

HEADWAY

A Review of the World's Affairs

Vol. III. [New Series.] No. 10.

October, 1921.

Price Threepence.

CONTENTS.

	FAGE		PAGE
THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE	1	CARTOON :—	
NIBBLING AT ARMAMENTS	4	Lord Robert Cecil in the League of Nations	11
LEVEL THE BARRIERS	5	CORRESPONDENCE :—	
A QUESTION OF THE HOUR :—		In Support of Washington	12
Germany and the League. By Hamilton		The Permanent Court of International Justice	12
Fyfe	6	BOOK REVIEWS :—	
THE LEAGUE IN PARLIAMENT. By B. D.	7	The Decline and Fall of Austria-Hungary.	
A LETTER FROM GENEVA. By C.	8	By A. E. M.	14
MAKERS OF HISTORY :—		A French Jurist Looks at the League. By	
Dr. Nansen : The Task and the Man. By		R. B.	14
G. H. Mair	9	Half a Century of World History. By M. C.	15
SPORT AS A BOND BETWEEN NATIONS. By J. C.		Books Worth Reading	15
Squire	10	L.N.U. NOTES AND NEWS	16
		BRANCH NEWS	17
		ITEMS OF INTEREST	18

[Manuscripts submitted for consideration will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope. Letters for the Editor should be addressed to Castle Court, Poppin's Court, E.C. 4. Communications regarding subscriptions, etc., should be sent to the Manager at that address.]

THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

WITH this number HEADWAY appears in a new and enlarged form. Certain changes remain to be made, but we hope that the present issue will commend itself to our readers as an improvement on its predecessors. The general conception of the new HEADWAY may be understood from a glance at the Contents. It is our aim to supply a comprehensive and impartial survey of League and international politics. Our notes will review the events of the month. We shall deal, in leading articles, with those of them which merit fuller consideration, and every number will contain an article giving information about some special problem of international interest. The Letter from Geneva, the Parliamentary Letter, the Reviews of Books, and the record of the doings of the League of Nations Union and kindred bodies abroad will be regular monthly "features," as also will be the "character sketch" of an important world personality. Finally, we intend in future to devote attention to characters and events in the worlds of literature, art and science which, although not always directly related to politics, may be considered as of international interest and capable of promoting the international ideal.

* * * *

The cleansing influence of fresh air in international politics was never more plainly demonstrated than at this second gathering of the

Assembly. Dr. Nansen's dictum, that "publicity is one of the best means of securing the interest of the world in everything which the League takes up," could be proved over and over again by a comparison of the method employed by the Council and by the Assembly. The bulky volume in which is recorded the work of the Council since the first meeting of the Assembly last November is tangible proof of the tremendous volume of work accomplished by that body during the past nine months. Yet it is a fact that the average person has read more about the League in the four weeks of the Assembly than in the nine months of the Council's activity. For the Assembly met with open doors, while the Council on the whole has met in private. Publication of minutes is not the same thing as attendance of journalists at public debates.

* * * *

The adoption after exhaustive discussion and careful revision of the scheme for the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice was one of the most important of the results achieved by the first Assembly. The second Assembly has completed the work initiated last year. To-day the Permanent Court is in being. The "reform long desired, passionately sought after" is an accomplished fact. The somewhat complicated method of election of the eleven judges and four deputy judges who constitute the Court was adopted as a means of reconciling the difficulty which caused the breakdown of a similar scheme at the Hague Peace Conference of 1907. It was felt then, as now, that such a Court should always have represented in its composition the great States of the world, while, on the other hand, all sovereign States have equal rights in international law. On the happy suggestion of Mr. Elihu Root, the Com-

mittee of Jurists, who, under the auspices of the League of Nations, drew up the scheme for the Permanent Court early in 1920, decided upon the joint election of judges by the Council of the League, representing the Great Powers, and the Assembly representing all Powers equally, both bodies voting separately. Thus, an obstacle which appeared insuperable in 1907 has been surmounted with ease by the mere fact of the existence of the League of Nations.

A question which received the approval of the second Hague Conference and of the League Commission of Jurists who drafted the scheme for the Permanent Court, was the principle of compulsory jurisdiction. In its final form, however, the scheme presents a return to Article 14 of the Covenant, and provides that the Court can only sit where both parties agree to refer their cases to it. Nevertheless, in certain special cases relating to Labour and Transport disputes, and to the claims of oppressed minorities, the various Peace Treaties give the complaining State the right to bring the case before the Permanent Court irrespective of the wishes of the State complained of. Further, an optional clause has been added to the Protocol of the Court by which members of the League may bind themselves to "accept as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special convention," the jurisdiction of the Court. Twelve States have signed and six have ratified this optional clause. In other words, it will be open to any one of these States to cite any other before the Court exactly as in civil law between individuals.

The settlement of the Yap controversy on a basis agreeable alike to the United States and to Japan is a hopeful augury for the success of the Washington Conference. With this vexed question out of the way, the Pacific questions affecting the two nations should be settled once and for all. So far as disarmament is concerned, the Geneva debates and resolutions are a plain indication of the trend of public opinion. It remains to be seen how far the Governments of the world will support the League. This year, as last, the great apostle of disarmament has been the delegate for South Africa, Lord Robert Cecil. In the teeth of considerable opposition on the part of the French and British delegates, he succeeded in getting the third Committee of the Assembly to adopt a resolution instructing the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments to make general proposals for the reduction of national armaments in the form of a draft treaty to be presented to the Council, if possible before the Assembly meets next year. Lord Robert also induced the Committee to adopt a resolution to the effect that the Governments should again be appealed to to pledge themselves against any rise in their naval and military expenditure.

The adoption of the report of the Committee by the Assembly is a clear proof that the League is alive to the necessity for getting a move on as soon as may be. A clear distinction should here be drawn between the action of the League

itself and the inaction of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments, whose tepid report is analysed in a leading article on p. 4. If the spirit which characterised the Assembly debate on October 1st could permeate both that Commission and the Governments whose representatives will go to Washington next month, one of the knottiest problems that vex humanity would be solved.

Notwithstanding the obstructive attitude of the United States, a real advance has at last been made in the matter of mandates. On September 23rd the representatives to the Assembly of Great Britain, France, and Belgium announced publicly their Governments' decision to take as a standard the draft A and B mandates already in circulation, and on that basis to submit to the Permanent Mandates Commission an account of its administration to date. In the words of Lord Robert Cecil, this really amounts to the setting up of the mandate system, in spite of the fact that these mandates cannot be issued in final form while negotiations are still in progress with the United States. Mandates of the C Class, it will be remembered, were approved by the Assembly last year, and have already been put into practice. Now that America has settled her controversy with Japan over Yap, no further opposition to this class of mandate is to be expected from across the Atlantic. An interesting and important statement on the working of the C mandate administered by New Zealand in Samoa was made by Sir James Allen. The Covenant provides for the prohibition of the liquor traffic in territories administered under B and C mandates, and experience of liquor control in the Cook Islands has taught New Zealand that, to be effectual, prohibition must be absolute, with no discrimination between white people and natives. A remarkable feature of the debate was a brilliant speech made by the Haitian delegate, Bellegarde, a negro, in which he recognised the mandate system as the Magna Charta of the child races of the world. The Assembly finally passed a resolution urging the Council to address a dispatch to the mandatory Powers indicating that the Council is satisfied by its perusal of the draft B mandates that, generally speaking, the principles laid down therein express the objects which the Covenant has in view, and safeguard the rights of all members of the League.

After a year of conference and discussion, proposals and counter-proposals, the Vilna deadlock still holds. It will be remembered that on October 8th last year the Poles and Lithuanians themselves agreed, at Suvalki, to a demarcation line which left Vilna under Lithuanian control. On the following day General Zeligowski occupied Vilna and his Polish troops are still in possession of the town. The matter then came before the League of Nations. Owing to the obstructive attitude of the Polish Government it has up to now been impossible to reach a settlement.

The general opinion of this country, and indeed of all the members of the Council, was expressed by Mr. Balfour in a forceful and scathing speech on September 20th, in which he sternly

arraigned Poland before the public opinion of the world. Poland, he said, had never taken up the challenge thrown down to her in every speech made by the Lithuanian delegate—the challenge, namely, of the occupation of Vilna by the "ambiguous" General Zeligowski with his troops of "uncertain allegiance." The almost unanimous vote of the 6th Committee of the Assembly on the afternoon of the same day in favour of Lithuania's admission to the League was a natural sequel to the Council's discussions.

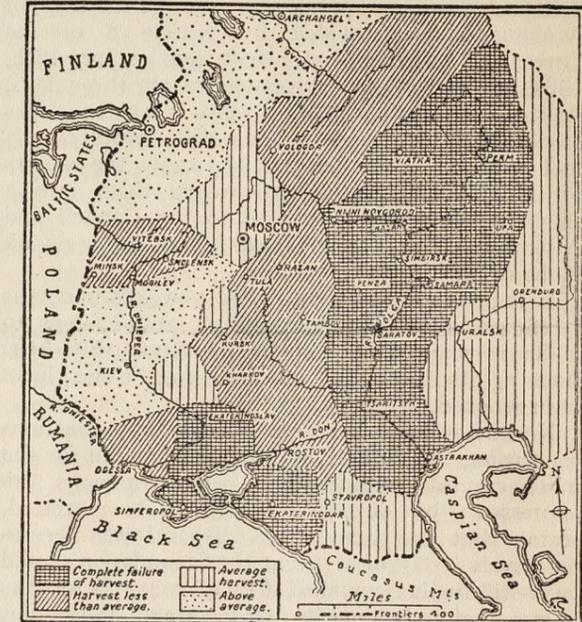
On September 24th the Polish-Lithuanian question came before the Assembly. Once again the rival parties stated their case. The Assembly listened, and after Lord Robert Cecil and M. Bourgeois had warned Poland in the gravest terms of the effect of the policy she was pursuing, pronounced its approval of the draft scheme of M. Hymans without a single dissentient vote. It will be odd if Poland fails to understand.

"We must help. This is so appalling a disaster that it ought to sweep away every prejudice out of our minds and appeal only to one emotion, that of pity, and of human sympathy." In these words, Mr. Lloyd George commended the Russian famine situation to the horror-stricken attention of the House of Commons last August. A month later the Assembly of the League, on which fifty-one nations are now represented decided to leave the matter severely alone. No appeal is to be made to the various Governments to grant the necessary credits, nor is the Council to be asked to offer the services of the International Credits Organisation for the administration of available funds or the supervision of the Russian Government's pledges.

The explanation is to be found partly in the attitude of the Soviet Government towards the International Commission for Famine Relief in Russia, set up by the Supreme Council. The day before Dr. Nansen hurled his tremendous challenge at the Assembly of the League, a reply was received from Moscow to the suggestion of the International Russian Famine Relief Commission to send a Commission of Inquiry to Russia. The reply took the form of an emphatic, not to say an abusive, refusal to allow any Commission of Inquiry to enter Russia, or to give any guarantees that the agents of such a Commission would be allowed to control the distribution of relief. The main grievance of the Soviet Government centres round the fact that the President of the International Commission is M. Noulens, former French Ambassador in Petrograd, and a confirmed anti-Bolshevik. With the justice, or otherwise of the Soviet allegations against M. Noulens, we are not here concerned. But were the truth a thousand times blacker than M. Chicherin has painted it, it could hardly be murky enough to justify the attitude he has chosen to adopt. Whatever M. Noulens' past record, he is now acting for the Supreme Council, one of whose chief members (Mr. Lloyd George) has definitely repudiated any intention of making political capital out of Russia's calamity. A Government must either be very

secure or very foolhardy to take the stupendous risk of allowing a political grievance to weigh heavier in the balance than the lives of some thirty millions of its subjects. It remains to be seen whether the Soviet Government has over-reached itself.

