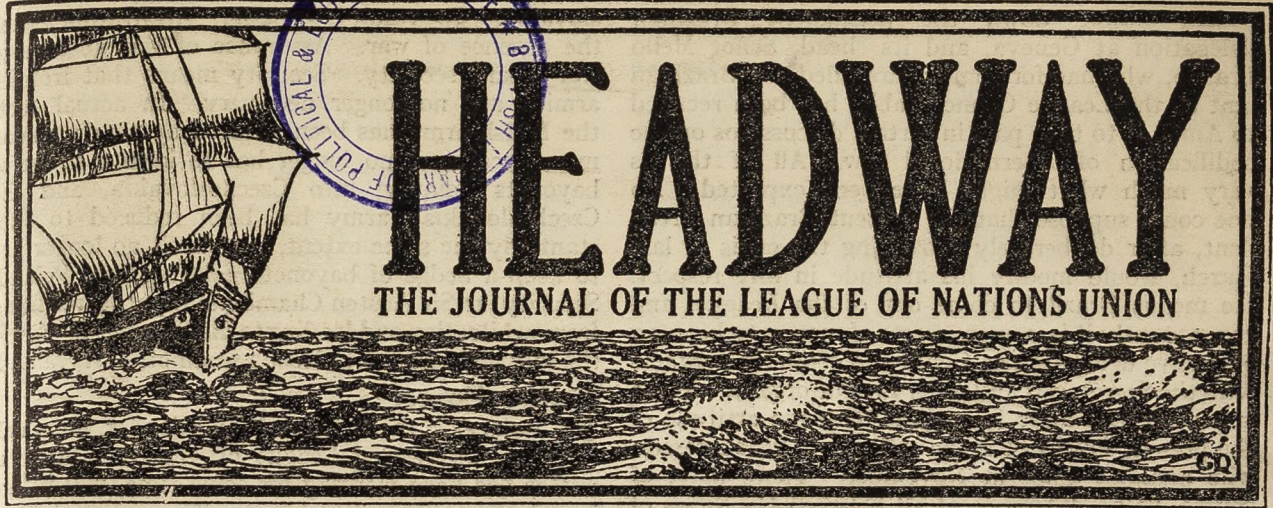
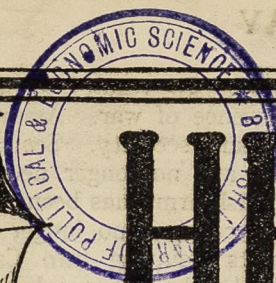


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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE names of the British delegates to the Seventh Assembly have been announced. The two first named, those of Sir Austen Chamberlain and Lord Cecil, were inevitable, and it also went without saying that Sir Cecil Hurst, the Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office, would accompany the delegation, either as consultant or as an actual member.

the short motor journey from Aix-les-Bains to Geneva appears so far to have no visible foundation.

“The Lifeblood of the League”

A LETTER written by Sir Eric Drummond and read at a League of Nations Union meeting, presided over by Lord Stamford and addressed by Lord Cecil, at Dunham Massey last month, contains one sentence at least which deserves to be marked, learned and inwardly digested as well as read.

Brazil's Departure

THE President and Foreign Minister of Brazil are losing no opportunity of emphasizing the firmness of their resolve to withdraw their country finally from the League. They have now issued

orders closing down the permanent Brazilian delegation at Geneva, and its head, Señor Mello Franco, who has for some years filled the Brazilian seat at the League Council table, has been recalled to America to take part in certain discussions on the codification of international law. All of this is very much what might have been expected. No one could suppose that the present Brazilian President, after deliberately provoking the crisis of last March, would modify his attitude in any respect. He means Brazil to come out of the League, and consequently it is a mere waste of money to keep an extensive delegation at Geneva to establish contacts with the Secretariat and other League organs. What is a good deal more important than the attitude of the present President is the attitude of his successor, who assumes office in November. There may, of course, be no difference at all between the views of the two men, and in any case no sudden reversal of policy is to be looked for. But it will take Brazil two years to get really clear of the League, and in that time a great deal may happen. If at the end of it all Brazil does really go, the inevitable regret at her departure will be tempered by the reflection that at any rate it was better for the League to lose Brazil than to compromise its principles in the face of Brazilian threats.

A Loan for Bulgaria

DURING the latter part of July the League of Nations Finance Committee sat in London to endeavour to smooth out various difficulties in the way of the proposed League of Nations Refugee Loan to Bulgaria. The purpose of the loan, as in the case of the similar transaction with Greece, is to facilitate the settlement of a large number of homeless Bulgarian refugees, many of whom, rather ironically, owe their present plight to the fact that they have been evicted from Greece to make room for Greek settlers established there under the Greek Settlement schemes. The loan is only to run to about £2,250,000, but it was desired to make arrangements for the immediate advance of £400,000 of that amount to finance autumn sowings. All this meant negotiations first of all with the Reparation Commission, which has a first claim on all Bulgaria's resources, and then with various other persons, bondholders and others, whose interests have to be safeguarded. All this takes time, and the committee was not able to conclude final arrangements for the first advance. It is still hoped that it may be carried through in time, and there is little doubt that the main loan will be floated as successfully as was the Greek. The wise expenditure of the money should make for the political stability and economic prosperity of Bulgaria, and indeed of the whole Balkans.

Smaller Armies

A VERY practical illustration of the connection between arbitration, security and disarmament has just been given in Central Europe. Not long ago Poland and Czechoslovakia concluded a comprehensive arbitration treaty covering every kind of dispute, and thus removing all danger of war between the two countries. The credit for this valuable achievement is shared equally between Count Skrzinsky, then Foreign Minister of Poland, and Dr. Benes, still Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia.

The result is striking. Arbitration means the absence of war. Assurance of the absence of war means security. Security means that frontier armies are no longer necessary. In actual fact, the Polish army has been reduced by nearly 30,000 men, because it no longer has to keep a hedge of bayonets pointing into Czechoslovakia, and the Czechoslovakian army has been reduced to substantially the same extent, because it no longer has to keep a hedge of bayonets pointing into Poland. Security, as Sir Austen Chamberlain put it, resulting from arbitration and leading to disarmament—that is the ideal, and here is at least a small bit of it realised.

Fixing Easter

IT looks as if the reform of the calendar, on which a very interesting League of Nations sub-Committee has been working for some time, will before long be an accomplished fact. The proposal for a fixed Easter (Easter Day being made in all probability the second Sunday in April) appears to have elicited general approval in all quarters. Industrial and scientific organisations almost all over the world have pronounced very strongly in favour of the change, and have declared that no inconvenience will arise from its adoption. The Churches, with their ancient traditions, might very well have held other views, but it seems they do not. Even the Roman Catholic Church has no objection to make. The Roman Catholic Church, however, is not yet quite ready for an alteration. It desires the endorsement of the change by an Oecumenical Conference, and the next Conference of that kind is not due to meet till 1930. The delay is in some respects regrettable, but a world which has managed to exist with a fluctuating Easter for some nineteen centuries can no doubt last out another four years under the same conditions. 1930 may well be the last year in which Easter is elusive. From 1931 onwards the League will probably have pegged it down.

India and the League

TO the facts given in last month's HEADWAY regarding the formation of an all-India League of Nations Union may be added a reference to an extremely satisfactory letter addressed by the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, to a member of the League of Nations Secretariat, Dr. Pillai, who was till recently travelling in India in the interests of the League. Speaking of Dr. Pillai's work, the private secretary to the Viceroy writes that Lord Irwin "hopes it may result in the establishment on a firm foundation of an Indian branch of the League of Nations Union. Such an organisation," he adds, "wisely conducted, will do much towards bringing to India a fuller knowledge of the problems which may from time to time engage the attention of the League of Nations and of the means by which their solution may be effected." It will be remembered that Lord Irwin, as Mr. Edward Wood, has sat as British delegate at both the Assembly and Council of the League. His letter, incidentally, makes it the more regrettable that in 1926, as in previous years, the Indian delegation at the Assembly should be headed by an Englishman. There are plenty of able and distinguished Indians whose loyalty to the Government of India is unquestioned, and who could with complete propriety have been entrusted with

the leadership of the delegation. Failure on the part of the Government of India to take this obvious course gravely and quite naturally prejudices the whole cause of the League in India.

Hopeful Signs in the Balkans

RELATIONS between States in the Balkans being what they are, it is almost as surprising as it is gratifying to find the following telegram from Sofia on the foreign page of *The Times*:—

The Bulgarian Press reports with appreciative comments the payment by Greece to Bulgaria of a sum equivalent to more than £80,000 in compensation to the Bulgarian inhabitants of Western Thrace who were expelled during the Turko-Greek war to make room for the Greek refugees from Asia Minor.

It may be remembered that in its endeavours to make its settlement of the Greco-Bulgarian dispute of last autumn complete at every point, the League urged that the two countries should do everything possible to remove the discontent created among refugees on both sides of the frontier by their inability to obtain full compensation for the houses and farms they had left. Greece, who months ago duly paid the indemnity prescribed by the League in respect of her raid into Bulgarian territory, deserves full credit for this second act of compliance with what were, after all, only recommendations, for the League was in no position to do more than give good advice regarding the refugees.

Opium in Persia

THE opium problem is being attacked along many lines. At the present moment a good deal of interest attaches to the report of the League Commission which has visited Persia at the request of the Government of that country to advise as to how far it is possible to substitute other crops for the opium poppy without serious financial loss to the State. The Commission, which is presided over by a citizen of the United States, and includes an Italian professor and a French agriculturalist, has returned to Geneva and is preparing its report. If production in Persia could be reduced to such limits as would make it reasonably certain that the opium emanating from that country was used for medical and scientific purposes only, a most valuable advance towards a solution of the whole problem would have been made, though it would still remain to deal with the illicit trading through the Persian Gulf, to which the British Government has constantly drawn attention through its delegates at Geneva.

From Oregon to Geneva

DAVID WILSON ought to enjoy himself next month. David Wilson is a young gentleman of 15 who hails from the Lincoln High School (happy concurrence of names), at Portland, Oregon, and he is the winner of the first prize in a competition for essays written by American school children on the general work of the League of Nations. The subject of the essay was the small but succinct "Survey," published by the League's Information Section, and over 4,000 entrants from every State in the Union competed, the winners of the first three prizes hailing respectively from Oregon, West Virginia and Illinois. The first prize takes the form of a visit to Geneva during the Assembly with all expenses paid. In September, therefore, David Wilson may expect to find himself hobnobbing

with the great along the Quai de Mont Blanc. The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association is to be congratulated on so happy an idea, and Master Wilson is to be congratulated equally on the benefits he has been able to secure for himself as a result of it.

An Agreement on Slavery

THE decision of the League Council in June to invite each State Member of the League to invest one of its Assembly delegates with authority to sign an international Convention on Slavery, and also to have the proposed Convention discussed by the Assembly itself or one of its Commissions, means that the idea of holding a separate Conference, at which the United States of America might have been represented, has been abandoned. While there would, of course, have been some advantage in the participation of the United States in such a Conference, it is by no means clear that the Americans would, in fact, have been willing to take out, and if they had done so it would probably have made it much more difficult to place the execution of the proposed agreement definitely under the auspices of the League itself. These considerations, coupled with the fact that the United States is not very directly concerned with actual slavery (though problems of forced labour arise in the Philippines), seem to justify the Council in its decision to employ the ordinary machinery of the League for the purpose of putting the Convention in its final form.

Marriage at 12

IT will probably surprise a good many British citizens who thought they knew something about their own country to read the following report submitted to the League's Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People on the law regarding marriage in Great Britain:—

"Consent is a necessary element of marriage under English law, and the age at which consent can be given is 14 for a male person and 12 for a female.

"A marriage under that age is voidable by either party on attaining the age of consent.

"The consent of the parents or parent or guardian is ordinarily required for the marriage of any person under 21, but such a marriage without consent is not invalid."

It is fair to add regarding this report (which appears among the minutes of the last session of the Women's and Children's Commission), the British representative pointed out that the age of consent to marriage in Great Britain was not fixed by Act of Parliament, but was an ancient legacy from the common law, going back to time immemorial. No trace had been found of a girl contracting marriage under 12 years of age, and there were very few marriages under 15. The British report, it should be explained, is one of many received from different countries by the League Secretariat in connection with the proposal now being considered by the Women's and Children's Commission to attempt to bring about some approach to uniformity in the marriage laws of different countries. Practically every country, except India, has a much higher age of consent than Great Britain.

DISARMAMENT DIALOGUES

WHAT THE EXPERTS HAVE DONE AT GENEVA

"SO your military commission has stopped sitting," observed the Patagonian, bursting suddenly upon HEADWAY after a month's regretted but unexplained absence.

"A hen that contemplates laying several eggs frequently stops sitting in between times," replied the intelligent young improver who was at that moment endeavouring to look as much like the Editor of HEADWAY as possible. "The commission, as a matter of fact, has laid its first egg, after sitting some five weeks or more, and it starts in on August 2 on the production of another."

