

# Headway

A Review of World Affairs



Vol. V. No. 5.

May, 1923.

Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post.

Price Threepence

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MONTH .. .. .	321	THE LEAGUE AND THE WORLD (Diagram) .. .. .	331
LAW OR WAR .. .. .	324	CORRESPONDENCE :—	
MINORITIES. By B. E. C. Dugdale .. .. .	324	Nations at the Bar of Justice; A Generous Donation; America and the League; .. .. .	332
THE LEAGUE IN THE DOMINIONS. By Capt. A. E. W. Thomas .. .. .	325	THE BOOK COUNTER :—	
A LETTER FROM GENEVA .. .. .	326	International Government; Labour Speaker's Handbook; International Aspects of Unemployment; Palestine Administration; William Penn .. .. .	333
A LONDON LETTER .. .. .	327	OVERSEAS NEWS .. .. .	334
THE NEW WORLD : VIII.—ARMENIA. By J. de V. Loder .. .. .	329	LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION :—	
PRESIDENT WILSON AT PARIS. By Dr. Maxwell Garnett .. .. .	330	Notes and News .. .. .	334

## THE MONTH.

"Headway" is published by the League of Nations Union, and opinions expressed in signed articles must not be taken as representing the official views of the Union. Manuscripts submitted for consideration will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope. Letters for the Editor should be addressed to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Communications regarding subscriptions, etc., should be sent to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, at the same address. All communications respecting advertisements should be sent to the Headway Press, 3-9, Dane Street, High Holborn, W.C.1.]

"The League of Nations is being crystallised into a kind of organisation which the United States can now enter."  
—Senator Pepper.

THE conversion of the anti-League Republican Senator Pepper, if it is an accomplished fact, is no mean achievement. It is true that in his recent speech at Philadelphia, Senator Pepper did not go so far as to advocate the immediate entry of his country into the League of Nations, contenting himself with pointing to the future and predicting that "some day," presumably when the process of crystallisation had gone a little further, there would be an association of all the nations of the world with a common organisation, but with divisions corresponding to the Eastern and Western hemispheres. Even more important is the statement of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University—after a conference with President Harding—that American adhesion to the protocol of the International Court is "sound Republican doctrine."

\* \* \* \*

NOR is it without significance that these statements should synchronise with the speeches by Lord Robert Cecil on the League of Nations in

America. In certain quarters it is actually stated that Lord Robert is personally responsible for Senator Pepper's change of attitude. However that may be, it is certain that the tact coupled with the sincerity and zeal of the chief "League apostle" in this country have not only cleared up a great many misunderstandings about the League current on the other side of the Atlantic, but have notably contributed to the betterment of Anglo-American relations.

\* \* \* \*

AS we go to press we have received the following letter from Mr. Philip Baker, Overseas Secretary to the League of Nations Union, who accompanied Lord Robert Cecil to America :—

The first big meeting in New York at the Hotel Astor was a tremendous success. After that Lord Robert had five smaller meetings—luncheons or dinners—two of which were reported, the rest private. They were all extremely successful. The dinner with the Non-Partisan Association was, I think, perhaps the most completely satisfactory. Lord Robert answered questions until a quarter to twelve. There was a very fine spirit in the people and I believe they are really going to make a big push. They launched their own campaign two days later, April 6, and so far as we can judge from the papers it has had great effect.

On April 6 we went to Philadelphia, and had a big lunch there (1,000 people), and a meeting in the evening in the largest hall in Philadelphia (3,000 people); both were very successful, the meeting particularly so. Lord Robert dealt with questions with tremendous effect.

On Saturday we had an hour at Buffalo, during which Lord Robert spoke at a luncheon got up by Bishop Brent, who is to speak at Geneva. He then went on to Toronto, where he spoke to a meeting of 4,000 in Massey Hall. This included teachers from every part of Canada. The meeting was, indeed, the final session of a Conference held by the National Council of Education, and was, I think, a very favourable opportunity. Lord Robert talked boldly about the educational work of the Union in England with great effect.

Sir Robert and Lady Baden Powell were also staying

with the Lieutenant Governor, and the former made a speech at Lord Robert's meeting at which he spoke very strongly for the League ideal.

