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THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

The Council at Paris. The Council of the League commenced its twelfth sitting on February 21st, in Paris, under the Presidency of M. Da Cunha, the Brazilian representative.

Owing to the large amount of work delegated to the Council by the Assembly the agenda was by far the largest with which the League has yet had to deal. The Committee on Amendments to the Covenant has been appointed, consisting of eleven members. The International Blockade Commission has also been set up, to study the application of Article 16 of the Covenant. In the meantime, the Secretariat is to ask the Member States what powers they possess to enforce the terms of this Article. A further decision is to set up a League Commission to inquire into the deportation of women and children in Turkey. This will consist of three persons, Mme. Gaulis (France), and a British and an American representative. An International Conference on the exploitation of women and children is to be held at Geneva next June. Meanwhile, the Secretariat is collecting information as to legislative measures already in force for the prevention of such traffic. Progress has also been made in regard to the financial and economic reconstruction of Europe. The International Credits Scheme set forth by Mr. C. E. Ter Meulen, member of the Provisional Economic and Financial Committee of the League, has been approved by the League Council. The object of the scheme is to enable impoverished countries to obtain raw materials. The assets of industrial firms of importing countries are to be offered as security against export of raw materials to the firms of countries which produce such materials. This is to be done by means of a system of bonds issued to private firms by the respective Governments and signed by a League Central Commission.

Disarmament.

The question of the reduction of armaments came up for discussion on February 25th. It was decided (1) to invite the Powers signatory to the Convention on traffic in arms to ratify the Convention as promptly as possible; (2) to ask the Belgian Government to instruct the International Bureau in Brussels to carry out measures relative to the trade in arms and ammunition, the Brussels Bureau to address a report every three months to the Permanent Advisory Committee in Geneva, a report which

will be published; (3) that the Permanent Advisory Committee shall examine the question of the private manufacture of war material, and forward its report to the Council; (4) that a temporary committee shall be created to examine the question of the reduction of armaments, the committee to be composed of six economic experts, six members of the Permanent Advisory Committee, four members of the Economic and Financial Committee, and six members of the Administrative Council of the International Labour Bureau. Lastly, the Council decided that the vote adopted by the Assembly at Geneva urging that the Governments should be asked to undertake not to exceed for two fiscal years the total military expenditure provided for in their present budgets should be submitted to the members of the League.

America and Disarmament. The House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs has reported favourably on a resolution proposed by

Mr. Brookes (Republican) authorising the President to invite the nations of the world to send delegates to a conference at Washington, "to provide for disarmament." The "World," which for some time past has carried out an intensive campaign in favour of disarmament, is urging the present Congress to clear the ground for such a conference and thus prevent needless delay. Following on this, Mr. Harding on February 27th affirmed his complete approval of the idea of disarmament, declaring that he would "do everything that is becoming to bring about the co-operation of the United States in any scheme for world disarmament." Meanwhile, the Senate Naval Committee's report, now published, while advocating an American Navy "at least equal to that of any other Power," declares that the Committee is anxious to bring about a reduction of armaments, but that no disarmament can be of value unless it is general, and in the case of great maritime Powers, universal. Much the same attitude is maintained by General Pershing, who is warmly in favour of a meeting of the Powers to discuss disarmament. As we go to press we learn that on March 2nd the Senate unanimously attached an amendment to the Naval Appropriations Bill, requesting the President to call a conference of representatives of Great Britain, Japan, and the United States to consider naval disarmament.

The new President's inaugural address gives every indication of a desire to adopt this policy. Mr. Harding's programme for his country is essentially one of peace and friendship. America, while "she does not mean to be entangled," and "can be a party to no permanent military alliance," wishes to "promote understanding," to associate herself with the nations of the world "for conference, for counsel, to seek the expressed views of public opinion, to recommend a way to approximate disarmament, and to relieve the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments." She elects "to participate in suggesting plans for mediation, conciliation, and arbitration, and would gladly join in that expressed conscience of progress which seeks to clarify and unite the laws of international relationship and establish a world court for the disposition of such justiciable questions as nations are agreed to submit thereto."

An Appeal to the League. There is every prospect that the boundary dispute between Panama and Costa Rica, both members of the League of Nations, may be referred to the League for settlement. The dispute dates back to 1900, when the Loubet Award drew a boundary which Columbia, of which Panama was then a department, was willing to accept. Costa Rica suggested later that the Award needed interpretation, and in 1904 (a year after the Panama had become an independent State) an agreement was drawn up between Panama and Costa Rica. The Costa Rican Congress refused to ratify this agreement, because of certain explanations to it appended by Panama. In 1916, the arbitration of the United States was sought, but the boundary drawn by Mr. White, the United States Chief Justice, completely disregarded the Loubet Award and Panama refused to accept it. The matter then returned to the *status quo*. Early this year a detachment of Costa Rican soldiers occupied territory on the Panama side of the Loubet Boundary, though on the Costa Rica side of the White Boundary, and Panama requested the aid of the United States. United States troops were dispatched to restore order, and an offer of mediation was made. This was accepted by Panama, but the latest information is that the Costa Rican Government will only accept arbitration at the hands of the Council of the League.

Problems of Transit. By the time this magazine is in the hands of its readers, the International Conference on Transit, which meets at Barcelona on March 10th, will be a thing of the past. The work to be done covers a wide field and involves considerations which affect all countries. The reduction of means of transit and the bad state of repair of railways, roads, canals and ports, resulting from the war, have helped to bring about the existing economic crisis by hampering the movement of goods and thus affecting the distribution of the necessaries of life. The first task of the Barcelona Conference will be to take a comprehensive survey of the present position, and all the delegates have been asked to submit a review of the transport condition in their respective countries. On the basis of this material the Conference will endeavour to find a more satisfactory

system for the distribution of available material of all kinds and a more rational employment of existing routes of communication. The agenda includes the consideration of separate draft agreements on freedom of transit, International *régimes* of navigable waterways, of railways, and of ports, and one of the chief tasks will be to create the organisation contemplated by the Assembly of the League of Nations in the form of an Advisory Commission on Communications and Transit sitting at Geneva, and entrusted with the duty of seeing that the agreements concluded at Barcelona are carried out. An important feature of the Conference will be that the delegates will be there not in a purely advisory capacity, but as representatives acting on behalf of their Governments, selected from among persons and officials especially acquainted with the particular problems to be considered. All the members of the League have been invited, as well as those States which were admitted by the Assembly to the technical organisations of the League. An invitation has been extended to the U.S.A., Germany, Hungary, and Ecuador.

International Co-operation. We have received from the League of Nations Section of the Austrian Foreign Office, a proposal which it is intended shortly to bring before the League of Nations at Geneva. In order the more effectually to promote international co-operation the Austrian Foreign Office suggests that the League should create in addition to the many permanent Technical Organisations already attached to the Secretariat, an independent office, whose business should be to encourage and organise discussion and co-operation between leading men in the spheres of art, literature, music, trade, industry, &c. This Department of the League Secretariat should, in the first place, summon world-congresses of every sort to promote the exchange of intellectual and material products between the nations. International exhibitions, organised and given practical support by the League by means of prizes, grants of money, &c., would familiarise the peoples with the products of the world's civilisation and broaden their general outlook. These exhibitions should be held in various suitable places, for instance, the clockmakers in Geneva, agricultural products in Czecho-Slovakia, a musical congress in Vienna, pictorial art in Paris, archæological congress in Athens, &c. Vienna, with its magnificent public buildings, would be particularly adapted for such international exhibitions. The world exhibitions which have taken place hitherto, having been mainly due to private international enterprise, have lacked systematic organisation, and therefore their practical results have been only partial. Moreover, at present the obstacles to private initiative are almost insurmountable. In the international exhibitions organised by the League the individual trader or representative ("Fachmann") appointed by his district must be assisted in every possible way (for example, by free carriage for his goods, &c.), through guarantees given by Member-States in their own interests. It is contended that a League of Nations which builds such bridges as these for the cultural progress of nations can become a popular institution. For the peoples do expect to see political results from the League, and it is by such direct practical results that they will rightly form their judgment of it.