"And what kind of egg is this first one? Size? Quality? Good in parts? But don't tell me that yet. I've forgotten, first of all, exactly what this commission of yours is and what it supposes it's doing."

"Not particularly my commission," observed HEADWAY junior. "To be strictly accurate, it's the naval, military and air sub-commission of the League's Preparatory Commission on Disarmament—preparatory, of course, for the general disarmament conference which will meet some day when the ground has been sufficiently prepared. So far this sub-commission is doing all the donkey-work, determining what forms of disarmament are practicable and what are not, deciding on what lines the reduction of armaments should proceed, and devising means of comparing accurately two armies or two navies quite differently constituted from one another."

"And how far has it got towards that?"

"Well, it has made quite a visible beginning. It has first of all defined armaments—obviously a necessary task, for if you are going in for limitation you must know exactly what you are going to limit. It then defined peace-time armaments—which, after all, are the only things you can limit, since it is impossible to lay any restriction on those normal industrial resources which every nation can, and inevitably will, press into the service in war time. These peace-time armaments consist of—

"(1) Naval units, long and costly to construct, and not capable of being effectively concealed.

"(2) Air armaments, which cannot be turned out in large quantities at short notice, and require a personnel consisting almost entirely of specialists.

"(3) Land armaments existing for the occupation and defence of territory. These under present conditions are necessary to all States, particularly to such as are not defended by natural obstacles or a strong navy.

"Starting from those definitions, the sub-commission faced the question, 'Can you limit the ultimate war resources of a country, or only its peace-time armaments?' and to that, as might be expected, it gave the answer that you must confine yourself to peace-time armaments (including reserves of men and material). It is worth noting, by the way, that the experts insist on the total abolition of chemical warfare."

"I see," commented the pertinacious enquirer. "What that comes to is that disarmament (meaning,

of course, for the present the reduction, not the abolition, of armaments) is from the expert's point of view a practical proposition. But what I can never understand is how you are going to be able to 'measure' armies so as to reduce them all in equal proportion, or at any rate put them and keep them in a certain definite relation with one another. Take, as the simplest example of what I mean, two countries where conscription prevails, and where the term of service is in the one case 12 months and in the other 18. Obviously, 100,000 men under the latter system mean much more than 100,000 men under the former."

"Exactly. That is one of the toughest problems of all. When once that is solved most other questions will be comparatively simple. But the sub-commission, in a section of its report occupying 32 pages, has gone a good way towards solving it. Of course, you can't get precise exactitude in such a matter. You can only approximate. In the case of armies, according to the sub-commission, you have to combine, and give a certain individual value to, such factors as—

"(1) Actual numbers of men.

"(2) Form of organisation.

"(3) Length of service and degree of instruction.

"(4) Number of guns and other material.

"(5) Number of trained reserves and volume of stocks of war material.

"As regards air armaments, they are to be measured by the number of effectives, particularly of trained pilots, and by the supply of aeroplanes available, the total engine-power in the latter case being given more weight than the actual number of machines."

"And what about navies? Wasn't there some difference of opinion there?"

"There was. A majority of the commission wanted to work on the basis of total tonnage, no matter how it might be made up of different types—battleships, cruisers, destroyers, submarines and the like. The principal naval States, on the other hand—notably Great Britain, the United States and Japan—were for comparing fleets category by category, battleship tonnage against battleship tonnage, cruiser tonnage against cruiser tonnage, and so forth, and they put in a minority report to that effect. There is a technical difference here of some importance, and in the end the main committee will have to deal with it. But its importance need not be exaggerated. There is a good deal to be said for the view that small navies can best be compared on the basis of total tonnage and large navies on the basis of the tonnage of various types of ships, such as cruisers or submarines. At any rate, the existence of two opinions on such a point means nothing like a breakdown."

"Then you feel real progress has been made?"

"Everyone who knows the subject best and cares most about it seems quite satisfied about that. And when the committee starts work again at the beginning of August it ought to get through the rest of the questions put before it pretty quickly. Then the main commission can take hold in earnest."

THE IMPORTANCE OF A B C

HARD FACTS THAT NEED HAMMERING IN

By NORMAN ANGELL

WE congratulate ourselves, rightly enough, upon the large membership of the League of Nations Union and upon the widely diverse elements of which it is composed. But the very success and popularity of the Union has this danger: that, unless we are careful to make our work of persuasion thorough, it will include very many who, although they are in favour of the League because they have never considered what the League idea involves, would not be in favour of the League at the moment that they discovered that it might involve what they might consider a national sacrifice—some surrender, for instance, of our right to be our judge in what we might regard as our own affair. And then our Government might face a situation like that which made the tragedy of President Wilson. The America of 1916 was pacifist, internationalist, with vast numbers urging a League to Enforce Peace. But that apparent conversion to the League idea was plainly not a real conversion. For a passing unpopularity of the President, or a party rancour, was sufficient to wreck ratification a few years later. If when the crisis, the acid test, comes a nation like this is to stand by the League, it will mean the real acceptance of certain fundamental principles, and that acceptance will mean the understanding of those principles—what they ask as well as what they give. It is not so much a lack of goodwill that is the danger as a lack of understanding. I can best make clear what I mean by a failure to understand fundamental principles by giving a few concrete illustrations.

Would we Arbitrate?

Very many say, with entire good-will, "It is not really necessary for this country to tie its hands by arbitration treaties, because we all know that we are peaceful and shall never be guilty of aggression; that our power will never be used for anything but defence." Quite honestly and sincerely said; but usually with not the faintest realization that it implies an attitude which is the enemy of peace, because it violates the very first rule of human society—namely, that we must not ask others to accept a position which we refuse to accept if they ask it of us. If some other nation said: "It may be that we shall have a difference of opinion with you as to our rights in various parts of the world. We shall be fair about it, only so much stronger than you that you will have to accept our judgment of your rights"—why, then immediately we should very justly resist that claim, and take careful measures to see that the other nation did not become stronger than ourselves. We should refuse to grant what we readily enough claim. And we should also probably urge in that circumstance that two parties to a discussion may quite honestly differ, and each be persuaded that it is right. We should realise that war is not necessarily a fight between Right and Wrong; and, what is most important of all, that if it is to be avoided, no one must claim in such a case to be his own judge.

"Self-Defence"

We speak of defence usually as though it meant the defence of national territory from predatory invasion. But very seldom in practical politics does "defence" mean that at all. Our army and navy—and we are as peaceful a nation as any—have fought defensively in every corner of the world in the last seven or eight hundred years—except in Britain. Remote and "isolated" America has fought several foreign wars—African, Mexican, Spanish, German; but not one to repel actual invasion. What defence really means in

international politics is the defence of a foreign policy which a nation thinks indispensable to its interests; and the right to be the judge of those interests.

If we grasp this first elementary truth, that wars arise usually out of honest differences between two parties, and that no one can, with any regard to the maintenance of peace, claim to be his own judge in his own cause, that leads us to the further truth that if we really desire to see might put behind right we must not ask that our forces shall be used for the purpose of maintaining *our view of our rights*. If might is to be placed behind right, then it must be used for one purpose only—to prevent a party to a dispute being his own judge; that is to say, it must be used in support of impartial judgment—of the law. And if we see the full implication of this, we see that when we talk of armies (as we have known them in the past) as being police forces, we are guilty of a confusion of thought. The police force stands behind the law, in restraining the individual who would be his own judge of his right, compelling third-party judgment. The national army exists to enable the nation to be its own judge of its rights—an exactly contrary purpose.

Building up Law

It is true that often at present there is no recognised law and that mere arbitration will not necessarily at present make justice certain. For, as things stand, a court would have to judge on the basis of accepted international practice or law, a law based on the assumption that nations are sovereign and independent. And, of course, complete independence of those who form a society, a social community living under law, is a contradiction in terms. We are right, for instance, to decline to put such things as the control of the Suez Canal to the risk of juridical judgment, if such judgment is to assume that one State can have no rights in a highway situated in another. But the remedy here is not to abandon arbitration or third-party judgment. It is to build up a workable law, based on an international Bill of Rights, for the court to administer. And that, indeed, is the object of the League: to create law and order where heretofore there has been only anarchy. To the degree to which it succeeds in that it will be a peace-preserving instrument, and, ultimately, only to that degree. Britain, above all nations, has a fundamental interest in such a task being accomplished, because it lives by foreign trade, that is to say, by international processes which have heretofore been subjected to all the uncertainties and disorganisation that go with anarchy. Britain's economic position can never be assured or stable unless the future sees the creation of some sort of code in the international field and unless the pooled power of the nations can be put behind that code, instead of the individual power of States being used against each other.

The Man on the Bus

Now, all these considerations are extremely elementary. They are the A B C of the whole League case. Yet no one who has discussed the League even with educated folk will maintain that these elementary issues are clearly realised by the ordinary busy citizen—the man on the bus, let us say. And there is a constant tendency for capable and well-read advocates of the League to overlook these elementary considerations. Their attention gets centred upon important and interesting new issues, and it is far more entertaining to deal with these than with the hackneyed points like those I have

indicated. Because we are apt to take up the new points instead of the old, the old get neglected. If only the alphabet, or the elementary grammar of League principles were widely understood, there would not be much danger of public opinion going astray at some crisis over the newer issues. But when the public does not know the grammar, too often the honest friend of peace does not realise when he is violating the rules of peace and making it impossible.

From what I would term the grammar of the case I have selected just one or two elementary rules. There are others, even perhaps more elementary still, that, for instance, governing the argument about "human nature." The critic who points out in triumph that man is an irrational and pugnacious animal often thinks that he has delivered the final argument against the League idea. It is, of course, the fundamental argument for the League. If human nature were perfect, there would be no need for a League of Nations. But neither would there be for national constitutions, laws, courts. These things are merely means of dealing with the shortcomings of our defective human nature. Yet quite clever folk go their lives through without realising that they have this thing turned upside-down.

It is dull work, thus clarifying the commonplace, the rudimentary, the elementary. Yet unless the foundations of our advocacy are laid thereon, even a brilliant superstructure is in danger of collapse.

THE UNION'S WAY WITH ARMAMENTS

WHILE experts are grappling with the armament problem at Geneva, a special and very competent committee appointed by the League of Nations Union has been grappling with it on its own account in London. Prof. Gilbert Murray was chairman of the committee, which included among its members Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Admiral Allen, Admiral Drury-Lowe, General Seely, General Sir Frederic Maurice, General Hartley, Colonel David Carnegie and Sir Charles Hobhouse. Sir Frederick Sykes, M.P., and Commander Cochrane, M.P., sat on the committee, but have preferred for various reasons not to sign its report. Colonel David Davies, M.P., put in a minority report, devoted to the advocacy of an international police force.

The report is itself a document of substantial length, but its main points of policy may be briefly set out here:—

(1) The adoption at the earliest possible moment of a practical scheme of disarmament is vital to the future peace of the world.

(2) Unless the Great Powers—Great Britain and the U.S.A. as regards navies, and certain Continental States as regards armies—give a definite lead at the contemplated Disarmament Conference the success of the conference is problematical.

(3) What is needed is, first, a cessation of all increase of armaments and then a uniform percentage reduction (applied to man-power or expenditure or some combination of the two) till the limit in Art. VIII of the Covenant is reached.

(4) If a universal agreement turns out to be impossible (owing, for example, to the abstention of Russia), regional agreements would still be of value.

(5) As a starting-point, each nation should be asked to state what it considers to be its minimum needs for (a) maintenance of order at home, (b) maintenance of order in overseas dependencies, (c) defence of home and overseas possessions against foreign attack.

(6) The rapid expansion of armies might be limited by restrictions on the number of officers and N.C.O.s, and of actual material. Complete abolition of certain types of armament—e.g., tanks—might be possible.

(7) As regards naval armaments, the Washington limit of 35,000 tons for battleships should be reduced to a much lower figure, perhaps to the 10,000 tons (with a corresponding 6,000 tons for cruisers) prescribed for Germany in the Treaty of Versailles. A further effort should be made, as part of a larger scheme, to secure the abolition of submarines.

(8) Air armaments must be limited by restricting personnel and expenditure.

(9) It is impossible to prohibit effectively the production of gases and chemicals capable of use in warfare.

(10) Valuable as certain Hague Conventions for the regulation of warfare have been, the committee (General Seely dissenting) holds that "the horrors of war can be abolished by abolishing war, and not in any other way."

The report is being printed and will be widely circulated.

IN THE HOUSE

July 6.—Mr. BETTERTON (to Sir Harry Brittain): "The Ninth Session of the International Labour Conference adopted the following draft Conventions and Recommendations: Draft Convention concerning Seamen's Articles of Agreement; Draft Convention concerning Repatriation; Recommendation concerning the Repatriation of Masters and Apprentices, and Recommendation concerning the General Principles in the Inspection of the Conditions of Work of Seamen. As in previous years, the Report of the Government delegates will be presented to Parliament in due course."