Last night Lord Robert had a meeting in Ottawa, at which Borden and many Members of Parliament were present, as the Speaker adjourned the House of Commons at 6 so that they might be present.

WE hope to publish later an account of the Pan-American Conference at Santiago. Up to the time of writing only brief reports have reached us of the proceedings of the Conference. Most of the Commissions have presented reports on their respective subjects, the most important being those dealing with the re-organisation of the Pan-American Union, disarmament, and with a Permanent American Court of International Justice, the creation of which was proposed by a delegate from Costa Rica. Dr. Butler's statement which we quote above has an important bearing on this suggestion.

THERE is one definite piece of progress to be recorded towards the solution of the problem of the Ruhr, and that is the almost universal recognition, in France as well as elsewhere, that the keynote to the problem is security. This point was stressed by Lord Grey in his important speech in the House on April 20. It follows that those who believe the Ruhr occupation to be the worst means of obtaining security must point to some other method of achieving the same goal. The question of the demilitarisation of the Rhineland under international guarantee—in other words, under the League of Nations—is in this connection assuming a new significance, and the minds of many people on both sides of the Channel are turning to the famous speech of M. Loucheur last November, in which he said:—

"There was no suggestion [in March, 1919] of annexation or of a protectorate. We wished that the Rhineland, which had become Prussianised, should again become the Rhineland. . . . We wished to establish an international force there, and the proposal of March 12th, which was adopted by M. Clemenceau, provided for a force of that nature established on the left bank of the Rhine, under the control of the League of Nations, with a majority of French soldiers."

THE demilitarisation of the left bank of the Rhine is, of course, provided for under Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles. What is now proposed in many quarters is really only a further development of what is laid down in the Treaty. The plan put forward by Lord Robert Cecil to the General Council of the League of Nations on March 15 was the creation of a demilitarised zone, ultimately on both sides of the frontier, leaving the sovereignty, commercial as well as political, with Germany or France as the case might be. It would be the business of the League of Nations to see that no fortifications were erected or military preparations made in the zone; and in particular the railways in the zone would have to be removed from the control of either Government and placed under the control of the League. In other words, the plan must be genuinely international in character. As the problem is expressed in France, by such men as M. Loucheur, and M. Philippe Millet, writing in *L'Europe Nouvelle*, "international" is too frequently used to mean

"predominantly French and Belgian," a camouflage of internationalism which would be worse than open occupation by these two countries.

GERMANY, on her side, appears to be prepared to adopt an attitude of conciliation. Lord Curzon's famous challenge of April 20 is evidently to be taken up by Berlin. The speech of Dr. Rosenberg, German Foreign Minister, on April 16, indicated a willingness to pay more than the original reparations offer of £1,500,000,000 of Herr Bergmann last January, and contained the significant words "The Government is ready to enter into far-reaching arbitration treaties and peace guarantee agreements." Dr. Cuno's speech at Munich last March hinted that Germany would not be averse to a scheme which safeguarded her political and economic independence and confined itself strictly to guarantees for military security.

WE go to press too early to be able to report any action which the League Council may take in regard to reparations and the Ruhr, but we believe with Lord Grey that the League can and should be made "a definite instrument for creating security between the frontiers of Germany and France."

HERE then appears to be the basis for agreement on a problem upon the settlement of which hangs the peace and prosperity of Europe. The League of Nations, whose Council is sitting as we write, has before it, in the shape of a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee, a further and still more effective means of assuring security to France by guaranteeing her immediate military support, not of one, but of several nations, in the event of attack. Nor should it be forgotten that the guarantee would be reciprocal, and that Germany by joining the League would enjoy a similar protection. In France also there seems to be a change of feeling. M. Georges Barnich, director of the Institut de Sociologie Solvay, goes so far as to say that France should be prepared to reduce her claims on Germany in accordance with the reduction of her Allies' claims upon herself, and that the League of Nations should control any scheme for the settlement of reparations.

AS we write, the resumed Lausanne Conference, to which the Turks have agreed, has not yet met, but the obviously sincere desire of Angora to resume negotiations seems to justify the hope that at long last a treaty with Turkey may be concluded. The most serious aspect of the present situation in the Near East is the deplorable condition of the 30,000 or so refugees in Constantinople, which constitutes a plague menace to the whole world. The All-British Appeal, of which mention was made in our last number, is endeavouring to cope with the situation and has made a grant to the League of Nations for the establishment of a disinfecting station and clearing camp. Under the scheme for which this grant has been made the Greek Government will be responsible for the provision of shipping for the transfer of refugees from this camp to Greece.

