdiction, to draft a Convention for the Straits, to have charge of the deliberations on these features of the settlement from outset to finish. That would in all probability be the best means of settling the matter. But the point to bear in mind nevertheless is that under the terms of settlement it must be possible at all times for the League of Nations and its machinery to have full access to the Black Sea, for on this freedom of passage depends the effectiveness of the League of Nations and the fulfilment of those guarantees and benefits which the States emerging from the world war hope to realise in the new era.

THE reference to the League of the dispute between Great Britain and France on the question of conscribing British subjects abroad provides a complete reply to those critics who maintain that the League is competent to settle differences between small nations, but that the Great Powers would never submit to its ruling. In November, 1921, the French Government issued decrees in Tunis and Morocco, one of the effects of which was to impose the obligation of compulsory service on British subjects resident in French protectorates. Great Britain protested; but France maintained that this was a domestic question, and that, in her view, it was equitable that the Government of the country of domicile should exact military service from all foreigners. France would raise no objection to the conscription of her subjects domiciled in British territory.

NEITHER Government would give way, and the dispute became serious. The British Government then suggested arbitration. France refused. Nine years ago there would have been no alternative to war or a costly Conference because there was then in existence no world machinery to deal with an emergency such as this. As soon as the matter came before the League, most of the tension was relaxed. Almost immediately, Lord Balfour and M. Bourgeois, the British and French members of the Council of the League, agreed to ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for a ruling as to whether the question was one of purely domestic concern to France. It was also agreed that if the Permanent Court decided that the question was of international concern, then the substance of this dispute would be settled by arbitration under the auspices of the League of Nations.

THE reprint published by the *Manchester Guardian* early in November on French aims in the Rhineland may, happily, be read in conjunction with the speech of M. Loucheur in the French Chamber a few days later, expressing an entirely different policy. The *Manchester Guardian* document is the report of M. Dariac, M. Poincaré's envoy to the Rhineland, the main object of which is to urge permanent control of this district by France, for the significant reason that "we are afraid of seeing Germany's industries develop in the proportion which would permit her to assume the payment of the debts which she has acknowledged." The idea is for France to continue to retain the German district which she already illegally holds,\* as this puts her in a position "utterly to disorganise" the whole Ruhr industry in case of need, and thus "constitute a constant menace for the ten or twelve masters of German industry who are in reality, financially, the Masters of Germany." Later, M. Dariac envisages the complete control by France of Germany's Industrial production.

WE refuse to believe that the aims of M. Poincaré's Government are in any way akin to those of M. Dariac. A very different policy was put forward by M. Loucheur on November 7th. Neither a Rhineland protectorate nor annexation to France commended itself to M. Loucheur. Apart from other considerations he considered it would be an economic impossibility to separate the left bank of the Rhine from the rest of the German republic. His plan was for the establishment of an inter-allied force on the left bank of the Rhine under the auspices of the League of Nations, and he claimed that no less a patriot than M. Clemenceau had had the same idea. How far this plan will commend itself to the French Government it is impossible to say at present, but it is, at least, a matter for rejoicing that it was brought forward concurrently with the Dariac report.

THE biennial elections in the United States last month resulted in a big Democratic turnover, but it would be unwise to draw hasty conclusions from this as to the chances of America's forthcoming entry into the League of Nations. Disapproval of the Tariff and Prohibition Acts probably account for more Democratic votes than desire to enter the League. At the same time it would be idle to deny that a significant change has come over American opinion ever since 1919. Mr. Hughes' announcement last October that America is prepared to participate in the election of Judges to the League's Permanent Court of International Justice, "so that this Government may give its formal support to that Court as an independent tribunal of international justice," is the most striking indication of that change.

EARLY this month a Conference of the five Central American Republics and the United States is to meet at Washington to discuss the concerting of measures to enable the Central

\*In addition to the districts of the Rhineland which, together with the bridgeheads on the right bank, are in Allied military occupation for 15 years, the French seized three important manufacturing towns in the Ruhr district in 1921 in order to enforce an Allied ultimatum. Although Germany accepted the ultimatum the towns were not evacuated. Their original seizure was illegal, their retention doubly so.

American Republics to carry on the endeavours of last winter's Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments, and to "set an example to the world, and, above all, to the Powers of this hemisphere, by adopting effective measures for the limitation of armaments in Central America." A plan is also to be worked out for setting up tribunals of inquiry whenever disputes arise which cannot be settled by diplomatic means. This conference is to pave the way for the Pan-American Congress at Santiago de Chile, next March. One of the items of the agenda of the latter Conference is the proposed formation of a "League of American Nations," and it is fairly evident that the Washington Conference is the first step towards the attainment of this object.

BY increasing the number of members of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office from 24 to 32, the 4th International Labour Conference at Geneva struck a good blow for the cause of Democracy. The practical result will be the extension of non-European representation on the Governing Body, which is all to the good. The change does not take effect this year but a step forward was taken by the inclusion of India on the Governing Body. India has long contended that she ought to have a seat as she is undoubtedly a State of great industrial importance, and this claim was endorsed by the Council of the League. The keenness of the debate on this question is evidence of the great desire felt by all States to take active part in the work of the International Labour Office—a very practical proof of the efficiency and importance of that body.

THE replies of certain distinguished foreign Statesmen to the League of Nations Union expressing their willingness to serve as Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Union, are a very interesting index to the prestige which this organisation enjoys abroad. M. Poincaré writes: "I fully appreciate the honour that has been paid me, as well as the proof of sympathy that your Association has thus given to a friendly nation. For my part, I rejoice to be brought into direct touch with a movement which has such a lofty moral purpose and which has already given tangible proof of its efficacy. I send to the members of the League of Nations Union my most sincere and heartfelt thanks." Similar messages have come from Dr. Benes, M. Van Karnebeek, M. Venizelos, M. Motta, Signor Schanzer, and M. Albert Thomas. M. Thomas writes: "I would take this opportunity to assure you once more of any entire sympathy with and devotion to the work of the League of Nations Union, which contributes so much to the fulfilment of the task of the International Labour Organisation."

ONE of the results of the International Law Conference which has just taken place at Buenos Aires will probably be the establishment of Professor Hugh Bellot's suggested International Criminal Court for the trial of war offences. Thirty-nine nations were represented at the Conference, including Hungary, Germany, Austria, and the Ukraine. The Chief of the German delegation was Dr. Walter Simons, first Foreign Minister of the German Republic, and President of the Leipzig Federal Court of Appeal.

## THE REVOLUTION IN ITALY.

AT first sight it might appear that the amazing triumph of Fascismo in Italy does not concern the League, and the temptation to brush aside as "internal affairs" phenomena so apparently inexplicable is one not easy to resist. It is clear, however, that the ideas that inspire and the aims that move a great country, Member of the League, must be eventually reflected in its foreign policy. No one can truthfully assert that the internal political condition of Russia and Germany do not affect the League; neither is it possible to deny that the defeat of Mr. Wilson in the Presidential elections in the United States had a profound influence still felt at Geneva. It is equally certain that the reverberations of the remarkable events that have taken place in Italy will be felt in what has become the nerve-centre of European politics. It is of great importance, therefore, to make an attempt to understand the meaning of Fascismo and to gauge the probable reactions of that meaning in the realm of foreign affairs.

A successful Conservative revolution is rare in history. Cæsar and Constantine are the ancestors, somewhat distant, of Mussolini; but recent examples are hard to discover. It is clear that the general basis on which the formidable organisation of Fascismo has been formed is that it is the defensive reply of European civilisation to the menace of Russian Communism. But it is more than this. It is the first evidence we have received that there exists a great community whose needs democracy itself is unable to satisfy, that a sense of failure, an inability to make satisfactory use of the machinery of the vote and of the Parliamentary representative has become widespread among the Italian people. The party system having become a choice of evils, and the party politician having become the corrupt implement of bureaucracy, we find the Italians reverting instinctively to the medieval struggle of Guelph and Ghibelline, city against city, Capulet against Montague. From such a state of affairs it is not surprising that Machiavelli's "Prince" should emerge.

The dangers inherent in such a situation are obvious, and they "affect the peace of the world." The vices of Nationalism, conceit, selfishness, and pride, become intensified and lead inevitably to militarism. It is natural, therefore, that people should fear that, under the leadership of "Prince" Mussolini, war must eventually ensue between Italy and Yugoslavia, that Albania will be absorbed, and that an attempt will be made to deprive Great Britain of her possessions in the Mediterranean. It is well to face these facts; first, because they are obvious, and the obvious has been known occasionally to occur; and secondly, because, should there be signs of these fears being realised, the League must be prepared with preventive measures. Having, however, admitted the possibility of the obvious, we do not feel called upon

to enlarge upon it; it is sufficient to say that those who prophesy the obvious are just as often wrong as any other kind of prophet.

There is another possibility. Signor Mussolini may not be in the least like Cæsar Borgia. He may lead the Italian nation in the right direction instead of the wrong one, and it is interesting to observe that his principles and his plan of action are very far from being reactionary, and would give no pleasure whatever to Machiavelli. Fascismo stands for free trade; it is opposed to all forms of tariff-barriers, and is in favour of free international exchanges in every possible direction. Fascismo "does not pursue in foreign politics an absolute imperialism. It stands for the civil forms of commercial expansion." Fascismo, "in contrast with Nationalism, which cares only about Italy and is perpetually in arms against the patriotisms of others, desires cordial understandings with all nations." Fascismo would like to see the Great Powers, "whether by means of naval blockades or various kinds of financial and economic pressure, always favouring the most pacific and economically liberal policy in opposition to all the Chauvinistic and exclusive policies of the pugnacious peoples."