A Lead from Italy. To look to Italy for a moral lead in the international difficulties of the world ought by this time to have become an instinctive action on the part of present-day statesmen. It was Signor Nitti, the then Italian Premier, who, on March 22nd last, made a plea for sane statesmanship in regard to the vanquished nations, and defined the foreign policy of Italy as based on the realisation that the interests of Europe itself, faced with universal ruin, were above national hatreds and divisions. It was Count Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, who last October urged upon his country's representatives abroad the importance of promoting a world-wide education in League matters, at the same time mentioning that a special department for the League of Nations and the questions concerning it had been instituted in the Italian Foreign Office. Now comes a further sign of Italy's genuine interest in and support of the League of Nations. On the motion of Signor Colonna di Cesaro, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chamber is considering a resolution proposing a revision of the method of election of the delegates to the Assembly and Council of the League. The resolution proposes that the delegates should receive their mandate from the nation itself, and not from its Government, and invites the Government to introduce a Bill giving the Chamber of Deputies powers to elect the delegates "to do its best to induce the other nations to adopt a similar system of representation." The importance of this proposal, if it is adopted, lies in the increased authority which such a system would give the delegates, who would feel that they had behind them the backing of their respective Parliaments.

League Societies in Conference. The fourth International Conference of Voluntary Societies for a League of Nations, which met at Milan last October, drew up the rules of the Federation of these Societies and appointed a General Council and a permanent Bureau. The General Council held its first meeting on January 17th and 18th at Paris, at the Palace of the Senate, when Baron Descamps, President of the Belgian Association, presided, and representatives of sixteen national Societies attended, including those from the Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian Societies. It was arranged that the fifth International Conference should be held at Geneva in May next. The Union will propose resolutions on the following subjects:—

- (a) Limitation of armaments;
- (b) Protection of religious and racial minorities;
- (c) Whether or not it is desirable to amend any parts of the Covenant: if so, which?
- (d) Methods of propaganda for the League.

M. Gustave Ador, former President of the Swiss Confederation and President of the Brussels Financial Conference, was elected President of the Federation of Societies for the year 1921. The League of Nations Union was represented by Sir W. Dickinson and Major David Davies, M.P.

Progress in France. Concurrently with the meetings of the Federation, the French Association for a League of Nations organised a most successful meeting in the Salle Wagram on January 17th. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant presided, and the hall, which is one of the largest in Paris, was

crowded with an enthusiastic audience. This is the first time that a public meeting of this kind has been held in France, and it augurs well for the progress of the movement in that country.

Mandates Published.

Of the three classes of mandates recognised by Article 22 of the Covenant, drafts for Classes "A," "B" and "C" have now been published—"A" through the medium of one American and two British newspapers, "B" and "C" by the Secretariat of the League. They are on the whole satisfactory documents. The terms of the Palestine mandate carry out the original declaration of November 2nd, 1917, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and make it plain that the aim throughout is to aid in the development of a Palestine able to stand alone. The Mesopotamian mandate also envisages the "progressive development of Mesopotamia as an independent State," provides for the framing of an organic law, one of whose clauses shall be designed to facilitate this development. Article 2 of the Mesopotamian mandate provides that local troops may be maintained for the defence of the territory, but that they must not be used for other purposes except with the consent of the Mesopotamian Government, and that they may only be recruited from the mandatory territory itself. This provision might well be strengthened. The draft Class "C" mandate applies to ex-German South-West Africa, administered by the Union of South Africa, Samoa, administered by New Zealand, Nauru, administered by Great Britain, and the former German islands in the Pacific south of the Equator, including New Guinea, over which Australia has been made a mandatory. The main stipulations are the prohibition of the slave trade and of forced labour ("except for essential public works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration"), the prohibition of the supply of intoxicants to natives, the control of the traffic in arms in accordance with the Convention of St. Germain, and the prohibition of military training of the natives except for local defence and police duties. No fortifications or naval or military bases are to be constructed. The draft mandate for the islands north of the Pacific, to be administered by Japan, has not yet been made public, but the Council of the League has published a declaration from the Japanese Government on the subject of Class "C" mandates, protesting against the refusal to include in these mandates a clause concerning the assurance of equal opportunities for trade and commerce. The Japanese Government agree to the issue of the mandate in its present form merely for the sake of reaching a settlement, already unduly delayed, but without prejudice to their claim that the rights and interests enjoyed by Japanese subjects in the South Sea Islands in the past should be fully respected. Perhaps also Japan is thinking of the Nauru Island Agreement between the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, limiting the sales of the phosphates produced in the island to these three Governments. [The British draft "B" mandate for Tanganika territory appeared at the moment of our going to press and we are therefore unable to comment on it in this number.]

Mandates Unpublished. There remain four mandates as yet unpublished, the French "A" mandates for Syria and Cilicia, the Japanese Class "C" mandate referred to above, the Belgian Class "B" mandate for Ruanda and Urundi, and the French Class "B" mandates for Togoland and the Cameroons.* It is about the mandates of the "B" Class that the greatest anxiety is felt among those who have at heart the well-being and development of the native races which Article 22 of the Covenant is intended to serve. In the words of Prof. Gilbert Murray at a recent meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, "The delay in fixing the mandates is notorious, and amounts to an open scandal." Still more reprehensible than the delay itself is the presumed reason for it, on the part, at any rate, of one of the Governments concerned. The claim to conscript natives for the defence, not only of the new African

* It was officially stated in the House of Commons on Feb. 24th, that the terms of the two last-named mandates have been agreed upon by the British and French Governments, and have been submitted to the League.

territories but for the motherland, was made as long ago as September, 1919, by the late French Colonial Minister, M. Henri Simon, and was endorsed by his successor in June, 1920. This is a policy wholly inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant, and as long as it is persisted in it will be impossible to frame a mandate on the lines indicated in Article 22. The danger that an attempt may be made to square the Covenant with the policy of one of the mandatory Powers, instead of *vice versa*, provides an additional reason for publishing the draft mandates before they are finally approved by the Council. A precedent for this was given in the case of the Covenant with excellent results.

Women and Mandates.

The Constitution of the Permanent Mandates Commission was approved by the Council of the League last December. It was agreed by the Assembly to recommend to the Council that this Commission should include at least one woman. This recommendation has been vigorously endorsed by representative women in this country, including the members of the Women's Advisory Committee of the League of Nations Union, who have recently sent a letter on the subject to the Foreign Secretary. The letter states that the Women's Organisations represented on the Committee recognise the increasing need of the specialised activities of trained women in the countries that will be under mandates, in order to raise the general standards of living, to maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, and to carry forward those preventive and remedial measures in respect of health and morality which will have to be undertaken in the interest of the native populations. Similar representations have been made by other women's organisations. The Commission has now been constituted by the Council, and it is understood that Sweden's

delegate will be a woman. The countries to be represented on the Commission are Great Britain, France, Japan, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Holland, Sweden, and one other State.

The Council and Mandates. Meanwhile, the Council at Paris had before it a Note from Washington raising the question of Mesopotamian oil and the allocation of the Pacific Island of Yap to Japan.

In regard to the former, objection was taken to Article XI. of the mandate, the first part of which reads: "The mandatory must see that there is no discrimination in Mesopotamia against the Nationals of any State which is a Member of the League of Nations (including the companies incorporated under the laws of such State) as compared with the nationals of the mandatory or any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce, &c. This has been interpreted in America as tending to debar Americans from participation in the exploitation of the Mesopotamian oilfields, although it seems equally open to the interpretation that it makes for commercial equality between the mandatory and other nations, not members of the League. If the latter interpretation were adopted it would be necessary to consider how far the San Remo Oil Agreement of April, 1920, allotting to Great Britain and France respectively 75 per cent. and 25 per cent. of the petroleum produced in the vilayets of Mosul and Baghdad, was compatible with this clause. In regard to the question of Yap, which is an important cable station, the case for the United States is that she was not consulted over the secret agreement with Japan which allocated the Marshall and Caroline Islands to that Power, and that she has repeatedly, in Notes addressed to the four principal Allies, set forth her contention that Yap should be excepted from the proposed mandate to Japan for these islands. As one of the "principal Allied and Associated Powers," America claimed that her approval "is essential to the validity of any determinations which may be reached" in regard to mandates generally, while as to the particular case of Yap she did not regard herself bound by that mandate, and requested that the matter

FRANCE AND THE LEAGUE.

BY RENE VIVIANI

(Former Prime Minister of France and Delegate to the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva).

[The following expression of the views of M. Viviani is of great interest, not only because it proclaims his own faith in the League of Nations as the supreme moral arbiter of the world, but because it represents the views of an increasing section of French public opinion of which this great statesman is the spokesman.—EDITOR.]

I AM not going to touch upon the immense range of the problems which came before the Assembly of the League of Nations. I shall dwell only upon those to which my own mind was devoted. I propose to use this opportunity to brush aside certain somewhat pedantic criticisms which have been recently levelled at the League.

It has been said that we wasted time at Geneva, I turn my thoughts to the proceedings of our own national Parliaments, and after this contemplation I return for my own part to congratulate the Assembly which, in the course of a few days, and working through the medium of diverse languages and modes of thought, established a procedure that guarantees impartiality to all.