July 6.—THE PRIME MINISTER (to Mr. Noel Buxton): "The question of Colonial Mandates is not dealt with in the Locarno Agreements at all. On the other hand, on March 18 it was indicated to the German delegation at Locarno verbally that Germany, when a member of the League, would be a possible candidate for Colonial Mandates, like all other members. It is incorrect, however, to suggest that any promise or undertaking was given to the German Government."

July 7.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Rennie Smith): "A Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Council of the League has already drawn up a preliminary Draft Convention dealing with the private manufacture of arms. The committee is considering this draft in the light of the replies which have been received from the members of the League to a questionnaire issued by the Council. It is hoped that this work will be completed and an amended draft drawn up before the next Assembly."

July 7.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Mr. Rennie Smith): "Neither Great Britain nor any other Power has ratified the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and Implements of War, drawn up by the League Conference of June, 1925."

July 14.—Sir A. CHAMBERLAIN (to Viscount Sandon): "All minority reports presented as a result of the experts' preliminary investigations on disarmament; have to be forwarded to the Preparatory Committee, and will necessarily be taken into consideration by that body when framing its own report. Any country which may dissent from the opinions expressed in that report will be able to state its views before the conference when that eventually meets, and to reserve its liberty if ultimately it still finds itself in a minority. The British representatives on the Military and Air Sub-Committees have agreed, subject to one or two reservations, to the reports adopted by those sub-committees. The British representative on the Naval Sub-Committee associated himself with the minority report signed by a number of his colleagues."

[Some of these replies are summarised.]

DISCOVERING TREGARON NEW LIGHT ON A BRITISH MINORITY PROBLEM

By B. E. C. DUGDALE

THE visit of the International Federation of League of Nations Unions to the Welsh village of Tregaron was an episode that no one who joined in it will forget. It took place one evening last June while the Tenth Congress of the Federation was in session at Aberystwyth. The object of the expedition was described in the address given by the Rev. Gwilym Davies in the village hall at Tregaron.

"This," he said, "is the first international pilgrimage to the birthplace of a man who saw further into the future than almost any of his contemporaries, and who dedicated his life to the ideal for which the League of Nations stands."

The man was Henry Richard, who lived in the middle part of the 19th century. His name (let us who set forth to honour his memory confess it with shame) meant little to most of the hundred or so who took the road to Tregaron that summer evening. This we did in a long procession of mighty auto-buses. (French was our lingua-franca, so it seems more appropriate to call our conveyances by this name rather than by their English title of charabancs.) Surely they formed as striking a procession as ever penetrated the hills of Wales. Almost every European race was represented among their passengers, besides Chinese, Japanese and Americans. A dozen languages voiced far more than a dozen varieties of opinions. Members of many Parliaments, professors from many more universities, an ex-ambassador or two, a few ex-ministers of state, were all jolting together up the Tregaron road. As for political views—between us we could defend most positions from the left wing right, round that semi-circle, so bewildering to the nation that built its House of Commons with only two sides, to the right wing left. We had a Fascist "made in Italy." We had some magnificently developed specimens of those interesting Continental products, majority and minority minds. Most of us had studied the prickly properties of nationalism as grown in Europe, and we were about to sample the innocent growth of that same plant as cultivated in the United Kingdom.

It will be imaginable to readers of HEADWAY that conversation on the journey was more vivacious than naive. One could have made a shrewd guess at the political affinities of modern Europe by studying the groups in the different cars. The drive was for many a good opportunity for expressing views too delicate for airing in Congress or Committee. By the time we reached Tregaron there were as many political questions under discussion in those motors as there are frontiers in the new Europe, and one may dare to surmise that most of those representatives of League of Nations Societies had become as oblivious of their torch-bearing mission as of the landscape itself. This time the torch was in other hands. It was waiting for us at Tregaron. Perhaps some of us carried sparks of it back with us to Aberystwyth later.

Our entry into Tregaron was jovial but majestic, as entries into towns by means of char-a-bancs invariably are. The scene of our arrival is worth description, though description will hardly convey the core of the experience. A foreign delegate, who might well have exhausted the novelties and emotions evokable by public receptions in any land, said later that our welcome would remain with him as a rare exhibition of the impressiveness of simple and sincere enthusiasm.

Our conveyances lumbered into a market place swarming with people who were evidently in the grip of pleasurable excitement. Many wore artificial daffodils in their coats and carried others in baskets for adornment of the delegates' buttonholes. Visitors were a little mystified, though far from displeased by being thus decorated by ladies, some of whom wore the old Welsh dress.

"The national flower," we explained. "Listen, and you will hear a lot of these people talking Welsh."

"How, then! Is Welsh a language distinct from English?"

"Absolutely. We don't understand a word of it."

We were all moving across the square to the open door of a large hall, already three parts full.

"Is the Welsh language encouraged by your Government?" asked a voice, gently. It came from a representative of a minority lately transferred to a State where diversity of culture is not smiled upon. It seemed that the meeting about to begin would stir up some comparisons very far from the minds of our kindly hosts when they planned a programme to include all that was best in what they could claim to be distinctively their own. There was Welsh singing, there were Welsh speeches. Last of all, of course, "God Save the King," sung by Welsh tongues in English with no less fervour than had gone into the hymns of their native language.

Does every State, in the long run, breed the kind of minority it deserves? Undoubtedly, some in that hall would have answered, bitterly, "Yes," to that question. Others would reply that it depended upon racial forces outside the frontiers, forces such as had never complicated the political relations of different races in Britain. There is truth behind both answers, and both were argued in vehement undertones on the way back to Aberystwyth. For the moment, however, everybody's attention was bent on Mr. Gwilym Davies' account of Henry Richard, who emerged from that remote place to become the Parliamentary pioneer of international arbitration. Certainly, as we listened to the story of his life our own visit to Tregaron seemed less of a coincidence, more of a development, than we had understood it to be before. Might not our actual presence there, as representatives of the nations who make the present and future League, be as much due to his work as to our own? At any rate, the wreath that was laid upon Richard's statue by our Swiss President before we said good-bye was deposited with very sincere emotion.

The spirit of Tregaron is perhaps best put into words in the last sentences of the address:—

"There is no better service to the cause of international peace than for a man to be so thoroughly representative of the best in his country that people of other nations who meet him shed their prejudices about the country from which he comes.

"Henry Richard was a good European because he was first and foremost a good Welshman—loving his people so intensely that he was ready always to serve them to the uttermost. And as a Welsh patriot his name will never die."

KEEPING ENMITIES ALIVE

SOME adverse comment has appeared in certain newspapers, and in letters addressed to the League of Nations Union by Sir Valentine Chirol and others, regarding the presence of Count Bernstorff as speaker at the public meeting held at University Hall, Aberystwyth during the recent sessions of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

Objection is taken to Count Bernstorff on the ground of his record as German Ambassador at Washington during the first two and a-half years of the War. That is a matter of controversy on which the curious may consult Colonel House's Memoirs, but which it would be neither profitable nor, in reality, relevant to discuss here.

The general attitude of the League of Nations Union in the matter has been set forth in a letter addressed by Professor Murray to the *Times* on July 9. From that letter the following extracts may be quoted:—

The incident in question is that someone at Aberystwyth interrupted a speech of Count Bernstorff by shouting insults; the interrupter was removed, and the meeting gave three cheers for Bernstorff. This occurred at the congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. The Federation meets each year in a different country, and chanced this year to meet at Aberystwyth, by invitation of the Welsh Council. Each national society sends its own delegates, and the German society on this occasion sent, as usual, its president, Count Bernstorff. For this, it seems the League of Nations Union is blamed. In our view, it would be most improper for the English Society to attempt to dictate to the German society what president it ought to elect or what delegate it ought to send. Such interference would be contrary to the principles of the Federation, and would soon make impossible that international co-operation which is the great object of the League of Nations movement.

As a matter of fact, Count Bernstorff has attended every, or almost every, plenary congress of the Federation, and has spoken in public, and with general acceptance, in Lyons and Warsaw, as well as other places throughout Europe. He is also the official representative of Germany on the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, and I have never heard of any objection to him being raised, or even contemplated, by the British or French representatives who sit with him. The Union could not well take upon itself to be more exclusive than the British and French Governments.

A note which appeared in the *Observer* of July 11, equally demands quotation, as embodying in lucid and uncompromising language sentiments by which most members of the Union will desire to be animated in regard to such an incident as this:—

At the meeting held by the League of Nations Union at Aberystwyth, says the *Observer*, Count Bernstorff, the former German Ambassador in America, encountered hostility from a solitary interrupter. He had for compensation the warm support of the entire audience. It was a fair illustration of the state of British feeling towards former enemies. It is not this nation's way to keep animosities alive, if it can help it, and those who wish to try artificial respiration on our more vengeful memories from time to time are in a minority that was accurately represented at Aberystwyth.

In these matters Britain approaches the truth, not through reason, perhaps, but by a kind of instinctive and good-tempered wisdom. It knows that peace and war will not mix, and that it must choose between them. In Europe, in the coal-mines or elsewhere, peace and war are not accidents. They are what men think, for "thinking makes it so." The first step towards peace and the benefits of peace—a severely practical step—is to get rid of resentments, justified and unjustified, and especially the former. The League of Nations Union has no need to apologise for bringing over from Germany a prominent advocate of the League to speak to British audiences. It would have to apologise for its existence if it had been too timid to do so.

Another apposite comment has appeared in a rather unexpected quarter. The following is from *John Bull* of July 17, 1926:—

To Lady ASKWITH,
Cadogan Gardens, S.W.

DEAR MADAM,—I cannot congratulate you upon your action in resigning from your position as hostess to the League of Nations Union, because Count Bernstorff spoke at one of its meetings. If humanity is saved from the horrors of war, it will only be by all nations resolutely turning their backs upon everything that happened in the war, and setting their faces resolutely towards the future. The League of Nations is a bigger thing than the remembrance of past hatreds. It is a great pity you forgot this.—
JOHN BULL.

This may be regarded as the last word on an episode, the importance of which has been quite unnecessarily exaggerated by a section of the Press.

WHAT TO CALL THEM

THE suggestion having been made by a reader of HEADWAY that some indication should be given in these columns of the correct pronunciation of the names of some of the more important figures associated with the League of Nations, the following fairly representative list is supplied:—

Dr. Benes	Ben-esh.
(Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia.)	
Senor Quinones de Leon	Kin-yön-es de Laon.
(Spanish Member of the Council.)	
Dr. Rajchmann	Rike-man.
(Director of the Health Section.)	
Signor Scialoja	She-a-loia.
(Italian Member of the Council.)	
M. Adatei	A-datchi.
(Japanese delegate at the Assembly.)	
Viscount Ishii	Ee-shee-ee.
(Japanese Member of the Council.)	
Count Skrzynski	Shkrin-ski.
(Former Polish Foreign Minister.)	
M. Hymans	Ee-mongs.
(Former Belgian Foreign Minister.)	
M. Uden	Oon-dane.
(Former Swedish Foreign Minister.)	
Dr. Nitobe	Nit-o-bee.
(Assistant Secretary General.)	
M. Politis	Poll-ee-tis.
(Former Greek delegate at the Assembly.)	
Mme. Bugge-Wicksell	Boug-ge-vixell.
(Member of Permanent Mandates Commission.)	
Dr. Stresemann	Strayzeman.
(German Foreign Minister.)	

LAW OR A RIFLE?

THE comparison between the settlement of private disputes by force and the settlement of public disputes by arms is often drawn, though the analogy must, of course, not be pressed too far. Nearly everything, in fact, that can be said against the use of arms by an individual in his own interests can be said against a similar use of arms by a State for a like purpose. There is, therefore, considerable point in some observations made by a London Coroner a week or two ago at an inquest on a man shot dead as he was in the act of breaking into a London garage.

"There must," said the Coroner, "necessarily be a compromise between two opposing views. On the one hand there was the necessity of taking steps against the wrongdoers, and on the other hand there was the necessity of suppressing private warfare.

"If we had private warfare in this country, things would be unbearable, and we should not be able to exist. Instead of being subject to arbitrament in court the question would be decided by the revolver and the rifle, and all subjects would become slaves or ruffians."

AMERICA AND THE COURT

THE question of whether America can or cannot be accepted as a member of the World Court on the terms she has herself laid down is being earnestly considered by most of the Governments of States already members of the Court. Since a final decision on the subject is expected to be taken by the Conference of Court members, fixed for September 1 at Geneva, the policy of each Government must be pretty largely defined within the next week or two.

The whole question narrows itself down, in effect, to one single point. Everyone would, of course, welcome America's adhesion to the Court. There would be distinct value in that in itself, quite apart from any effect it might or might not have on the attitude of the United States towards the League as a whole. The conditions, moreover, which the United States Senate has attached to its resolution in favour of entry into the Court, are, with one exception, quite reasonable.