The above quotations are from a propagandist work and have the sanction of Signor Mussolini. We who believe in the League cannot be expected to approve his final suggestion, which, however, from our experiences of the Supreme Council, we can safely assume will fail to eventuate in practice. Nevertheless, there is little in these ideals, toned down as they inevitably will be by contact with reality, to cause alarm. Indeed, the corner-stone of the Fascist creed that "a sound Internationalism can only be founded on sound Nationalism" is only another way of saying, what has so often been said, that the League of Nations is what the States that comprise it choose to make it. It cannot be questioned that a purified and renovated Italy, if such purification and renovation can be accomplished, would be a force for good and not for evil in the future of the League. Those among us of little faith are much too apt to think that this or that event, this or that movement, will kill the League. The League, being based upon what is right, is invulnerable to such influences. If the undoubtedly fine ideals upon which Fascismo is based become corrupted into vulgar forms of Nationalism, then it is Fascismo that will fail and not the League. The strength of the League is that the moral failures of its individual members, since they never all can exhibit such failure at the same time, cannot destroy it. We have embarked upon a sorry ship indeed if it is going to be sunk by every little wave of political experiment. The contrary is the truth. The League has no reason whatever to fear, and has every reason to welcome the efforts of any State in the direction of political and social reconstruction, and it may well be that the energy and enthusiasm of Fascismo will increase rather than decrease the sway of those moral values upon which the League is based.

## THE ELECTION AND THE LEAGUE.

ONE fact emerges clearly from all the confusion of the General Election—namely, that there exists among the people of Britain an increasing and more virile conviction that the most embarrassing international difficulties of the day can best and most honestly be solved through the machinery of the League of Nations. Throughout the country electors have required that their representatives in Parliament shall share this conviction and act upon it, and candidates, successful and unsuccessful, of all political parties, have given expression to it.

The fact is sufficiently gratifying to the League of Nations Union which has concentrated upon making a vital League of Nations policy prevail in Parliament, and whose members have, during a score of recent By-Elections, developed a procedure which may be claimed, without boasting, as no inconsiderable factor in producing the present result.

By constant communication between the Parliamentary Department of the Union and the Branches in Constituencies in which By-Elections were being held, a Questionnaire was evolved which touched upon those matters on the political horizon of definite concern to the immediate progress of the League and its International Labour Organisation. This Questionnaire was discussed by groups of L.N.U. members (care being taken that such groups included persons of every political persuasion) who, considering each question in relation to relevant Articles in the Covenant of the League and in Part XIII. (Labour) of the Peace Treaty and considering also actual difficulties already encountered by the League and the Labour Organisation during their three years' existence, decided which questions could usefully be submitted to all of the candidates by an Organisation including members of all the political parties.

The Questionnaire, in its approved form, together with Commentaries on most of the questions, was put at the disposal of all Branches of the Union and of individual members, who have adapted it for their own use, making the Questions and Commentaries a basis both for study and research on their own part and for the questions put by them to their Parliamentary candidates. There can be few Constituencies in which efforts have not been made to ascertain the views of candidates concerning the League. Sometimes the questions have been submitted in writing and written replies received. In other cases Deputations formed of members of one or more Branches of the Union have waited on the candidates and the points have been discussed in greater detail. From all over the country have come Press Reports of such Deputations—striking evidence of the intense interest aroused.

But even more remarkable has been the experience of those enterprising Branches—and there are a considerable number of them—which have succeeded in securing the attendance on the same

platform (whether in succession or, as in some cases, simultaneously) of all the candidates in their Constituency and have heard them in turn express their views regarding the League and the part it should play in future in international politics. Such meetings, held in various parts of the country, have been amongst the sensational events of the Election, and reports come to us of halls filled to overflowing with eager and enthusiastic crowds; numbers turned from the doors, unable to find seats, and hundreds of new members enrolling in the Union.

Surely if evidence were needed that the future of the League is an issue outside the sphere of party politics, it may be found here in sufficient strength to refute all suggestions to the contrary. This, at any rate, is the attitude adopted and strictly adhered to by the Union, whatever may be that of individual candidates.

This sincerely educational and non-party campaign has left its mark on candidates and constituents alike, and is, we are convinced, not unrelated to the fact that the responsible leaders of each political party have all given prominence to support of the League in their general political programmes.\*

But pronouncements of the leaders, encouraging as they are to those of us who are fighting to make the League a reality, are not more significant than the volume of sympathetic and increasingly informed support that has been given by individual candidates of all parties. We are not in a position, at the time of writing, to make too definite a statement as to the composition of the new Parliament from the point of view of its attitude towards the League; it is sufficiently clear, however, from the information at present available, that it will contain a considerable number of men who have pledged themselves in unequivocal terms to uphold the spirit and the letter of the Covenant and have shown, in their statements on the subject, not only genuine concern for the future success of the League, but real knowledge of its constitution, its functions, and its difficulties. Many more have expressed in general terms their intention of supporting a League policy, and these will, we hope, grow in usefulness as their knowledge grows. There remain a certain number who appear still indifferent, and even one or two whose attitude is definitely hostile, while some of the keenest supporters are amongst the rejected candidates. It would of course be not only unwise but impossible to prophesy how much may be expected from the new Parliament, but there is no doubt that progress has been made. It remains for constituents to see that their member is sympathetically reminded, on all occasions of importance to the League, of the implication of his Election promises and to see that the enthusiasm which has grown up among the people is kept alive through the coming years. Whole-hearted support of the League by the people and the Parliament of Great Britain will go a very long way towards securing its ultimate success. And, as our Geneva Correspondent points out on another page, Great Britain's attitude towards the League is also the standard by which her own prestige abroad is to be measured.

\* See the quotations on p. 221.

## THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

By LOTHIAN SMALL.

LORD BURNHAM (the Chairman), Sir Montague Barlow and Sir David Shackleton (the British Government representatives), Mr. James Lithgow (the Employers' representative), and Mr. E. L. Poulton (the Workers' representative) have returned with their substitutes and technical advisers from Geneva, where they took part in the fourth annual session of the International Labour Conference of the League of Nations.

The fourth session of the Conference, being concerned with modifications of the organisation and with reviewing the results in world labour legislation arising out of conventions passed at the previous sessions—Washington, 1919; Genoa, 1920; and Geneva, 1921—had not the dramatic interest of its predecessors. But the review of results—embodied in the Directors' Report to the Conference—was full of lessons for those who believe that through the International Labour Organisation those humane conceptions of the workers' standard of life embodied in the Labour Section of the Peace Treaty can be translated into fact.

It will be remembered that the Annex to Article 426 of the Treaty of Versailles laid down the Agenda for the first meeting of the Annual Labour Conference, the first three items being:—

1. Application of principle of the 8-hours day or of the 48-hours week.
2. Question of preventing or providing against Unemployment.
3. Women's Employment:—
  - (a) Before and after child-birth, including the question of maternity benefit;
  - (b) During the night;
  - (c) In unhealthy processes.

Draft conventions on these subjects, among others—for incorporation into national industrial legislation—were adopted at Washington, and the main business of the Genoa and the 1921 Geneva Conferences was the adaptation of the Washington conventions to the special conditions of labour at sea and in agriculture respectively. Since Article 405 of the Treaty required that each Member State should submit the International Draft Labour Conventions to the national Parliament, within twelve or—in exceptional circumstances—eighteen months from the conclusion of the session of the Conference at which they were adopted, it was reasonable to expect that a great harvest of ratifications should be reported to the 1922 Conference.

The expectation was unfulfilled, and the greatest disappointment of all was the fact that the only countries reported as having ratified the 8 hours convention were Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece,\* India,\* Roumania. One after another the workers' representatives informed the Conference that the workers of the world looked to the ratification of the Hours Convention as the test of the sincerity of Governments and Employers, and that the failure to secure progress constitutionally by pledges fulfilled must drive their thoughts to direct action. A proposal previously made by the British Government to the effect that a more elastic form of convention be devised, and that the whole eight-hours question be re-opened at some future Conference was, however, not acted upon by the Governing Body, and the office was instructed to continue its inquiries into the question of hours of labour actually worked in the Member-States.

On the cognate question of Unemployment it has long been realised that no satisfactory International Convention can be drafted until countries make their returns in a way that permits of useful international comparison. Steps to this end were taken, and the Office was further instructed to investigate specially the

\* See the special provisions in the Convention for Greece and for India.

causes and remedies of seasonal and periodical unemployment crises with a view to their prevention. Most significant for getting that scientific view of the whole problem upon which alone useful legislation can be based is the co-ordination which will now be secured between the Labour Office and the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League of Nations. How significant that co-operation may become will be appreciated on considering that the following lines of investigation are suggested:—

The supply of raw materials to countries where there is a shortage:

Fluctuations of exchange rates;  
Relations with Russia.

The problems of Reparations and Inter-Allied debts and the steps taken or in contemplation thereupon, and their effect on economic activity and the amount of available employment.

The Conference decided in favour of the Reform of the Governing Body which, when the decision has been ratified, will consist accordingly of thirty-two instead of twenty-four members—the thirty-two including sixteen representatives of Governments, eight of employers, and eight of workers' organisations. This modification, arising out of the insistent demands of several countries for representation on the Governing Body, indicates the growing importance attached to the organisation, and it will enable the Oriental and Latin-American countries of great industrial importance to be represented on the Governing Body.

A proposal—considered by the workers' representatives to be reactionary, and explicitly condemned by the British Trades Union Conference in September of this year, the proposal, namely, that the Conference should be held not annually as laid down in the Treaty, but every two years—was not adopted by the Conference.

Of the utmost importance to the staff of the Office, who have for nearly three years carried on work of incalculable historical significance in an inconvenient, antiquated structure, full of "ancient smells and modern illnesses," was the announcement that the Swiss Government had presented to the League a site for a new Labour Office beside the League Headquarters, and upon which an adequate hall for the Assembly of the League and the Conference of the Labour Organisation might be erected. This will solve a real problem, for the Office requires more accommodation, and the Assembly is at present held in the entirely unsuitable Salle de la Reformation and the Labour Conference in the Kursaal.

The things achieved in Persia on the initiative of the Labour Office, seconded by that humanity of feeling which exists everywhere and works when properly appealed to, occupy a portion of the Directors' Report which reads like some old Eastern tale. But they are facts of 1922. The Report includes records of achievement supplied by other Eastern countries which the workers' representatives of those countries claimed to be prophetic rather than historical. These criticisms produced some of the tensest moments of the Conference, and proved again the inestimable value of the Conference as a platform on which appeal can be made to the moral conscience of humanity, and before which Governments are little inclined to be shown guilty of failure to achieve the standards of life for the workers which that moral conscience is beginning to demand. The Office was empowered to undertake special inquiries into conditions in Oriental countries.