I was also a member of a Committee whose duty it was to report upon the admission or refusal of new Members of the League. It was I who had the honour of bringing about the unanimous adoption of the four fundamental conditions which a State seeking admission shall be required to fulfil. Firstly, a free constitution, that is to say, a constitution invested with the three qualities of true democracy: universal suffrage, a free Press, and a responsible Government. Secondly, an organisation enabling it to sustain its share of the burden which the League may be called upon to bear under Article X. Thirdly, that the State should really represent a nation, and not merely a group of peoples dwelling within an uncontested frontier. Fourthly, that the State should have given practical proof of respect for its international engagements. These were the conditions by which we stood when we morally repulsed Germany. I say morally, because, speaking juridically, Germany presented no application for admission, foreseeing what the reply would be.

Now we know very well that the League of Nations must not be a close corporation. We know that in order to gather in the threads of all the problems that affect the world's peace, all the nations of the world must be gathered in also. But at the price of self-respect and of the respect of mankind the League must insist that all its Members observe the Covenant, and give effective guarantees of their sincerity. And here we come upon questions to which the legal answer was very hard to find.

I will give you, for example, the proposal to exclude all States with less than 200,000 inhabitants. Such a State as that, situated in Europe, with its history and traditions deeply rooted in the past, a State which had contributed its quota to the making of a civilisation for two thousand years, might well hold its own against one with double its population; newly-established in some distant continent.

What it it, after all, that constitutes a nation? Is it the use of a common language? If so, neither Switzerland nor Belgium can pass the test. Is it unity of religious faith? In that case Germany cannot fulfil the requirements. Is it similarity of economic interests? Then consider France, a commercial country, because her shores are washed by two oceans, yet obliged to adopt a protectionist policy side by side with her policy of free trade, because

should be reconsidered. The Council replied by inviting the United States to participate in the next discussions upon "A" and "B" mandates, which have therefore been postponed until the next session in May or June.

The Fate of East Galicia. We are reminded by a correspondent, M. Ivan Petrushevich, that the dispute with Lithuania is not the only outstanding international question affecting the Polish State.

The fate of East Galicia still remains unsettled. The country is at present under military occupation by Poland, who, however, has received no mandate for her administration from the Allied Powers. It is to them that the country legally belongs, for on the break-up of Austria the whole province of Galicia was ceded to them by the Vienna Government. The western portion (where the population is solidly Polish) was formally made over to Poland. The military position in 1919 was one obstacle in the way of settlement for the eastern portion (in which the majority of the population are Little Russians, identical in blood, faith, and language with the inhabitants of the adjoining Ukraine). It was also the reason why the Poles were suffered to occupy the territory. It is important to keep these facts in view, by reason of well authenticated reports that the Poles are exploiting their unauthorised position by introducing Polish colonists and perpetrating other acts of oppression against the native population. It is to be hoped that the political situation in Southern Russia will soon permit of some definite settlement of the East Galician question being made by the Allied Powers. Geographically and ethnically the country is one with the Ukraine. Any attempt at annexation on the part of Poland would be fiercely resisted by the majority of its peoples, and might any moment become a matter "likely to disturb the peace of the world." Meanwhile Poland, as a Member of the League of Nations, which is pledged to do all in its power to assist an oppressed native population in Armenia, should see to it that her own conduct is above reproach in a country which she occupies temporarily and on sufferance.

The Vilna Imbroglio. The Vilna dispute between Poland and Lithuania is still unsettled, but a new move has been made by the Council of the League which may hasten a conclusion. The dispute arose in consequence of the preliminary peace treaty signed by Russia and Poland last October, which sacrificed to Poland a large slice of Lithuanian territory, including the capital, Vilna, and entirely disregarded the terms of the Russian-Lithuanian Treaty of July 12th, 1920. The difficulty was aggravated by the forcible occupation of Vilna on October 9th by the Polish General Zeligowski, who is still in possession of the town. The matter was brought before the League of Nations, and arrangements were initiated for holding a *plébiscite* under the auspices of a League Commission supported by an international police force. This plan, however, fell through, partly owing to the objection of Switzerland as a neutral Power, to the passage of these troops through her territory, partly because both Governments concerned raised strong objections to the *plébiscite* scheme drawn up by the League Commission. The Council of the League now proposes that a meeting should be held in Brussels in a month's time, under the presidency of M. Hymans, to negotiate a definite agreement between Poland and Lithuania, treating as equals, upon all questions in dispute between them, whether territorial, economic or military; and that, in the meantime, the Polish Government should undertake to bring General Zeligowski and his troops under discipline again.

The Reparation Question. The situation in regard to reparation is so kaleidoscopic that any pronouncement thereon is bound to be premature. Anything may happen between press day and date of publication. Under these circumstances it seems better to reserve all comment until our next issue. Members of the Union might, however, like to know that the matter of reparations has been receiving the close and continuous attention of the Executive Committee, who have communicated with the Foreign Office on the subject.

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she is an agricultural country also. Shall we, then, seek out national bond in a historical past? Observe the Balkan peoples casting off the Turkish yoke with justified violence.

No, indeed! It is no easy task to define a nation. In the end we have to fall back upon the philosophic criterion and the touchstone of sentiment, and say that where men have expressed their will not only to live together, but also to die together, there, indeed, is a nation.

The text of Article X. may have raised reflections of doubt on both sides of the Atlantic. But are there not other and more far-reaching criticisms, and do not some of them aim not merely at the interpretations, but at the very existence of the Covenant? What, I ask, would be our situation if the Covenant were to disappear? Certain articles of the Treaty would disappear with it. What would become of the Mandates? What would become of the international administration of the Saar Valley? Are we to change the arrangements concerning these merely for the pleasure of change?

That remains to be seen. Meanwhile, we stand upon our defence. We uphold the Covenant, saturated, as it is, with the blood of our sons. It may not realise the whole of our ideal, but it represents a means of attaining it which we cherish.

What else is there that remains for me to say on the subject of the League of Nations? I do not mean to dwell upon the indifference and the hesitations on the part of the French Press, and even on the part of certain public men in France. They sadden, but they do not surprise me. We cannot excuse them, but we can explain them. To do so, we must understand the revolution in hearts and in consciences which has taken place in France.

It was in France, by the revolution of 1789, that the torch was lit whose sparks have been borne by the tempest all over the world to kindle other revolutions. France was the laboratory of freedom for the world. The revolution of 1848 left a greater impression upon the world than that of 1789. We fell again into a national reaction, but, nevertheless, in 1859 we upheld the principles of nationalities. Then, in 1871, we were overwhelmed in the midst of a universal silence. But we survived, and in the ten years before the war we set our hands five times to contracts which might have preserved the world's peace.

We were compelled to fight for ourselves and for others, and were victorious, after having held the field alone, or nearly alone, for a whole year. We have our military glory. But we have not yet reaped the fruits of victory to which our provinces invaded and devastated have given us the right.

I can understand, therefore, why many good Frenchmen ask themselves, "Is the League of Nations yet another illusion? Are our sons to pay the price for a dream, as their fathers did before them?" And to them I say, "Look higher and you will see that good is stronger than evil upon the earth. You cannot judge of the situation of France. You must go, as I have done, to distant lands to know the tender reverence in which our France is held." It was only in Geneva that our great and special place in the world could be measured. It was accorded to the qualities of our race—to our critical faculties, to our method, to our logical minds. The world knows what France has suffered, and what she has given to the world. The League of Nations has formed round her. I can assure you that in it there is nothing that she need fear.

Therefore, to the sceptics and the pessimists I say, give us time. What work has ever been done in a day? And as to the others, what have they done? Ten months after the Armistice they produced the Treaty which they are now

trying to apply. I think I have the right to ask them to speak less arrogantly when they review the work which the League has done already. I have the right to say that there is no need to despair. It is as absurd to say that the League has only to lift its finger to ward off all evils from the world as it is to say it will not play a leading part. Wait! Let it grow and find its feet. It will become, not the super-Government, not the super-Parliament, but simply the moral arbiter of the world.

Mr. Lloyd George said lately, "If the League of Nations had existed in 1914 the war would have been impossible." Maybe so, but I doubt it. I believe that in the Central Empires at that time, there was so great a lust of violence and conquest that the voice of the League might have been raised in vain. But after the horrors that we have experienced, the League, which rises from the ground where the soldiery have left it the blood-stained standard of Law, may, indeed, become the supreme moral arbiter. All depends upon the men who compose it, on the Governments who send them, and who should support them, on the Press, who must be won to our side, and upon the citizens who should help us with their counsel.