Meanwhile, Russian men, women, and children are starving to death. Living, or rather dying, on less than half a pound of food a day; eating



This Map, reproduced from the *Manchester Guardian*, illustrates the results of this year's harvest in Russia.

grass, eating the leaves of trees, eating the very earth itself, and dying by hundreds daily. The callousness of the Soviet Government does not relieve the other nations of Europe of one iota of their responsibility. Voluntary help, it is true, is already being given. But charity at the best is only a drop in the bucket. As we go to press the Supreme Council's Famine Relief Committee is convening a Conference, meeting on October 6th, at which practically all the countries of Europe will be represented, including Germany, Poland, and the Russian Border States. But this Conference at the earliest can hardly get to work much before Christmas, and by that time, as Dr. Nansen assured the Assembly, most of the doomed population will be dead. Every moment's delay means a life, where between 20,000,000 and 30,000,000 lives are at stake, Dr. Nansen asked the Governments represented on the League for £5,000,000 only—less than half the cost of a battleship, less than one day's cost of the Great War to this country alone, to avert a catastrophe whose casualty list will be about three times the death-roll of the war. He was unsuccessful, though with splendid obstinacy he refused to acknowledge defeat, declaring that he was determined to go on trying to rouse the countries of Europe to avert the greatest horror in history. He will carry with him the goodwill of the League of Nations—that much was expressed in a resolution of the Assembly. It is not the fault of the League that goodwill is in the present case so barren a gift.

NIBBLING AT ARMAMENTS.

THE report through the Council to the Assembly of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments, is a document which has not received the notice its importance merits. The Commission in question was constituted by a resolution of the Assembly taken on December 14th, 1920. Its terms of reference were to prepare "Reports and Proposals for the Reduction of Armaments as provided by Article 8 of the Covenant." It met for the first time on July 16th, 1921, and held a plenary session lasting three days. At this session it divided itself into sub-commissions to deal with three main aspects of the problem. It met again on September 2nd to receive the reports of its sub-commissions and weave them into a single whole for presentation to the Council and Assembly. The document now before us for review is the result of those labours.

It is prefaced by a few general remarks upon the problems before the Commission, and hastens to make it plain that "in the comparatively brief time at its disposal" no final conclusions have been reached.

No one will be disposed to deny that questions concerning the reduction of armaments call for the most careful consideration before opinions are expressed; but it seems a little to be regretted, seeing that the time at its disposal was "comparatively" so "brief," that the Commission should have still further curtailed it by allowing six months to lapse before holding its first meeting. We cannot avoid the belief that a sense of its own dilatoriness has been responsible for the apologetic manner in which the Commission has worded its report; and has led to the formulation of so many ingenious excuses for doing nothing. This is indeed deplorable, for disarmament is a problem which must be attacked boldly if it is to be attacked at all. Hesitation, nibbling round the edges of it, will achieve nothing. After all, the problem which was set to the Temporary Mixed Commission was to formulate proposals for disarmament, not to pledge the members of the League to any particular policy. Its task—nobody could have put this more lucidly than M. Viviani himself in his introductory address to the Commission in July—was to work out a *modus operandi*. It was for the Council and Assembly to consider the political aspects of the question and decide whether the plans put forward were feasible in existing conditions. It is therefore to no purpose as an excuse for inaction that the Commission puts forward once again the old time-honoured argument that the Covenant was designed for a state of affairs different from that which now confronts us, that the world was expected to be at peace and so forth. These arguments might be perfectly valid in the mouths of individual Governments as a ground for hesitating to reduce armaments; but they are surely a poor reason for the failure to put forward one single constructive proposal for the consideration of the world.

After describing the tasks set to the various sub-committees the Report proceeds to review the findings of these bodies. A summary of the replies received from the various members of the League in regard to the Assembly's recommendation that

there should be a general undertaking not to exceed for the next two financial years the total expenditure on armaments provided for in the present Budget, shows that the replies were "not always explicit." Twenty-one States, all small ones, made no reply at all. Of the 27 who replied, 15 accepted the recommendation with or without reservations. Seven refused it; France and Spain on the ground that Budgets do not afford a fair indication of military strength; Japan with an evasive answer; Finland and Poland on account of their geographical and political situation; Greece on account of the war with Turkey; and Jugo-Slavia for no clearly defined reason. The reply of Spain and France seems to us, frankly, to miss the point, which was not how far Budgets were an indication of military strength, but was that if the present Budgets were not exceeded, then, broadly speaking, the world's armaments would remain in their present ratio, and for practical purposes there would be no increase. Consequently any plans worked out for reduction of armaments during the prescribed period of two years would not stand in danger of being vitiated by the end of that time by an entirely different armament situation having arisen. The Japanese reply we cannot avoid regarding with some disquiet. It seems so regrettable that the Japanese Government should, by putting off this question give a handle to those who are telling us at present that the war party in Japan is gaining the ascendancy. As to the Finnish reply, we do not feel competent to give an opinion. The situation of all the border states of Russia will continue to be profoundly uncertain until the intentions of the Russian Government towards the rest of the world are a little more plain. The same applies to Poland, though we wish that her actions with regard to Lithuania did not introduce a doubt as to whether her refusal proceeds entirely on defensive grounds. The reply of Greece is valid. So long as Greece and Turkey are permitted to carry on war we have no right to complain if either of them refuses to discuss disarmament. In the case of Jugo-Slavia it is difficult to disassociate her refusal from her Albanian policy. Altogether a somewhat inconclusive result.

Many interesting points, which, however, cannot be dealt with here, are disclosed in those sections of the Report dealing with the right of investigation and the question of reciprocal control. But on the question of private manufacture of armaments there are a number of unsatisfactory features. It is difficult to follow the Commissioners in this section of the Report. They set out a damning indictment of private armament firms, but instead of drawing the conclusion that the practice must be abolished and settling down to consider how best to carry this out, they can neither recommend such abolition nor even advise on the steps to take to control it. They say they must content themselves with indicating some of the difficulties involved; and then follow eight obstacles to abolition and nine observations on the question of control. Of the obstacles to abolition it seems to us that some are real, some are mere debating points, and none insuperable. Of the observations on control, most in our view go to show how infinitely more difficult it would be to control the private manufacture of

armaments than to abolish it altogether. One, however, is the merest nonsense. It raises "the possibility of taking measures to prevent armament firms and companies or persons largely interested or holding responsible positions in such firms or companies, from owning, controlling, or unduly influencing the newspaper Press." How a body of serious statesmen blundered into embodying a consideration of this kind in a serious political document passes the understanding.

The remarks on the Traffic in Arms seem to us to be just and reasonable, and with these the Report concludes.

We hope we have not been too critical of the work of this Commission; we recognise that the problems it had before it were among the most difficult that exist, and we understand a certain measure of timidity in dealing with them. But we feel the failure of the Temporary Commission has proceeded less from these considerations than from the superficiality of the way in which it has done its work; and we resent an attempt to gloss this over by what are, in our view, a set of transparent excuses. It consorts very ill with the political standing of this body that it should conclude its Report with a plea against the "cruel injustice" of reproaching it "with not having yet completed its enquiry." The Commission elected to waste six months of the nine at its disposal in complete inactivity. It then met in a hurry, scrambled, somehow, through the fringes of its work, and now seeks to cover the paucity of its conclusions with sentiment and rhetoric. It can hardly blame us for visiting upon it the censure which it seeks to ward off.

"The inevitable conclusion," says the Commission, "is that Mankind is still too far removed from the ideal of peace." The inevitable conclusion, we prefer to say, is that the Governments of Europe are still sitting on the fence, and that it rests with their peoples to force them into the open and insist upon disarmament being seriously treated.

LEVEL THE BARRIERS.

THERE was once a time when Cicero could claim that a merely verbal assertion of Roman citizenship was a sufficient safeguard over most of the world as it was then known. Now, however, we no longer do as the Romans did, even in Rome. We sit behind our several national fences and regard with jealousy and suspicion the strangers within our gates and the prices on the goods they would sell us. We are even more suspicious than we were before the War. Before we came under the regenerating influence of Armageddon and the Peace Conference it was not necessary, if one belonged to one of the more modern and civilised peoples, to possess a passport in order to visit the territory of another. But the decline of individual liberties that accompanied the War, and the multiplication of local autonomies that came with the peace, have changed all that, and the Grand Tour is now an obstacle race of almost infinite subtlety and difficulty. It is, moreover, exceedingly expensive.

Against the passport system are all the interests

of all the peoples who suffer from it. To its defence the bureaucrats alone rally. The bureaucrats are attached to it for two reasons. First, it is a source of revenue; it imposes a tax which has the great and obvious advantage that it appears to be levied on foreigners, and therefore escapes some of the unpopularity which most other impositions inevitably incur. In reality, of course, the taxes are competitive and reciprocal; the idea that they fall on the foreigner is a foolish delusion, and the best way for the traveller to escape the imposition of other Governments is to put pressure on his own to abandon the system. The other reason why the bureaucrats cling to the passport system is that they have a fond belief that it enables them to keep under supervision, and in some cases out of their own country, criminals and political undesirables. In reality it never has served and never will efficiently serve any such purpose. We have only to read our daily papers to see that the stormy petrels of politics flit from country to country much as they please. The man who cannot escape the passport net will not prove very difficult to catch by other and much less clumsy means. The fact remains, however, that the system is somewhat of a convenience to our tax-gatherers and to our detectives. The question before the general public of all nations is whether they are going to study too closely the convenience of these persons at the expense of their own, and whether they will really allow themselves to be convinced that the new era, which they are constantly told is to be one of peace and international co-operation, really requires more drastic restrictions on travel than were deemed necessary in the old, unregenerate days.

The League of Nations has already done something in the matter, and it might very well do more. In 1920 it summoned a convention at Paris, which passed resolutions and addressed *questionnaires* to all the Member States asking whether they were prepared to accept the recommendations put forward. As a result, all those States have accepted the recommendations in part, and some of them have accepted them in full. The passport system in consequence is, and is likely to become, less costly and less burdensome than it was. From some of those replies, however, we get an illuminating confirmation of our argument that it is the profits of the system that attract the Governments of the day. One State in particular, which shall be nameless, replied that the state of its finances, which is indeed deplorable, necessitates the maintenance of its present scale of charges. If the League were to attack this question of charges again, it might strike an adroit blow at the whole system. If the fees for a passport and for a *visa* were reduced to zero, or to purely nominal amounts, the harassing of travellers would cease to be a self-supporting industry, and it would be left with its sole real motive, the clumsy and inept policeman's motive, certainly naked and very possibly ashamed.

The League of Nations is in a specially advantageous position to tackle an abuse like this, which affects not one or two nations, but all. It is difficult for any one Government, however well intentioned, to cut all the meshes of the net. At best it can only negotiate reciprocal arrangements with each of many other States. The League,

however, can suggest simultaneous reforms to all countries at once. If it can get, as it probably could get, the backing in advance of several of the larger and more important nations, it should have but little difficulty in levelling the barriers over a very large proportion of the world. It may be that there are countries where individual freedom is less firmly established than in others, and where the existing Governments have so much reason to fear for their position that they would not fall into line. There were always such countries, but before the War the other nations did not provide them with a convenient cloak for their misfortunes by descending to their level of suspicion and petty tyranny. There is no reason why we should do so now.

It may seem that it shows a lack of the sense of proportion to ask the League, which is principally concerned with the great issues of war and peace on which the future of civilisation depends, to attend to such matters of detail. But these larger issues turn in the main on the attitude of mind of the nations towards one another, and these frontier restrictions go to the very roots of our main problem. There are two possible and contending views of the world and of its constituent nations. According to one of them the nations are the ultimate units of society—units of law, of freedom, of security. When a man passes across the frontier of his own country, he passes into the jungle, and he is received almost as if he came out of the Zoo. He is protected only by the rules which their mutual convenience has led the nations to lay down, and by the powers which they all possess, by virtue either of their armaments or of their ability to retaliate in kind, to enforce observance of those rules. This is the view which finds expression in the increased rigidity of passport restrictions, and in the panic-stricken legislation against aliens with which we in this country have sullied since the War what was once a praiseworthy record in this respect.