The atmosphere was, on the whole, good, and discussion never engendered a degree of heat exceeding the power of Lord Burnham's tact to temper.

One resolution, in the name of Madame Kjelsberg, the Norwegian Government representative, urged the delegations to form committees in their own countries having Government, employers, and workers' representatives, in order to make known the work of the organisation, and to mobilise public opinion in its support. The record of the Organisation is the justification of her proposal.

## A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, November, 1922.

THE General Election has been followed out here with a keen eye on what is to be the Governmental attitude towards the League. It is considered an important and significant fact that all the parties in the contest have included support of the League in their programmes. Whatever views may be taken as to the varying degrees of confidence to be placed in the several declarations, these declarations mean one of two things—either a sincere belief in the use of the League as the most hopeful means of conducting international affairs, or a sincere belief in the electoral disadvantage of not professing adherence to League ideas. Both are valuable indications. Perhaps it would be unjust to press the cynical aspect of League support, for although there is no doubt that in some parties there is not a solid League backing, there seem to be reasons for believing that the official party declarations mean what they say. The fact that all parties have paid this service to the League has prevented it from becoming an official party issue, and even if it should prove in some cases to be little more than pious homage, it may soften any subsequent controversies.

There is one point which in justice should be said about the late Coalition Government before one considers the attitude of the Government just returned to power. It is a fair claim, made on its behalf by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Fisher, and others, that during these first few years of the League, despite many Coalition shortcomings which League critics of the Government have from time to time pointed out, the British Government has taken League initiative, supported League effort, and provided funds for League objects more frequently and more generously than any other Power. To say this is not to say that it has given the League the great driving force which it was in its power to give, nor is it to say that some of the chief members of the Government have at all times displayed an accurate knowledge of what the League really is; but the fact remains that the late Coalition's League record does compare favourably with that of any other Government in the League.

What is to be the attitude of the new Government? There is reason to be satisfied with the declaration of Lord Curzon in his City of London speech, whose passage relating to the League was, by some strange sub-editorial aberration, omitted from the verbatim report published in the columns of the "Times," but given in full in the "Morning Post" and other papers. It is difficult to expect the Foreign Minister to go further than to say that the Government will refer to the League everything that it can legitimately refer to it, and there is a good deal of satisfaction in the cordial reference to the League made by Lord Salisbury, who is regarded as the representative of the extreme Conservative wing of the Government. The Prime Minister has promised to do his best to make the League more representative. It is to be hoped that the Government in this respect will follow the lines of the late Government, which made known very plainly its desire that Germany should apply for admission and its intention to support her admission. This, of course, as well as the whole matter of League policy, does not rest in the hands of the British Government only, but, with its great influence in the world, it can give a powerful lead.

At the moment, what is awaited with considerable interest is the announcement of the Government's representative on the Council of the League. There has been some hope that, as Lord Balfour has expressed his intention of giving general support to the Conservative administration, he might be asked to lend his great

prestige and authority to the League by continuing to act in the name of the British Government, with whom, doubtless, he would be in general political accord. There are obvious disadvantages in England being represented by a statesman who is not a member of the Government, and though it has been practised, notably by Belgium, it is, after all, not a precedent to be extended without serious consideration, and in fact it is understood that it will not be done in this case. The Government should be represented on all occasions, if not by the Prime Minister, at least by the Foreign Secretary, and when either of these is prevented from attending, one other of the principal Ministers of State should act as substitute.

While the situation in England in regard to the League does not give cause for anxiety, the remarkable record of events in Italy has some disquieting aspects. So drastic a revival of the pure essence of nationalism is not a hopeful sign for international co-operation, but there are at least one or two avowed League supporters in the Mussolini Government, and if the moderation generally induced by accession to power is extended to the Italian Government's view of the League, it may, after all, turn out that a self-consciously strong Government may bring new life and force into the Council.

One thing above all that the British Government should keep in mind, even from its own national standpoint if it so cares to regard it, is that unless it gives careful, continuous, and thorough attention to all League matters, it will suffer in prestige abroad. This is a point which has been recognised by many Governments far less well disposed towards the League than Britain.

C.

## A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W. 1.

THE APPEAL.

THE League of Nations Union, like every other deserving institution in this dismal post-war world, is in financial difficulties. It is true that the results of the recent appeal have not been altogether unsatisfactory. A generous gift of £2,000 has been received from Messrs. Cadbury; a gift of £222 4s. 5d. has been made on the basis of the "Headway" scheme; and seven hundred people who received the appeal for £10 have sent among them £9,000. The second or 5s. appeal was sent to more than 20,000 people, and, if everyone replies, half the money required by the Union will be obtained. At present, unfortunately, 1 per cent. only reply daily to the appeal, although they have given more than 5s. a head on the average. It is too small a percentage, and, grateful as we are to the good friends of the Union who have so nobly given what they could, it is clear that, unless the percentage of donations is increased, curtailment of the vital activities of the Union will become inevitable.

MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

It is with the vexed question of finance also that the General Council will deal at its next meeting at the Caxton Hall on December 12th. On the afternoon before, December 11th, there will be a public meeting at 3 p.m. at the Queen's Hall, which will provide those who are attending the Council meeting the following day with an opportunity of hearing Lord Robert Cecil and Sir Arthur Steel Maitland speak on the Third Assembly. Senor Augustin Edwards, who was President of the Third Assembly, will be in the Chair. The next day at 11 a.m. the Council will meet, and its main business

will be the allocation of funds, which appears on the Agenda as follows:—

Amendment of Rule 12, so as to read as follows:—

"Each Branch shall supply Headquarters with an annual statement of income and expenditure, and shall pay to Headquarters:

"(1) the net cost (reckoned at 2s. 6d. per annum per member supplied) of HEADWAY, and the net cost (reckoned at 5s. per annum per member supplied) of other literature supplied to members of the Branch; and

"(2) one-half of the net subscription of each member of the Branch, the net subscription being defined as the whole subscription less the amount payable to Headquarters for return to the member under subsection (1) above; and

"(3) such further contributions as its funds permit; provided that the Executive Committee have power to waive or modify those obligations in the case of Branches situated in Wales or Monmouthshire."

#### THE VALUE OF HEADQUARTERS.

The allocation of funds between Headquarters and the Branches is no easy task, and it is natural that the keener and more active the Branch is, the larger it desires its financial share to be, and the less it sees any reason why so large a proportion of the available money should go to Headquarters. It is difficult to explain to Branches, rightly intent upon their own activities, the value or even the necessity of the work accomplished at Headquarters. The controversy, indeed, recalls the legend, so familiar to childhood, of the band of Plebs who were brought back into the Roman fold by skilful use of the parable of the members of the body trying to dispense with the heart. From such remote ages down to the Great War has the existence of a general staff, removed from the brunt of battle, occupied by mysterious occupations, been a cause of irritation to those in the firing-line. Nevertheless, there are no valid arguments against the necessity of a general staff. It is, indeed, absolutely indispensable to every elaborate organisation. Without co-ordination there is chaos. Some general policy has to be evolved and someone has to solve it. So much is common knowledge; truism so trite as to be beyond discussion.

When we pass, however, to the question as to whether any particular general staff is doing its job properly, and whether adequate value is being obtained for the expense of keeping it in existence, it is quite another matter. The Headquarters of the Union is rightly called upon to justify, not its existence, but its output, and criticism along such lines is both legitimate and salutary. It is important, therefore, to make perfectly clear what it is that Headquarters does and how adequately it does it.

Let it be granted that the Union's objectives are to win public support by obtaining and distributing knowledge about the League and by helping to give practical effect to the ideals of the League. It is very difficult to obtain knowledge about the League. A thousand Branches, quite unable to obtain such knowledge themselves, make constant application for guidance on all the most abstruse problems of foreign politics. Individual members disturbed by complicated points of policy, innumerable speakers diffident about displaying their ignorance on the public platform, reach out to Headquarters for assistance. In addition, there is the continual necessity of making intelligent use on behalf of the League of the great power of the Union. The need of expert research is vital for such purposes; deep

knowledge of foreign politics, close touch with the press and literature of the world. Not a pamphlet can be prepared without the assistance of such a department; and certainly no document or line of action likely to impress the British or any other Government with its weight and importance. It is indeed, by reason of its accumulated knowledge and of its sound political judgment that the Union has obtained its unrivalled position abroad. A vast overseas connection has been built up enabling the Union to foster the creation of similar Societies all over the world, to ascertain the tendencies of foreign political thought, and to achieve an outstanding position upon the Federation of League of Nations Societies.

Knowledge so obtained has to be distributed; again no easy task. Here, too, the thousand Branches make continual application for speakers and for pamphlets, which they could not obtain themselves. Innumerable newspapers all over the country have to be provided with material on League subjects. The whole business of propaganda and publicity, impossible to organise otherwise than centrally, is spread out in every direction. The electoral situation has to be carefully watched, not only at Westminster but in the constituencies as well, so that if possible every candidate shall make a League pledge and every Member carry it out. Close touch has to be kept with all the important branches of public activity, with the Labour world, with the Churches, with Women's Organisations, and with the Educational Authorities, so that we may reach the rich and the poor, male and female, from the cradle to the grave. It is perhaps hardly realised how closely the Union is co-operating with Teachers' Associations and Education Authorities. The National Union of Teachers, for example, intends at its next Annual Conference at Brighton to devote a whole session to discuss the League in relation to school teaching, a notable departure from their usual practice of not allowing any outside organisation to take part in their Conference. Nor is official support for the teachers lacking. More than a hundred Education Authorities have been persuaded to take steps to introduce the subject of the League into the schools, and in many cases to make use of the Union's pamphlets and literature. It must not be forgotten, also, that Headquarters is responsible for the organisation of Summer Schools in various parts of England and the Continent, and for the preparation of such an Exhibition as that so successfully held at St. Albans.

Behind this summary, limited by space, there lie the solid statistical facts with which every Branch should make itself acquainted. It is, indeed, a record of which Headquarters has every reason to be proud. It must always be remembered that Headquarters carries a grave weight of responsibility. In the eyes of the official world it is the voice of its 220,000 members. It exerts great influence in high places and cannot afford to make mistakes. Unless the Union is prepared to pay for intelligent servants it will make mistakes, and its influence will disappear. It requires a high standard of intellectual capacity to deal with experts on the slippery ground of foreign policy, and the Union has been successful in earning the respect of the international world not only for the vigour of its policy and for the accuracy of its work, but also for the sanity and soundness of its judgment. It would be a disaster if, through lack of appreciation and understanding on the part of its Branches, that influence and respect, so valuable an asset to the League, were dissipated or lost.