A CRY FOR PEACE.

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

THE world is crying for peace. The West is desiring the restoration of peace through a League of Powers.

But can Powers find their equilibrium in themselves? Power cannot be made secure only against Power, it must also be made secure against the weak for there lies the peril of its losing balance. The weak are as great a danger for the strong as quicksands for an elephant. They do not assist progress because they do not resist, they only drag down. The people who grow accustomed to wield absolute power over others are apt to forget that by doing it they generate an unseen disruptive force which some day rends that power into pieces. The dumb fury of the down-trodden finds its awful support from the universal law of moral balance. The air which is thin and weak gives birth to storms that nothing can resist. This has been proved in history over and over again, and stormy forces arising from the heart of insulted humanity are openly gathering in the air even in the present day. Yet the psychology of the athletic, stubbornly refuses its lessons and despises to take count of the terribleness of the weak. This is the gross stupidity that, like an unsuspected worm, burrows at the bottom of muscular bulk of the prosperous and the proud. Have we never read of the castle of power securely buttressed on all sides instantly dissolving in the air at the explosion of the outraged weak. Politicians calculate upon the number of mailed hands that are on the sword-hilts; they do not possess the third eye to see the great invisible hand that clasps in silence the hand of the helpless and waits its time. The strong form their league by combination of powers, driving the weak to form their league alone with their God. I know I am crying in the wilderness when I raise my voice of warning; and while the West is busy in its organisation for building its machine-made peace, it still continues to nourish with its iniquities the underground forces of earthquake in the vast bosom of the Eastern Continent. The West seems unconscious that Science, by providing it with more and more power, is tempting it to suicide, encouraging it to accept the challenge of the disarmed, not knowing that this challenge comes from a higher source.

Modern science has outwardly brought all mankind

How to Learn French or Spanish.

Great Success of New Pelman Method.

The new Pelman method of teaching Foreign Languages by Correspondence in about one-third the usual time has met with immediate success.

Those who have enrolled either for the French Course or for the Spanish Course are enthusiastic in their praise.

It is already clear that the Pelman method is effecting a revolution in the teaching of Foreign Languages.

Although the Pelman Language Courses are written entirely in French and Spanish respectively and do not contain a word of English, yet anyone, even without previously knowing a single word of the Foreign Language in question, can follow them with perfect ease.

It sounds almost incredible, yet it is perfectly true.

The great advantage of this is that all translation is avoided. There are no passages of French or Spanish to be translated into English and no passages of English to be translated into French or Spanish. You learn French in French and Spanish in Spanish, so that, when you have completed one of these Courses, you will not only be able to read French (or Spanish) books and newspapers, but you will be able to write and speak French (or Spanish) accurately, grammatically and fluently, and without that hesitation which comes when a Foreign Language is acquired by some method involving translation.

Further, the Pelman Language Courses enable you to learn French or Spanish without burdening your memory with the task of learning by heart long strings of French or Spanish words.

You learn these words, it is true—the Courses would be useless if you didn't—but you learn them as you go along and as you want them. In fact, you learn them as you would do if you were living in France or Spain—you learn them by using them and in such a way that you never forget them.

The following are a few extracts from letters received from students of this method:—

"We were only in Paris eight clear days, and I found my pleasure greatly augmented by being able to speak and understand almost everything. I am quite convinced that the Pelman method is the only way to learn a Foreign Language."—(P. 101)

"I find your method of teaching makes the reading of the French language delightfully easy. Your method is certainly of real worth and fulfils a long-felt want in the learning of French."—(W. 108.)

The following two extracts refer to the new Pelman Spanish Course:—

"I am delighted with the Spanish Course and find it extremely interesting and easy to follow."—(S.T. 104.)

"I received the first two textbooks on Spanish, and I consider the method as remarkable as it is simple. From the beginning one can entirely think in Spanish and understand, and this is the only practical way to master a Foreign Language—at least in my opinion."—(S.S. 104.)

The Pelman method enables you to learn French or Spanish naturally, simply and easily, and in about one-third the usual time. It is fully described in a little book issued by the Modern Languages Department of the Institute. Write to-day for a free copy of this booklet (mentioning the language—French or Spanish—in which you are interested) to the Pelman Institute (Modern Languages Department), 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1.

close together. The situation requires the spiritual realisation of some great truth of relationship to save human societies from constant conflict of interest and friction of pride. The people, who are mere forces when not organically united, must prove their humanity by some creative transfusion. This is not a mere problem of construction, and therefore does not chiefly fall within the province of science, which deals merely with discovery and invention and not with creation. The outer bonds of telegraph wires and railway lines, have helped men all the more efficiently to tear one another to pieces and to rob their weaker fellow beings of food, of freedom, and of self-respect. Must the sword continue to rule for ever and not the sceptre?

Two prophecies about the world's salvation are cherished in the hearts of the two great religions of the world. They represent the highest expectation of man, thereby indicating his faith in a truth which he instinctively considers as ultimate—the truth of love. These prophecies have not for their vision the fettering of the world into tameness with a closely linked power forged in the factory of a political steel trust. One of these religions has for its meditation the image of a Buddha who is to come, Maitreya, the Buddha of love. And he is to bring peace. The other religion waits for the coming of Christ. For Christ preached peace when He preached love, when He preached oneness of the Father among brothers who are many. And this was the truth of peace. He never held that peace was the best policy. For policy is not truth. The calculation of self-interest can never successfully fight the irrational force of passion, the passion which is perversion of love, and which can only be set aright by the truth of love. So long as the Powers build a League on the foundation of their desire for safety and securest enjoyment of gains, for consolidation of past injustice, for putting off of reparation of wrongs, while their fingers still wriggle for grabbing and still reek of blood, rifts will appear in their union, and conflicts in future will take greater force and magnitude. It is the national and commercial egoism which is the evil harbinger of war; by different combinations it changes its shape and dimensions, but not its nature. This egoism is still held almost as sacred as religion, and such religion by its mere change of temple and of committee of priests will never save men. We must know that, as, through science and commerce, the realisation of the unity of the material world gives us power, so the realisation of the great spiritual unity of man only can give us peace.

THE "TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS" OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

I.

THE INTERNATIONAL HEALTH ORGANISATION.

THE meeting of the first Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva may, perhaps, be compared to the launching of a ship. For many months past the craftsmen had been at work upon the structure. Now the designers' skill must be tested, and proof given that the paper theories of the Covenant were capable of being worked in practice.

Before the Assembly had met many times it was obvious that the League of Nations was fairly under weigh, that steam was up, and the machinery revolving with growing steadiness and power. But the equipment was not all complete.

The three main engines, the Council, the Assembly, and the Secretariat, were, indeed, already fulfilling their respective functions.

But the very nature of their duties prevented any of them from undertaking expert examination of problems that require special knowledge and often demand familiarity with local or passing conditions besides. Such problems, for instance, as the spread of epidemic diseases, or the regulation of international communications. Yet these matters had been expressly put under the League of Nations by the Peace Treaties.

There is another pressing duty, imposed upon it later by circumstances, namely, that of prescribing a cure for the disastrous chaos into which the world's finance has fallen.

Such tasks as these can only be performed by the League of Nations. The Assembly recognised this, and proceeded to set up the three "Technical Organisations," of which a brief account follows in this and subsequent articles. Let us take first

THE INTERNATIONAL HEALTH ORGANISATION.

The Assembly decided that this should consist of three separate bodies:

- (1) The General Committee. Every Member State of the League of Nations is included here, and the United States as well, as having been a signatory of the Rome Convention of 1907, and consequently represented on the International Office of Public Health, which existed in Paris before the war and is now absorbed into the League's organisation.
- (2) The Permanent Committee. This smaller body will do the main part of the consultative work. It will consist of nine members, four being chosen from the countries who are permanent members of the Council, and five from other States. Geographical position will be considered in making these appointments. This Committee will meet at least four times every year and may call technical advisers to assist it.
- (3) The International Health Bureau at Geneva, to consist of a Medical Secretary and staff.

The duties of the Health Organisation will be to advise the League upon health matters generally, to bring the Health authorities of different countries into touch, and to give help in drafting and revising international Health Conventions.

It will co-operate with the Red Cross and other similar societies, as well as with the League's Labour Organisation. Part of its expenses will be paid from money already allotted by the Convention of 1907, and the rest will come out of the funds of the League of Nations.

These arrangements only wait the approval of the different States concerned, before the Organisation is ready to begin its work.

Some notion of the useful service it will be able to do in the world can be gleaned from the history of the campaign against typhus in Eastern Europe which the League felt itself obliged to undertake in 1920, without waiting for the setting up of an International Health Organisation.