This, however, is not the view of the League and of those who believe in it and work for it. They hold rather that, although the nation has, and must always have, a vital and important place in the structure of our common life, there is a larger unit than the nation. They realise that for countless purposes the world must be regarded as one place, that to science, trade and industry its frontiers exist only as nuisances. They have learned in short that civilisation has outgrown its mediæval political structure, and that if civilisation is to be preserved that structure must be adapted to the needs of the time. There are barriers real enough and serious enough which divide humanity, barriers of race and colour, of language and tradition, of bitter memories and urgent fears. Against those barriers the League has to contend as best it can. Some of them it can scarcely hope to pull down, it can only trust that in time they will seem less important; others it may more quickly level. There is no reason, however, why nations that wish to trade with one another and to know each other better should be kept apart by a morass of parchment and red tape, however dear it be to the hearts of a niggling officialdom; and the League would have the universal support of public opinion if it set itself to clear all this lumber away.

A Question of the Hour. GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE.

By HAMILTON FYFE.

I WRITE this in Germany. I am revisiting, for the first time since 1914, the country in which I have so often spent happy holidays. I am renewing acquaintance with the people from whom I received in the past so much kindness and for whose character I have a sincere respect. Their pleasant country is the same as ever; they merit even greater admiration than before, since they are struggling against a strong stream of difficulties.

There are, of course, unpleasant people in Germany, plenty of them, just as there are in England and in every country. There are profiteers—*Schieber* they call them, and *Wucherer*—who behave very much as our profiteers do. There are rude men and ill-mannered women. But they are few. I have scarcely come across any. From all classes I have met with kindness and even friendliness. I find that almost everybody is ready to sink memories of the war. If they are unable to do this, it is because the so-called victors will not allow them to do so.

"Well," some may say, "why should they be allowed to do so? They caused all the trouble. It is right that they should be made to remember their guilt."

If anyone believes that, argument with him or her would be useless. So many opportunities of learning the truth about the causes of the war have been given by this time that anyone who still repeats the old formula must be impervious to reason. Or else they have never taken the trouble to examine into the matter and, therefore, in Coleridge's phrase, only "believe they believe." In either case they would not be likely to change their opinion, whatever facts might be laid before them.

But all intelligent people who know and perform their duty as citizens of a democratic State (part of which duty is to strive after correct judgment in political affairs) are aware by now that all governments were to blame for the disaster which befell us and that all peoples are equally to be pitied for being mishandled and deceived. Therefore, all peoples must as quickly as possible draw nearer together, helping one another to get over the results of the catastrophe and to make sure that it shall not happen again.

That, we believe, can be accomplished by making the League of Nations a reality. It can never be a reality until, at any rate, all the European nations have joined it; therefore, we ought to do all we can to interest the Germans in it and to get their powerful driving-force behind it. To contribute my mite towards this end is one of the motives of my visit to Germany. I find the difficulties are greater than I supposed they would be.

Not many Germans have any belief at all in the League. "How can we," they ask, "believe in

an institution which allows such shameful injustice to be done to us? Which has not even protested against such a barbarity as the employment of black troops in the occupied territory? Which allows French politicians to avow openly their desire to 'keep Germany down'?"

I find that it is the sense of injustice which embitters German minds more than the weight of the penalties imposed. They speak constantly of the "deceit" which induced them to accept President Wilson's Fourteen Points as the basis of peace and which then cynically threw aside the understanding so as to make a Treaty that was, as President Wilson put it, "a mad (*i.e.*, an angry) Treaty" instead of a sane and statesmanlike aid towards setting the European system in motion once more. They feel also very sorely the insult and the contempt implied by the quartering of black troops in the Rhineland. By this, they maintain, the French have done more to throw back civilisations than was done during the whole course of the war. The *Schwartzes Schande*, they term it—the black disgrace. There are placards up asking the people not to forget it; there are hundreds of thousands of children being taught to hate the French for this and to long for revenge upon them. It would have been well had this been spoken of during the sittings of the Assembly. Even an expression of opinion would have been useful.

In all the political pamphlets which are being so much read in Germany I have found scarcely any sign that the old diplomatic ideas have yet been superseded by the new belief in a society of Peoples based, as are societies of individuals, upon respect for law and upon consideration for the rights of others. The writers of these pamphlets (and I suppose the readers too) are still thinking in terms of alliances and the balancing of interests and the setting of this or that combination against some other. It is taken for granted that there are bound to be more wars, on which the Germans will merely look on and by which they will benefit. For the expectation is that Britain and the United States and Japan and France will in turn destroy one another!

All this has an oddly antiquated sound, but such views will certainly prevail until the Germans are convinced that the League has a future and that in it lies the only hope of peace and civilisation. There is in Berlin an association like ours for the spreading of interest in the League; I shall pay the office a visit when I go to the north. I have no doubt it is doing its best, but its task is hard and we ought to give it all the help we can. We can help by correcting false notions about the war and its causes, by visiting Germany and showing that we are "people of good-will," by endeavouring to strengthen the healthy influences within the League and to counteract the poisonous endeavours which would make it an organ of perpetual hates. Much depends upon the decision as to Upper Silesia. If that should be given for political rather than for judicial reasons, the Germans will have less faith in the League than ever. If a just judgment is pronounced, the effect will be excellent everywhere, and in the United States not less than in Germany; we shall have an argument with unbelievers which will really cut ice.

THE LEAGUE IN PARLIAMENT.

THE political holiday gives us a chance of seeing how the League has fared in the hands of its friends and foes in the House of Commons during the past six months. Turning over the pages of the Parliamentary Reports one is struck by the continual lively fire of questions about it.

The aims of the enquirers are various, but they may be roughly classified as being prompted by one of three main motives. First, a simple desire for information upon what the League is doing; secondly, a suspicion that the Government is not doing its best by it, or a fear that the prerogatives of the House of Commons are being lost sight of in the new complications which the League has introduced into Government machinery. The third type of question, greatly favoured by Sir J. D. Rees, Major Christopher Lowther and Mr. Bottomley, is launched with intent to make the League ridiculous. This kind is apt to act rather like a boomerang. It is as welcome to the League's friends as any other sign of a thirst for knowledge.

In fact, the more questions our M.P.s ask the better. They all add their contribution to the active interest on which the League thrives.

Early in the session Mr. Ormsby-Gore did useful service by obtaining from the Prime Minister a promise that copies of all League Reports and Resolutions should be placed in the House of Commons Library. It is much to be hoped that members make use of them, because the one real criticism that can be made upon some of the questions is that they too often show an ignorance of facts. There was a really ludicrous instance of this during a brisk skirmish in February on the subject of Parliament's control over the terms of Mandates, when Major Archer-Shee asked Mr. Bonar Law whether he were aware that if a Mandate were not accepted the nation refusing ceases to belong to the League of Nations. It would be interesting to know from what clause of the Treaty or Covenant the gallant Major derived this impression.

Mr. Bonar Law did not take the trouble to correct it. He had his hands full in defending the Government's refusal to submit the terms of Great Britain's draft Mandates to the House. The fire of attack was frequently renewed at Question Time during the following weeks. In April Lord Robert Cecil and the Prime Minister had a duel on this subject, in which Lord Robert unfortunately failed to carry his point. But the pertinacity of the private members should never be thought of as wasted time even when it fails of success. Governments will always be tempted to build sacred enclosures behind which they can carry on the processes of diplomacy which they insist on making mysterious. They need to be perpetually reminded that the Covenant of the League cannot be turned into one of these. Nothing could be more useful to this end than the questions and debates on such subjects as Mandates, or the Government's intentions with regard to the Ratifications of Labour Conventions, which have been fully noticed in previous articles of this series. It is earnestly to be hoped that the House of Commons will show itself more and more determined to pull down the barriers and let the light of day into the secret places where wars are hatched and matured.

B. D.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, September, 1921.

AMONG those here for the Assembly there are some disposed to adapt the words of the Pharisee and offer up thanks that the month of September is not as other months. To extract a plain picture and clear conclusions from weeks of debate in the Assembly, in the Council, in the five public Commissions, and from an avalanche of documents on an extraordinary array of international questions, is almost like shaping a world out of chaos. Shaking the shoulders clear of subsidiary yet still important material, it is possible to get some broad perspective. This is in any case a remarkable gathering. You can dip your finger into it and pull out almost any sort of surprise packet; you can find idealism or materialism, co-operation or intrigue, candour or secrecy, and justify any one of them by evidence. There are delegations to whose actions and utterances you instinctively apply the question "What are they getting at?" There are others who hardly take the trouble to cloak their definite aims. You can, for instance, always count on the loyalty of the Little Entente to France; when father says "Turn," they all turn. Nor has the League buried nationalism. It is true that through the flourish, eloquence, and *naïveté* of the East, the caution of the West and sometimes its earnestness, there has breathed undying devotion to the ideals of the League, yet this does not prevent a Greek from emphasising the necessity for victory over the Turks, a Pole from declaiming that Poland cannot accept the proposed settlement of the Vilna question; Bolivia from threatening to withdraw if she does not get her own way in her dispute with Chile; Serbians from preserving their hard sayings for Albania. Nationalism is a living force, and the important fact is that the Assembly brings it out into the open and acts as a safety-valve.

The three big events so far have been the election of judges for the Permanent Court of International Justice—the most notable piece of constructive work which the League has yet accomplished; the virtual solution of the Mandates problem, which in effect institutes from now onwards a system of safeguards which confers upon natives their first Magna Charta; and the Assembly debate on the Vilna question, in which the Assembly ranged itself unanimously behind the Council in its effort to bring the disputants to a reasonable frame of mind. It is difficult to recall any instance in history where a gathering of over forty States, diplomatically represented, has exercised such moral pressure upon two nations after they have appeared before it in an endeavour to justify their failure to reach agreement. No exchange of diplomatic notes could provide an equivalent to this sort of diplomacy, and it should be difficult for two self-respecting States to resist a moral manifestation of such a kind, despite the unfortunate minimising effect of a speech by M. Bourgeois. This demonstration was primarily due to the skill and foresight of Lord Robert Cecil.

There is a great deal of lobbying, notably by the South American States in the election of judges, but independent arbiters immediately set to work upon them and endeavour to keep them under control in shallow waters. These points in some ways illustrate both the shortcomings and the virtues of the Assembly. The Assembly has often been described as an international Parliament. It is and it isn't. It is a Parliament somewhat in the sense that an Assembly of borough officials would be a national Parliament, always excluding the mayors, for there is no single Prime Minister at Geneva. It is an Assembly of Governments, and by this very fact it is much more

of the character of a great diplomatic Congress than of a Parliament. There is no Cabinet and there is no Opposition. The fundamental importance of the Assembly is that it brings together nearly fifty States not only to advance matters of common concern, but to come into the open and to subject themselves to the influence and persuasion of their sister States in the full, or nearly full, gaze of the public opinion of the world. It is no use denying that the Assembly still meets under limitations imposed by the attitude of the United States, though there is certainly this year evidence of a greater spirit of independence and of a desire to forge ahead. Everybody must recognise that America's attitude towards the League is holding up effectual progress in many directions, including Disarmament, Mandates, Health, White Slave Traffic, and Opium. The pity is that there are delegations who are inclined to make use of these difficulties as excuses.