It is the exception that is causing the trouble. The Senate insists that the Court shall give no advisory opinion to the League Council on any subject in which the United States has or even claims to have an interest, unless the consent of the United States has first been obtained. That, at first sight, at any rate, would appear to limit rather seriously the freedom of the Court to the disadvantage of the Council, though according to American supporters of the Clause, it only means that America would exercise the power which she would enjoy if she were a Member of the League with a permanent seat on the Council, to veto any proposals of which she did not approve. That argument rests on the assumption that an advisory opinion can only be sought if the Council is unanimous regarding it. Many good authorities hold that this is a matter of procedure in which a mere majority vote is sufficient. Obviously, moreover, it would be gravely inconvenient for the Council, when it had decided to seek an advisory opinion, to find the United States, which had taken no part in the Council's discussions, coming in from outside and imposing a veto on the proposal. Such a procedure would indeed be very nearly intolerable.

Unless, therefore, some compromise can be found, it looks as though the members of the Court would have no option but to inform the United States that, to their great regret, they could not see their way to accepting her as a member of the Court under the conditions she herself has laid down. It is consequently of the first importance to find a middle course, if the possibility of any such middle course exists. To this problem many able Americans friendly to the League have been devoting anxious thought. In particular, Mr. Theodore Marburg, formerly American Ambassador in Belgium and a leading member of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, has communicated to HEADWAY certain suggestions which he believes would remove the difficulties which threaten. He proposes first of all that, in order to simplify procedure, it should be assumed in each case that the United States had no objection to the decision to seek an advisory opinion unless she indicated that objection within six days, and that if she did so indicate it, she should immediately appoint her Minister at Berne to consult with the Council in the hope of reaching a harmonious agreement.

With regard to the first suggestion, Mr. Marburg points out that it is analogous to the common provision in treaties, whereby they continue in force unless they are denounced by one of the contracting parties, and he believes that the proposal for a consultation between the United States Minister at Berne and the Council would obviate disastrous delays which might otherwise take place if power were given to the United States to

hold up the Council's action while discussions took place, either by cable or through delegates, between Washington and Geneva.

Such suggestions clearly call for consideration, as do any others designed to meet the difficulties which the reservations adopted by the United States Senate have undoubtedly created. But the situation is far from simple, and the balance of probability appears to be against any immediate American adhesion to the Court.

MORE ARBITRATION

AN unofficial report of the deputation sent by the organisers of the Peacemakers' Pilgrimage to Sir Austen Chamberlain suggests that the Government is to some extent modifying its views on the subject of more complete acceptance of a general system of arbitration, and in particular in regard to the signature of the Optional Clause of the Statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

What the signature of that clause means is that countries taking this action undertake that whenever they are involved in a certain class of dispute, recognised as suitable for treatment by the Court, they will permit the Court to deal with the matter. As things are, there is no such general acceptance by Great Britain of the Court's jurisdiction at all, her consent in each individual instance being necessary.

The Foreign Secretary, in conversation with the deputation, appears to have pointed out that international law regarding such matters as the seizure of neutral merchant vessels by belligerent warships is in a state of great uncertainty. That is true, for Anglo-Saxon and Continental jurists differ widely regarding this matter, and it would be by no means unreasonable in signing the Optional Clause to make a special reservation regarding questions of this character. The Foreign Secretary, however, added the encouraging assurance that a review of the whole question of arbitration in international affairs is being undertaken by the Government, and he confirmed the announcement already made by Lord Cecil in the House of Lords that the question would be among those discussed with the Dominions at the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

It is, unfortunately, the fact that the British Government has declined to conclude all-embracing arbitration treaties with countries like Sweden and Switzerland. Indications that a change of policy is under consideration are, therefore, the more to be welcomed.

1, 2, 3, 4

AN interesting reflection on the real value of the League of Nations was suggested recently by a distinguished speaker at a private gathering. After pointing out that the League did not profess to be able to revolutionise the whole outlook of individual Statesmen, and emphasising the fact that to a large extent the men who were carrying out at Geneva policies based on the Covenant were the very same men who, before 1920, were responsible for very different policies elsewhere, he suggested that a striking impression of the value of the League could be created by arranging side by side four exhibits. The first of them would consist of photographs of some of the principal Statesmen of the world (not necessarily the most high-minded or attractive), the second of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the third of pictures of the same Statesmen as in the first, but this time grouped around the Council table at Geneva, and the fourth would be made up of a short list of the principal achievements of the League. Underneath, suggested the speaker, might be inscribed such a question as "Who would have believed that the effect of 2 on 1 would be to produce 3 and 4?"

INTO THE OPEN

By A. D. CRANFORD

IT is easy enough to stay at home and criticise the methods of the League of Nations Union or any other body. It is another matter to stir about and do something oneself. If the membership of the Union very nearly stands still during the summer months each year, the reason is obvious enough. It is because, during what might be the most important season in the year for such a work, the members of the Union are on holiday. Here is a cause that stands beside the greatest movements in history—and how many are there, even of those who believe in it profoundly, willing to do the indispensable work of bringing it before the people? It is as though we were all standing waiting at a door for someone to make the first move.

What ought that first move to be? The most superficial acquaintance with history is enough to make that clear. Leaders in all ages with a message to proclaim have stripped off their coats, turned from the effete conversation of salons and clubs, and gone into the streets, because they knew they would find there the people who would listen, who would understand, who would impel change to better things. Look back to the beginnings of Christianity. That gospel, like almost every lesser gospel after it, was preached in the open air. The Apostles were sent out, not to argue with intellectuals, but to stand in the street and proclaim their message to the people. The long journeyings on foot were not in vain if even a single person were converted. They realised how slow their work must be, and they were ready to go forward one step at a time.

Examples from the Past

Their successors ever since have followed their example. Each stage of progress was effected by devoted men, many of whom turned to poverty in order to get near to the people by preaching to them in the open and by reasoning with unbelievers who would never come within church walls. Wyclif and his Lollards trailed all over England preaching in churchyards, in market places, in gardens and streets, and talking individually afterwards to anyone who showed himself interested, till every other man was found to be a Lollard. In the midst of London, St. Paul's Cathedral has towered, as it were, over the lives of the citizens for centuries, but it was to Paul's Cross in the open air, not to the pulpit underneath the cathedral roof, that the preachers turned who desired most to make their words heard by the common people.

So example might be added to example. The First Crusade was the fruit not of any papal edict, but of the unwearied effort of one man, Peter the Hermit, who, returning from Palestine, fired by the horrors he had seen, made his passionate preaching heard from every wayside cross in the remotest islands, till a quarter of a million men were ready to leave their homes when the official call to the Crusade was at last sounded. Savenarola chose the piazza before the cathedral for the burning of "human vanities." Having exhausted the resources of the pulpit, he chose this more literal method of arresting the attention of the artists and princes he could never hope to win in his church. Even the gibbet on the roadside emphasises the same lesson, for, set there, it was the most effective of all symbols of the law, as were the burnings and trials and courts held in the open.

It is hard to review methods pursued by modern movements without becoming involved in the controversies surrounding them, but again and again it will be found that the greatest success has been achieved when the simplicity of tradition has been followed. The Bolshevik revolution gained the day

after the country had been flooded by speakers who gathered audiences round them in every village. It was not till after the revolution that the new leaders further strengthened their position by changing the curriculum in the schools and directing the sermons from the pulpits. In Russia to-day, the radio at street corners is doing its work in carrying the Bolshevik message to thousands who cannot read, and, if they could, would respond far more readily to the appeal to the ear than to the eye. Gandhi in India is doing the same thing, awakening through the spoken word at open-air meetings multitudes who have never seen a newspaper.

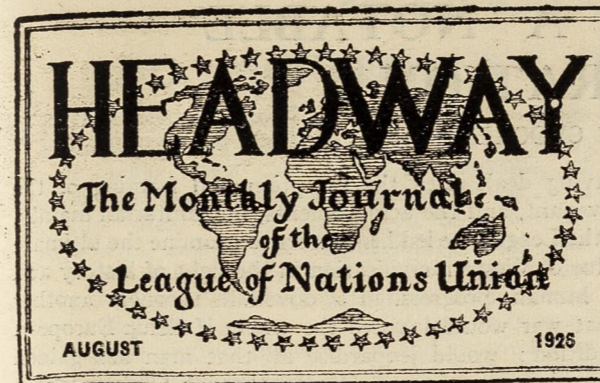
Lost Opportunities

But if this is the oldest, and in some ways still the most effective, of all ways of reaching the people, it is, in a sense, a prodigal method, and calls for the services of numbers of persons prepared during the fine weather of the summer and autumn to go to the places where people with leisure are to be found, the beaches, the parks, the village greens. Such work calls for a certain simplicity of appeal. It needs to be followed up by pamphlets carefully chosen or specially written. Somehow or other, the business of making each individual listener realise how the issue concerns him must be faced. There are more than 500,000 members of the League of Nations Union. What could they do if they would to make the issues of justice and humanity, for which the League of Nations stands, heard and understood and accepted? The League of Nations Union in Great Britain is in the front in most things, but as regards open-air work in the summer, it still has a good deal to learn. The Non-partisan Association in America, for example, reports that the most successful meetings it has organised took place last summer at the great pleasure resort of Coney Island beach, which corresponds vaguely to Blackpool or Southend in this country. It is hard to avoid the melancholy conclusion that the holiday months in Great Britain are to a great extent a season of lost opportunities. The summer of 1926 is slipping past, and such work as this needs organisation, but, if the occasion is taken in hand, there is no reason why 1927 should not show as steady an increase in membership in August and September as a normal year does in October or January.

THE NEXT GENERATION

FROM two very different quarters of the world come encouraging reports of the extent to which official cognizance is being taken of the League of Nations in public schools of the countries concerned. The Tasmanian Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union has persuaded the University authorities in Tasmania to include the subject of the League in Leaving Certificate Examinations, and the section on Modern History has been re-drafted so as to include a sub-heading, "The League of Nations, its Origin and Covenant." The introduction into Secondary Schools of a booklet on Australia and the League of Nations is being considered, and similar action is contemplated for the Primary Schools.

Simultaneously, the Belgian Government has been moving in the same direction. All school teachers in Elementary and Secondary Schools have been directed to instruct their pupils regarding the aims and work of the League. Lectures on differences between nations and the method of their settlement have been organised in the upper classes of private schools and of the State Secondary Schools. An active exchange of correspondence has developed between the pupils of several Secondary Schools in Belgium and children in Great Britain and America.



ARTICLES OF FAITH

AUGUST is a month when most people will be thinking extremely little about the League of Nations, though there are sound reasons, emphasised in an article on another page, why opportunities should be seized and the fundamental facts about the League's existence and work carried out to the beaches and commons to people indisposed to come and listen to the story inside four solid walls.

But if we are only going to think a little about the League in this holiday month, it is just as well that that little thinking should be on sound lines. Public meetings are for the most part in abeyance in August. Very well. There is so much the more time available for a little reflection on how public meetings should be managed; why they succeed and why fail; what sort of results should be aimed at and what methods followed; what, in fact, is the story we really have to tell and what is the best way of telling it.

What, once more, is the story? Are we to stress most what the League of Nations is, or what the League of Nations has done? Is the man to whom we are introducing the League for the first time to be shown only the wood and told not to trouble about the trees, or to be made to see only the trees, so that he never fully realises that a wood exists? There is no doubt room for both methods at different times and in different circles. At the same time, the point emphasised by Mr. Norman Angell on another page needs driving home all the while. The League is an organisation that has developed a number of concrete activities, but it is a body that rests fundamentally on a few quite simple principles, the simplest and in some ways the most fundamental of all being that defined in the first line of the Covenant:

"To promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security."

But such a purpose as that is a little vague. It is not enough to resolve to achieve international peace and security. We have to resolve, further, to find the best method of doing that, and, having found it, to follow it unswervingly.

That carries us forthwith to the heart of Mr. Angell's contention. Once a nation's ambitions or desires bring it into conflict with some other nation there are only two ways known to the League in which their differences can be satisfactorily composed. They must either come to a friendly agreement among themselves, with or without the aid of disinterested friends at the Council table of the League, or they must submit in advance to the impartial judgment of some detached arbiter with no temptation to base his judgment on anything but common-sense and justice. An arbiter need not, of course, be an individual. More often what is meant is some board or committee or panel of competent men. Be that as it may, what is demanded of an arbiter, however defined, is sufficient knowledge and experience to make his finding authoritative, and suffi-

cient character to make it certain that no shadow of favouritism or self-interest is colouring his verdict. For many purposes the Permanent Court of International Justice is clearly the most authoritative arbiter available, and it is satisfactory to gather that the British Government is giving more favourable attention than it has so far done to the idea of signing and ratifying the optional clause, and thereby signifying its willingness to accept the jurisdiction of the Court as regards every case falling within the class universally recognised as suitable for the Court's decision.