It has been estimated that there are at the present moment over two million slaves in Abyssinia and, from information given by our own Foreign



By permission of "The Times."

Office, the trade is widespread and growing. This is an appalling state of affairs, and one which calls with no uncertain voice for the intervention of the League. At the next Assembly the whole question of the recrudescence of slavery is to be discussed, and in the meantime the Council of the League is making investigations on which to base its report to the Assembly. It is, of course, urgently necessary that members of the League who are in possession of evidence of slavery should hand over this information to the League, and we trust that the British Foreign Office (which, on the statement of Mr. Cecil Harmsworth in the House of Commons last year, has been receiving reports for the past ten years on the increase of slave-trading in Abyssinia) will see fit to alter its decision not to open its books to the League. The publication of a White Paper on the subject, promised by Mr. Ronald MacNeill, is a step in the right direction.

THERE is reason to believe that the Abyssinian Government is anxious to abolish slavery, and the intervention of the League should therefore be directed towards strengthening the Government and the political independence of Abyssinia (at present guaranteed by Great Britain, France, and Italy) by providing additional guarantees for the integrity and independence of the country, coupling with these guarantees as a necessary condition of their fulfilment an obligation to put down slavery. Both these objects could probably be achieved by the entrance of Abyssinia into the League of Nations.

THE twenty-fourth Council meeting of the League is in session as we write. It has, as usual, a varied and lengthy agenda, on which, as usual, the Polish-Lithuanian dispute still figures. Although the Council of Ambassadors has definitely fixed the eastern frontiers of Poland, the Lithuanian Government has asked that the League Council's recommendation of February last, with reference to the boundary between Lithuania and Poland, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Other questions of considerable political importance are frontier modifications between Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary, upon which the League has been asked to arbitrate, the protection of minorities in Latvia, and an appeal from the Hungarian Government in regard to the expropriation of property in Rumania belonging to persons who have opted for Hungarian nationality. There are likely to be important discussions on armaments,

for Lord Robert Cecil's draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee will have to be sent to members of the League, and the United States has now declared in favour of the restriction of the traffic in arms and the control of the private manufacture of arms. The Council has now decided to ask Washington to make its own proposals for procedure to achieve the results which it, in common with the League, desires.

IT is inevitable, of course, that there should be a discussion on the Saar, where the governing Commission is still struggling with a difficult situation. On the one hand there is a French agitation for securing the Saar mines in perpetuity to France; on the other hand there is ceaseless German propaganda to foment discontent with the governing Commission in order to prevent the vote of the population in 1935 from going in favour of retention of the present system instead of restoration of German sovereignty. (The chances of a vote in favour of transfer to France are so unlikely as to be almost negligible.) Probably a good many of the grievances of which the Saar inhabitants complain would be removed if the present French chairman of the governing Commission, when his term of office ends, were replaced by a real "neutral," and if the non-French and non-German members were chosen mainly because of strict impartiality. The present Danish and Belgian members are both regarded as having pro-French sympathies. The Council of the League would do well to bear these facts in mind when the time comes for the yearly reappointment of the members of the Commission.

THE Irish Free State has made formal application for membership of the League of Nations. It is significant that this is the new State's first formal diplomatic act abroad. Meanwhile the first connection of the Irish Free State with the League was foreshadowed when the League's Economic Commission at a recent session at Geneva asked the Council of the League to invite the Irish Free State to send representatives to the coming International Conference on the Standardisation and Simplification of Customs Procedure.

IN this connection it is interesting to note that the most important concrete result of the proceedings of the Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce in Rome was the set of resolutions on customs reform and commercial arbitration which is to be presented as the considered view of that Congress to the League of Nations Customs Conference in October. These resolutions strongly approve of the efforts of the League of Nations to abolish all legislation adverse to international arbitration agreements between traders. Owing to the efforts of the League, a large number of countries have abolished passport visas, a reform which saves the time and the money of the prospective traveller and makes foreign travel considerably less inconvenient.