The general debate on the Annual Report to the Council was a little disappointing except for two or three utterances. Lord Robert Cecil made some impressive allusions to the urgent necessity of progress in disarmament, and he was supported by a well-reasoned speech from M. Lange, one of the Norwegian delegates. Another notable contribution was the massive handling of the Russian Famine question by Dr. Nansen, who still remains, with Lord Robert Cecil, one of the chief figures of the Assembly with the one aim of interpreting the Covenant and nothing else. M. Bourgeois rallied to Lord Robert Cecil's plea for all possible publicity, but one of the outstanding misfortunes about this second Assembly has been the consistent effort of the French delegation to hold up some of the chief tasks. This has been obvious both in the Assembly and in the Commissions. M. Viviani has not uttered a word except to advocate stagnation on armaments and regulation of conditions for the exercise of the Economic Weapon. M. Hanotaux attempted unsuccessfully, against the spirited opposition of Mr. Balfour, to prevent even an unpolitical question like that of a Convention on the Traffic in Women and Children from going forward for signature by the States, and deduced some inexplicable arguments on the basis of super-State legislation, which Mr. Balfour disposed of with the utmost ease. The French abstained from voting for the admission of Lithuania; they made reservations on the resolution urging the Supreme Council to provide for an independent national home for Armenia; they made reservations, too, on Professor Gilbert Murray's indication of the lines upon which the Committee to be set up for the International Co-ordination of Intellectual Work might pursue its studies; and they exerted their influence to postpone action on Albania's appeal. Some of this may be explained by a desire to wait upon the American attitude, some of it by the clearly defined policy of the French Government, and some of it is inexplicable. Generally speaking, the British delegation has contributed far more useful work this year than last—with the notable exception of Mr. Fisher in the Armaments Commission—and Mr. Balfour's position, coupled with his reputation as a European statesman, has been one of great authority. My impression of the Assembly so far is that it has not revealed quite enough of the courage expected from the small States, that it needs a stiffening in the personnel of the delegations, that the ties binding the Great Powers to particular solutions are beginning to loosen, that it is becoming a more homogeneous body developing a more corporate sense, and that it is determined to carry on, if with some caution. It is more businesslike on the whole, but it is becoming plainer than ever that its great value is not so much in actual achievement as in the provision of driving force to the whole organisation.

Makers of History.

Dr. NANSEN: The Task and the Man.

By G. H. MAIR.

ON one occasion many years ago Sir Henry Irving was being entertained at the Savage Club. The club's previous guest had been Dr. Nansen, and the Chairman was so impressed by the recollection of him that he could talk to the great actor about nothing else. Sir Henry, who liked to be in the centre

of his own stage, maintained a bored silence until, pressed for his personal opinion of the explorer, he was induced to remark: "Stands the cold well I should think." This classical anecdote represents very well the sort of public attitude which was adopted towards Dr. Nansen at that time. His experiences were eagerly listened to, especially by the young, whose imagination was fired by an enthusiasm which had been dormant in Europe since the days of Sir John Franklin, and his endurance of hardship was marvelled at, but he easily slipped out of public notice, and when he became the first Norwegian Minister to London on the separation of the Scandinavian Crowns he lived in town almost unseen. To-day it is safe to say that his name and even his presence are familiar to a larger number of human

beings in Europe than the name and presence of any other single man. Surely that is an astonishing fact. Already he has repatriated close on four hundred thousand prisoners of war, who would still undoubtedly be languishing in prison camps if it were not for his efforts, and he is the one solitary hope of millions of people who, in Russia and on the borders of Poland, are faced with imminent death by starvation.

A career with such a result is remarkable enough, but it is still more remarkable since it has been none of Dr. Nansen's choosing. To hear him talk about himself, and he talks quite simply and unaffectedly, as big men of action do, you would imagine that he was a rather ill-used man of science whom a malign fate keeps snatching from his laboratory, just when he is on the point of discovering something interesting, and thrusting into a situation which would be much better handled by the fire brigade. He began life tranquilly as a biologist. His health broke down, and he was urgently ordered complete rest and fresh air; so, as he said to me one day, "I went to Greenland and walked across it." It had never been done before, and Dr. Nansen, who had left Norway the victim of a rest cure, came back with the acknowledged eminence of an explorer. The North Pole expedition followed inevitably, and afterwards, as an inevitable consequence, the years of travel all round the world lecturing of the experiences of the expedition. And still it was impossible for Dr. Nansen to settle down, for next he was wanted as a

diplomatist, and sent to represent his country here when it became a separate kingdom. That phase passed, and just before the war he made another gallant effort to get back to science again, when an expedition was fitted out to make oceanographical investigations in the deep seas. The war and the mine-fields killed that, and Dr. Nansen was just about to begin it again in the summer of 1920 when the League of Nations caught him up, and has held him ever since.

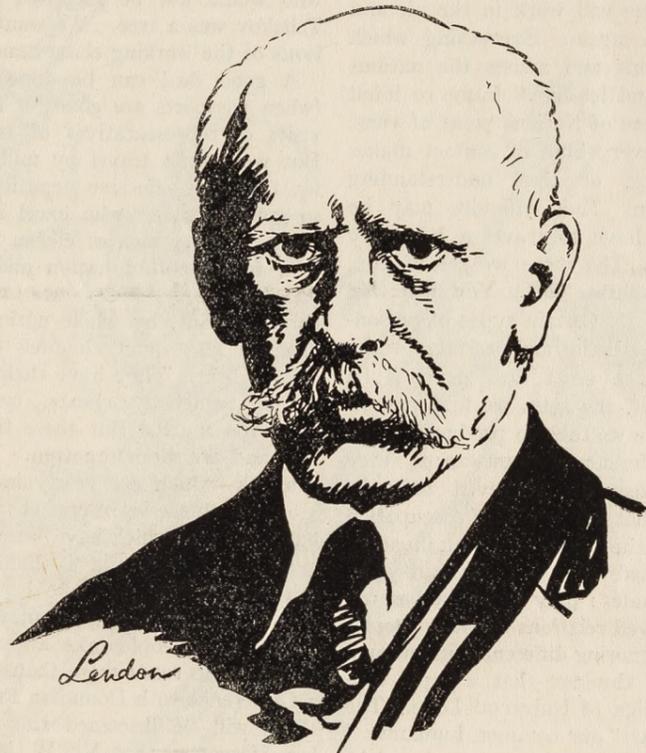
In some ways I think he is the most valuable of its possessions, towering above most of the Members of the Assembly in height, and, as I think they would themselves

agree, above all of them in his love of action, in his capacity for seizing a situation rapidly, and in his utter disregard for anything which has not got a plan in it which can be worked. His impatience of the elaborate speech-making at the last Assembly was delightful to watch. In a genial, but quite decisive, way he hates all lawyers, orators, and committees, especially committees. When the Armenian Question was discussed last year he was to the forefront with a definite plan, and with an estimate of the cost of it. His scorn of those who had not, was manifest.

The rapidity with which he repatriated hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war is fresh in everybody's memory. His mobility was astonishing. You would hear of him in the Gulf of Finland at one moment, then at Berlin, then in the Caucasus, then

in the Balkans, stinging reluctant and dilatory officials into unprecedented activity by the mere force of his personality and his presence. When the Red Cross Societies took up the question of Russian famine relief, and entrusted it to him, he was in Moscow and had made his arrangements complete before the first mutter of the multitude who saw a concession to Bolshevism in a gift of bread and soup, had had time to make itself heard. To the objectors who urge prudence when they meant delay he replied quite simply that if he were to wait the people he was sent to help would all be dead. It will take the objections of someone as formidable as himself to deter him from his purpose, and I do not quite know where such a person is to be found.

There are some people who in the conduct of life, like Carpentier in the art of boxing, are so made that the interval between thought and its resulting action is shorter than it is in the majority of men. Dr. Nansen is one of these. Like Macbeth, the firstlings of his heart are the firstlings of his hand. He would be a good man to be with in a fight, and during the Assembly, when one used to see his stalwart and upright figure striding through the streets of Geneva with an overcoat thrown over his shoulders (for he never seemed to have either time or use for sleeves) one felt that as it is by its action and the solidity and concreteness of the achievements of the League that it will be judged, there was no one of the brilliant and eloquent crowd of orators and politicians who could not, if the need were, be spared before him.



SPORT AS A BOND BETWEEN NATIONS.

By J. C. SQUIRE.

THE machinery of the League of Nations has been established and the League has begun to work. But politics are the material it works in, and politics, except at moments of crises, are not an intense interest to everybody. Without other agencies for bringing peoples into friendly relations with each other the League will work in the air and may prove unequal to a strain. Everything which foments such good relations and assists the nations of the world to a "live and let live" frame of mind is useful from a pure League of Nations point of view.

It is obvious that not every kind of contact makes for mutual understanding, or that understanding invariably breeds affection. *Tout entendre* may be *tout pardonner*, but you have to travel a long way before you get to that. "The more we see of you, the less we like you" is a phrase which reflects certain experiences we have all had. Certain types of personality are mutually antipathetic and certain traits generally obnoxious. But a great deal depends on the way in which we meet, the sides we first present to each other, and the care we take to produce a good impression. What a difference circumstances may make where different races are involved may be illustrated by the fact that an army of occupation usually makes friends with the people whilst an invading army is usually worse hated when it goes than when it comes. These are platitudes: only necessary because those who advocate improved relations between peoples are commonly accused of ignoring differences in national character and aim and of thinking that a paper constitution can produce a reign of Universal Love. The fact remains, however, that "our common humanity" is not an empty phrase, and that granted the right meeting-ground and a common purpose, national differences, like class differences and individual differences, will often disappear or remain merely as a pleasant spice to the encounter.

If the League of Nations is to work it must be not merely supported by the Governments but reinforced by a network of subordinate relations. Economic and financial relations are not enough. There were before the war some who said that these relations would make war impossible; the international financiers would forbid it. But dependent though the nations are upon each other, and complicated though their material links may be, this sort of relation is largely non-human. It does not bring the ordinary citizen of one country into personal contact with the ordinary citizen of another, and it does not impress his imagination. International conferences on Postal Rates and the Use of White Lead in Industry were valuable and were no doubt salutary to those who took part in them; but what man in the street ever heard of them or ever will hear of them? As much may be said of our International Congresses of Medicine, Chemistry, Physics and so on. They are useful as far as they go; they bring a few savants together on common ground, amicably assisting each other to promote the knowledge or the welfare of mankind. But a Medical Congress

in Vienna is barely realized even by the ordinary medical practitioner, much less by the publican and the railway porter. The influence of Literature and Art is far wider than deeper. Tolstoy and the Russian Ballet have done far more to prevent hundreds of thousands of English people thinking of the Russians as a nation of monsters than any number of learned bodies could have done. Yet even here we are still on the fringe of the general population; Hobbs and Mr. Chaplin (in himself, by the way, a valuable link between England and America) are known to millions who would not be surprised if they were told that Tchekov was a tree. We want to get at the imaginations of the working classes and the petite bourgeoisie.

A good deal can be done by the encouragement (when passports are gone) of travel and by organized visits of representatives of trades and local bodies. But we cannot travel by millions, and in our search for the most effective deputies we shall find nothing so good as those who excel in sports. It is not so much that six men or eleven men meet six or eleven men from another nation and fraternise. It is that sporting competitions are watched, physically or through print, by whole nations; and that they also canalize into quiet channels the desires to compete and to beat. They have their dangers. "Incidents" occur. Somebody cheats, or loses his temper, or talks too much. But these things are comparatively rare and are soon forgotten. The grand type of these contests—which are yearly increasing in number and scope—is the series of cricket matches between England and Australia which have been proceeding for the last generation. Australia is half the world away; no other means would make her, and her men, so real and human. We may or may not approve of it, but a thousand people take an interest in Test matches for one who reads more than the headlines concerning a Conference with Dominion Premiers, and Armstrong's slows will be discussed this winter by people who have forgotten that Mr. W. M. Hughes exists.