In April last this disease was spreading rapidly in

Poland and the territories of Russia which were still being devastated by fighting. The unfortunate offensive undertaken by the Poles in the Ukraine last spring, which was followed by the Russian invasion of Poland, intensified the misery a hundredfold. The Council of the League sent a Commission of doctors to assist the Red Cross Societies and the Polish Health authorities, who were trying to stay the spread of the infection on the spot. But the areas were so enormous and the wretchedness so great among the people, that the cost of any effective measures was estimated at three and a-half millions sterling. This was more than the International Red Cross could provide, and the Council of the League, impressed by the urgency of the danger, issued an appeal to Member-States, through Mr. Balfour, the British Delegate. He obtained some promises of contributions, among others of £50,000 from Great Britain—but all conditionally upon other States doing their part as well. As regards cash payments, the Council's appeal brought nothing. Fortunately typhus is a disease which is comparatively inactive in the summer, but with autumn the danger returned and nothing had been done. It was decided to lay the matter before the Assembly, and a Commission of Enquiry was sent to Poland. It returned to Geneva while the Assembly was in session, and reported that the epidemic was very grave, and the area of infection continually increasing.

When the facts were laid before the Assembly, a very remarkable debate took place. Sir George Foster, the Canadian Delegate, and "Ranji" (or, to give him his official title, the Maharajah of Nawanagar), who represented India, both made speeches which appealed to the instincts of humanity and stirred the imagination. In the end, the Delegates of almost every country rose to announce that their Governments had withdrawn the conditions attached to their contributions, and that funds would, therefore, be forthcoming to begin the campaign at once.

The League has achieved a great work of philanthropy here—and when it has succeeded in stopping the ravages of typhus it will have saved Western Europe and the American continent from the menace of a terrible danger. "Infection," as Sir George Foster remarked, "knows no boundaries," and no country who receives immigrants through its ports can afford to ignore the truth of his words. The world was too slow in realising the peril. In future the International Health Organisation will be able to speak with the emphasis and authority of experts, and give warning of impending dangers in its own sphere—where, above all others, the old proverb holds good that "prevention is better than cure."

"THE FIRST ASSEMBLY."

No reader of HEADWAY should fail to buy a copy of the valuable review of the proceedings and achievements of the first Assembly, just published by the League of Nations Union, price 3s. 6d. An order form is enclosed in this number of HEADWAY, and should be filled up as soon as possible to prevent delay in receiving the book.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

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

IS THERE A LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

MR. BERNARD SHAW, who maintained the negative in our last issue, has now declined to give battle to his critics. His secretary writes on his behalf to say that Mr. Shaw "does not think any rejoinder is needed." That is, of course, a matter purely for Mr. Shaw. We are left to form our own opinion whether he has come to this conclusion because he thinks his original point of view was unassailable, or because he realises that the replies of his critics are unanswerable. Meanwhile, however, a perfect deluge of correspondence has descended upon the editor, who has *jaute de mieux* been compelled to extract selected passages from as many of the more original contributions as the available space would admit. Possibly an arrow from this miscellaneous quiver—but that is too much to hope.

SIR FRANCIS FLETCHER VANE OF HUTTON:—The whole error has arisen by putting the cart before the horse. We started with the just proposition proved in all the pages of history, that a peace based on *Vae Victis* was fundamentally unsound.

But while professing a desire for peace by the consent of all free nations, we promptly designed a treaty, arranged by the Allies only, in which they were both judges, juries and prosecutors before which even the alleged criminals were not allowed to appear to state their case. It was a Treaty of Vienna camouflaged by Puritanical hypocrisy.

Though signed and sealed the Treaty of Versailles is not binding on Germans (and less on unborn Germans who will be caused to pay the bulk of the sum) any more than would be a contract signed by you, sir, if you were forced to sign it with three Mauser pistols at your head.

Now we have to transform an International Contract from what it is—one of camouflaged *Vae Victis*—into a Treaty of Consent. This is the difficult work of the League of Nations.

WILLIAM PLATT, GOLDERS GREEN:—What is clearly needed is that someone shall convert Mr. G. B. Shaw to the principles of the Fabian Society! This Society named itself after Fabius, "the Delayer," because they held that it was useless to expect advanced ideas to grow at the pace of mushrooms, and that much work of propaganda and education must inevitably proceed before great results could ensue.

Mr. G. B. Shaw refers to the League of Nations as a "wretched thing," because it has not risen to perfection in a few months. Who will make a Fabian of Mr. Shaw?

R. D. C. GRAHAM, WARSASH:—As for the United States, Germany, and Russia I don't suppose there is a single zealous supporter of the League who does not deeply deplore their absence. I, personally, would like to see a strong appeal made by the Council to America, urging the vital necessity of her co-operation, and asking her to state precisely the terms on which she will give it.

ROBERT HALLS, UPMINSTER COMMON:—Whatever Mr. Shaw may think of his critics' evasive replies, to many of your readers the most noticeable feature in their letters will, I think, be their studied avoidance of any reference to the methods of the Government in Ireland. Yet it is precisely such questions that go to the root of the matter, for there is only one method of testing the sincerity of societies or individuals, *i.e.*, to ascertain whether they practise what they profess. The Polish affair is still fresh in our memories. Though Article XI. of the Covenant declares that any war or threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole League, the League took no action. The Council's excuse was that they did not intervene because the prospect of successful intervention seemed remote. And yet the members of the League *did intervene*, by helping the aggressor with all the means in their power.

How can such actions on the part of the members of the League be reconciled with the pure ideal on which the League is based, that of "an impartial justice that knows no favourites, and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several people concerned"?

As long as this wide divergence continues to exist between the expressed aims of the League and the conduct of its members, to the straightforward man it will appear merely as rather nauseating humbug. And not until the League becomes one of all nations instead of a society under the thumb of a few reactionary and predatory Governments is it likely to arouse his enthusiasm.

THE ROAD TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS BEGINS IN THE WAY OF KNOWLEDGE.

The Livingstone Bookshop of the L.M.S. offers you the best service in gaining knowledge of how the men and women of other races live. Publications of all the Missionary Societies, of the Student Christian Movement etc., in stock. Read these:—

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NEWS OF THE UNION.

THE NATIONAL PILGRIMAGE AND HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION.

A PILGRIMAGE and subsequent demonstration on League of Nations Day, which is being organised to take place this Summer, is already arousing widespread interest and enthusiasm from all sources.

The routes through which the pilgrims will pass are now approximately mapped out. The chief towns through which they will pass are as follows: Newcastle, Durham, York, Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, Sheffield, Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Northampton, Bedford, Watford, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, Cheltenham, Oxford, Norwich, King's Lynn, Ely, Cambridge, Hertford, Louth, Lincoln, Newark, Grantham, Peterborough, Huntingdon, Bristol, Bath, Marlborough, Hungerford, Newbury, Reading, Slough, Liverpool, Preston, Manchester, Macclesfield, Burslem, Hanley, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Stoke, Stafford, Wolverhampton, Lichfield, Warwick, Exeter, Taunton, Yeovil, Salisbury, Basingstoke, Poole, Bournemouth, Southampton, Portsmouth, Winchester, Eastbourne, Hastings, Tonbridge, Sevenoaks, Folkestone, Dover, Canterbury, Maidstone, Brighton, Worthing, Dorking, Epsom.

It is intended at all points along the routes to hold meetings of all characters, from Mass Meetings in large halls, to halts at wayside village greens and market places; and demonstrations will take place to greet the pilgrims and join in procession with them through the various districts.

There are many activities in which it is hoped all members of the Union will at once interest themselves, as each individual piece of work done will go to the making of the great national success the Pilgrimage must be.

The following are the various methods by which the co-operation of all those who support the League is most urgently required:—

To make the Pilgrimage known in every district by the distribution of the Pilgrimage leaflet;

To become a pilgrim, either for the whole or any part of a route;

To enlist fresh support to the Union by enrolling sympathisers to help in demonstrations or as pilgrims;

To organise working parties to make banners, pennants, and badges; examples and patterns to work from can be had from the Secretary.

To create an atmosphere of interest in the Pilgrimage before it arrives;

To assist in the organisation of meetings of all characters and suitable demonstrations, processions, &c.; a time table will shortly be issued to all the Branches.

To get the local bands, choirs, or choral societies to assist on the day the pilgrims arrive.

To get the local organisations to assist in every way in their power;

To arrange for, or provide, hospitality for pilgrims.