WE publish on page 338 particulars of the various summer schools and tours abroad which are being organised this year by the League of Nations Union.

## LAW OR WAR.

WE are profoundly sensible that the situation in the Ruhr is not a matter upon which it would be proper to advance opinions without having first subjected them to the severest tests and criticism. The situation in Europe is far too grave for it to be right to express ideas or to make proposals upon any international question merely because they are attractive or ingenious; and it is no exaggeration to say, and we have repeatedly urged it in these columns, that the position in the Ruhr is the most serious menace to the future peace of Europe that has arisen since the time when the imperialistic and militaristic ambitions and preparations that grew up in Germany in the middle and late 19th century laid the foundations of the world war. We point this out advisedly because had this paper existed in those days it would have been our duty to warn the people of this country, through the Branches of the Union, of the dangers threatening the peace of the world; and we lay it down to-day in no spirit of antagonism, but in the truest spirit of friendship to France, that the course which is now being pursued can only lead to disaster; because, as must be apparent to everyone with a knowledge of the facts, the world, by reason of the French action, is drifting, if indeed it is not being carried irresistibly forward, into another tempest of war, and because we can see no possibility of averting this inevitable consequence unless some Member of the League is prepared to take the responsibility of invoking the League's machinery.

It is not for us to prejudice any of the issues, or to attempt to fetter the action of the League by seeking to persuade the people of this country that one solution of the difficulty is necessarily the right one. We observe with interest, and, in default of strong reasons to the contrary, with some measure of approval, the suggestion that a demilitarised zone under the political control of Germany, but guaranteed in respect of its neutrality and unfortified nature by the League of Nations, should be set up in the Rhineland. We recognise, as has now been generally admitted, that the problem fundamentally is one of security, not only indeed for France, but also, in view of her disarmament, for Germany too, rather than one of reparations, though we are aware that no solution can be practicable that does not assure to France pecuniary restitution in respect of the devastation of the war. But we venture to say that these considerations, great and formidable though they are, do not constitute the real issue that is before the world to-day. The issue as we see it is this: One great Power which, not more than three years ago, adhered with the greater part of the civilised world to a Covenant pledging the signatories to substitute mediation and arbitration for force in the settlement of international disputes, has, without giving to the machinery of the League, created for that purpose, an opportunity of bringing about a satisfactory settlement of her claims against another great Power, resorted to force in order to obtain her rights. We are far too conscious of the difficulties that beset international conciliation in these early days not

to realise that for some time to come force, in the last resort, may be inevitable; but, whether now or later, we cannot admit any justification for violence before the League of Nations has been invoked and has attempted a settlement. The protagonists of the action of France urge in her defence that the Covenant does not apply to this case because it is a part of the liquidation of the war. This is a contention we cannot allow to pass. The ingenuity of the legal mind may be able to advance subtle reasons why the Covenant should be held inapplicable; but the broad truth remains that for a State to take the law into its own hands is flatly against the spirit of that great international engagement so solemnly concluded in the Treaties of Peace; and we have no hesitation in asserting that such a proceeding is against the better judgment and indeed the sense of right of the great body of civilised mankind.

In forming this conclusion we are actuated neither by feelings unfriendly to France nor friendly to Germany. We have endeavoured to present the case as one of principle; for that is what in substance it is. We believe that for such an act to pass unchallenged would be a serious defeat to the moral authority and prestige of the League of Nations; and we venture to recommend to our readers that they should consider this question, aside from prejudice and untainted by considerations of expediency, and ask themselves whether this country would not best express its traditional love of justice and order by using every endeavour to bring about an immediate submission of this question to the League Council.

## MINORITIES:

By B. E. C. DUGDALE.

"MINORITIES" at first sight is a dull word, apt to produce a vague apprehension of a dull discussion trailing behind it. This is natural enough, because it denotes a kind of classification of human beings which takes no account of their human characteristics, and therefore evokes no definite mind pictures. In the technical sense in which we use it here it means people who talk a different language or profess a different creed or belong to a different race from the majority of their fellow-countrymen in the States of Central and Southern Europe, and whose interests have been protected in the recent Peace Treaties under guarantee by the League of Nations. The Roman Catholic, the Jew, the travelling pedlar, the owner of great estates, are only a few of the varieties of mankind who may all come into the category.