Every chance of increasing this sort of competition and contact should be seized. The other day there was reported in the English Press the first important cricket match in Berlin: a game between Berlin and Holland. Apparently the players were not great stylists nor the spectators great experts, but the important British newspaper which printed a jeering report of the match was guilty of gross folly. If only the German University student and subaltern had learnt cricket thirty years ago! Conceive what the situation would have been in July 1914 had a series of Anglo-German Test matches been proceeding here. Possibly it wouldn't have staved off the war, but it would certainly have given the agencies for peace a better atmosphere to work in; and the newspaper readers of both countries, to put it no higher, might have refused to contemplate an interruption of the Rubber. The hypothesis may sound fantastic. So fifteen years ago would have sounded the suggestion that in 1920 France would nearly beat England at Rugby Football. This winter, I am told, a half a million French men and boys will be playing the game, and this almost certainly means that in the near future France will get her first victory over us. In that event we shall, as a nation, admire and respect the French more than ever before.



[Telegraaf]

[Amsterdam.]

LORD ROBERT CECIL in the League of Nations: No more secret diplomacy—publicity must be the order of the day!

Correspondence.

IN SUPPORT OF WASHINGTON.
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I am sure I am not the only member of the League for Nations' Union who wants to take a hand in helping to make the Washington Conference on Disarmament a real success.

Could not our Executive Committee give us a lead? Might not every branch of the Union through the length and breadth of the land be urged to collect our signatures for a monster united petition to the Government to send their very best men to Washington, and to give them instructions to insist on an all-round reduction of armaments, which will free us from the haunting fear of another great war.

Surely we could strengthen the hands of our statesmen for this great work by mobilising ourselves behind them. Our League of Nations' Union is a splendid instrument to do service for the League of Nations. Here is our chance to clear a bit of the road for our representatives who are toiling in Geneva—the road that leads to the haven of Peace.

The League has told us that progress along it must be painful and slow until the three great Powers, America, Japan, and our own Empire, have trampled down the obstacles and reduced their armies and navies. Therefore we who fix our faith upon the League understand what great issues will hang in the balance for us at Washington. But does everybody understand it? I doubt it. I have met people who seem to think that the Washington Conference is a slap in the face for the League. Cannot our Union dispel this sad mistake by showing how we welcome it and how seriously we work for its success?

There are many people who would join our Union if it offered them this opportunity of "doing their bit" for disarmament now. Let us strike while the iron is hot!—Yours, &c.,

COVENANTER.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I was much moved when I read the magnificent statement beginning, "Gentlemen, an international event of highest political and moral significance has just taken place," of M. Van Karnebeek, President of the Second Assembly, speaking of the birth of the International Court of Justice.

For the benefit of those who through fear of being labelled "progressivist," or through a not altogether unwilling faith in the immutability of human nature, are apt to under-estimate the importance of this event or to doubt the efficacy of the Court to enforce its judgments, it may not be inopportune to remind them of the peaceful settlement reached over the great Alabama dispute, where the two greatest nations of the world were concerned and to recall the comment of Mr. Gladstone on the issue thereof (taken from a speech delivered in the House of Commons, June 15, 1880):—

"Although I may think the sentence was harsh in its extent, and unjust in its basis, I regard the fine imposed on this country as dust in the balance compared with the moral value of the example set when these two great nations of England and America—which are among the most fiery and most jealous in the world with regard to anything that touches national honour—went in peace and concord before a judicial tribunal rather than resort to the arbitrament of the sword."

In 1880 world public opinion hardly existed, and there was certainly no permanent Court—and yet war was prevented. Is there no hope for peace then, Mr. Sceptic, now that public opinion has proved its strength, and that we have a permanent Court of International Justice?

I think that even Mr. Sceptic must agree that there is hope, but we, on the other hand, must admit that that hope depends for its realisation on the strength of public opinion—the greater the strength the greater the hope—and public opinion, my masters, depends on us.—Yours, &c.,

A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS' UNION.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR I see the much talked of Permanent Court of International Justice has now been constituted, and that the judges have been elected. This is all to the good provided the judges are people in whom the world in general can have confidence. But, reading the list of names, I am struck by the fact that I seem never to have heard of any of them before except Lord Finlay. No doubt this is because foreign judges for obvious reasons are not much written of in this country, but would it not be possible for HEADWAY to give us some particulars about these gentlemen so that we may know their qualifications and have the necessary confidence in them when we hear that a case has been given to them for decision.—Yours, &c.,

AMICUS CURIAE.

[We propose next month to satisfy our correspondent's very laudable curiosity by giving brief biographies of the eleven Judges and four deputy Judges of the permanent Court of International Justice.—ED. HEADWAY.]

Book Reviews.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

MY MEMOIRS. By PRINCE LUDWIG WINDISCHGRAETZ
Allen & Unwin. 18s.

IF the Austro-Hungarian State is to rise again, it is clear beyond doubt, from Prince Windischgraetz' Memoirs, that it is only from the ashes of its dead self that it can rise. So crazy a structure as it was, built on enormous, ever-turbulent minorities and a handful of ambitious and scheming politicians could not have withstood a storm far less destructive than that of the Great War.

The writer of this book—the son of a soldier father, whose father in turn, a Field-Marshal, had put down the '48 Revolution in Vienna, Prague, and Budapest—shows throughout his Memoirs the ultimate belief in force, the passionate faith in nationality, characteristic of the Hungarian soldier. Despite this, his political opinions, his understanding of his political opponents, reveal a judgment and lack of bias rarely found in one of his class and nationality.

Returning from the Russo-Japanese war, where he served as an A.D.C., he threw himself into the arena of Hungarian party politics, then dominated by the question of national military development.

He fought on the Hungarian side in the Balkan War, gaining there a clear insight into the Monarchy's lack of political orientation in those countries. He complains bitterly how, at this time, and throughout the following tragic years, Hungarian and Austrian politicians occupied themselves so exclusively with petty domestic questions that the vital importance of a right foreign policy was entirely lost.

Windischgraetz himself is convinced that wise dealings in the Balkans, and especially with Serbia and the Southern Slavs, might have changed the Monarchy's fate in the war.

The continual strife between Hungary and Austria, between Bohemia with both, fell only temporarily into abeyance at the outbreak of war and under the influence of the universal war enthusiasm that seized the people, wearied out by bitter party and national feuds. Almost immediately the same strife reasserted itself and pursued its fatal course down to the final destruction of Austria-Hungary. Never for a week was a united front at home or in the line, presented to the Allies. The worsting of a political opponent, or political advancement of any kind, seemed to have loomed larger in the Parliaments of both countries than any victory or defeat on their far-flung fronts. The Supreme Command arrogated to itself all power, acting without reference whatsoever to either Parliament. It went so far as to give strict orders that the Foreign Office was to receive only doctored communiqués. Amongst themselves the Command fought and intrigued, and even issued contradictory orders to the troops.

Prince Windischgraetz gives a strange and absorbing account of his time in the line. He saw service on almost all fronts. The lack of organisation, the complete lack of support for the men in the line on the part of the authorities was staggering.

Throughout this time the Vienna Press was systematically deceived, and the Parliaments kept in the dark wherever possible.

In 1918, Windischgraetz accepted the post of Hungarian Minister of Food under Wekerle, and from that time on he was very deeply implicated in the political crises of the Monarchy. His influence was great with the young King Karl, by whom he was on several occasions asked to form a Cabinet, though he steadfastly

THE BIBLE I USE ON THE LABRADOR

By Dr. WILFRED T. GRENFELL, C.M.G.,
Medical Missionary to the Deep Sea Fishermen of Labrador.

I am often asked to say why I prefer the TWENTIETH CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT to other versions. The reason is simple and easily stated—I understand it better!

I have read passages from the TWENTIETH CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT to audiences in both England and America, and have had doctors, lawyers, and college presidents of the most conservative type ask me what version I had used and where they could obtain a copy.

As I grow older, of one thing I grow more certain: It is that the most useful and happy men in this world are those who, prayerfully and intelligently, read their Bible for themselves. I am absolutely sure that familiarity with the Bible adds a permanent power to a man's life. It is the one and only book holding out any hope for the realisation of a permanent world-peace.

Moreover, I want to understand my Bible, and I want everyone else to understand it, too.

THAT IS WHY I USE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT for my Bible on the Labrador.

The Twentieth Century New Testament

A Translation into Modern English from the Original Greek (Westcott's and Hort's Text).

Popular Edition ... 7½ by 5 by ¾ ...	Cloth boards	3 0 net.
Ordinary Edition ... 7½ by 5 by 1 ...	Cloth boards	3 6 net.
Ordinary Edition ... 7½ by 5 by 1 ...	Leather	6 0 net.
Presentation Edition ... 7½ by 5 by ¾ ...	Green Calf	7 6 net.
on India paper ...		
Large Type Edition, For Home or Pulpit ... 10 by 6 by 1½ ...	Cloth boards	5 0 net.
Pocket Edition ... 5½ by 3½ by ¾ ...	Cloth boards	3 6 net.
on thin paper ...		

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION,
57 & 59, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C. 4.
And all Booksellers.

Have YOU Read It?
NATURE ALL THE YEAR ROUND

By
J. ARTHUR THOMSON, M.A., LL.D.
(Professor of Natural History, Aberdeen University.)

With 52 Illustrations specially drawn for this work
by Alice M. Davidson, and coloured Frontispiece.
Crown 4to. 12s. 6d. net. Cloth boards. Postage 1s. extra.

What the Press says:—

The Spectator says:—"Prof. Thomson is a learned naturalist, who is also a most engaging writer. . . . Nothing could be better of its kind. The facts are accurately stated, and the style is simple and clear. The illustrations by Miss Alice M. Davidson are drawn with unusual care. . . . Professor Thomson has rare skill in description and in the exposition of scientific principles."

The Times says:—"The distinguished Aberdeen Professor has a singular faculty for popularising Natural History."

The Glasgow Herald says:—"Such 'talks,' intended to give guidance and suggestions to teachers of 'Nature Study,' are Professor Thomson's speciality."

The Christian World says:—"For every week in the year Professor Thomson provides a deeply interesting talk. . . . It will help the wise parent or teacher to talk to children with sound knowledge about Nature. Dr. Thomson takes a broad view of his subject, and often writes fascinatingly."

ORDER TO-DAY.

LONDON:
THE PILGRIM PRESS, 16, Pilgrim Street, E.C.4.
And of all Booksellers.

IN THESE HARD TIMES.

The Bible Society is in serious straits. While the demands on its resources constantly increase, the production of its books has become alarmingly expensive. Its huge popular editions now cost the Society three or four times as much as they did before the war.

This has compelled the Committee reluctantly to increase the prices charged for most of the books. Yet, in spite of the increase, these books are entailing a far heavier loss than they did in 1914. Then, for instance, the cheapest English Bible was priced at 6d., and involved a loss of 1d.; to-day, the same book is priced at 2s., which means a loss of 6d. per copy.

In these hard times, the Bible Society is passing through a very severe financial strain. The Committee must either materially curtail its operations, or they must at once largely increase its annual income. Surely, in a world so full of evil and misery and confusion, this is not the time for reducing the circulation of the Word of God.

The Committee, therefore, earnestly appeal to their friends everywhere to join them in raising the Society's income by £75,000 above that received last year. They have faith that lovers of the Bible in all lands will unite in responding to this appeal—so that the Society be not hindered in providing the Scriptures for those who need them to-day more than ever.

Send a gift to the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C. 4.

ALL THINKING MEN

and women are earnestly
asked to help the work of

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
WAIFS & STRAYS SOCIETY

Over 25,000 children rescued and trained. 4,200 now in the Homes. Gifts gratefully received and further information gladly supplied by Secretary, Rev. W. Fowell Swann, M.A., Old Town Hall, Kennington Road, London, S.E. 11. Bankers: Messrs. Barclay, Ltd., Kennington.