The Pilgrimage Committee is composed as follows: Miss Maude Royden (Chairman), Miss Helen Ward (Vice-Chairman), The Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Arthur Croxton, Miss Muriel Currey, Miss Cicely Ellis, Mr. Maxwell Garnett, Miss Norah Green, The Rev. W. Hudson Shaw, Miss Rosamond Smith, Miss Philippa Strachey, Dame Meriel Talbot, and Mrs. Arthur Croxton, Organising Secretary, to whom all communications should be addressed.

WHAT THE UNION WANTS.

The Union is in great need of really good designs for posters, badges, and banners, and of short articles, poems, and songs, all, of course, bearing in some way upon the subject of the League.

There is so far no flag over the Palais des Nations at Geneva, because no one has been able to devise a sufficiently fine, or appropriate, design. It would be a fine feather in the cap of the League of Nations Union if one of its members could originate the first flag to fly, symbolising the friendship of the whole world.

For all these subjects substantial prizes are being offered under the League of Nations Union Competition Scheme, and all members are urged to compete and to get their friends

to do likewise—also to obtain the co-operation of all classes of students and adepts in handicrafts and embroidery.

Already large numbers of competitors are busy upon all kinds of articles, and, to meet many demands for an extension of time, owing to the elaborate character of many of the banners and drawings that are being made, an extension of time has been arranged. **The date for sending in is now extended to Monday, May 30th.**

Everything sent in for competition will help towards making the great National Pilgrimage and League of Nations Day a success, when the best songs written will be sung, addresses given at meetings, banners carried in procession, &c., and an Exhibition of everything sent in will be held which will serve to attract much public attention to the activities of the Union.

It is hoped that all Branches will make a good response, and it will be very regrettable if those known to have large numbers of literary and artistic people in their locality do not appear high up in the list of those having the most successful competitors.

Competitors Please Note. Section II. No. I.

Designs for a flag need *not* have the words "League of Nations" incorporated in the design.

SUMMER SCHOOL.

The L.N.U. Summer School will be held this year at Oxford from July 21st-28th. There will be three courses of lectures: (1) The Work of the League (by members of the Secretariat of the League and the League of Nations Union); (2) The Articles of the Covenant and their Revision (by Professor Gilbert Murray); (3) A Course of Lectures on International Relations (by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Mr. J. M. Keynes, Lord Phillimore, the Bishop of Manchester, and others). The inaugural address will be given by Lord Robert Cecil.

There will be accommodation for 100 women at Lady Margaret Hall and seventy men at Balliol College. All lectures and meals will be given at Balliol College (except breakfast for women, which will be given at Lady Margaret

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Problems of a New World

By J. A. HOBSON. 7s. 6d.

"A very interesting book . . . the hard thinking that underlies it will add to Mr. Hobson's high reputation as a publicist." —*Manchester Guardian*.

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Hall). The inclusive charge for the School will be £4. Applications will be considered in the order in which they are received and must be accompanied by a deposit of 10s.

SUMMER SCHOOL IN BELGIUM.

A second Summer School, of a rather different character, is being planned to take place in Belgium shortly afterwards, probably in the second week in August. The School will be held at Bruges, and excursions will be made to Ypres and the devastated areas, Zeebrugge, Old Bruges, &c. Lectures will be given on the League of Nations. The fee for the School, which will last a week, will be £9, including the fare from London, pension, and excursions.

Further particulars will be given later, but it is hoped that applications will be made as soon as possible to the Headquarters of the Union.

A NEW VENTURE.

The Norwood Branch of the Union has recently been successful in arranging for the production of a play for the benefit of their funds. They were fortunate in securing the services of the Nova Repertory Company, who gave an excellent performance of Keble Howard's comedy, "The Cheerful Knave." As a result of this effort the Branch realised a sum of over £20. After paying expenses they are now in the fortunate position of being able to make adequate preparations for a Mass Meeting to be held in the early Spring.

A similar entertainment will probably be given in London for the benefit of Headquarters soon after Easter. The fact that it is open to all Branches to follow this example should interest all those who wish to increase their funds.

ITEMS FROM OVERSEAS.

News has lately been received of the formation of League of Nations Unions in Sydney, South Africa, and Canada.

His Excellency Changmin Lin, ex-Minister of Justice, gave an account at Headquarters recently of the establishment and progress of the League of Nations movement in China.

Sub-Committees of the Overseas Committee have recently been formed representing Australia, Belgium, and Yugoslavia, bringing the number of Overseas Sub-Committees up to thirty.

The Argentine Society is conducting vigorous propaganda for the formation of Societies in the South American Republics.

LORD GREY AT THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

Lord Grey made an encouraging speech at the National Liberal Club on February 22nd. The League of Nations, he declared, was bound to succeed. It was not enough to regard war as something to be avoided, but as something to be prevented. It was on the change of public opinion that he relied for the League of Nations to succeed where everything else failed. He attached great importance to the furtherance of cordial relations between Great Britain and America, reminding those who talked lightly of the possibility of war between these two countries that there was a treaty of peace between them which, if observed, would make war impossible.

During the evening Lord Grey was presented with a cheque for £337 from the members of the club towards the funds of the League of Nations Union.

THE PROGRESS OF THE L.N.U.

Our membership on February 28th was 75,908, being an increase of 8,013 on last month's figures. Thirty-one new Branches were "recognised" by the Executive Committee on February 3rd.

A CONVINCING APPEAL.

The latest pamphlet produced by the L.N.U. is a most convincing justification for the existence of that body. Beginning with apt quotations from H.M. the King, the Prime Minister, Lord Grey, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil, in support of the League of Nations, the pamphlet goes on to show the dire need of the world for the League and to give welcome evidence that the latter is a workable institution which can and will succeed. Finally, the need for a strong organisation in this country to educate and to organise British public opinion is made plain, and an urgent appeal is made to support the League of Nations Union. A detailed

THE SALVATION ARMY

1. Its Origin and Aims.

When William Booth, in 1865, resigned from the Methodist Ministry and began to proclaim the Word of God from the street corners in the East End of London, he did so believing his to be a purely personal mission—a call from God to William Booth to preach the Gospel to the poorest and most degraded of his fellow men and women.

The call was a call to preach, not to found an Army or a new Religious movement.

But others, too, received the call and discerning in William Booth a born leader of men, joined with him, forming a little band of workers called "The Christian Mission." This soon grew in membership and strength, spreading to other cities and gathering converts all the time. Reorganisation became essential, and in 1878 the present name was adopted together with a uniform and other distinctive features.

Thus was created The Salvation Army—not pre-conceived, but brought into being, little by little, step by step, as the needs of the movement made themselves manifest. Side by side with the Evangelical work of the Army has grown up a Social Organisation which, like the Army itself, was an unforeseen and inevitable development.

The mission of the Salvation Army was and is the mission that animated the actions of William Booth when he set out to preach the Gospel to the most degraded and despairing of mankind. The spiritual regeneration of the individual was and is its goal.

The Salvation Army depends entirely upon voluntary contributions. Will you not help in the fight against the forces of evil and misery by sending a contribution (no matter how small) to General Booth, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

THE SALVATION ARMY

Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

CONSUMPTION.

If you are suffering from this supposedly incurable disease, even though your own doctor and the specialist have said they can do no more for you, and sanatorium treatment and change of climate have failed to give you relief, you may still be curable in your own home with no more inconvenience than taking a few teaspoonful doses per day of the remedy that for over twenty years has been giving back health and strength to the stricken consumptive.

Literature dealing with the subject in detail will be sent to any sufferer on request free of charge, and, if requested, a goodly supply of the remedy itself on the distinct understanding that it only need be paid for if you are perfectly satisfied with the benefit received from it and consider the progress made warrants its continuance.

Only address, Chas. H. Stevens, 204, Worple-road, Wimbledon, S.W. 20.

description of the activities of the Union is sufficient justification for the appeal. The Union is now appealing for £50,000, which will just suffice to enable its bank overdraft to be repaid and its present activities to be maintained until the end of this critical year. It then hopes to raise the substantial Central Fund that will be required to place its finances on a permanently satisfactory basis.

THE £5 FUND.

We publish below a list of those who have subscribed to the special "£5 Fund" of the Union. The list includes those who have raised £5 by the sale of 1s. coupons out of the special books prepared by the L.N.U., as well as persons subscribing £5 out of their own pocket. It should be clearly understood that the purchase of 1s. coupons does not entitle the holder to membership of the Union.

Owing to pressure on our space the list was omitted last month. The names given below represent subscribers to the Fund for the past two months:—

Maj. the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P.	Miss Rowland.
A. T. Beaumont, Esq.	Mrs. Musgrave.
Professor Gilbert Murray.	R. M. Stevenson, Esq.
Frank Singer, Esq.	Lady Pollock.
Sir Frederick Pollock.	Mrs. H. Runciman.
Mrs. Charles Hancock.	G. P. Gooch, Esq.
	A. E. Neal, Esq.