O. S. B.

## THE NEW WORLD.

### III.—JUGOSLAVIA.

By R. W. SETON-WATSON.

THE man in the street finds it hard to recognise under the new labels of Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia the more familiar names of Bohemia and Serbia; and yet, in our children's stamp albums, they have won as permanent a place as Italy when she ousted Sardinia and Tuscany from the albums of our fathers. "Jugoslavia" is simpler than it sounds; for "Jug" merely means "South," and "South Slavia" is obviously easier for the busy man than the official title of "The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes." A few easy axioms may be laid down about the position of the three kinsmen. (1) Serb, Croat, and Slovene are not separate nations, but closely related branches of the same Slavonic race. (2) Serb and Croat are not kindred languages, but literally the same language, with far fewer differences of dialect than those between

Somersetshire and Yorkshire. The only vital difference is that Serb is written in the Cyrillic alphabet (an improved form of Russian), while Croat is written in Latin characters, with the addition of a few diacritic signs. Slovene is a distinct language, but quite as close to Serbo-Croat (as the other is often called) as Danish to Norwegian,

or Dutch to Flemish. (3) As there are three names, so there are three religions; and it is accurate to say that (with only trifling exceptions) all Serbs are Orthodox, all Croats and Slovenes Catholics—with the exception of Bosnia, Herzegovina, where 600,000 Moslems hesitate between Croat and Serb.

Jugoslav unity is the result of the same irresistible process which created United Italy; and, by a curious coincidence eight very distinct units went to the making of each.\* In the case of Jugoslavia, these are the two independent Serb Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro; the so-called Triune Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia, which enjoyed for eight centuries (1102-1918) an autonomous position under the Crown of Hungary; Bosnia-Herzegovina, which revolted in 1876 from Turkish misrule, only to be placed under the joint administration of Austria and Hungary; Dalmatia, a Slav province which was seized by Austria after the fall of Venetian independence; Slovenia (the provinces separating German Austria from the head of the Adriatic); the Banat and Batchka (countries forming

\* In Italy these were Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, Papal States, Naples.

part of the rich alluvial plain of Hungary proper, to the north of Belgrade); and Macedonia, won by Serbia from the Turks in 1912, and successfully held by her against Bulgaria in 1913. At the outbreak of the Great War these countries were subject to more than ten different administrations and legislatures; but between them there were far slighter differences of dialect, custom, and even historical tradition than in either Italy or Germany before their achievement of unity.

Needless to say, the backbone of the new State is Serbia, the Southern Slav Piedmont, and essentially a peasant nation. The Turks had utterly destroyed the old Serbian nobility, and the men who won her independence in the long struggle from 1804 to 1817, were all influential but quite illiterate peasants—among them, Black George, the great-grandfather of King Alexander. Besides, there is a long democratic tradition, dating from the old system of the "Zadruga" or patriarchal community (several generations living together, and owning and cultivating the land in common). To-day, this system has broken down, but almost every man owns his own holding and is sturdily independent. The

State has been built from the foundations upward, and its institutions, even where most primitive, have a solid popular backing. Education is still far more backward in Serbia than in Croatia or among the Slovenes (who were forced to concentrate on education as a weapon of defence against their German neighbours). Even in Bosnia, Austria-Hungary,

during her forty years' rule, only built 300 elementary schools! Thus one of the foremost problems of the new state is the tremendous inequality of social development and culture between the different sections of the population. Half a dozen centuries jostle side by side, from the Dark Ages which still hang heavily over Macedonia, to the three capitals, Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana (Laibach), which really belong to the twentieth century.

But what the simple Serb lacks in book-learning, he makes up by a strong historical tradition. With us it is scarcely realised that Serbia, before the Turkish night descended, was a powerful medieval Empire, which for law-giving, mining, architecture and Court splendour compared very favourably, under Tsar Stephen Dushan, with contemporary England under Edward III. Two things contributed to make these vanished glories live before the eyes of every Serbian peasant; these were their national ballads and their national Church.

Serbian ballad poetry has, of course, many rugged and savage features, like the ballads of our own Border. Even that redoubtable hero, Marko Kraljevitich, commits acts of unpardonable treachery, and the Serbian



Bayard, Milosh Obilitch, sets an example of political assassination for which his descendants have paid dearly. But there is also a high idealism which gives a clue to the whole national character. There is even a certain gentle tenderness in the constant references to the Serbian mother. Nor would it be easy to find a parallel for the ballad of Tsar Lazar, who was given the choice of an earthly or heavenly kingdom, and deliberately chose the latter for his own and his nation's good. Above all, it is right to emphasise the spirit which made of a nation's greatest defeat, the fatal battle of Kosovo (at which Tsar Lazar fell in 1389), a symbol of national resurrection. The hold of these ballads upon the national consciousness might be illustrated by a hundred anecdotes from the recent wars; but perhaps even more striking is their hold upon the intellectuals, alike in literature and in art—the most famous example being the sculpture of Ivan Mestrovitch, now well known in this country.

The Orthodox Church has, through the centuries, been a bulwark of nationality, and its very rigidity and inability to move with the times did but strengthen its power, until with freedom came also intellectual emancipation. In Yugoslavia to-day there is a very real cleavage resulting from the divergent traditions and atmospheres of West and East, of Rome and Byzantium. But it is to be noted that the Catholic hierarchy and clergy have also, on their side, played a notable rôle in kindling Croat national consciousness. (No one did more than the Croat Bishop Strossmayer for the Yugoslav idea in its widest sense, for he included Bulgaria among the Yugoslavs, and so, indeed, they are geographically and racially, though as yet not politically.) There is little or no religious intolerance; and indeed, one might fairly select as a national motto, the phrase coined by the poet Prince-Bishop Peter of Montenegro—"He is my brother, of whatever faith."

Far more serious are the differences of outlook due to long separation, to rival influences which may for convenience be given the names of Byzantine, Balkan, Roman, Habsburg, and Hungarian; to narrow regionalism and "parish pump" politics; to bad communications, resulting from Austria-Hungary's tariff policy against Serbia and from the rival railway policies of Austria and Hungary themselves in Croatia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia; to a confusion of legal codes and commercial regulations; to the administrative chaos produced by a bureaucracy which is not equal to its enlarged task; and also to a certain anarchic trait which is inherent in every Slav. Party politics are in a state of flux and transition, political opposites are forced into unnatural coalitions, and from this the old gangs draw profit and power; nor can it be denied that a certain amount of corruption has resulted from the awful disorganisation of well nigh eight years of war, conquest, and upheaval. Quite naturally, the main struggle is between two exaggerated forms of centralism and decentralisation: and in this struggle the erratic Croat peasant leader, Raditch, has played into the hands of Pashitch and the Serbian Radicals. The political situation is confused and unsatisfactory, and is likely to remain so for some considerable time. But meanwhile the process of "shaking down" is proceeding apace; new schools are springing up everywhere, there is immense commercial activity and steadily improving financial conditions, while many new and hopeful forces are noticeable in literature, art, music, and education. Above all, national unity is assured, not merely because a separation between Serb and Croat is a physical impossibility (so intermingled are they), but also because new lines of cleavage have arisen throughout the country, and because there is no foreign State towards which the discontented Croats could conceivably gravitate. Yugoslavia has come to stay, and rests on the solid groundwork of a healthy and virile peasantry, great natural riches awaiting exploitation, and great natural talents at last free to find expression.

### TWENTY NATIONS AT BUDAPEST.

A MEETING of the Council of the Federation of the League of Nations Societies was held at Budapest on October 20th, 1922. In all twenty nations were represented including the Greek and Ottoman Societies. Amongst the delegates, who numbered some 40 persons, were 2 ex-Premiers, 3 ex-Ambassadors, 7 ministers, 7 members of Parliament, and 12 Professors of Law and Economics. The British delegates were Colonel David Davies, M.P., and the Rt. Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, K.B.E., accompanied by the Overseas Secretary, Mr. O'Molony.

The session of the Council lasted in all three days. The matter of primary concern was the preparation of the machinery and agenda for the Seventh Plenary Conference of League of Nations Societies to be held at Vienna in June, next year. After lengthy deliberations during which the practicability of forming the six Commissions required by the Prague Conference was examined, the Council decided to limit these to three, by preserving the Minorities Commission (in its original form with Turkey added), and by creating two further permanent Commissions—viz., Economic and Disarmament. These three Commissions are to prepare the ground for and draft reports for the use of the coming Vienna Conference. The question of East Galicia which the Council felt could not be considered as a Minority Problem was assigned to the ordinary Political Committee of the Plenary Conference for investigation.