THE RACE MARCHES
FORWARD ON THE FEET
OF LITTLE CHILDREN

refused to do this. The task of the Food Minister from that date became one of the most onerous. Austria was almost entirely dependent upon Hungarian food supplies. Hungary had only a small surplus herself. On the one side the King was urgent for supplies to Vienna and the Austrian Highlands, which were rapidly nearing starvation, and on the other, every waggon of food leaving Hungary brought violent attacks on Windischgrätz' head. When the armies of the Monarchy were breaking up on every front, there seemed insufficient rations to last another month. The Prince only obtained extra supplies from Germany by promises that his shattered and disintegrated battalions would attack again on the Piave.

The history of the last months of the war are tragically illuminating. Politicians rise and fall. Tisza, Czernin, Karolyi, Andrassy, Apponyi, Pallavicini come and go upon the scene. Karl and his friends seek desperately for men to save the Monarchy from the ruin which is imminent.

Windischgrätz himself, at an early date, realised that the war was lost, that an immediate peace was the only hope of salvaging something from the universal wreckage. He realised, too, the imperative necessity of ceding to the discontented minorities the self-government for which they had so long striven. But all the work of Karl and Windischgrätz and Andrassy fell in ruins piece by piece as Karolyi, first leading and then dragged by the headlong rush of the Hungarian revolutionaries, precipitated the Monarchy to ruin. To the very end the Prince struggled to rescue something from the wreckage, but complete débâcle followed swiftly and surely.

Unable any longer to steer the course of events in his own country, he went to Berne as head of a section of a Foreign Office, whose power was a mere shadow; and from that time onwards he was the object of incessant persecution by the agents of the Bolsheviki Government in Budapest, against which he had fought incessantly.

The whole book is fascinating. The writer gives so vivid a picture of the chaotic events of those years, so intimate an account of the characters and meteoric careers of the famous Hungarian and Austrian statesmen, that one's interest never wavers. His own political views are extraordinarily interesting. He is an independent in the truest sense of the word. His real belief in democracy (as is shown in his statement that "the social order of the Central Powers before the war had proved its absolute unreality and futility, that the classes which had guided the destiny of the Danube Monarchies for centuries were not equal to their task. The work of reconstruction must be carried out by the help of new forces, and a more sterling genius. This genius is available. It has shown its gigantic strength for five whole years in the trenches and at home. What was accomplished was by the masses"), his conviction that Central Europe stands or falls by Free Trade—in its widest interpretation—by real international co-operation—lead one to optimism which seems, perhaps, excessive when he tells us that "it is childish to believe that sane, able-bodied peoples, such as the Tirolese or the Hungarians, can be rendered powerless by petty armament limitations," or "that the old Monarchy's misguided Foreign policy barred the six million Serbian people's way to the sea. Such a policy was a direct incentive to the World War. To-day twenty million Austrians and Hungarians are cut off from the sea. We are poor and helpless. For the present we must bear our cross." But these threats must be interpreted in the light of Central Europe's present misery. A proud and militarist race cannot forever bear the burdens and humiliations of the Treaty of St. Germain. It is only when Hungary qualifies for admission to the League, her unhappy and angry people will find a peaceful solution to their present troubles. A. E. M.

A FRENCH JURIST LOOKS AT THE LEAGUE.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS ET LA FRANCE. By RENE BRUNET. Paris, Recueil Sirey 22, Rue Soufflot.

M. RENE BRUNET, Professor of the Faculty of Law at Caen, has made an important contribution to the bibliography of the League of Nations. The purpose of his book, he says, is to break down the barriers of ignorance and prejudice which surround the subject, and show to his countrymen how peculiarly to the better interests of France it is to play a great and active part in the League of Nations.

His account of the organisation of the League is good. He has the art of presenting his facts in an easily read and pleasant narrative form. His classification of the International Labour Office amongst the technical organisations of the League is, however, of questionable accuracy. The International Labour Organisation occupies a position all of its own. Like the League itself, it has its own written constitution, the Labour Covenant.

Chapter II. carries the narrative forward to July, 1921, in the same luminous and easy manner. The section on Mandates is critical of the League's inactivity, but, as it omits to mention the great responsibility of the United States for that inactivity, it is perhaps hardly fair to the League.

Chapter III. on the general characteristics of the League is a really admirable piece of analytical writing, logically and clearly presented. It will dissipate many misconceptions.

Chapter IV. discusses the future of the League. The most important section is that which deals with the universality of the League and with partial and regional understandings. The author is cautious about prophecy in connection with the admission of Germany, but is anxious that Germany should come in (subject to proper safeguards) and hopes she will make the application soon. With regard to America he takes the eminently sane view that the only practical way of influencing that country to enter the League is for the League to show that it possesses the power to achieve its objects. His remarks on partial and regional understandings are a thoughtful contribution to a new subject.

Finally he deals with how far the League is a real safeguard to peace. He discusses the measures against war provided by the Covenant, dividing them into *preventive* measures, e.g., disarmament and compulsory mediation; and *repressive* measures, e.g., economic blockade and collective action. Disarmament he considers will be a far more formidable problem than is generally supposed; the remaining measures he sets out briefly and succinctly. But his conclusions show him to be a disciple of M. Léon Bourgeois. He thinks the safeguards insufficient without an international force; and he is rather inclined to knock them down like skittles in his eagerness to show an international force to be a necessity.

His views about the future of France and the League may be summarised thus, in his own words: "The question is not whether France ought, in the interests of her general policy, to renounce alliances in favour of the League; but on the contrary whether, taking for one of her aims the maintenance of her alliances, she will not find in the League the best means of enlarging her sphere of action, swelling her prestige, increasing her influence and thus, having made herself more indispensable as an Ally by bringing to her alliances an ever increasing proportion of activity, lessening the risk of seeing herself deprived of any part of their fruits."

This is not an exalted view to take, but it is practical

and shows that the author has applied real thought to the reconciliation of French national ambitions with the principles of the League.

R. B.

HALF A CENTURY OF WORLD HISTORY.

EUROPE AND BEYOND, 1870-1920. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT, Honorary Fellow, Formerly Fellow and Lecturer Worcester College, Oxford; M.P. for Oxford. (Methuen & Co. 6s.)

IN Mr. Marriott's modest preface he describes his book as only "a preliminary survey of a large tract of country," trying to disguise the fact that his book is nothing less than a political history of the last fifty years of the world's life. His chronological table of leading events covers no less than five and a half closely printed pages and yet the book itself numbers only 324 pages. To deal with so vast a subject within these limits is to run equal risks of being either dull or superficial, but Mr. Marriott has escaped both dangers. He has the first and most important qualification for writing such a book, he can tell a story clearly and his pages are much enlivened by occasional unexpected personal comments on a man or his policy which suddenly reveal a new point of view of some oft told event.

To those who imagine that the direction of "foreign policy" is a simple and easy matter this book should be especially commended. Mr. Marriott shows clearly cause and effect, how each crime and each blunder has ultimately to be paid for, if not by one generation then by another. We are the heirs of a past from which there is no escape. No nation can begin with a blank sheet however excellent its present intentions may be, and a clear understanding of these problems of world politics is the beginning of political wisdom. To that wisdom all members of the League of Nations Union should aspire and one of the best ways of attaining to it is by a study of Mr. Marriott's book.

M. C.

Books Worth Reading.

"The Covenant of the League commented upon by Professor Walter Schücking and Dr. Hans Wehberg." (Published by Franz Vahlen and Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte m.b. H. Berlin, 1921. Price, stiff cover, 140M.)

"A Political Pilgrim in Europe." By Mrs. Philip Snowden. (Cassell & Co. 7s. 6d.)

"Sea Power in the Pacific." By Hector C. Bywater. (Constable. 18s.)

"The Irish Question." By Stephen Gwynn. (Jonathan Cape. 3s. 6d.)

"The League of Nations and the New International Law." By J. E. Harley. (Oxford University Press. 14s.)

"Documents: Permanent Court of International Justice." (Constable. 65s.)

"Die Arbeit des Völkerbundes." By von S. Alfred Silbernagel. (Zurich.)

"The Quest of Nations." By T. R. W. Lunt. (United Council for Missionary Education.)

"The Highway of God." By K. Harnett and W. Patin. (United Council for Missionary Education. 3s. 6d.)

"Yarns on Brothers of all the World." By A. P. Shepherd. (United Council for Missionary Education. 1s.)

"The Spirit of Our Laws." By Herman Cohen. (W. Heffer & Sons.)

"I GIVE MY WIFE £1,000"

"And I am a poor man, too—really much poorer than one of the so-called 'New poor.' Yet, on my wife's birthday, I gave her £1,000."

"When we sat down for breakfast on that memorable morning I produced a document, and handed it to her with the remark, 'Now listen while I tell you why I am giving you this £1,000.'

"This is an investment policy with the Sun Life of Canada, and I have made the first payment of £58 6s., and, should I die to-morrow, either through illness or accident, you would receive £1,000, plus half the deposit I have just paid—altogether £1,029 3s.

"This policy is to be in force for twenty years. Now suppose, as I am now forty, that I live to be sixty years of age, we shall receive from the Sun Life of Canada about £1,450—another and a better birthday gift for both of us, eh?"

"But," said my wife, "how does it happen that you are entitled to a sum of £1,450 in twenty years?"

"Why, in just this way: all the deposits are really investments, and my dividends accumulate until the twenty years are up. On the basis of past experience these dividends will amount to £450."

"It's splendid," she replied.

"Yes, it is," I went on. "But what I like best, though, is that during all the twenty years, if anything should happen to me, you and the children will at least be secure from want. . . . For instance, if I were taken off in the twelfth year, you are bound to receive £1,349 16s.; that is, the original £1,000 plus 50 per cent. of all my deposits.

"Another thing. It is most unlikely that we should save the sum of £1,450 in the next twenty years. But we can make these annual payments without a great deal of self-sacrifice. It is, indeed, a fine system of saving—and quite the best form of investment I have studied for some time. Then, as regards the annual deposit, I deduct that amount from my income before paying income-tax, thus saving £8 15s., making my net payments £49 11s. per annum.

"That is not all, either. If in years to come we strike a patch of bad luck, I can look inside the Policy, and see at a glance what is the surrender value. The table there tells me at once what the company will advance as a loan on the Policy, or the amount to be drawn at the date originally fixed if I stop further deposits."

"Well, John," my wife remarked, "this is some birthday gift. I admire your thoughtfulness for myself and the children. I can't help thinking, too, that we have never spent money to better purpose. But, my boy, I don't want to draw that £1,000 and half the deposits made. You are going to live for the full twenty years. We shall be getting on then, and £1,450 will be very useful."

"Rather," I said. "It's a fine provision for our old age."

And that's how I gave my wife £1,000.

The assets of the Sun Life of Canada exceed £23,000,000, and the company is under strict Government supervision. Anyone interested should write at once for full particulars, giving his or her age, and the amount it is proposed to invest annually. All communications treated in confidence. Write to J. F. Junkin (Manager), Sun Life of Canada, 9, Canada House, Norfolk-street, London, W.C. 2.

The Salvation Army

5. The Friend and Protector of the Child.

"A child of ten . . . had actually seen her father murder her mother. I am glad to be able to add that to all appearance she has recovered from the shock of this awful experience."

"Sixty-two children . . . more than one-half of them have been subject to outrages too terrible to repeat, often enough at the hands of their own fathers."

From "Regeneration," by Sir H. Rider Haggard.

WRITING thus of the little inmates of "The Nest"—the Salvation Army Children's Home at Clapton—Sir Rider Haggard adds that "no person of sense and experience, remembering the nameless outrages to which many of these poor children have been exposed, could witness their present health and happiness without realising the blessed nature of this work."