Donations of £500 each have been received from the London County Westminster and Parr's Bank, Lloyds' Bank, the London Joint City & Midland Bank, and Messrs. Robert Fleming & Co.

PAYMENT OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The attention of members is drawn to Rule 3, which was amended by the National Council of the Union on January 26th last and now reads:—

"Annual subscriptions are payable in respect of each financial year, which shall end on the 31st day of December in each year. In those cases where the first annual subscription is paid after September 30th in any year, the member may, if he or she so desires, claim a rebate of not more than 50 per cent. of the subscription payable for the next succeeding year."

Though subscriptions paid in 1920 were to be available for twelve months from the date of payment, it is hoped that members whose twelve months have not yet expired, will waive their strict rights in the matter and renew without delay for the year 1921. Members of Branches should send renewal subscriptions to the secretary of their Branch direct and not to Headquarters.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO BRANCH SECRETARIES.

To simplify bookkeeping, and to avoid the necessity for preparing detailed accounts, Branch Secretaries are asked to send the appropriate remittance with each receipt counterfoil forwarded to Headquarters. According to the rules as amended January 26th last, the amounts to be remitted are:—

- 3d. in respect of every subscription of less than 2s. 6d.
- 2s. 3d. in respect of every subscription of 2s. 6d or more but less than £1.
- 7s. 3d. in respect of every subscription of £1 or more.

It is requested that this method of discharging Branch liabilities to Headquarters shall be employed in all cases where the Receipts bear dates subsequent to March 31st, 1921.

A WELCOME TO AUSTRIA.

We have received the following friendly offer from the Austrian League of Nations Society (Oesterreichische Völkerbundliga):—

"... I beg to request the League of Nations Union to give our address to all members travelling to Austria, and especially to Vienna, and to call their attention to the fact that the Austrian League of Nations Union is quite ready to help them in all questions concerning their journey (passports, trains, hotels, &c.) in order to render as agreeable as possible their residence in Austria..."

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CORRESPONDENCE.

ESPERANTISTS AND THE UNION.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I happened to read on the same day my HEADWAY and the monthly "Esperanto," published in Berne.

I was struck with the great similarity of the aims of these two publications, one endeavouring by political and social measures to unite the nations of the earth, and the other trying to facilitate their friendly intercourse by means of an easy code of language, both making international peace the great object of their work.

It occurs to me that many of our members who are working hard to establish branches of the Union would find a most fertile soil for their propaganda in the numerous Esperanto groups existing in most English towns.

Esperantists are all internationalists, and their societies constitute a ready-made nucleus for a branch of our Union.

Those who wish to get into touch with Esperanto group secretaries will find a list of two or three hundred of them in the Esperanto Jahrbro (year book), obtainable at 17, Hart-street, London, W.C., the headquarters of the Esperanto Association.—Yours, &c.

JAMES LEAKEY.

Hatfield.

"LINKING UP THE NATIONS."

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Mr. Cecil Rogerson's letter in the February number of this journal draws attention to what he rightly describes as the most practical way to establish a good understanding between nations, i.e., to provide facilities for the information of travellers and "foreigners" regarding the common necessities of travel.

His suggestion that a travel information bureau could be started and "Hospitality Consuls" selected in many towns is exceedingly practical, but I must point out that such an organisation already exists.

The Universal Esperanto Association has at the present moment about 800 delegates in all parts of the world, who are performing, among other things, the very suggested services which would be required of branch secretaries of the L.N.U.

The ideal of Esperanto is the same as that of the League of Nations itself—to provide an instrument which can be used to bring about the "understanding" so necessary at the present time.

I would suggest that the possibility be enquired into of such an affiliation of these two similar societies as will enable each to help the other and their members to derive mutual advantage in travel and other matters of intercommunication.—Yours, &c.

ARTHUR R. FAIRBAIRN.

21, St. Mary's Terrace, Ryton-on-Tyne.

A PLEA FOR THE FACTS.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I am very glad to see that the issue has been raised in the current number of HEADWAY as to the reported threat of the Allied Conference to exclude Germany from the League of Nations in the event of her non-compliance with the terms put forward at Paris on the question of reparations. It is a question on which I for one should like to see some definite attitude taken by the principal supporters of the League of Nations Union, and it would appear to me that the following points should be considered in relation thereto:—

1. On what authority was such a threat made?

2. What are its probable effects on the German mind?

In considering the first phase of the problem, if I understand the Covenant aright, the prerogative of granting or refusing admission to membership of the League rests exclusively with the League as a whole, and I am not aware that this prerogative can in any circumstances be deputed to any individual member or to any group of members of the League. One can only conclude, therefore, that the reported threat has been made not in accordance with the constitution and principles of the League of Nations, but in direct opposition thereto.

Elsewhere in the HEADWAY for February stress is laid on the necessity of making the League complete and effective by the admission to its membership of all the nations. The effect of such threats on the German mind would bring about a feeling of prejudice against, and even of opposition to, the League, which was being thus used as a goad to induce the acceptance of certain terms.

To make the League effective its membership must be open to all nations who are willing to subscribe to its Covenant, and any exceptions to this principle can only be instrumental in weakening its whole foundations, and any attempt by individual nations or by groups of nations to use their positions under the League's organisation for the furtherance of their own ends can only lead to disaster.—Yours, &c.

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REVIEWS.

LABOUR AS AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. (Macmillan & Co. 1920. Price 18s. net.)

Every member of the League of Nations Union who is interested in the powers and possibilities of the International Labour Bureau must either buy this book or secure a sufficient number of like-minded enthusiasts and insist that their branch secretary buys it and lends it to the members of the branch at so much a head. The League is growing so rapidly that any book is necessarily a little out of date by the time it is ready for publication; but the general principles of the scope and purpose of international Labour legislation as laid down by Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., remains unaltered, and must for many years be the guiding forces of the policy of the League in its dealings with labour problems. In the chapters which follow—"Historical Significance of the International Labour Conference," by Dr. J. T. Shotwell; "International Trade Unionism," by Mr. W. A. Appleton, the President of the International Federation of Trades Union; "Practical Problems of International Labour Legislation," by Sophy Sanger; "A Review of International Labour Legislation," by M. A. Lafontaine—the new League organisation is shown in its proper perspective, the reasons for past failures in international Labour legislation and the promises of future success are logically explained. The chapters on labour conditions in Belgium and Japan are extremely useful examples of the extraordinarily varied problems with which modern international thought will have to deal.

The fact that the Labour sections of the Peace Treaty and the draft conventions and recommendations passed at the conferences at Washington and Geneva are placed in appendices, is to be deplored, for these should undoubtedly be read first. It will encourage those who indulge in the pernicious habit of beginning with the last chapter of the book. A proper enjoyment of the book is indeed impossible without the information contained in the appendices, and Mr. Thomas's plans for the future activities of the International Labour Bureau should be very carefully considered with regard to the powers assigned to it in the Peace Treaty. M. C.

A PLAN FOR GOVERNMENT BY MANDATE IN AFRICA. By NORMAN LEYS, M.B., D.P.H. (League of Nations Union. 7d.)

This useful pamphlet contains a concise summary of the mandatory principle and the method in which that principle should work out in practice. It is shown that the new plan of government by mandate differs in kind, and will differ in results, from the ordinary way of governing Africa. The plan is based on the draft "B" mandate prepared by the League of Nations Union, the terms of which it amplifies.

THE NEEDS OF EUROPE: ITS ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. (Fight the Famine Council. London, 1921. 2s. 6d.)

This report of the International Economic Conference convened last October by the Fight the Famine Council consists of addresses by the various leading economists represented at the Conference. It contains a diagnosis of the economic maladies from which Europe is suffering, deals with the obstacles to recovery presented by certain provisions of the Peace Treaty, and suggests remedies for those evils.

DOMINION HOME RULE IN PRACTICE. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. (Oxford University Press. London, 1920. 2s. 6d.)**THE SWARTHMORE INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOKS.**

1. Causes of International War. By G. Lowes Dickinson.
 2. Patriotism and the Super State. By J. L. Stocks.
 3. Nationalism. By G. P. Gooch.
 4. Germany in Revolution. By L. E. Matthaer.
 5. Economic Imperialism. By L. S. Woolf.
 6. The Workers' International. By R. W. Postgate.
 7. Unifying the World. By G. N. Clark.
- (Swarthmore Press. London, 1920. 2s. 6d. each.)

The Record. (Save the Children Fund. 26, Golden-square, W. 1. 3d., twice monthly.)