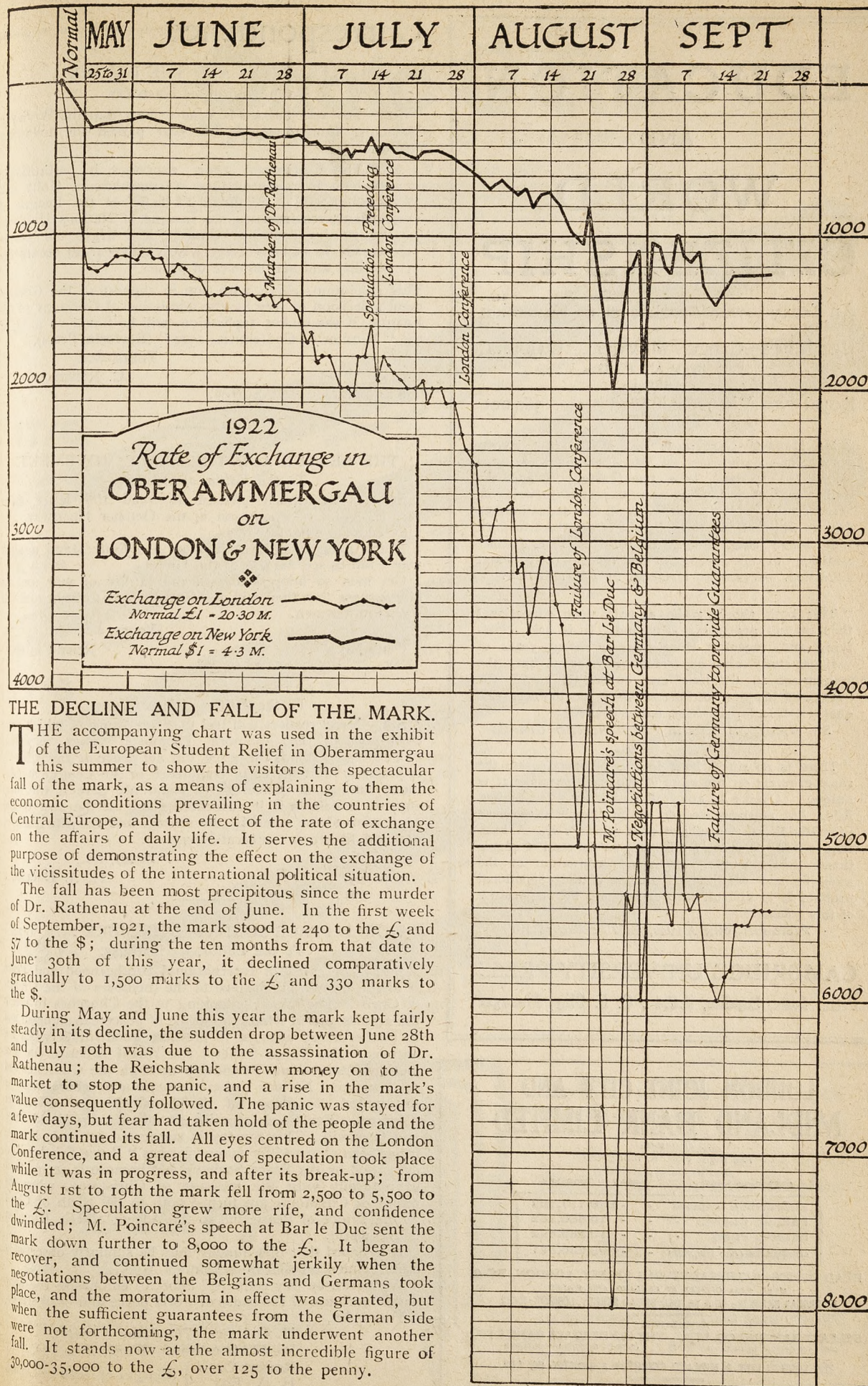
In place of the remaining three Commissions required by the Prague Conference of June last, the Council resolved to charge certain National Societies with the preparation of memoranda on such subjects as are likely to appear before the next Conference, but which would not fall within the sphere of the three especial Commissions appointed. It was agreed that the investigation of these subjects should be conducted as far as possible in collaboration by correspondence with other societies. Of the resolutions put forward by the British delegation, the one suggesting that the voting powers of the National Societies should bear some relation to the membership of each society was not accepted but postponed for further consideration at a later date—and the other respecting a time limit set for the lodging of resolutions with the Secretary-General prior to Conferences was accepted in principle, subject to the approval of the Vienna Conference for a revision of the Statute as it stands at present.

The most interesting feature of the deliberations, however, figured in a discussion of the Near Eastern Settlement question. The question at issue was that of the treatment by the Turks of deported Christian women and children, said to have been abducted into the interior of Asia Minor. The Greek delegates brought forward the accusation, the Ottoman delegation doubting the veracity of the report but pledging themselves to exert a moderating influence, were such an influence called for.

The discussion soon threatened to prolong itself beyond the period of time at the disposal of the Council, and a quick solution was only achieved when a resolution proposed by the League of Nations Union delegates covering the complaints of both parties was approved and adopted. This resolution ran as follows:—

"In the opinion of the Federation of League of Nations Societies, it is in the interests of the peace of the world that at the conclusion of the impending Peace Conference on the Near Eastern question a general conference should be called by the League of Nations to deal with and be responsible for all those questions affecting Near Eastern settlement, which it is proposed should be entrusted to the League of Nations for execution. The Federation furthermore invites all the National Societies to forward this resolution to their respective Governments."

The reception given to the Council by the Hungarian Government and by the City of Budapest was very splendid, and the courtesy and hospitality extended, very apparent.



### THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MARK.

THE accompanying chart was used in the exhibit of the European Student Relief in Oberammergau this summer to show the visitors the spectacular fall of the mark, as a means of explaining to them the economic conditions prevailing in the countries of Central Europe, and the effect of the rate of exchange on the affairs of daily life. It serves the additional purpose of demonstrating the effect on the exchange of the vicissitudes of the international political situation.

The fall has been most precipitous since the murder of Dr. Rathenau at the end of June. In the first week of September, 1921, the mark stood at 240 to the £ and 57 to the \$; during the ten months from that date to June 30th of this year, it declined comparatively gradually to 1,500 marks to the £ and 330 marks to the \$.

During May and June this year the mark kept fairly steady in its decline, the sudden drop between June 28th and July 10th was due to the assassination of Dr. Rathenau; the Reichsbank threw money on to the market to stop the panic, and a rise in the mark's value consequently followed. The panic was stayed for a few days, but fear had taken hold of the people and the mark continued its fall. All eyes centred on the London Conference, and a great deal of speculation took place while it was in progress, and after its break-up; from August 1st to 19th the mark fell from 2,500 to 5,500 to the £. Speculation grew more rife, and confidence dwindled; M. Poincaré's speech at Bar le Duc sent the mark down further to 8,000 to the £. It began to recover, and continued somewhat jerkily when the negotiations between the Belgians and Germans took place, and the moratorium in effect was granted, but when the sufficient guarantees from the German side were not forthcoming, the mark underwent another fall. It stands now at the almost incredible figure of 30,000-35,000 to the £, over 125 to the penny.

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## Correspondence.

### WESLEYANS AND THE LEAGUE. To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—You will perhaps be glad to hear that the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of this year passed the following resolution:—

"The Conference again expresses its enthusiastic adhesion to the principles of International Unity and Brotherhood; it reaffirms its belief in the League of Nations, recommends the League of Nations Union to the good-will of our Church, and urges our people heartily to support every wise endeavour to secure the stability and permanence of peace."

This resolution, along with one in support of the Government's decision to vote for the admission of Germany to the League, if she makes application, will be found on p. 93 of the "Minutes of Conference, 1922" (Epworth Press).

Yours, &c.,  
C. RYDER SMITH.

Richmond College, Surrey.

### THE LEAGUE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT. To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I am much pleased to read the letter from Mr. E. Ashmore Thompson in the October HEADWAY, and fully endorse what he says.

If the League hesitates to take a definite stand against war I fail to see the use of the Union.

Get men so impressed with the futility of war and its hideousness that they will absolutely refuse to fight and kill their brother-men.

Yours, &c.,  
ROSE CRUMP.

Coulsdon.

### To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Many readers will feel that the clause to which your correspondent E. Ashmore Thompson takes exception ("The Union stands for peace, but not peace at any price"), is precisely what gives us confidence in the League's judgment and good sense. We could not give it the loyal support it desires if it advocated peace at the cost of the oppression of the weak by the strong, and the surrender of national liberty to autocratic tyranny.

Yours, &c.,  
H. A. DALLAS.

Crawley.

### WORLD PEACE SUNDAY, DECEMBER 24TH, 1922. To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The cause of International Brotherhood and Peace is of the utmost importance to the members of the Church of Christ. The World is looking to the Churches to create the atmosphere in which the ideals of peace can flourish and to further every attempt to promote goodwill between the nations. The Peace Society, the World Alliance for promoting International Friendship through the Churches and the League of Nations Union are anxious to secure this year the united observance of the *Sunday before Christmas* (Christmas Eve) as an occasion for advocating World Peace and Goodwill. This Sunday is suggested not only because it has been observed for many years as "Peace Sunday" (as organised by the Peace Society), but because it seems to fit in naturally with the message of Christmas, when the minds of Christians are turned both to the Birth of Christ as the Prince of Peace and to the Advent of His Kingdom in the world.

It is hoped that this Sunday may be similarly observed in other countries besides our own.

We desire by this combined effort to emphasise the unity and importance of the cause of world peace and brotherhood.