But if it is important to insist on the essential purposes and principles of the League, it is important for a particular reason. Support is needed for the League, not in fair weather, but at moments of crisis. It is something, no doubt, to have half a million League of Nations Union members, all of them vaguely sympathetic towards the League, a fair proportion of them reasonably well informed about its main activities, and a few prepared to stand by the League when they think it right, no matter what their fellow-citizens, their political associates, or even their personal friends may say. But till the loyalty of the few has spread and penetrated to the many the cause of the League in this country will lack that sure and firm foundation on which alone it can plant itself foursquare against all assault.

What does this amount to in practice? There can be no question of reposing any blind confidence in every policy the League of Nations may adopt. Its acts, like the acts of any similar organisation, must stand or fall on their individual merit. But when it comes to principles clearly set out in the Covenant, accepted without cavil by all the signatories of that international treaty, and approved by everyone who believes in the League of Nations at all, then there can be no more hesitation in foul weather than there is in fair. If, for example, Great Britain is pledged, as she is, to arbitrate, or at any rate enter on peaceful discussions, before she fights, then no party loyalty, no national loyalty even, will persuade the sincere supporter of the League to stand by a Government that insists on fighting first.

That, it may be said, is an extreme case, for it can never be supposed that Great Britain would ever begin fighting before the processes of conciliation she had sworn to observe had been observed. It is next door to certain that she never would. But take the possibility of action against a Covenant-breaking State being required under Article XVI. That would throw heavy responsibilities on this country. It might involve her in serious financial loss. Her interest would impel her to hold aloof. Her pledges under the Covenant, on the other hand, would impel her to co-operate to the full extent of her capacity in League action. Which way would the country in fact go in such a case? And could supporters of the League be counted on to stand solid when the moment of testing came?

Those are the questions that must be answered if we are to satisfy ourselves whether it is well with the cause of the League in Great Britain or not. Knowledge of details of the actual working of the League is important, but not essential. Knowledge and full understanding of what the League fundamentally stands for is vital. And on those who have grasped what Mr. Angell would call the A B C, it devolves to stand by those elemental principles in face of whatever opposition from whatever source.

In doing that they will be serving their country—even though its material interests may seem for the moment to suffer—as effectively as they are serving the League; for Great Britain is pledged to carry out the undertakings of the Covenant, and to hold the Government of the country to its pledges, if it be tempted for a moment to forget them, is to maintain the country's reputation for honour and fair dealing in the world.

COVENANTERS: A NOTABLE COMMEMORATION

By RUTHERFORD CROCKETT

YORK MINSTER, through its centuries of historic happenings, has witnessed the ratification, open or implied, of many formal covenants—covenants of Royal alliances, with "the blighting wind of political intrigue" whistling through their suave phrases; war-covenants innumerable, where the seal of sanctity has blessed the unsheathed sword; political covenants, "not inconveniently honest," nor, sometimes, inconveniently Christian in their outlook. The "High Contracting Parties" of these past centuries, with their quarrels and their hopes, are commemorated in the monuments of stone, in the jewelled panes of ancient glass, in the torn discoloured banners which hang from the Cathedral walls.

Unique significance marked the assembling together of 3,000 persons in the nave of the Minster on Sunday, June 27, to commemorate the anniversary of the Signing of the Covenant of the League of Nations—"that great charter of repentance on the part of the diplomatists of Europe," as Professor Gilbert Murray has called it.

Church and State, in the Mother Church of the north, had joined hands to do honour to the Union and its ambassador, Professor Murray. The sunset lights streamed in through the high west window as the civic procession, headed by the Lord Mayor, Sheriff and Town Clerk, and preceded by the ancient Cap of Maintenance, with the Sword and Mace, took its way up the great nave.

The strains of an organ prelude greeted them, appropriately enough, on the theme of Parry's "Jerusalem," which has become, at League gatherings, a kind of international anthem. The procession was received by the Dean (Dr. Lionel Ford, late Headmaster of Harrow) and by Professor Murray in his scarlet robes of Doctor of Literature.

The Zeal that Unites

In a city so buttressed by tradition as York it was remarkable to find the spirit of League *entente* so clearly manifest in all the arrangements for this gathering. Other religious bodies in the city had given up their pre-arranged meetings in favour of the service; clergy of all denominations conducted their flocks to the Minster. The large voluntary choir, conducted by the cathedral organist, was drawn from all sections and classes of the community. The duties of stewardship were undertaken by the masters and boys of a well-known Quaker school.

A microphone and amplifiers had been specially installed for the service—the first experiment of its kind in the Cathedral. After prayers, offered by the Dean for World-Peace, the League and the Union, came the singing of Blake's great hymn, "Jerusalem." As the words—

"Bring me my spear! O clouds, unfold!
Bring me my chariot of fire!"

rang out among the pillars of the vast nave, they seemed a prelude to Professor Murray's theme—"The spirit of the faithful soldier must still inhabit those who are ready to face all that he faced, in a yet greater cause—that of the peace of the world."

Professor Murray's address revealed the speaker as a happy blend of the lucid, patient expositor and the distinguished classical scholar, enthusiast and poet.

Having dealt with the inception and framing of the Covenant, and the achievements, humanitarian mainly, of the League, he led his hearers to examine the ultimate value of Western civilisation in the light of history and of human progress. Its downfall through another great war would involve the whole Hellenic-European tradition; would jeopardise all that man has gained through Plato, through Homer, through Shakespeare—above all, through the thirteenth chapter of Corinthians.

By reasoned stages Professor Murray discarded inessential, stripped away misconceptions and clarified the issues. What, he demanded finally, is human history? Is it "merely a brief and discreditable episode in the life of one of the meaner planets?" Or is there, as the Greeks averred, something of higher value than the individual life? Do we live to create things greater than ourselves? The message of our civilised heritage is, in brief, "*Live in the service of something higher and more enduring than yourselves, so that when the tragic transience of life at last breaks in upon you, you can feel that the thing for which you have lived does not die.*" The ideal of world-peace is one of these undying things; an active spirit, without which the higher purposes of life, the purpose of God running through the tangle of the world, cannot be realised. World-peace, for which every member of the L.N.U., in his day and generation, is doing battle, demands, Professor Murray concluded, the crusader's valour and the soldier's sacrifice. It claims these in the cause of public right, of the enthronement above all national intrigues and ambitions of the authoritative conscience of the world.

An Inspiring Example

One felt that an authentic seal of affirmation had been set upon Professor Murray's speech when, at its close, the vast congregation which filled every corner of the Minster rose as one man and sang those arresting words of John Addington Symonds—"These things shall be."

Seldom has one witnessed a greater triumph of organisation and co-operation than that displayed by this memorable service. The eagerness shown by the religious, civic and educational authorities, by the singers and the stewards, as well as by the great congregation, to abandon all elements of disunion in favour of the high world-project so vividly set before them, was remarkable. If the other great Cathedrals of England would fling open their doors, and offer their pulpits, to men of such broad catholicity of outlook, such pellucid clarity of vision, as Professor Murray, the advance of wider international ideals would not be far to seek.

The background of our great Minsters and Cathedrals provides an unparalleled setting for those fundamental ideals for which the League stands. Where Saxon and Norman, Elizabethan and Georgian, have laboured and wrought in stone and glass and carving a unity in diversity which has defied the years, may not their sons also labour? May not our generation add a glory of its own to this great inheritance of order, beauty and tradition, by building upon the foundations of past endeavour in these great naves and aisles where the illustrious dead still quicken the aspirations of the living, a new and imperishable heritage of the world?

A SEAMAN'S CODE I.L.O. AGREEMENTS ON THE SAILOR'S LIFE

WHAT happens to an able seaman when he finds himself stranded far from home through shipwreck or some other cause? That depends, of course, on whether he is saved alive or not. If he is, how does he get home, or how does he get anywhere, and what responsibility have the owners of the ship towards him? Not very many people know what does, in fact, happen to him, and not very many people care. Actually the position so far is that if the contract between him and his employers is broken by such an incident as shipwreck, he is left to find a job on some other ship or get wherever he wants to get as best he can, and pay the costs out of his scantily-lined pocket.

That kind of situation was one good reason among many for the holding of a special session of the International Labour Conference devoted exclusively to matters concerning seamen. The Conference sat through most of the month of June, which explains, incidentally, why its results could not be reported in last month's HEADWAY. As to the organisation of the Conference Lord Burnham, one of the British Government delegates, was chosen to preside, an honour which had been conferred on him twice previously in the history of the I.L.O. Great Britain, which has hitherto enjoyed a certain reputation in matters pertaining to the sea, signalled itself by sending to a Conference vitally concerning every shipowner no single owner of a ship. Its employers' delegate was Mr. Cuthbert Laws, the secretary of the Shipping Federation, and he was supported by Dr. Willem Bisschop, barrister-at-law. The workers' delegate was Mr. Arthur Pugh, chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, advised by Mr. Findlay, Mr. Henson, Mr. Tillett, and Mr. John Hill.

Laying Foundations

The Conference itself was a lineal descendant of the second I.L.O. Conference held at Genoa in 1920, one interesting point of difference between the two being that 27 States were represented at Genoa in 1920 and 38 at Geneva in 1926. Even so, the Conference suffered from no excess of ambition. It attempted little more than the laying of foundations, and one or two Latin American delegates made some complaint that the Conventions they were being asked to ratify were below the standards already pertaining in their own countries. That is not, in fact, a very valid criticism, for the purpose of such work as the I.L.O. is doing must be, in the first instance, to level up the backward States to the standard of the more progressive. After that it may be possible to carry the whole company further forward still.

In consonance with that principle, the purpose of the Conference was to secure international agreement on various questions affecting the life of a sailor on the average merchant vessel. Taken as a whole, that is a large subject, and the Conference attempted to deal only with certain aspects of it. It succeeded in securing the necessary support for two draft Conventions, one concerning the sailor's articles of agreement, and the other concerning the return to their own country, or to the port from which they sailed, of seamen who, through shipwreck or some like cause, are jettisoned in some distant part of the world. In addition, a recommendation on the general principles in the inspection of the conditions of seamen's work was approved, and it was decided to request the Governing Body to convene another conference, devoted solely to maritime questions, for 1928, to deal particularly with the regulation of hours of work on shipboard.

Agreement on these points was not obtained without

considerable argument, the British employers' delegate, in particular, offering a resolute resistance to various points in the draft Conventions laid before the Conference by the International Labour Office as basis for discussion. As regards the question of seamen's articles of agreement, the opposition maintained in committee was, indeed, abandoned when the matter came finally before the main Conference, for the draft Convention was adopted by 95 votes to none. Manifestly, the contract of engagement the seaman signs is a matter of the first importance to him. A deck hand on a tramp steamship is not usually a highly literate person, and stilted legal phrases mean about as much to him as Swahili would. It is, therefore, essential, if he is to get a fair deal, that some reasonably uniform contract form shall be adopted, which leaves little loophole for abuse on the part of anyone to whose interest it may be to abuse it. The draft Convention is devoted to laying down certain provisions which ought to be embodied in every such contract form, and so far as the Convention is honoured by its signatories, the sailor will find himself substantially less exposed to the possibilities of unfair dealing than he has been up till now.

A Get-You-Home Convention

The Convention on the repatriation of seamen had a less favourable voyage. It managed, however, to get adopted by 76 votes to 22, the British Government and British Workers delegates voting for it, and the British Employers against. The principle embodied in the Convention is that a sailor who is landed during the term of his engagement, or at the end of it, shall be entitled to be taken back to his own country or to the port where he was engaged, or the port at which the voyage began, and the signatories of the Convention undertake to bring in, if necessary, domestic legislation covering this contingency and laying it down whoshall bear the charges of repatriation.

A third Convention laid before the Conference failed to secure adoption at all, since it did not secure the necessary two-thirds majority. It dealt with the question of the punishment of seamen, a matter on which as much definition as possible is clearly to be desired, since the master of a vessel at present exercises over his crew powers of discipline which in any industry ashore would be regarded as autocratic to the last degree. That is largely necessary and natural, but there is the sailor's side of the business, too, and though it was not felt that discussion had been carried far enough to justify the adoption of an actual Convention on the spot, the Conference passed a resolution calling on the Labour Office to study national laws on certain aspects of this question, with a view to considering whether international action shall not be taken.

Life in Many Ports

Meanwhile, the actual output of this Ninth I.L.O. Conference was by no means discreditable. A seaman's life is lived under special conditions, and rules and regulations applying to ordinary industries on land will not apply to him. On the other hand, his vocation is far more international than most, for he sails the far seas and touches at the ports of many lands. Men, moreover, of different nationalities often serve side by side on the same vessel. The case, therefore, for carrying uniform international action as far as it can be carried is manifestly strong. The Maritime Conference of Genoa in 1920 has been succeeded, as already stated, by the Maritime Conference of Geneva in 1926. Expectation will now be centred on a third Conference of the same type in 1928.