EXCLUSIVE of the babies in Maternity Homes, the Salvation Army has to-day accommodation for 4,845 children in 112 Homes at home and abroad. Two or three of the Homes in England are devoted to the rescue of little girls who have suffered dreadful experiences, such as those recorded above. In all these Homes every attempt is made to maintain the real "home" atmosphere, and to exclude any hint of the "Institution." The rooms are cheerful and comfortable; the food is nourishing and plentiful; and only houses with good gardens are chosen, so that the children may lead an open-air life as far as possible. Corporal punishment is unknown. The Salvation Army holds that love and kindness are the only passports to the human soul—that fear and coercion can achieve nothing permanently good. This belief is once again unanswerably vindicated by the success with which these young and delicate lives are saved.

THE work is extremely difficult, for too often the entire moral sense of the child has been corrupted, and the physical health permanently injured. It says much for the Salvation Army's methods that the Warden in charge of one of the Homes was able to report satisfactorily upon every girl she sent out over a period of twelve years.

The Salvation Army, which depends entirely upon voluntary contributions, is most urgently in need of funds to carry on its work amongst children. Will you not help by sending a contribution (no matter how small) to

GENERAL BOOTH, THE SALVATION ARMY,
Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

Coaching in Public Speaking; Elocution; Diction; Voice Production for Speakers and aid in the preparation of speeches.

Lectures on Nerve Control and Mental Development for Speakers and Performers.

THE METROPOLITAN PUBLIC SPEAKING CLUB gives opportunities for practice in speaking under expert guidance.

For Full Particulars of above (and also of lessons in all musical subjects) apply to:—

"Enquiries Secy." Metropolitan Academy of Music,
72-74, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.

L.N.U. Notes and News.

[All communications to the League of Nations Union should be sent to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.]

THE GREAT APPEAL.

Bis dat qui cito dat.

ALL preparations are now well in hand for the launching of the great Autumn Appeal Campaign. County and District Appeal Committees have been formed throughout the country; Bishops and heads of Churches have been asked to give their support and benediction; business and industrial communities are being approached; and though it is idle and no part of our duty to prophesy smooth things, yet judging from the preliminary work and organisation, it may be anticipated with reasonable certainty that the appeal will be a great success—provided that we have the wholehearted and energetic support of all our members.

All are agreed that asking for money is not an attractive occupation. Neither is war an attractive occupation, and yet in this case unless the former task is successfully carried through, the latter process will inevitably follow. Unless the League receives the support of the people of England, that great organ of international co-operation will inevitably fail at its very inception; and if it fails, civilisation will rush with Gadarene rapidity "down a steep place into the sea."

The argument is crude but it is true, and it is just because it is true that the President of the Union himself is to give a personal lead to the appeal on October 18th from the platform of the Mansion House—an appeal that, considering its origin, should reach not only the people of London, but every town and hamlet up and down the country. From that date until Christmas will be the period of intensive effort, and the Union looks to all its members in their individual as well as in their organised capacity to leave no stone unturned to ensure the success of the appeal. Its success means life. Its failure means death. The issue lies with us to make it what we will.

The Manchester Exhibition.

The Manchester Branch of the L.N.U. is organising an Inter-Allied Industrial Exhibition by which it hopes to raise a substantial sum for the furtherance of the Union's propaganda. The exhibition, which is intended to be followed by similar ones in other parts of the country, was opened on October 4th by Professor Gilbert Murray and Lady Mary Murray and will continue until October 22nd. On October 8th, when the King and Queen visited Manchester, the exhibition had a special re-opening by M. Charles Bertrand, Deputy of the Seine and President of the French Legion.

An Anonymous Gift.

We have received from an anonymous donor a very charming little antique brooch miniature, set with pearls, with a message asking that it shall be sold for the benefit of the Union. We gratefully record our thanks for this beautiful and generous gift, and assure the donor that the spirit in which it is sent is deeply appreciated.

Overseas News.

The next meeting of the General Council of the International Federation of League of Nations Associations at Vienna promises to be a most important event, not only as a preliminary to the Sixth International Conference of the Federated Societies at Prague, but on account of the special character of its business that will constitute a fresh echo of the proceedings of the Second Assembly of the League. The local Society and the people in the Austrian capital are particularly interested in this meeting as various important matters affecting Austria, notably the question of Minorities, have recently been made the subject of special study by the League of Nations, and are likely to be dealt with by the Conference.

We learn that the Australian League of Nations Union is seeking to exchange views upon the Pacific question with the Japanese Society for the League of Nations. This is another instance in which perplexing international matters have been considerably simplified by previous discussions between voluntary Societies in the countries concerned before being officially taken up by the League of Nations.

We are indebted to the good offices of Mr. L. P. Chambers of Constantinople for a number of valuable new members. Mr. Chambers recently sent us a list of the names of some friends of his interested in the League of Nations, most of whom have already replied favourably to our invitation to join the Union and sent subscriptions and good wishes from countries as far apart as Cilicia and Canada.

From Denmark comes the interesting news that the Danish Scouts have decided to espouse the cause of the League.

A Correction.

Mrs. F. S. Hallows, the author of "Peggy and the League of Nations," draws our attention to the fact that in HEADWAY for September under L.N.U. publications, she is described as Mrs. L. H. Hallows. We regret the mistake and are glad to rectify it at once.

Branch Activities.

A Successful Pageant.

The outstanding feature of this year's annual carnival of the Cirencester Friendly Societies was a car entered by the local branch of the L.N.U.

United Rally in Yorkshire.

The Crosshills and District Branch held a united rally of the various branches of the Union in the Skipton district on Saturday, September 10. After a meeting in one of the villages a procession was formed, led by a band through the villages of Crosshills, Kildwick and Farnhill, the Skipton, Lothersdale, Barnoldswick and Earby branches joining the procession en route. Some 400 persons took part in the procession. Tea was served in the Old Court Yard of Kildwick Hall to over 500 persons, after which a very successful meeting was held on the lawn, when powerful addresses were given by the Rev. A. P. Gower Rees, M.A., M.C., Vicar of Bolton, and the Rev. T. Oliver Ransford, of Westgate Baptist Church, Bradford.

League of Nations Week.

Wellingborough has had another League of Nations Week (August 29 to September 4). Meetings were held in the Market Place every evening, addressed by local speakers, and on the Saturday evening Lieut.-Col. Sir Alfred Warren, O.B.E., M.P., spoke at a garden party at Croylund Hall. Mr. J. B. Whitworth, J.P., lent his grounds and presided. This was preceded by a procession through the principal streets of the town, in which 22 nations and States out of the 48 in the League were represented by school children. Most of the clergy of the town marched in the procession, with boy scouts, girl guides and other bodies. Two large white banners were carried, one inscribed "League of Nations Union, Wellingborough Branch," and the other "The Only Way to prevent War," while about 300 small white pennons were carried by the children. Each group bore in front a banneret giving the name of the State represented. Prizes were awarded to the best four groups. The bands of the Salvation Army and different brigades were in attendance. The streets were thronged with people and much interest caused. The League of Nations was made the subject of special discourse in the churches. A satisfactory number of new members were enrolled in the Union, and a good collection made to cover expenses.

Methods of Seed-Sowing.

In Louth the pages both of the Parish Magazine and the Wesleyan Methodist Circuit Magazine have been thrown open to a monthly article on the League and its work. A prominent local doctor, chancing to scan the Parish Magazine, decided to become a member of the local branch. Receiving a copy of Leaflet No. 21, he at once offered to display it in his consulting room. This is a bye-way of propagandism which might well be followed in other districts and is likely to prove effective in winning new members.

The Louth Eye-Election.

The Louth Branch took an active part in the recent bye-election. The three candidates were interrogated as to their views on the League and its problems, and their replies were sent to the local press, with explanatory comments where necessary. The reply of the Conservative candidate, Sir Alan Hutchings, for instance, implied a serious misapprehension as to the position of the International Labour Office, and this was duly pointed out. It is good to be able to record that the successful candidate, Mrs. Wintringham, replied satisfactorily to the whole of the questionnaire, stating that, if elected, she was prepared to throw over party lines on League matters and to do her utmost by action and vote to secure strict adherence to the principles of the Covenant.

Competition for Children.

A sand modelling competition, organised on behalf of the St. Anne's Branch, and held on the beach on August 24, met with a well-merited success. A number of local children, the girls in appropriate costumes, represented the forty-eight nations in the League. Headed by Miss Kathleen Scholes, characterising "Peace," who was mounted on a beautiful white pony, these children escorted the competitors to the prepared enclosure. Thousands of residents and visitors were interested onlookers, and apart altogether from the monetary success of the competition derived from a small entrance fee and a collection, it certainly served a useful purpose in bringing the League of Nations Union before the notice of the public. St. Anne's is an enterprising and hard-working branch. A recent concert, organised on behalf of the Central Fund of the Union, brought in £16 8s.

How to Boom a Meeting.

An overwhelmingly successful meeting was held at Llan-drindod Wells on Sunday, August 21, under the auspices of the Welsh School of Social Service. Two thousand people were present and hundreds were turned away from the door. As an instance of how seriously the town took the meeting, it may be mentioned that at all the hotels dinner was put forward half an hour to enable the guests to attend.



Mr. LLOYD GEORGE at Brahan Castle,

the seat of Lord Seaforth, signing a receipt for the cabinet of cigars sent him by American admirers, with the same gold pen with which he signed the Peace Treaty, and with which he said he hoped to sign the Irish agreement.

Mr. Lloyd George's Fountain Pen is a No. 45 Waterman's Ideal "SAFETY" Type, covered in 9 carat gold (See illustration at right.)

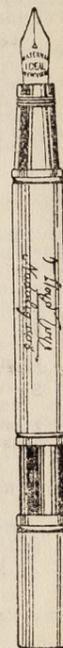
Not only the Peace Treaty but most of the important treaties of recent years have been signed with the

Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen

—world-famous for reliability and perfect writing action.

Three Types: "Regular," from 12/6; "Safety" and "Self-Filling" from 17/6. No. 54. "Self-filling" and No. 44. "Safety," with extra large nib, at 22/6, specially recommended. Presentation Pens in Silver and Gold. Nibs to suit all hands (exchanged gratis if not quite right). Of Stationers and Jewellers everywhere. Write for a copy of "The Pen Book," free from

L. G. Sloan, Ltd., The Pen Corner, Kingsway, LONDON, W.C.2



FOR SKIN ERUPTIONS AND IRRITATIONS



you cannot use anything better than a few applications of Iodex—the highly antiseptic, remedial ointment which penetrates through the skin and heals with remarkable rapidity. Where the trouble is lasting or recurring, and ordinary ointments are useless, the valuable remedial properties of Iodex ensure success. Iodex is the ideal remedy for chaps, chilblains, cuts and bruises, scalds and burns, painful or swollen joints, strains and sprains, skin irritations, old war-wounds, and inflammatory conditions generally. Iodex supersedes even the finest of older remedial agents, because it possesses all their advantages in an enhanced form, yet does not burn, irritate or stain the skin.

IODEX

A little Iodex goes a long way. Of Chemists, or post free from MENLEY & JAMES, LTD., 64, Hatton Garden, London, E.C.1. Price 2s. per pot.

CAN YOU SPEAK IN PUBLIC ?

Every man or woman who wishes to speak in public will find "THE BOOK OF PUBLIC SPEAKING" an absolutely indispensable work. However unusual the subject upon which they lack material, they will find it here. Parallels, analogies, ideas and suggestions—all are to be found in profusion in its pages. Alike for the practised speaker and for the man who wishes to acquire this valuable art, no work so important has ever been issued.

For that reason, the publication of "The Book of Public Speaking" is an event of the greatest importance. For it is the first comprehensive work upon this subject published in this country.