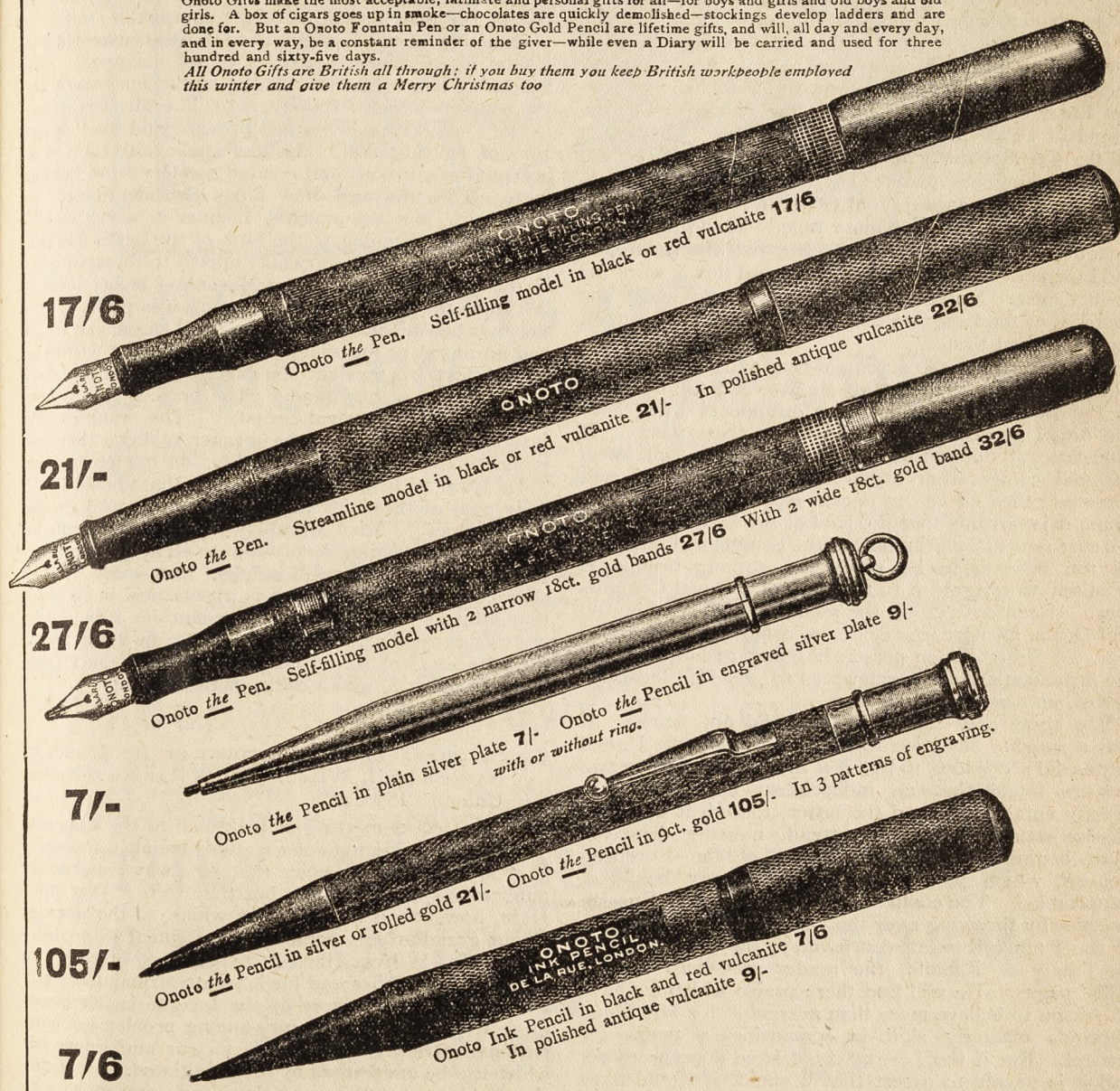
—Yours, &c.,  
H. DUNNICO (*The Peace Society*).  
W. H. DICKINSON (*World Alliance*).  
ROBERT CECIL } (*League of Nations Union*).  
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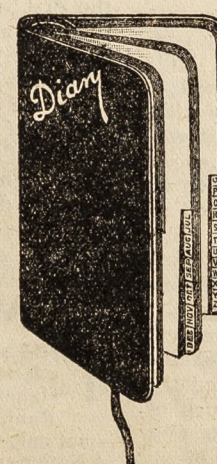
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## Book Reviews.

## GENOA—GENEVA.

THE GENOA CONFERENCE. By J. SAXON MILLS. (Hutchinson.) 24s.

IN January last Mr. Lloyd George, at a Party meeting, clearly expounded what Mr. Mills calls the philosophy of conference. "As the Washington Conference is establishing peace in the Great West, I am looking forward to the Genoa Conference to establish peace in the East, until they will be like the two wings of the Angel of Peace hovering over the world." Advocates of the old diplomacy forget that they have given the world nothing but war. They have left Europe desolate. We must appeal from Governments to the sense of brotherhood in the human race. Advocates of the League ignore the immaturity, and risk the failure, of the League. The League is a child, and this is work for grown men. Moreover, a conference held under the auspices of the League would not be attended by Russia or the United States.

The sincerity of the accompanying patronage allowed to the League need not be questioned, and still the place of the League in world affairs disappears when once the Angel of Peace starts gliding on these wings. If international differences are to be settled, and international co-operation organised, by a series of conferences called *ad hoc* to decide especial regional questions, it is obvious that the part of the League must be for ever secondary. To talk of the League as immature, as too delicate to be risked on serious trouble, is definitely to relegate it to the rank of a Royal Commission. If conferences on the model of the Washington and Genoa Conferences suffice to remove the causes of war, no State and no person is going to bother about the organisation of a permanent League. If Slap-Dash scores, no need to call on Care.

We know now that Slap-Dash did not score. It was a weighty objection to the League that the United States did not belong to it. But the former of these two Powers found that an independent conference was equally entangling; and the latter, though it did commission representatives to attend, nakedly displayed from beginning to end a distrust of the European Concert which proved destructive of any hopes of compromise. You could not, it seemed, resolve Russian scruples by throwing over the League. For the details of the Franco-Russian controversy, for the history of the Treaty of Rapallo, the reader may turn to Mr. Mills' pages. He will find there praise which we have no reason to believe more than adequate for Mr. Lloyd George's masterly skill in composing a temporary quarrel. But if the League could have done no more, and it is unsafe to assert that it could, it would have done no less.

There remains then the moral gain that such a conference as Genoa, to find the like of which Mr. Mills has to go as far back as the Ecumenical Council of Nicea, was held, and that it ended though stormily without an appeal to the arbitrament of arms. But was that so surprising? Surely the existence of the League through the preceding three years would have been no less a moral gain even if its decisions had proved as fruitless as the decisions of Genoa were to appear. And surely the permanence of the machinery of the League. . . . But to labour this is otiose. Genoa failed, and none so poor to do it reverence.

To the composition of "The Genoa Conference" praise is due. Mr. Mills has cunningly mixed the lively and the severe. He has vividly portrayed the extraordinary setting, the anxieties and intrigues of this conference, while he has incorporated in his text the official detail of all that is interesting to the historian. One must congratulate him on his treatment of

the subject. One must condole with him that the subject will soon be covered by the dust of time.

H. C. H.

MYSTERY AT GENEVA. By ROSE MACAULAY (Collins.) 7s. 6d.

MISS MACAULAY'S "Mystery at Geneva" is great fun. The serious author of "Dangerous Ages" seems to enjoy her own frivolity, and the riot of her imagination in this "improbable tale" of abducted delegates is a delight to those accustomed only to the more solemn activities of the League. Miss Macaulay has a real knowledge of the machinery and the *mise-en-scène* of Geneva, and, like Mr. Chesterton in the "Innocence of Father Brown" and the "Napoleon of Notting Hill," she has made fantastic use of accepted institutions and created mystery from familiar facts. The thin veil that hides the identity of her characters, and the amusing fashion in which each is led away by listening to the hum of the bee in his bonnet, makes the book especially appeal to those who live in the League world. Miss Macaulay, in her preface, disclaims the intention of satire, and it is perfectly true that her book is not a skit upon the League and that it has no moral or meaning. But even in the writing of straightforward mystery she cannot disguise the sharp satirical bent of her mind. The book is full of keen observation and shrewd thrusts. The vanities and frailties of public men, the meaner realities that contaminate the ideals of public life, do not escape her. "To lunch with the important . . . that should be the daily goal of those for whom life is not a play-ground but a ladder." Miss Macaulay has a genuine gift for satire; it is obviously deeply engrained in her character. It is to be hoped she will indulge that most English characteristic, since all that is hypocritical in us needs that salutary medicine. In the meantime, it is gratifying to observe that, however the writer's wit may scorch the vileness of man, the League itself is as much taken for granted as Magna Charta or trial by jury.

O. S. B.

GENEVA 1922: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS by H. WILSON HARRIS (League of Nations Union). Price 6d.

AT a recent meeting of a Branch of the League of Nations Union a conscientious member announced in a melancholy voice that he always read all the publications of the Union, but they were "very stiff." Here, however, is a publication which, in the language of our grandfathers, combines amusement with edification. Mr. Wilson Harris's experience of the two previous Assemblies and his intimate acquaintance with the work and machinery of the League enable him to move with ease and certainty among problems of international intricacy, and to tell a clear and simple tale which can be understood by the uninitiated. He clothes the dry bones of the resolutions and conventions with the flesh and blood of their protagonists, for he remembers that "as long as men are human you have got to deal with men," and gives vivid little sketches of the actors on this world stage.

Best of all he declares his belief in the growth and vitality of the League and its Assembly, and the opinion of so highly trained an observer must carry conviction to many doubters.

M. C.

## "RANJI" AT NOTTINGHAM.

THE splendid organisation, followed by the equally splendid success, of the mass meeting at Nottingham Hippodrome, on October 25th, addressed by Prince Ranjitsinjhi (the Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanagar) is not only a great tribute to the local Branch of the League of Nations Union, but is so useful an example of the way in which such meetings should be arranged that a detailed



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You will shortly be considering the subject of Christmas gifts, and will have to decide to whom the overflow of your charity shall be given.

May we put in a plea for those little ones of Russia and other stricken countries abroad, victims of famine and disease, whose claim is that of innocence and childhood? Whatever may be the cause of the present terrible conditions in Russia, Poland and Austria, whoever may be to blame, they at least are innocent.

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and we know that you, who furnish us with the means of helping,

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account of the organisation may be of value to other Branches.

The first step was to send a circular letter to the two thousand members of the local Branch, inviting them to apply for reserved seat tickets for the meeting. A perforated slip was attached to the notice, and members were requested to use this as their form of application, and to send a stamped addressed envelope. It is interesting to note that two other communications were sent out at the same time, one giving particulars of a series of lectures to be held at the University during the winter (arranged entirely by the Branch), and the other an appeal to every member to secure at least one other member for the Branch. As each application for tickets came in, reference was made to the Branch Register, and if the applicant was a current subscriber a ticket was sent, the order of allocation being Stalls to the first 800 applicants, then Circle and Pit. If the applicant's renewal subscription was overdue he was reminded of this, and in nearly every case the subscription was renewed and the ticket sent. Ten days before the meeting all the reserved seats had been allocated, and only the Gallery, which was not reserved, was available. One point of very great interest is that a large number of people wrote for tickets saying they were not members of the Union; they were invited to join, and more than three hundred new members were made in this way. In a building which holds well over 2,000 people there was not a vacant seat anywhere.

The Stewarding of the meeting was perfect. About 150 stewards had been arranged for, and about 20 of these were responsible persons who had done the work before. These were allocated to the various parts of the Hall, with one chief steward for each section. Working under the 20 were the remainder of the stewards, each having not more than about 25 to 30 persons to canvass. As a seat was reserved for each of the stewards, and on it was placed a badge, a bundle of pencils, and 30 envelopes, printed with the address of the Branch Secretary, and containing the small card which is used by the Branch as an application form. Because of these preliminary arrangements the business of marshalling the stewards and placing them in the positions allocated was completed in about ten minutes, and this was done before any members of the public were allowed to enter the Hall.