ABERYSTWYTH

THIRTY LEAGUE SOCIETIES SEND DELEGATES

MOST people know that the International Federation of League of Nations Societies is, as its name implies, an association of bodies doing in some thirty or forty different countries on a larger or smaller scale the kind of work the League of Nations Union is doing in Great Britain. Most people know that the Federation held its annual meeting this year at Aberystwyth at the beginning of July, and a good many even know that the reason the meeting was held on the soil of Great Britain was that it was deemed wise to hold over, till after Germany's actual entry into the League, the invitation which was to have been extended by the German Society for a meeting at Dresden.

As things were, the delegates met in surroundings rather different from those to which they have been accustomed in late years. Aberystwyth is not a national capital like Prague or Vienna or Warsaw, but the Welsh hills and the Welsh sea, and the magnificent weather which prevailed throughout the Conference, fully compensated for the absence of certain pomp and dignities associated with recent continental meetings. Reference is made on other pages of HEADWAY to various aspects and incidents of the Conference. Here it is only possible to give a general indication of the nature and outcome of the discussions. Delegates from some 30 Societies were present, including those in two countries not members of the League, the United States of America and Germany. The British delegation was, as might be expected, strong in numbers, and included Lady Gladstone, Mr. David Davies, M.P., to whose generosity and business ability the success of the Conference was before all things due, Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Sir Walter Napier, Mr. Norman Angell, Professor Baker, Sir Arthur Haworth, and Mr. T. F. Lister, Chairman of the British Legion.

Political Views

This year, as usual, discussions took place and resolutions were drafted on a variety of political questions with which the League is itself dealing. Notable among these were the Minority problem, regarding which suggestions as to a definite procedure were formulated and will be presented to the League; the Slavery Convention, which the Federation desires to see tightened up, particularly in the direction of excluding forced labour for private profit, as it is excluded under the Central African mandates; the I.L.O., in connection with which satisfaction was expressed at the proposal to undertake an inquiry into coal mining conditions the world over, and the hope formulated that the agreement arrived at on Hours of Labour between the British, French, German, Italian and Belgium Governments, would bring about the speedy ratification of the Washington Convention on that subject. In the field of Economics, an extensive report had been drawn up by Professor Hentsch, a Swiss delegate, covering most of the ground on which the Economic Conference at Geneva will have to enter. This was ultimately adopted with various modifications, suggested mostly by British delegates, such as, for example, the substitution of the principle of the gradual lowering of barriers which separate States, for the idealistic phrase originally proposed, "the gradual abolition of frontiers." The Disarmament resolution was based on a draft submitted by the British League of Nations Union, and followed broadly the L.N.U. proposals summarised elsewhere in HEADWAY.

The main feature, however, of the Aberystwyth meetings was a very wholesome concentration of attention on what is, after all, the Federation's main business, the work of education which the national

societies are carrying out in the countries they represent. The first innovation, and one abundantly justified by results, was the decision to devote the opening sessions of the Congress not to a series of more or less formal speeches, but to reports from each national society as to the main lines of its work in the past year.

The result was a rapid review of successful work under diverse circumstances in many lands, the most interesting individual report being one from a country not yet a Member of the League of Nations, namely, the United States. There the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association has shown unflagging activity. Apart from actual meetings of its own, it has found it wise to work to a large extent through other organisations which give it platforms. High School prizes for essays on the League have been offered. At Yale some 200 were turned away from an exhibition of the Association's film. At Coney Island, New York's great summer resort, the Association has maintained a standing exhibit and conducted continuous propaganda work. It has also established a permanent office at Geneva for the benefit of the stream of Americans constantly visiting the seat of the League, and it is at present urging on Congress that the United States shall pay its share of the cost of those League activities in which it actually participates.

Soldiers and Teachers

The French delegate pointed out that in France the method followed was to federate a number of different societies which undertook to support the League of Nations. He gave striking figures to show the hold the League of Nations has on ex-soldiers, and said that out of 120,000 members of the National Union of Teachers, 90,000 had undertaken to exclude from their teaching all incentives to war. From Bulgaria came the assurance that as a result of League activities directly affecting that country, the League had greatly increased its hold on the Bulgarian people. In Austria there has been expansion on a limited scale, for where there was originally one society, namely, in Vienna, there are now many, in Innsbruck and elsewhere. The representative of Germany reported that at last a really influential League of Nations Society had been formed in that country, and that much headway was being made on educational lines through associations of students, teachers, children and professors.

Spain reported vaguely that the cause of the League was going well, and the Italian delegate, who was understood to speak directly for the present Government, gave the rather perplexing total of 1,500,000 professed League supporters in that country, though it was not entirely clear what the basis of the figure was. The Dutch representative spoke of the success of the film the Dutch Society has constructed, and mentioned that a new monthly journal had been started. Sweden alone sounded a subdued note. There, said Baron Adelsward, the League of Nations Society held very few meetings, with a small attendance, and published very little literature, which very few people ever read—the reason, however, being, as he assured the Federation, that everyone in Sweden was so convinced a supporter of the League that educational work in the League's interest was regarded as largely superfluous.

Not content with this series of reports, the Congress decided, again with much wisdom, to systematise in the future the study of varying national methods in this matter. The Secretariat, accordingly, is directed to collect and circulate to all Societies information regarding each individual society under such heads as

THE GIFT OF TONGUES

By ANTHONY SOMERS

I have discovered a remarkable method of learning French, Spanish, Italian and German. I only wish I had known of it before. It would have saved me much drudgery, toil and disappointment.

It has sometimes been said that the British people do not possess the "gift of tongues." Certainly I never did. At school I was hopeless. When the subject was French, German, Latin or Greek I was always somewhere near the bottom of my Form. Yet in other subjects I held my own quite well. I have now come to the conclusion—my recent experience has convinced me of this—that the reason I failed to learn languages was that the method of teaching was wrong.

Although I never "got on" with Foreign Languages, I have always wanted to know them—especially French. I have wanted to read Racine and Balzac and Anatole France, and that great critic whom Matthew Arnold so much admired, Sainte Beuve, in French, and not merely through the medium of a characterless translation. And I have wanted to spend holidays abroad without being tied to a phrase-book. So I have often tried to find a method which would really teach me a Foreign Language. And at last I have found it.

Some time ago I read that the well-known Pelman Institute was teaching French, Spanish, German and Italian by an entirely new method. I wrote for particulars, and they so interested me that I enrolled for a course in French. Frankly, it has amazed me. Here is the method I have wanted all my life. It is quite unlike anything I have ever heard of before, and its simplicity and effectiveness are almost startling.

Consider, for example, this question:

"Do you think you could pick up a book of 400 pages, written in a language of which you may not know a syllable—say Spanish, Italian, German or French—and not containing a single English word, and read it through correctly without referring to a dictionary?"

Most people will say that such a thing is impossible. Yet this is just what the new method enables you to do, as you will see for yourself when you take the first lesson.

One of the most striking features of the Pelman Courses in French, German, Italian and Spanish is that they are given entirely in the language concerned. English is not used at all. Yet, even if you do not know the meaning of a single Foreign word you can study these Courses with ease, right from the beginning, and without "looking up" any words in a vocabulary. It sounds incredible, but it is perfectly true.

Further, this new method enables you to read, write and speak French, Spanish, Italian or German without bothering your head with complex grammatical rules or learning by heart long lists of Foreign words. Yet, when you have completed one of these Courses, you will be able to read Foreign books and newspapers, and to write and speak the language in question grammatically and fluently, without the hesitation which comes when a Foreign Language is acquired through the medium of English.

This new Pelman method of learning languages is explained in four little books entitled "How to learn French," "How to learn German," "How to learn Spanish," and "How to learn Italian." You can have one of these books to-day, free of cost. Write (mentioning which one of the four you require) to the PELMAN INSTITUTE (Languages Dept.), 114, Pelman House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1, and the particular book you require (with full particulars of the method) will be sent you by return, gratis and post free.



Membership, Organisation, Activity in the matter of meetings and lectures, Publications, Exhibitions, also of Films and Wireless, Political Activities and so forth. More than that, a special Committee of the Council is to be appointed to consider these surveys and to draw up a general report regarding them, which the full Council will consider whenever it meets. There is thus every prospect that, in the future much more than in the past, any idea which a particular society finds fruitful will, with little delay, be brought before other societies, which in their own countries may be able to benefit by it equally.

While it is no doubt desirable that the Federation should devote a reasonable proportion of its energies to the consideration of urgent political problems, the tendency to lay much more emphasis on methods of work is very much to be welcomed, and there is every prospect that in that respect the 1927 meeting at Dresden (if it be at Dresden) will show as great an advance over this year's Congress at Aberystwyth as this year's Congress did over its predecessors.

A NANSEN STAMP

A RECENT decision of the International Labour Office is calculated to give philatelists a new object in life, for it may safely be assumed that anyone who has been attacked by the virus of stamp-collecting will crave for one of the new Nansen Refugee stamps that the Office is preparing to issue.

The I.L.O. has been casting about for some time to discover a new means of supplementing the meagre funds it has at its disposal for its colossal task of finding employment for upwards of a million Russian and Armenian refugees. Last May, a special Inter-Governmental Conference was held to explore ways and means for creating a Revolving Fund of not less than £100,000 to assist this emigration work. It was at this Conference that the idea was suggested of levying a special annual fee on the identity cards or certificates—which are, in effect, international passports—that are issued by the League to those unfortunate Russians and Armenians who cannot obtain, or refuse to accept, Soviet or Turkish nationality. Stamps were obviously the most simple and convenient method of collecting this levy, and accordingly the Conference decided that a new stamp of one value only, five gold francs, should be issued. It is to bear the portrait of Dr. Nansen, the League's High Commissioner for Refugees, as a tribute to his splendid work. The stamp will probably be issued separately in French and English, and various designs are at present being considered by the Swiss Federal Office in Berne.

Although the final details of the scheme remain to be drawn up, it is expected that the Governments of countries in which these refugees are working will make themselves responsible for stamping the identity cards each year, and will collect the fees from all refugees, except those who are entirely without means. The proceeds will then be handed over to the League for the Revolving Fund, which is used for advancing loans to destitute refugees to enable them to travel to countries where they can find work. The money is lent on the understanding that it will be repaid by instalments when the refugee has obtained employment, and so far there have been practically no defaulters. Under the present arrangements, so soon as the refugee has repaid the whole of his loan he has no further responsibility. But when the Nansen stamp scheme comes into operation each refugee will pay an annual levy of a little over four shillings. As the whole of the money thus raised will be used in assisting the I.L.O. to settle other refugees, there is a certain poetic justice in the tax.

BOOKS WORTH READING

ITALY'S IDEAS

Italy: The Central Problem of the Mediterranean, by Count Antonio Cippico (Milford, 10s. 6d. net). Into six brief lectures to the Institute of Politics at Williamstown Count Cippico packs one of those glorifications of Fascist Italy with which the world is now familiar. Italy, we learn, is to-day not a democracy, but a super-democracy, whatever that vague and improvised term may mean. Count Cippico avoids applying the actual word *superman* to Signor Mussolini, but all the implications are there, if not the actual phraseology.

Of the League, the Italian lecturer has one or two observations of interest to make. He is entirely scornful of efforts to "attempt the complete abolition of war either by generous popular movements or by congresses tending to total or partial disarmament." "If," he contends, "the League of Nations or any other similar society would hope one day to attain to that ideal of peace for which it has been created, it must above all aim at furthering the knowledge of international affairs among nations, at improving the spiritual, intellectual and economic conditions of humanity." That is sound enough doctrine, though it is no more than a restatement of views almost universally held.

So far as Italy's relations to the League are concerned Count Cippico has little to say. In regard to the Corfu incident he makes the rather startling observation that "by the episode of the bombardment of Corfu Italy gave the world the proof, besides that of her will to be respected in all parts of the world, of her great moderation." As evidence of his country's loyalty to the League Count Cippico mentions that she has ratified eight of the I.L.O. conventions and offered to establish at Rome under League auspices an Institute for the unification of private law. It may, perhaps, be considered in some quarters that an even more arresting evidence of loyalty to Geneva would have been the practice of still more excessive moderation at Corfu. The writer, incidentally, makes it clear what store Italy sets by her position in the Mediterranean, and how ill she takes it that both exits from that great thoroughfare are dominated by Great Britain.—X. Y. Z.

BACKWARD NATIONS

The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law, by M. F. Lindley, LL.D. (Longmans, 21s.). Dr. M. F. Lindley has written a most valuable work on the acquisition and government of backward territory in international law. He gives to it the sub-title of "A Treatise on the Law and Practice relating to Colonial Expansion." That adequately and accurately describes the contents of the book.

In taking this as his subject matter, Dr. Lindley has followed the very authoritative example of the late Professor Westlake, who was the first writer on international law to discuss at all fully the relations between advanced and backward peoples. Just because the subject has, except for Westlake, been generally neglected, Dr. Lindley's study is of special value. It is the kind of matter which is of practical and increasing importance, and his book is a contribution to the new international law which is beginning to be written. In his different parts he deals with the territory, the acquiring sovereign, the methods of acquisition and the exercise of the sovereignty, and his discussion of the mandate system under different headings is complete and valuable. His work also contains an admirable bibliography and a complete list of the arbitrations and cases which he has used.—P. J. N. B.