It is edited by A. C. Fox-Davies, Barrister-at-Law, and contains articles by:—

Lord Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor of England, on "Parliamentary Oratory." The late Miss Mary MacArthur, on "Women on the Platform." Rt. Hon. T. J. Macnamara, M.P., on "How to Make an Effective Speech." Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, on "The Art of Oratory." Arthur Bouchier, M.A., on "How to Prepare and Deliver a Speech." J. L. Griffiths, on "After Dinner Speaking." The late Spencer Leigh Hughes, on "Humour in Public Speaking." A. C. Benson, M.A. (Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge), on "The Art of Lecturing." Albert Crew (Barrister-at-Law), on "The Conduct of and Procedure at Meetings."

But this is only a portion of the work, for "The Book of Public Speaking" is of the greatest interest even for the man who never has to speak in public, because it presents for the first time an entirely new form of literature of enthralling interest. Its handsome covers contain the greatest speeches of modern times.

Mr. Philip Snowden writes:—

"The articles on 'The Book of Public Speaking' are full of very excellent advice."

Sir W. Bull, M.P., writes:—

"What a godsend 'The Book of Public Speaking' will be to a busy man who is called upon at short notice to make speeches on all sorts of subjects."

A FREE BOOKLET

To the CANTON PUBLISHING CO., LTD.,
287, Surrey Street, London, W.C. 2.

Please send me, free of charge, and without any obligation on my part, Illustrated Booklet of "THE BOOK OF PUBLIC SPEAKING."

Name
(Send this form or a postcard.)

Address

NEW INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY

"LOOKING FORWARD" is to be the title of a new monthly, different from any existing periodical, which will appear on October 6th. It will be edited by Mr. HAMILTON FYFE, who will contribute to each number notes on the events of the month, and their bearing on the New Order of which the League of Nations is the most hopeful sign. The history of the moment will be fully and divertingly illustrated by reproductions of cartoons and caricatures by artists of all nations. "Looking Forward" will approach all questions with a generous desire to abate national animosities and smooth away misunderstandings: eminent writers from all countries will contribute articles on topics of the greatest international importance. In the first number, Lord Meston writes on the Indian question, Sir Geoffrey Butler, the great Cambridge jurist, reviews the International Law Congress recently held at The Hague, the Belgian scholar, Dr. J. O. de Gruyter, describes "The Flemish Movement in Belgium," "An English Teacher in a German University" gives an illuminating account of "The Free Youth of Germany" to-day, and "The Paralysis of Government in Spain" is discussed by a French authority.

Character studies of prominent world-figures will be a feature of this monthly, and to the October issue LORD WEARDALE contributes a fascinating study of "Dr. Nansen: The Man and His Work." The magazine contains stories, poetry and critical essays, in addition to its political, social, and economic studies, and other important contributions to the October number are the first part of a new long epic poem, "The Divine Tragedy," by A. St. John Adcock, and a "post-war story," by Capt. Reginald Berkeley. The price of this monthly is two shillings, and members of the League of Nations Union may obtain it, post free to any address in the world, at the rate of twenty-four shillings (24s.) a year, by applying direct to The Manager, "Looking Forward," Poppin's Court, Ludgate Circus, London, E.C. 4.

Important Meetings in October.

Oct. 10	Birkenhead	Lt.-Col. Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G.	Town Hall	8 p.m.
" 10	Leeds	Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P.	Victoria Hall	8 p.m.
" 14	York	Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.	Festival Concert Rooms	8 p.m.
" 15	Hull	Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.	City Hall	8 p.m.
" 18	London	Rt. Hon. Viscount Grey	Mansion House	3 p.m.
" 20	Coventry	Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., M.P. E. Manville, Esq., M.P.	Drill Hall	7.30

Items of Interest.

Economic Recovery and World Peace.

The Fight the Famine Council and the Peace Society holding an important International Economic Conference at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on October 11th to 13th. Foreign delegates from many countries will be present. The questions dealt with will be discussed from the ethical as well as from economic aspect; and the subjects include "Famine in Russia," "World Depression," "Reparations," "Problems of Nationalism," and "World Reconciliation."

At the moment the famine in Russia overshadows the economic question, and the Fight the Famine Council steadily advocated the necessity for Governmental action, well as for charity, in dealing with it. Mr. Fimmen, secretary of the International Federation of Transport Workers, who has been making a world-wide appeal to the workers for Russian relief, will be one of the speakers on this subject, and it is hoped that a prominent Russian will also attend.

The subject next in importance, and which is vital both from the point of view of economics and ethics, is the reduction of armaments. Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. Dresselhuus, leader of the Liberal Party in Holland, will take a prominent part in this discussion, while Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mr. Norman Angell, and M. Charles Rist, a well-known French economist, will be among the speakers who will deal with Reparations. Mr. J. A. Hobson, Professor Bonn, Professor Michels and George Paish will speak on "World Depression and Unemployment." Ethical problems will be more particularly discussed at the first day of the Conference by the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Westman (Sweden), Rev. Canon Barnes, Bishop Ruffini (Hungary); Mr. G. P. Gooch and Mr. Mansbridge will speak on the subject of Nationality. The full list of foreign delegates has not yet been received, but a good attendance is expected. The session will last from Tuesday, October 11th, till October 13th inclusive, and will culminate in a great public meeting on Disarmament, organised by the Peace Council, at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, October 13th, at 8 o'clock.

There will be a public reception and welcome for the foreign guests at the Central Hall, Westminster, on October 12th, 8 p.m. All tickets and information from Miss Rinder, Fight the Famine Council, Premier House, Southampton Row, W.C. 1.

A Link with Hungary.

An interesting sequel to the efforts that have been made on behalf of the children from the starvation areas of Central Europe is reported from Budapest. A year ago, some Hungarian children among others were sent to England to be cared for in English homes in a way that would have been impossible in their own country. The parents of these children, anxious not to lose the advantages gained during that year, proceeded to found an association in Budapest with the object of cementing the link thus created between the children and their English friends. A room has been set aside in one of the churches where regular meetings are to be held and lectures in English given. A serious stumbling-block, however, is the lack of English books and papers. Anyone who could help the organisers of this venture by sending books, reviews, magazines suitable for children between the ages of 8 and 12, is asked to communicate with Madame J. E. Vajkai, Budapest, V. Balaton U, 10. III. 2.

Co-operative Societies and the League.

The International Co-operative Congress held at Basle in August, passed a resolution dealing with the democratisation of the League of Nations. The Congress urged co-operation in all countries in the League to bring pressure to bear upon the respective governments in order to obtain a more democratic constitution of the present League with a view to making thereof a real Society of People.

Lectures on Palestine.

The Palestine Arab Delegation would be glad to send lectures to speak on the Mandate for Palestine from the Arab point of view. Applications should be made to the Secretary of the Palestine Arab Delegation, Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C., or Miss Frances G. Newton, F.R.G.S., of 156, Sloane Street, S.W.

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
DIARY, 1922**

EPILEPSY—is there HOPE?

Just a little over 25 years ago, Mr. Gilbert Dale turned his attention to the treatment of Epilepsy and Fits, and to-day he enjoys a world-wide reputation as the man who has brought hope, renewed health and happiness to hundreds of sufferers.

Gilbert Dale's methods are entirely original and the outcome of his wonderful experience and the collation of data bearing on the disease. He employs no pernicious medicines, no mysterious ingredients in his treatment. The medicines used are entirely non-poisonous, non-injurious, of the highest quality, and have no harmful effect on the functions and organs of the body. He never uses bromide of potassium or poisons. He is opposed to the use of any proprietary medicine.

Each case is considered on its merits, in much the same way as is done by any practitioner in treating ordinary human ailments. At the present time sufferers from Epilepsy can turn to no greater authority than Mr. Gilbert Dale. No one need despair. Mr. Gilbert Dale has treated and cured some of the worst cases on record. The outstanding feature of Mr. Gilbert Dale's Treatment is the very large number of permanent cures, proof of which is provided by the documentary testimony of the persons concerned.

Many tributes to Mr. Gilbert Dale's special knowledge have also come from medical practitioners, as will be seen from the following letters.

"We told our doctor you were treating him for fits, and you would be flattered and pleased to know how well he spoke of you and of your treatment. He said if any man could cure him you could."

"My doctor called yesterday, and he says if our boy had not had your treatment in 1915 he probably would not be alive now, or if he had lived he must have been an imbecile by this time. He is very quick at repartee, and never at a loss for a word."

The doctor mentioned in this second extract sent a case from Scotland for a consultation with Mr. Gilbert Dale, which case has since been cured.

Truth, in its issue of a few years ago, speaking of the Dale Treatment and its originator, said: "I am satisfied that he is perfectly honest and conscientious, and that no one need hesitate about trying his Treatment where orthodox science is of no avail, and, unfortunately, there are many cases of epilepsy where it is."

Practically all his successes were cases which had been turned down by doctors and hospitals as hopeless.

Everyone should read his deeply interesting book on "Epilepsy: Its Causes, Symptoms and Treatment." This contains a full and interesting description of Mr. Dale's methods. The published price is one shilling, and to any person interested a copy will be sent, post free, for is.

MR. GILBERT DALE, 26, Bond Street House, 14, Clifford Street, London, W.1.

**READERS of HEADWAY will
be glad to learn that a
POCKET LEAGUE
OF NATIONS DIARY**

is now being produced for 1922.
Size 3¼ by 2½ inches. Printed on
thin paper with one week to an
opening. Bound in real leather.
Price 2/-

The Diary will be ready in
November. Orders should be
placed with Branch Secretaries
of the Union, or, in the case of
members not attached to Branches
may be sent direct to Head-
quarters.

Apply at Once, as the numbers
available are strictly limited. A
remittance should in every case
accompany the order.

A few unbound copies for use as refills will
also be obtainable, price 1/1½, plus postage.

**Old-fashioned
Biscuits**

contained no shortening chemicals. They were practically pure, twice-baked foods, and infinitely superior in vital qualities to the modern article.

'P.R.' BISCUI TS

are better and purer than even the old-fashioned kind.

Rich in the organic salts and vitamins so essential to health, 'P.R.' Biscuits are not only the finest, most digestible and palatable biscuits obtainable, but they are the cheapest, too—ranging from about 1/- per lb.

We are constantly receiving fresh and convincing testimony to their excellence from regular users everywhere.

SEND FOR SAMPLE BOX with full particulars and booklet "EVIDENCE." 1/6 Post paid

For the curative treatment of Diabetes
"CURONA" Biscuits are highly recommended.

The WALLACE 'P.R.' FOODS Co. Ltd.,
66, TOTTENHAM LANE,
HORNSEY, LONDON, N.8.



'P.R.' BISCUI TS are stocked by leading London Stores, and Health Food Stores everywhere. Also 'P.R.' COFFEE—the coffee that pleases and does no injury to health

**SIDNEY KIEK & SON'S
AUTUMN - BOOK - SALE**

Our list containing hundreds of interesting

BOOK OFFERS

will be sent free and post paid.

Write to Dept. N.,

SIDNEY KIEK & SON,
16-17, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.4.

**SERMONS
FOR THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE**

Each Sunday evening at 6.30 by
The Rev. **THEODORE BELL.**

THE MESSAGE OF THE MASTER.

- Oct. 2. The decay of belief.
" 9. The evidence for the existence of the soul.
" 16. Man—son of God.
" 23. Regeneration.
" 30. The realisation of Eternal Life.

NOVEMBER & DECEMBER. A Course of Sermons on
"THE QUICKENING OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE."

59, HOLLAND PARK, LONDON, W.

Tube Stations—Holland Park, Notting Hill Gate, Uxbridge Road.

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

Miniatures

or

Enlargements.

Bert. M. Weir

MINIATURE SPECIALIST

is open to accept
commissions for
miniatures and for en-
largements; working
from good photographs
or even snap-shots.

**17-19-21, Regent St.,
Piccadilly, London,
S.W.1.**

Telephone: Regent 2591.
Telegrams: Miniaweir, Piccy,
London.