Stewards were placed at the doors outside the building, and at the inside doors, in addition to those working in the Hall itself. On the platform a copy of the Agenda of the meeting and the Resolution to be moved was placed on every chair, and the principal speakers had a folder, containing the Agenda, &c., and sundry other papers.

At a given point in the meeting the Secretary of the Branch, Mr. J. W. Harding, was called upon to explain the terms of membership of the Union. This he did in a breezy two-minute speech, which elicited from Mr. C. B. Fry the statement that among the many good things he had seen at Nottingham at various times, he thought the best thing yet was the Nottingham Secretary of the League of Nations Union. The members of the audience were then invited to take an envelope from the steward and either to fill in the card indicating that a subscription was promised, or to fill in the card, place the subscription in the envelope, seal it, and hand it back to the steward; or, if the person who received the card was a member of the Union and had no use for it, to return it to the steward unused. A short period of about five minutes was then devoted to the business of filling up the cards, &c.

Most of the house was filled with members of the Union, and therefore only about 230 new members were made, making a total of 530 as the result of the meeting. At the close of the meeting a collection of £27 was taken.

The presence of the Nottingham County Cricket Team in the front row of the stalls lent an added interest to the meeting.

## League of Nations Union Notes and News.

**Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.**

November, 1918	...	...	...	3,217
November, 1920	...	...	...	49,858
November, 1921	...	...	...	135,450
November 25th, 1922	...	...	...	220,025

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

Merionethshire	...	1 member per every 38 of population
Westmorland	...	1 " " " 42 " "
Hertfordshire	...	1 " " " 65 " "

**Branches.**

On November 23rd the number of Branches was 1021, together with 55 Junior Branches and 152 Corporate Members.

**New Publications.**

Since our last issue the Union has produced the following pamphlets: No. 83. *Political Activities of the League*, price 6d.; No. 101. *Results and Costs*, price 1d. The former gives an account of &c., &c., the latter outlines the results of the League's work and shows the cost of the League.

**L.N.U. Diary.**

Orders for the pocket diary are being executed in rotation; to ensure execution orders should be sent without delay either to the Branch Secretaries or 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

**Mass Meeting at Queen's Hall.**

A Mass Meeting will take place on Monday, December 11th, at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, at 3 p.m., at which there will be present some of the Delegates to the last Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, who are now back in London. Senor Augustin Edwards, the Chilean Minister and President of the Assembly, will be in the Chair, and the speakers include Lord Robert Cecil, H. H. Maharaja the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar (Prince Ranjitsinjhi), Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, and Mr. C. B. Fry.

There will also be shown two League of Nations films, "World Peace," and "Preventing a War." Mr. Llewelyn Bevan has kindly consented to play the organ both before and after the speeches.

Tickets for all seats must be obtained from the office of the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, the prices being:—reserved seats 5s. 9d., 2s. 4d., 1s. 3d. There are a few unreserved seats free in the gallery. Doors open at 2.30, and all seats unoccupied at 2.55 will be thrown open to the public.

**The General Election.**

During the past ten days an immense amount of valuable material in the shape of copies of candidates' replies to questions on their attitude towards the League, copies of Election Addresses and reports of League of Nations Union Meetings addressed by Candidates have been received at Headquarters from many Branches. It has been impossible, in the pressure of work occasioned by the Election, to acknowledge all of these and the Executive Committee wish to take this opportunity of expressing to Branch Secretaries their gratitude and their appreciation of the trouble they have taken and the help they have given in this direction. Branch Secretaries who have not yet been able to inform Headquarters of results obtained from candidates in their constituencies are urged to do so at the earliest possible moment.

**League Essays.**

The Castle Cary Branch has taken advantage of the General Election to drive home to the electorate, in a circular letter, the importance of concentrating upon the League of Nations as the only means of preventing war. As one means of educating public opinion, the Branch is offering a prize of two guineas to the teachers of Elementary Schools within 10 miles of Castle Cary for the best 1,000-word paper on "How to Interest Children in the League of Nations"; and prizes of 10s., 7s., and 5s. to the children of such schools on the objects, constitution, and work of the League.

**Children and the League.**

Audiences of children are no infrequent experience to Union lecturers. On November 10th, Mr. Whelen addressed 1,500 children at Bromley, and in three days another Union speaker addressed 3,000 children, of ages ranging from six to fifteen, in fifteen Bromley schools. On November 10th, Miss Amey addressed a meeting of over 2,000 children in the largest Music Hall in Oldham.

**Mr. Gould in Yorkshire.**

Mr. F. J. Gould, Secretary of the Moral Education League, has had a highly successful tour in Yorkshire. On October 28th, he addressed 500 students and staff at the City of Leeds Training College, on the subject of History teaching with reference to the League of Nations. On the afternoon of October 25th, he gave a demonstration lesson

242 pp.; cloth, 7s. 6d. net, by post 8s. 3d.

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By MACLEOD YEARSLEY.

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"I have just finished reading *The Story of the Bible*, after a fortnight's sheer delight in its pages. It is in very truth a *chef-d'œuvre*, a gem that the author has to be congratulated upon and the publishers should be proud of having issued."—EDWARD T. BEST.

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Applications to join the Union should be made to the secretary of a local Branch or to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W. 1. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to "League of Nations Union" and crossed London Joint City and Midland Bank.

Particulars of the work in Wales may be obtained from the Honorary Director, League of Nations Union, Welsh Council, 6, Cathedral Road, Cardiff.

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas.

on the League to the scholars of the Todmorden Secondary School, and in the evening he repeated the lesson to a group of Elementary School children at a public meeting. Mr. Gould addressed among others 55 teachers at Harrogate, 120 pupils of the Mirfield Grammar School, 250 children at Crosshills, and 180 at Castleford.

#### Kettering Meetings.

The Kettering Branch by a series of highly important meetings has greatly strengthened the League sentiment in the town. During the summer a successful demonstration was held, and an imposing procession formed of various contingents from the Sunday Schools of the town and neighbourhood, in which tableaux representing the different nations in the League were a striking feature. The demonstration culminated in the performance of a pageant play by the Rev. W. J. May, of Wellingborough.

Considerable interest was aroused by this gathering, which paved the way for a series of successful week-end meetings later addressed by Rhodes Scholars.

#### A New Way of Increasing Branch Funds.

A member of a Branch in a Northern town paid for 500 copies of "An Insurance Against War," which the Branch distributed free at a recent meeting. The collection which was made at the meeting realised £15, more than enough to have paid for the pamphlets several times over. Before the collection was made the chairman announced to the audience that as everyone had received a threepenny pamphlet free he hoped the collection would be a good one.

#### Four Candidates on League Platform.

"The Executive of the Preston Branch of the League of Nations Union were happily inspired when they conceived the idea of bringing the four candidates for the Parliamentary representation of the borough together on one platform to give the electorate their views respecting the League and its possibilities, and the success of last night's meeting in the Public Hall abundantly justifies their enterprise." Thus says the *Lancashire Daily Post* in a long leading article.

In spite of pouring rain 3,000 people crowded the Hall, where the four speakers vied with each other in praising the League.

The Preston Branch is the proud possessor of a beautiful banner presented to it by the Guild Mayor (Alderman Astley-Bell).

#### League Rally at Whitstable.

Largely owing to the efforts of Mr. W. O. Bishop, Secretary of the newly formed Whitstable Branch, a highly successful meeting was held on October 16th, at which 86 new members were enrolled. All sections of the community were represented on the platform. The local Press published an excellent account of the meeting.

#### Extension Lecture on the League.

The Hull Branch has been asked if it would support a University Extension course on the League, and has offered to do so to the extent of £25.

#### Professor Murray at Colchester.

A wonderful meeting was held in the crowded Town Hall at Colchester on November 13th, addressed by Professor Gilbert Murray. So large was the audience that two overflow meetings had to be held, and even then several hundreds were shut out. The following strong resolution was passed unanimously:—

"This Meeting of the Colchester Branch of the League of Nations Union welcomes the advances made by the Third Assembly of the League of Nations in the questions of Disarmament and the Protection of Minorities in Eastern Europe.

"It notes with satisfaction the effective working of the system of Mandates, and the offer of the League of its good offices in settling the burning question of German Reparations, about which the belligerent powers have hitherto failed to agree. It recognises the necessity of calling in the League to guarantee certain parts of the approaching settlement in the Near East; but it urges that, before any specific duties are laid upon the League by the approaching Peace Conference, the Conference shall make sure that they are such as the League is willing to accept and able to carry out."

#### Is America Hostile to the League?

"There is no impassable gulf between America and the League of Nations. Only political ignorance and jugglery divide them."

This is the opinion of Mr. Mahmood, the brilliant Indian undergraduate from Oxford who is now touring the United States on behalf of the League. Mr. Mahmood was the first President of the International "Assembly," modelled on that of the League, which has been established at Oxford University, and represents thirty-five nations. Self-styled "Ambassador of Youth," Mr. Mahmood is trying to introduce the same idea among American students. He has already met with considerable success. Recently Mr. Mahmood spoke for Oxford at the first international Debate in America between the Oxford Debating Team and the Bates Team. The motion was "That America should forthwith join the League," and the audience numbered over 2,000. All present were deeply impressed by the appeal made for the League.

Mr. Mahmood is receiving daily hundreds of letters of support from all over the country. Supporters of the League of course derive inspiration and new hope from Judge Clark's dramatic resignation from the Supreme Court of the United States in order to devote himself to work for the League.

#### Brighton Debating Society.

The first Meeting of the Debating Society of the Brighton, Hove and District League of Nations Union was held on October 23rd, 1922, in the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, when the Chairman of the Branch, Canon Dormer Pierre, Vicar of Brighton presided over an enthusiastic audience of several hundred which crowded the Hall.

The Subject chosen for the first Debate was, "That public opinion is a sufficient force to prevent the evil of war." The Debate was opened by the Hon. Secretary of the Debating Society, Mr. H. B. Chaplin Baldwin, M.A., F.C.A., and Mr. Ernest Ivamy, B.A., F.R.Hist.S. Both papers were received with every mark of interest, and the Debate which followed was keen and enthusiastic. Speakers followed one another in rapid succession, many ladies mounting the platform. After the openers had summed up, the Chairman took a vote which was almost unanimous in favour of the motion.