Persons interested in the invaluable work of the Save the Children Fund, and desirous of familiarising themselves with the vast field over which its efforts are extended, should read this interesting little journal. Recent contributions include Father Bernard Vaughan, Mr. J. K. Jerome, Percy Alden, and others.

CHRISTIANITY AND INTERNATIONAL MORALITY. By E. H. F. Campbell, M.A. (W. Heffer & Sons. 1921. 3s.)**BOLIVIA'S CASE FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.** By José Carrasco. (Selwyn and Blount. 1920.)**Taft Papers on the League of Nations.** Edited by Theodore Marburg and Theodore E. Flack. (Macmillan. 1920. \$4.50.)

BRANCH ACTIVITIES.

LONDON REGION.

EALING.—On January 27th a Demonstration lesson on the League was given to a class of boys and girls by Mr. F. J. Gould, and invitations were sent to teachers and others interested in the education of young people to attend as audience. After the lesson opportunities were given for a short conference.

ENFIELD.—The Authorities have decided to refund the Entertainment Tax which was charged on a Concert by the Branch to obtain funds for League of Nations Union work.

KENSINGTON.—The Borough Branch numbers about 850 members, and four sub-branches have been started with their own officers and organisation. These are the Post Office Savings Bank, Kensington Chamber of Commerce, Christchurch (Warwick Gardens), and Allen-street Congregational Church. These have a combined membership of about 450. Other sub-branches, such as the employees of John Barker & Co. and Messrs. Lyons & Co., are in process of formation, and three others are not yet fully launched. Four study circles are at work, and others are being started.

The Sale of Christmas and New Year Cards, specially designed by a member of the Branch, realised, after paying expenses, the sum of £7 8s. 3d., which has been placed to the credit of the funds of this Branch. It is proposed to draw up a "tear off" calendar for next year of suitable quotations, and suggestions are invited from study circles and members of other Branches.

Through the generosity of a member this Branch has been able to start a Lending Library of books dealing with subjects connected with the League and its problems. Books can be obtained by members of the Union by the week, free of charge, on application to the Librarian, Mrs. Kennedy, 21, Pelham-place, S.W. 7, on Mondays between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m. Members and their friends are asked to lend or give any suitable books they can spare for the use of the Library.

WEMBLEY.—A great Public Meeting was held at the Wembley Hall Cinema on Sunday, February 20th. Some 700 people were present, of whom 150 joined the local Branch. On the preceding Saturday evening the official film of the League of Nations was shown by the kind permission of the proprietor, W. Hart, Esq., who also allowed special leaflets to be distributed as people left the cinema.

MIDLAND REGION.

BIRMINGHAM.—Branches have been formed in the districts of Maymills, Hockley, King's Heath, Ladywood, Lozells, Sparkbrook, Small Heath, Sparkhill, Saltley, Selly Oak. Membership stood at 1,662 up to the end of January. The Hockley Branch held its first meeting on January 24th, when a streamer advertisement stretched across the main thoroughfare some days previously attracted much attention and contributed to the success of the meeting.

NORTH-WESTERN REGION.

BOLTON.—In connection with the essay competition in secondary and primary schools, a vigorous debate was held at the Bolton School (Boys' Division) on January 25th. On the following day both the Boys' and Girls' Division gave up their afternoon session to a joint Assembly at St. George's-road Congregational Church to hear a lecture on the League by Mr. F. S. Marvin.

LIVERPOOL.—A specimen day's activity in the Liverpool District! On February 25th four different meetings were arranged on the League of Nations, and the District was also represented at the Town Hall at the opening of the World Service Exhibition.

SOUTH-EASTERN REGION.

HORSHAM.—In addition to public meetings, discussion meetings for members have been held. Miss Marten, of Richmond-road, has kindly undertaken to circulate some excellent text-books on the work of the League. New branches have been formed at Bognor and Steyning through the instrumentality of Mr. Charman, a member of the Committee.

WEYBRIDGE AND OATLANDS.—The Branch made a good start with a meeting on February 12th, at which Lieut.-General Sir Hubert de la Poer Gough spoke. Sixty new members enrolled at the meeting, and a good number followed later.

WALES.

ABERYSTWYTH.—The Branch approached the two candidates in the Cardiganshire by-election in regard to their views on the League of Nations. Both replied favourably.

CAERLEON.—At a public meeting on February 16th Mr. Louis Summerfield adopted the original plan of making the Albert Hall Birthday Celebration of the League the text of his address. Having been present at this meeting, he gave his personal impressions of it—the audience, the platform, the King's message, replies to objections, public opinion, material considerations, and the qualities necessary to success.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

During the month of February 212 meetings were held, although in the February publication only 49 meetings were announced at the time of going to press. For next month, meetings have already been arranged in the following places to be addressed by the following speakers:—

March 15th, Finchley, Faversham, Balham Settlement, Stockton-on-Tees. March 16th, Messrs. Debenham's, London, Aberystwyth, Wandsworth, Weeton, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Patrington Hill. March 17th, Plumstead, Hampstead, Hindley, London, Parliament Mansions. March 18th, Cambridge, Manchester, Stanstead, Reigate and Redhill, Beeston. March 19th, Manchester. March 20th, Richmond, Liverpool, Wanstead. March 21st, Macclesfield, Highbury Quadrant, Brighton, Dereham. March 22nd, Fellowship Branch, London, Hampstead. March 23rd, Wolverton, Wells. March 27th, Goole. March 30th, Ilford. April 3rd, Forest Gate. April 4th, Walthamstow, Hampstead, Bury St. Edmunds. April 5th, Derby (Education Conference). April 6th, Wolverton, Stoke Newington. April 7th, Hampstead Garden Suburb. April 8th, Anglo-Chinese Friendship Bureau, London, Trefnant, Enfield. April 9th, Croydon.

Among the speakers are: Prof. P. N. Roxby; Major David Davies, M.P.; Rev. G. H. Havard; Prof. A. J. Grant; Major The Hon. Ormsby Gore, M.P.; Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P.; Collin Brooks, Esq.; Lord Eustace Percy; Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P.; Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.; Miss M. Currey, O.B.E.; Frederick Whelen, Esq.; Rev. J. C. Paterson Morgan; Lt.-Col. the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P.; Capt. Morgan Thomas, O.B.E.; Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.; Lt.-Col. J. E. H. Forty; Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.; Lieut.-Col. Sir Alfred H. Warren, O.B.E., M.P.; Prof. H. T. Fleure; Mrs. Hannah Col. John Ward, C.B., M.P.; Mrs. Skelton; Lady Lawson Favered; E. Everitt Reid, Esq.; J. H. Harris, Esq.; F. Herbert Stead, Esq.; Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, M.P.; Rev. Simon Jones; J. F. Green, Esq., M.P.; Major-Gen. Rt. Hon. J. E. B. Seely, C.B., D.S.O., M.P.; Miss Edith Johnson; Rt. Hon. C. A. Masterman; Sir George Paish; Prof. Gilbert Murray; Miss Maude Royden.

The meetings arranged include the following:—

March 11—Dawlish. Y.M.C.A. Hut. Lt.-Col. the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P.

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Property of all kinds may be left by will to "The London Missionary Society."

March 11—Wallasey. Town Hall. Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.
 ,, 13—Edmonton. Central Hall. Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.
 ,, 15—Finchley. King Edward Hall, Church End. Col. John Ward, M.P.
 ,, 15—Faversham, Kent. F. A. Rose, M.P.
 ,, 17—Swansea. Welsh Free Church Council. Major David Davies, M.P.
 ,, 21—Macclesfield. Town Hall. J. F. Green, M.P.
 ,, 30—Ilford. Town Hall. Miss M. Currey, O.B.E.
 April 4—Hampstead. Public Library. Sir George Paish.
 ,, 8—Enfield. Red Triangle Club. W. Llew. Williams, Esq.
 ,, 8—Swindon. Lord Robert Cecil.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.

Persons of sixteen years of age and upwards who signify, in writing, their general agreement with the objects of the Union and their desire to join it may become members on payment of subscription as under.

An annual subscription of at least £1 entitles a member to HEADWAY monthly and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued.

An annual subscription of at least 2s. 6d. entitles a member to HEADWAY monthly.

The minimum subscription is 1s.

The above annual subscriptions supply only a small part of the funds required to maintain and develop the work of the Union. Larger subscriptions are invited.

A payment of £25 secures life membership. HEADWAY monthly and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued are sent to all Life Members.

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. All annual subscriptions terminate on December 31st.

All applications for Advertisement Space to be made to our Advertising Agents, FREDK. E. POTTER Ltd., Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2. Telephone: Regent 3366 (4 lines).

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