POINTED QUESTIONS

Q.—Has the attitude of the Government changed towards the Optional Clause?

A.—As an article on another page indicates, there is reason to believe that the British Government is considering this question afresh, and the fact that it is to be discussed at the Imperial Conference suggests a disposition to depart from the attitude of blank refusal to sign and ratify a clause pledging its signatories always to accept the jurisdiction of the Court in the case of certain specified classes of disputes.

Q.—Has the British Government taken any steps to strengthen the Forced Labour clause of the Slavery Convention?

A.—It unfortunately has not. It is extremely desirable that any reference to forced labour in the Convention should stipulate for the adoption of at least as high a standard as prevails in the various African mandates, and it is to be hoped that if Great Britain does not make a proposal to this effect in September some other nation will.

Q.—Why has the Military Sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission done so little to answer the questions put to it? Why has it revised the general position of the Preparatory Commission regarding "war potential"?

A.—It is the opinion of most well-qualified judges that the military experts have made quite reasonable progress. The questions put to it cover almost the whole field of preparation for a Disarmament Conference, and, in view of the fact that twenty nations, often with widely divergent views, are represented on the Experts' Sub-committee, it was expected that lengthy discussions would be necessary. It does not appear to be the case that the Sub-committee has differed from the Preparatory Commission on the subject of the limitation of the ultimate war resources of a nation.

FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE

THE League's record is by this time so full and so varied that the ordinary person cannot hope to carry the complete list in his head. Nor does he wish to carry a large volume in his pocket. In "What the League Has Done" the Union has surmounted this difficulty by producing for 3d. a complete, up-to-date summary of all the League's work. It does not run to details, as could hardly be expected in the space, but a full bibliography of the relevant official documents, together with the reference to the pages in "Reconstruction," by Maurice Fanshawe (Allen & Unwin, price 5s.), where the subject is dealt with at greater length, is given with the record of each incident. Thus the pamphlet can be extremely useful both as an aid to the memory of those who are fairly well up in the facts, and as a starting-point for those who wish to search further into any particular subject.

In "The World's Need of the Churches' Help" (2d.) an address is reprinted which was given by Dr. Maxwell Garnett at a great meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster. The speech is an appeal to the Churches to join in the Union's work of converting the world from the spirit of war to the spirit of peace. The League's work is so clearly Christian in its essence that it is surprising that any churches should hesitate to support it. "No politics in the pulpit" is sometimes given as a reason; but, as Dr. Garnett points out, it is better to have politics in the pulpit than war memorials on the walls. His address explains clearly and vividly the underlying principles of the League, the way in which it carries them out, and what men and women of goodwill can do to help it.

READERS' VIEWS

THE GERMAN COLONIES

SIR.—Very seldom indeed in the course of a long literary career have I replied to a reviewer, recognising that he has just the same right to hold his opinions as I to hold mine. Nevertheless, I ask the courtesy of a little space in which to controvert a statement contained in your review of Dr. Schnee's book, "German Colonisation, Past and Present." I ask it not for personal reasons, but for the sake of the vitally important issue involved. The reviewer states, "Mr. W. Harbutt Dawson . . . falls into the common and mischievous error of implying that the mandates system is neither more nor less than annexation." I think your reviewer might safely have credited me with knowledge of the meaning of the mandate system. Wherein, however, am I so mischievously in the wrong? It is an incontrovertible fact that the German colonies were occupied with a definite view to permanent possession and were divided amongst the Allies from that standpoint early in the war. The opposition of President Wilson seemed to frustrate that purpose, at least in form, but is there one of the mandatory States or Dominions which does not regard the existing system as equivalent to outright ownership?

Take the British mandates. Everything done in the German colonies since the mandates were assigned has contemplated a status of permanency. I mention only the cruel expropriation and exile of the German settlers, who had done so much to give tranquillity, order, and civilisation to these territories, the sale of their possessions to British buyers, the introduction of British law, and the proposal made in certain quarters to incorporate Tanganyika in an all-British Dominion. Is it not a fact also that, since your reviewer wrote, the Colonial Secretary, resorting to that cynical sophistry which is the curse of our modern political life, has publicly contended that mandatory government does not affect Great Britain's right to retain these purloined territories for all time? I ask any fair-minded reader, what does all this mean but implied and intended annexation? After all, it is not the word, but the thing, that matters; and it is a fact that not once has any British Minister of State yet admitted even the possibility of temporary occupation, though I do not doubt for a moment that every statesman amongst us who is worthy of the name is perfectly conscious that Germany will have to have colonies again.—Yours, etc.,
W. H. DAWSON.
Oxford.

STAMPING OUT SLAVERY

SIR.—It is with much regret that again I see in HEADWAY of this month nothing about the miserable condition of Armenian women; in the short article on "Stamping out Slavery" no mention is made of their deplorable condition, which is much worse than that of many slaves of other kinds. The very small sum apportioned by the League of Nations towards their liberation seems to some of us a scandal. Even in the notice of "an Armenian home" no mention is made of the rescue of these poor women and girls in HEADWAY, so that many persons can hardly know of their deplorable condition. The response to the Bishop of London's appeal in the newspapers is very inadequate. I recently increased my subscription to the Union to £1, but I shall not be able to continue to do so if the Union does no more than it has done to help those who are among the greatest sufferers from the war. I think there are others who feel like me that it is strange that HEADWAY neglects so important a piece of work.—I am, Yours, etc.,
E. T. HALLOWES.
50, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

[The position of Armenian women has no connection either with the Slavery Convention or with "An Armenian Home," to both of which our correspondent refers. HEADWAY has devoted to this question space fully proportionate to the place Miss Jeppe's admirable work at Aleppo holds in relation to the total volume of the League's activities.—ED., HEADWAY.]

A LEAGUE OF RELIGIONS

SIR.—The letter in your July issue from the representative of the "Religions and Ethics Committee," with its comprehensive division of the world into Christian and non-Christian races and communities *en bloc*, seems considerably to beg the question. So long as words are to be regarded as bearing any particular meaning, a Christian must surely mean someone who accepts, at any rate, some of the historical and philosophical statements of the Christian creed, or shares in corresponding observances; and there must be many non-Asiatic and non-African supporters of the League who do not. It seems an illegitimate assumption to strain the Christian name so as to include, *volentes volentes*, all men and women of good will and white skins.—Yours, etc.,
ERNEST WALKER.
Balliol College, Oxford.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Development of Political Ideas in Italy in the Nineteenth Century," by Commendatore Luigi Villari. (Oxford University Press, 2s.)
"The Building of Europe," John S. Hoyland. (Oxford University Press, 2s. 6d.)

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UNION NOTES AND NEWS

Dr. Norwood's Campaign

Those members of the Union who attended the memorable meeting some weeks ago at the Central Hall, Westminster, on the World's Need of the Church's Help, will remember Dr. Norwood's powerful reply to the call. A short time afterwards he spoke strongly on the urgent necessity for someone to conduct a special peace crusade throughout the country. Then Dr. Garnett, the Secretary of the Union, met Dr. Norwood, who, following precept by example, offered to devote nearly the whole of his time during the six months from October to March to a special campaign for the League of Nations, under the auspices of the Union.

The greater part of Dr. Norwood's campaign will consist of visits of about one week each to different parts of the country, including the chief centres of population. During his week in any one district he is to address public meetings on each of the week-day evenings, and may also speak to Rotary Clubs and similar bodies in the daytime. On the Sunday he will, as a rule, preach at morning and evening service, and, either in the afternoon or after the evening service, he will, we hope, address in some public hall or theatre or cinema, a united meeting organised jointly by the Church of England and the Free Churches.

Areas He will Visit

The planning of the week which Dr. Norwood will spend in any one centre is in the hands of the Union's Regional Representatives, who are working with the District Councils or branches. The Union's local organisations have eagerly welcomed a visit from a man of such eloquence, vigour and zeal, and are throwing themselves wholeheartedly into the task of arranging his meetings and making his campaign in their district a very great success. Dr. Norwood will appeal for new members (and especially new foundation members) at every meeting, and will use every suitable occasion to urge churches to become corporate members.

Dr. Norwood's provisional programme is as follows: October 5 to 27—Yorkshire; October 28 to November 4—East Midlands; November 5 to 16—Manchester district; November 17 to 29—Wales; December 1 to 6—Cambs, Beds, Herts and Hunts; December 7 to 31—North and West Lanes; December 31 to January 7—Newcastle and N.E. coast; January 11 to 18—Hampshire and Isle of Wight; January 19 to 23—Midlands; January 24 to 25—Wales; January 26 to 30—Durham and Cleveland; January 31 to February 10—Scotland; February 16 to 22—West of England; February 23 to March 2—Birmingham and West Midlands; March 7 to 13—Oxfordshire and Berks; March 15 to 22—Norfolk and Suffolk; March 23 to 31—South-eastern counties; November 15, December 22, February 15, March 4 and March 25—London.

How to Help

Here is an extract from a letter Dr. Norwood has received. It needs no comment: "I hope you will accept the enclosed 2s. 6d. towards the expenses of your peace mission. I wish I could send more. I am glad you are going to use the pulpit of my church, the Church of England, for some of your sermons. As I see the world to-day, after nearly sixty years of life, mostly spent as a soldier and policeman, the greatest need is peace among Christians."

July Letter to Branches

In his July Branch Letter, the secretary summarises the decisions of the Bristol Council meeting. From the discussion on the best method of collecting renewal subscriptions, it appears that wherever a high percentage has been attained, it has been due to the ward collector system, under which the area covered by the branch is divided into wards. A collector is appointed

for each ward, and he or she is supplied by the treasurer with monthly lists showing all the subscriptions that became renewable that month.

The Council's discussion on the Church Magazine inset showed that it was greatly appreciated by branches, and by a unanimous decision it was decided to continue the issue of the inset twice a year. Branches and churches who use the inset are to be invited to contribute towards its cost.

The Council decided that the Quarterly News Sheet should in future appear monthly. The first number of the new series will appear about the September quarter day. There will be no change in the price of 7s. 6d. for 100 copies, carriage free.

A special committee is overhauling the Union's list of speakers, and branches are urged to send to headquarters, for the consideration of the committee, the names of speakers on the League whom they consider to be particularly good.

The Lighter Side of Aberystwyth

Reference has been made on another page to the substantive work done by the Tenth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies held at Aberystwyth, June 29 to July 3; but no account of the Congress would be complete without some mention of the generous welcome extended by supporters of the Union in this country to the delegates from overseas. It is always interesting for the foreign visitor to see something of the home life of the country which he visits and ample opportunity of doing this was given to many of the delegates who enjoyed the private hospitality which the Welcome Committee and other friends of the Union so readily provided.

Indeed, delegates had a busy time while they were in London; for in the intervals of work they were fulfilling all sorts of social engagements that had been made for them; on one day, for example (to quote only a few of the many parties that were arranged) they were attending receptions given by the Duchess

of Atholl and Mrs. Hancock; on another day Lord Parmoor gave a tea to some of the delegates at the House of Lords, and Major Hills a luncheon at the House of Commons; the Minorities Committee were able to do a good deal of unofficial business at a luncheon given by Sir Willoughby Dickinson, and at the invitation of Sir Walter and Lady Napier a number of delegates spent a pleasant Sunday at Sir Walter's home at Churt. On the night before leaving for Aberystwyth a large reception in honour of all the delegates was given by Lord and Lady Gladstone at their town house, when the assembled company had the pleasure of listening to an address by Lord Cecil.

After travelling by special train to Aberystwyth, the delegates were again faced with a full social programme. Tea with the Mayor and Corporation, luncheon with the Welsh National Council, a trip to Tregaron and to the Devil's Bridge (the latter given by the kindness of the G.W.R.), a reception at the University with choral music conducted by Sir Walford Davies—and on top of all this, free hospitality during the whole stay at Aberystwyth and a special train back to London—one wonders that the delegates had time for any work at all!

Lend Him Your Banner

The secretary of the Orrell Branch, Mr. W. S. Anderson, of Sandbrook House, Orrell, near Wigan, writes: "May I appeal through your columns for the loan of motto-banners or flags for use in a demonstration our branch is organising? Probably some enterprising branch has a store of such emblems lying idle, which it would be glad to have used again for the good cause. I should be very pleased to hear of such. They would be well used and carefully returned. Our demonstration will be early in September." If any of our Branches can help, will they please write direct to Mr. Anderson.