Debates are being held about once a fortnight during the winter. As the Debates are open to Members and their friends, it is hoped that many new Members will join the Union. After the opening Debate, several new Members were enrolled and a considerable amount of literature was sold.

#### St. Albans Exhibition.

"One of the most attractive exhibitions I have ever seen; and certainly the most artistic exhibition I have seen in England." This is what the Austrian Minister said after he had inspected the League of Nations Exhibition at St. Albans last month. All who went were equally enthusiastic in their praise. The venture proved a great success, and the exhibition is to be reproduced in London at the Hyde Park Hotel on November 27th and 28th, and also, it is hoped, in other parts of the country.

#### Progress in Wales.

The Armistice gave a new impetus to public interest in League of Nations affairs in Wales. The event of the month was the placing on Armistice Day, on behalf of the people of Wales, of a laurel Wreath of Honour on the grave of the Unknown Warrior. The Dean of Westminster and Canon Barnes met the deputation from Wales at the West Cloister entrance, and after Lieut.-Colonel David Davies had laid the wreath on the grave the Dean addressed the huge congregation which had assembled in Westminster Abbey.

The General Election has interfered to some extent with the usual trend of the movement in Wales, although the question of the League is receiving unusual attention from both Candidates and Electors. Replies of Candidates to the Questionnaire put to them by the Welsh Branches have been unanimously in favour of the League and generally in full acceptance of the principles advocated by the Questionnaire. Thus it seems certain that there will be no difficulty in reconstituting a very representative Parliamentary Committee of the Welsh Council when Parliament re-opens.

The month has been fruitful in Meetings. Lieut.-Colonel David Davies, on November 7th, unveiled a War Memorial erected by the Maesteg Ex-Servicemen to their fallen comrades, and later in the evening spoke at a crowded public meeting organised by them in the Town Hall. He also

spoke, on November 21st, at the Town Hall, Cowbridge, to a very representative and influential gathering. The Mayor of Cowbridge took the Chair. The work in the Cowbridge district is in charge of the energetic Secretaryship of Mrs. Owen Williams, of Crossways.

A feature of the month also has been the definite work done in the educational world. The meeting of Welsh educationists at Gregynog, at which Dr. Maxwell Garnett and Mr. S. Sherman, of London Headquarters, were present, was fruitful in producing a definite plan of campaign for promoting the international point of view in the curricula of the schools. As part of this movement all the Secondary Schools in Wales and Monmouthshire have been written to from Welsh Headquarters with a view of enlisting their interest in the work of the Union. Suitable literature was sent to each school and a sample of the Union badge enclosed. A favourable response is anticipated. That such schools can do excellent work for the Union is exemplified by the Branch at Howell's School, Denbigh, which has a membership of about 150. At the first meeting of the Branch it was decided that a Resolution calling for League intervention in the Near East should be sent to the Prime Minister. Miss V. L. Temple, the Secretary, also visited Geneva during the last meeting of the Assembly of the League, and "The Howellian," of October, 1922, publishes an excellent article by Miss Temple, giving her impressions of the Assembly.

The Branch at Howell's School, Llandaff, also shows great activity in League work, and on November 10th held a successful League of Nations celebration in which the fifty-two Nations of the League were characteristically represented.

Welsh Headquarters is at present busy with the preparation of an appeal to all the Welsh Churches of all denominations to make a special offering on Christmas Sunday towards the missionary and pioneer work of the Welsh Council.

#### International Labour.

A great effort is now being made to spread a wider knowledge and understanding of the functions and achievements of these two great organisations. For this purpose informal week-end conferences and discussions are being held on the

basis of two draft syllabuses, each consisting of two lectures on the League of Nations, and two on the International Labour Organisation. The syllabuses are similar in substance, but differ in their headings, one syllabus being drawn up for the use of industrial and educational societies, and the other—with more popular headings—for use amongst village clubs and institutes.

Notes for speakers on the International Labour Organisation have also been prepared, the subjects dealt with including Labour in India, Welfare Work in Japan, the 8-hour day and difficulties in the way of its ratification, night work for women, India and the Maternity Convention, and so on. These notes are obtainable from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, on receipt of a stamped addressed envelope.

#### Lay Speakers in Churches.

"We are glad to see that the Bishop of St. Edmundsbury can be added to the number of those bishops who are taking advantage of the resolution of Convocation, and are welcoming laymen, other than the recognised lay-preachers, to speak in Church of England churches. With the full approval of the Bishop, than whom there is no more warm-hearted supporter of the League and the Union, Mr. Everett Reid addressed a large congregation in the parish church of Downham, Norfolk, on the Sunday following Armistice Day."

#### Aaland Island Film.

Branch Secretaries have already received copies of the Scenario of the Aaland Islands film, which was described in our last number.

#### A Drama for Children.

School Dramatic Clubs will welcome Miss L. M. Mills Drama for Children, on "League of Nations" lines, especially at this time of the year, when Christmas plays are greatly in demand. The play needs some fifty to eighty performers, and describes "All the World's Children's Friendly League," which settles all sorts of disputes between the children as the real League settles disputes between States.

Copies of this play may be obtained at 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

## Smyrna Catastrophe

For the sake of Humanity and in Christ's Name  
**EVERYBODY MUST HELP**  
to prevent 200,000 Homeless Refugees dying from  
Starvation and Disease.

There is not an individual who dares to ignore the cry of these nearly annihilated people.

And the little CHILDREN! Thousands left orphaned, friendless, alone in a foodless, shelterless world.

We must wake up to the imperilling situation!

HELP US FEED, CLOTHE AND SHELTER THESE REFUGEES  
and then A MIRACLE MUST HAPPEN by rekindling love in the hearts  
of the people, that hate and rancour may be cast out and the world  
dwell in amity.

## CHRISTIAN REFUGEE FUND

(At the Office of Bible Lands Missions' Aid Society).

LORD KINNAIRD, Hon. Treasurer.

S. W. GENTLE-CACKETT,

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W.C.2.

N.B.—No expenses for Office Rent or Salaries at home. No distribution expenses abroad.

**Overseas News.**

News received from the Dominions testifies to the growing interest in the League. In South Australia a sympathetic hearing was given by the Director of Education who was approached regarding a broader interpretation of history and the introduction of League instruction in the schools. Speakers for the League of Nations Union have addressed pupils of the leading High Schools, and the Director has authorised the purchase of copies of Dr. Ellis' book "Australia and the League," which has been issued to headmasters. There are two League Study-Circles at Adelaide University.

Very successful meetings were held recently at Toronto at which Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Rowell spoke.

In South Africa the newspapers are giving every facility for furnishing the public with League news, and the Transvaal Branch of the League of Nations Union has the support of prominent men who assist in giving lectures on League subjects. The Branch has a special Educational Committee and is doing a good deal of work with schools and colleges. It is proposed to get good sound history books adopted in the schools.

Armistice Day appears to have been observed throughout the Dominions as a League of Nations Day.

The International Service Bureau of Japan has issued a "Peace Note" setting forth the excellent work done by the Peace Societies in the country. About a year ago eight of these, including a League of Nations Society, were brought together into a new National Council. The International Service Bureau is the headquarters of this National Council and is doing the executive work for it. The first step now being taken is a co-operative movement for the reduction of armaments in Japan. This is probably the first time the women's organisation in Japan have come together in a co-operative movement. Until a year ago women's organisation for political purposes were illegal, and it is interesting that, on the removal of this bar, the first action taken by Japanese women was in favour of the League.

There is also a movement afoot in Japan to re-write history text-books on League of Nations lines.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is holding an International Conference of Women on a New Peace, at The Hague, from December 7th to 9th.

\* \* \* \*

**Important Meetings in November.**

Three hundred and fifty meetings were arranged for the month of November in addition to those arranged by Branches.

Amongst the speakers were: Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.; Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.; Lord Parmoor; Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, M.P.; the Bishops of Winchester, Madras, Hereford, and St. Albans. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.; Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P.; Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P.; Sir Maurice de Bunsen; Sir Alfred Warren; Mr. Oswald Mosley, M.P.; Mr. Ben Spoor, M.P.; Captain Colin Coote, D.S.O.; Captain Bowyer, M.P.; Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P.; Professor Gilbert Murray; Professor Muirhead; Professor C. K. Webster; Dr. J. C. Maxwell Garnett; Mr. H. Wilson Harris; Mr. Basil Mathews; Brig.-Gen. C. D. Bruce; Lt.-Col. D. Borden Turner; Major W. E. G. Murray; Dr. Cyril Norwood; Lady Lawson Tansor; Lady (Victor) Horsley; Mrs. Whitehead; Mrs. Forbes Robertson Hale; Rev. Bertram Lister; Rev. H. W. Fox; Rev. G. W. Hudson Shaw; Mr. Silas K. Hocking; Mr. E. Everitt Reid; Mr. J. H. Clynes; Captain E. Beddington Behrens, M.C.

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**Renew Your Subscriptions.**

Annual subscriptions become renewable on the first day of the month in which the subscription was paid for the year 1921 or 1922. As annual subscriptions of 3s. 6d. or £1 entitle members to receive only 12 copies of HEADWAY, it is necessary for renewals to be paid immediately they fall due to avoid any interruption in the supply of HEADWAY.

\* \* \* \*

**To Branch Secretaries.**

If news of your Branch sent to HEADWAY fails to obtain publication, do not imagine that the work you do is not appreciated at Headquarters. So great is the activity of Branches throughout the country that to publish all that is sent to us would easily fill the whole of HEADWAY each month. The Editor has no choice but to make a selection and endeavour in the course of the year to distribute publicity as fairly as possible.

## The Casting Away of Restraint

One ominous feature of the present day and generation shows itself as a revolt against moral authority. All over the world men are defying established conventions and breaking loose from discipline and restraint. Indeed, one epigram declares that people are beginning to take the "nota" out of the Commandments and to put them into the Creeds instead.

Now it was said by an ancient prophet—and age cannot wither nor custom stale this truth—that "where there is no vision the people cast off restraint." Men reject the Commandments, because they lose sight of their Eternal Commander and Judge. The world's supreme need, if only to save it from anarchy, is to recover the vision of God.

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