Surrey Branches Conference

The system of regional conferences of Branches, which was adopted not long ago, is proving a very successful means of strengthening support for the policy of the Union. The Branches in a given area meet to discuss policy in general and the particular problems of the moment. At the Surrey Conference, held on July 17, the discussions of the General Council at Bristol and the Federation at Bristol were reviewed and their decisions endorsed. Mr. H. A. Powell was in the chair, and the general policy of the Union was explained by Mr. Eppstein. The subjects discussed in detail were disarmament, and the admission of Germany, together with the problem of the constitution of the Council on Disarmament. The conference were fortunate in securing Professor P. J. Noel Baker to open the discussion, which covered a wide field,

TOTAL NUMBER OF ENROLMENTS AS RECORDED AT HEADQUARTERS

Jan. 1, 1919	...	...	...	...	3,841
Jan. 1, 1920	...	...	...	...	10,000
Jan. 1, 1921	...	...	...	...	60,000
Jan. 1, 1922	...	...	...	...	150,031
Jan. 1, 1923	...	...	...	...	230,456
Jan. 1, 1924	...	...	...	...	333,455
Jan. 1, 1925	...	...	...	...	432,473
July 22, 1926	...	...	...	...	561,249

BRANCHES

On July 22, 1926, the number of Branches was 2,342
Junior Branches 382, and Corporate Members 1,958.

Mandates

by
FREDA WHITE

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LECTURES

FIFTEEN LECTURES dealing with the Attitude of Nations to World Problems, with special reference to the League of Nations, will be held at the Hampstead Garden Suburb Institute, Central Square, N.W.11, on alternate Thursday evenings, commencing September 30th, 1926, at 8 p.m. Course Tickets, 10/6. Refreshments. World famous lecturers, including Prof. Gilbert Murray, Prof. Salvemini, Prof. Toynebee, Baron Meyendorff, Sir Atul Chatterjee, and others. For syllabus, tickets and information apply to the Hon. Sec., E. C. ELSMORE, 44, Meadway, N.W.11.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PEACE PAGEANT PLAY.—"THE HEART'S DESIRE"—post free 1/2 each.—Rev. A. E. ROSE, The Manse, Rothwell, Nr Leeds.

touching on the causes of war, the attitude of the Dominions, the very difficult question of the displacement of labour caused by disarmament, and the equally great and more obvious difficulty of the refusal of Russia to take part in the League's work. Finally the resolution passed by the General Council on this subject was unanimously endorsed.

At the afternoon session, when Sir Walter Napier took the chair, Mr. Frederick Whelen explained the past history leading up to the breakdown in March. After some discussion, in which proposals for reforming the constitution of the League were made, the conference passed a resolution urging "the uncontested admission of Germany to the League and to a permanent seat on the Council."

A scheme for assisting branches in the county to raise funds and to carry out local propaganda was discussed, and it was resolved to consider the possibility of constituting a Council for this purpose.

Summer Festivities

The English climate being what it is in the so-called summer months, it seems little short of heroic to organise open-air demonstrations and garden fêtes. However, our uncertain weather has not been sufficient to deter a considerable number of branches from arranging these very popular events.

Dundee and its neighbourhood were fortunate enough to choose a fine Saturday for their garden fête, at which over £200 was raised. In the absence of the Earl of Strathmore, Sir W. Henderson opened the fête. All kinds of attractive stalls had been arranged, including an exhibition of stamps of nations in the League, for which the local philatelic society was responsible.

The weather was equally kind for the Oxford branch's fête at St. Hilda's College. Notwithstanding the fact that the Eights were a rival attraction, it was an unqualified success. There were innumerable entertainments and side shows, and many theatrical people, like Mr. Fagan and Miss Nancy Price, helped in the performance of a Tchekov and a Shaw play. One of the most popular items on the programme was the performance of the League pageant play by Miss Bradfield—which is published by the Union—given by the pupils of the Central Girls' School. The University was well represented by undergraduates, who did yeoman work in helping with the side shows. The highbrow stall was, suitably enough, in the charge of a Balliol man.

The Young Idea

With the fullest co-operation of the local Education Authority, another League essay competition has been held in the White-stable schools. There was a large number of entrants, and the majority of the essays showed a clear understanding of the basis of the League, as well as a knowledge of its work. Naturally there were a few howlers, including the following:—

"The fight was stopped just six hours before starting."
"It was the war that made the League of Nations prosper."
"We boys and girls will be the men of to-morrow."
"Greece had to pay money to the Bulgarians, but Greece had no arguments, so it paid."

Essays written by some London schoolgirls after an Empire Day address on the League produced these gems:—
"Members of the League of Nations have plenty of spare time, as wars do not occur very often."

"Albania and Jugo Slavia were going to war. Jugo Slavia had no army, so they withdrew their troops."

"Italy and Greece were going to war, but they appealed to the League, who met in Geneva, and stopped them from fighting. After that Viscount Cecil of Chelwood apologised to the League."

"There was an outburst in the Mediterranean between Italy and Greece, which Lord Cecil averted by pointing to three sections of the Covenant."

"In India the Indian mothers used to give their babies a drug called opium to stop them crying, but the League has stopped it in most places."

A World Fair

Last month we reported the great achievement of the Aberdeen Branch in having raised £200 as a result of a flag day. The N. and N.E. Scotland District Council is now busy making preparations for a further raid on the pockets of Aberdonians. A World Fair is to be held in the Music Hall Building, Aberdeen, on September 17 and 18, and an appeal has already been issued for gifts for the various stalls which it is intended should represent the different countries in the League. The Fair Secretary is Miss K. B. Traill, 25, Crown Street, Aberdeen.

Austria on the Screen

If you are unable to go on a visit to Austria, your next-best move is to see the new travel film on "Modern Austria," produced by the Austrian League of Nations Society and shown for the first time in this country on July 5 under the auspices of the Union and the Y.M.C.A. In five reels the film unfolded mile by mile the glories of its Austrian mountains and the beauty of the towns. The only criticism we heard was a suggestion that there might have been more pictures showing the life and social conditions of the people in Austria to-day. The whole display took the best part of two hours, but one or more reels could be shown on separate occasions. A synopsis

of the film and details as to its release for showing in cinema houses or at Union meetings will be sent on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Our Popular Summer Schools

The Union's Summer School at Cambridge opened on Friday, July 30, with an inaugural address by Dame Rachel Crowley, Head of the Social Section of the League of Nations.

The Geneva Institute of International Relations begins on the 14th inst. and promises to be most successful. Already the number of applications is in excess of the number that can be admitted and the Union cannot guarantee admission to late entrants.

A Children's League

The work which the Children's League of Peace and Goodwill is doing should help to make the rising generation good supporters of the League of Nations. The Children's League was founded less than three years ago by Mr. Kyte Collett, of Penarth. Its members pay no subscription, but on joining give an undertaking that they will pray every morning and evening to be made lovers of peace and goodwill; a week afterwards they are presented with a medal. If at the end of three months they have been loyal to their promise, they receive a large membership card. Most of the work is done through the Sunday schools, many of which hold a special meeting once a month, when an address on peace is given. One of the most popular leaflets distributed among the children is the Union's "Christ of the Andes."

Postal Vagaries

A letter informing a member of the Union who lived in Liverpool that he had been transferred to the local Branch was posted to him by Headquarters on February 28, 1926. It was delivered on May 28, 1926. We are sometimes blamed by members and Branches for not informing them of matters relating to the transference of members, but it is difficult to keep them up to date if letters take more than six years to reach them. There is, however, another side to the shield. A letter addressed simply to the League of Nations Union, posted from one of the Home Counties, was delivered without any delay to 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

Cobham's Chairman

Unlimited supplies of strawberries and cream were the chief feature of an excellent tea which Mr. and Mrs. Bentall generously provided for an audience of about 300 people who attended an open-air meeting in their delightful garden at Cobham. Mr. Herring gave an address on the League, and, in response to his appeal, 50 members joined the Union; Mr. Bentall, who was in the chair, headed the list with a subscription of £5. He also bought up all the literature sent from Headquarters and distributed it among the audience. A League of Nations play, extremely well produced, ended the programme.

Heywood's Demonstration

Every year there is keen competition for the silver shield that is awarded by the Heywood Branch to the best tableau taking part in the annual Branch demonstration. This year the judges had a difficult task, and only one point divided the two tableaux that were awarded first and second places. The winners of the shield were the St. John's Church, whose group represented the League enthroned by the consent of the nations, and uniting by ties of affection the inhabitants of all parts of the world. The wagon which carried this tableau was flanked on either side by a guard of honour of Scouts and Guides. A public meeting, held when the procession arrived at the Queen's Park, was well attended. The demonstration resulted in nearly £30 being raised for the Branch funds.

News in Brief

Mrs. Innes' book, "How the League of Nations Works," has been added to the London County Council's list of books recommended for use in schools.

A most successful children's demonstration was organised by the Godalming Branch a few weeks ago. Sunday schools of all denominations took part and joined in the prayers that were offered for international peace and the League of Nations.

"Humanity Delivered," a pageant play, written by Mr. Parratt, the energetic secretary of the Kirkby Stephen Branch, was produced with great success at a garden meeting. This Branch is conducting an intensive campaign, and has already secured 10 per cent. of the population as members.

Make a Note of It

October is the birthday month of the League, and Lord Cecil has promised to speak at the birthday meeting in London, which the Union is arranging for October 21. Further particulars will be announced later.

Lantern Lecture on the I.L.O.

Branch Secretaries who are already thinking of winter programmes may like to know that the Union's new lantern lecture on the International Labour Office will be ready shortly. Full particulars and cost of hire will be gladly sent by Headquarters.

The Council's Vote

It is encouraging to be able to record that contributions are still being received towards the Council's vote for last year. The two latest Branches to complete their quota for 1925 are Great Bookham and Runcorn.

Since the last list was published, the following Branches have paid the whole of their assessment towards the Council's vote for the present year: Abingdon, Bedminster Parish Church, Brackley, Brackley C.C., Bratton, Broadstone, Burnham (Essex), Burnside, Charlbury, Charlton-on-Otmoor, Chester, Cropredy, Crowborough, Cumnor, Doncaster, Dorking, Downham, Edenhall, Fernhurst, Gexhill, Great Horton, Grayingham, Haslemere, Horsforth, Ilkley, Kempsey, Pickering, Roundhay, Shrewsbury, Sibford Ferris, Silsden, Tadcaster, Tadworth, Terrington, Tiverton, Toller Lane (Bradford), Tonbridge, W. D. & H. O. Wills (Bristol), Winford, Witham, Wokingham, Wooburn, Wootton.

A Correction

By an oversight, the address of the secretary of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Branch was incorrectly given in the July HEADWAY. If any readers wish to have particulars of the series of lectures which this Branch is arranging for next autumn they should apply to Mr. E. C. Elsmore, Arden, 44, Meadway, N.W.11.

Welsh Notes

The big event of the month in Wales was the visit of the International Federation to Aberystwyth and to Tregaron—the birthplace of Henry Richard. It is impossible to exaggerate the inspiration which the Congress gave to League of Nations' workers throughout the Principality.

On the closing days of the Congress the Welsh National Council held its Annual Conference. The following were elected officers for 1926-1927: President, Mr. H. N. Gladstone, of Hawarden Castle; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths, the Bishop of St. David's, Mr. David Davies, M.P.; Hon. Treasurers, Sir J. Herbert Cory, Mr. John Hinds, the Lord-Lieutenant of Carmarthenshire.

Mr. David Davies, M.P., was unanimously re-elected chairman of the Executive Committee.

It was decided to hold the next annual conference at Whitsun-tide, 1927, in Colwyn Bay. The movement in Wales owes much to the impetus of Colwyn Bay, where, as far back as 1922, under the leadership of Mr. T. E. Purdy, J.P., C.C., the local branch had a record membership of over 2,000.

At the National Eisteddfod at Swansea, His Worship the Mayor, Councillor David Griffiths, is giving, on behalf of the Welsh League of Nations Union, a reception to overseas visitors, at which the Archdruid of Wales, the Rev. Elvet Lewis, will speak. An invitation to the reception was sent to a party of Welsh Americans on the Cunard liner s.s. "Scythia," when she was half-way across the Atlantic. On the Monday evening of the Eisteddfod the Rev. Herbert Morgan, M.A., is to address the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on "Wales and the Comity of Nations," when Mrs. Peter Hughes Griffiths will take the chair.

The annual Welsh School of Social Service Demonstration on behalf of the League of Nations will take place at Llandrindod Wells on Sunday evening, August 15. This demonstration has been held every year without a break since August, 1919. Amongst the speakers in the 1926 demonstration will be Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, of New York. Dr. Atkinson will speak on "America and International Relations."

All Branches in Wales are urged to put education or such questions as Disarmament and Arbitration in the forefront of their 1926-1927 programme, and to aim at doubling their membership in Armistice Week. It is hoped that all over Wales and Monmouthshire Armistice Week, 1926, will be regarded as the League of Nations Week.

So far this year Llandudno leads Wales in a Daffodil Day result, with over £150.

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Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Honorary Director of the Welsh Council, the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., 10, Richmond Terrace, Park Place, Cardiff.

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