It is obvious, therefore, that the interests of minorities must be as varied as the groups themselves. So that on the very threshold of the subject we find that the knowledge we require is knowledge about human beings. We want to learn something about the lives that Armenian traders lead in a Turkish village, and German farmers on the plains of Poland, Hungarian nobles in their castles among the forests of Transylvania, and Jews in the ghettos of Vienna or Warsaw. Then we understand what the word "minorities" stands for, it takes shape and becomes alive in our minds, and casts off its dull disguise.

Unluckily it is impossible to write on any of its real aspects in detail, within a single article on the subject

The general question of minorities has presented itself in an entirely new form since the conclusion of the Peace Treaties, and upon this a word must be said.

Minorities, their wrongs, and their revolts, have supplied many of the dramatic episodes in history for centuries past. Their rights had occasionally been seriously considered by statesmen in the century preceding the Great War, for it was in 1832 that the liberties of a minority were first safeguarded by Treaty. Clauses with this aim were inserted in the Treaty of 1832 by which Greece became a sovereign State, and these clauses were repeated for the Balkan States that were constituted by the Congress of Berlin in 1878. But they were worth little more than the paper they were written upon. This was mainly because these Treaties were guaranteed only by the Great Powers, and no grievance of a minority was likely to appear important enough in their eyes to make it worth their while to incur the suspicion and odium apt to fall upon any individual State that intervenes in the internal affairs of any other. International action can be undertaken much more easily. But before the creation of the League there was no machinery for international action always ready to hand. It had to be constructed afresh whenever an international crisis arose, and this was a lengthy and difficult process.

The existence of a real practical guarantee for minority rights is therefore a fundamentally new factor in the situation which was introduced when the Peace Treaties of 1919 placed the Minority Clauses under the League of Nations. From this other changes follow. There are now three parties actively concerned in every dispute affecting the freedom of minorities in respect of their religion, their language, and their political equality with their fellow citizens (these being the three headings under which their rights are guaranteed by the Treaties). The Governments, the Minorities, and the League all have their separate duties to perform.

Those of the Governments are sufficiently obvious. They have given certain pledges, which it is their business to fulfil. The position of the minorities has, however, undergone a change which is perhaps sometimes overlooked. It arises from the fact that they are no longer helpless. They have not only been endowed with definite rights, but they have the power to lay complaints of infringement of those rights before the impartial tribunal of the League. They therefore owe a greater measure of loyalty towards the State in which they live than they did while those rights were withheld, and while they had no recognised means of getting redress.

This is a point which ought to be clearly kept in mind by everyone who sympathises with minorities, and who believes that the trials of their position can be alleviated by the aid of the League. We have to remember that in most of the countries where the relations between the Governments and the minorities are not good the latter either represent peoples accustomed for generations to be treated as inferiors, and to suffer disqualifications; or else peoples who have in their blood a long tradition of domination over subject races, and are now forced to live under the Government of a nation they have despised in the past. The Jews in any Central European State may be taken as an instance of the first type of minority, the Magyars now included within Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia as the extreme case of the second. The inborn habits of political thought that result from such opposite traditions are naturally very different, but in one respect we may compare them. Neither have had the training that would naturally incline them to adopt the policy of carrying their grievances straight to such a tribunal as the League, and presenting them frankly and fairly.

Recourse to the League implies not only publicity, but publicity for both sides of the case. Some minority

groups have had ad experiences in the past of the evils consequences to themselves of making complaints, and others have been too much accustomed to bear down their opponents by main force. Therefore methods of intrigue, or of obstruction of the Government, "come natural" in a way that Englishmen find hard to understand.

It is up to the League to alter these habits of mind, and, of course, the best argument will be found in the accumulation of instances in which just settlements of disputes have been decreed and enforced.

So far, however, the body of such experience is very small. This brings us to the consideration of the part that the League itself should play. When we compare the small number of cases that have actually been brought before it with the enormous mass of complaints that fill the anti-government Press in many countries, and with the statements of individual impartial travellers in some of those countries, it is impossible not to suspect that there may be a hitch somewhere in the League's machinery of supervision.

It is often alleged that minorities dare not incur the odium that attaches to an appeal to Geneva, and that they trust the long arm of the League less than they fear the heavy hand of the local official. If this is really the case it is hopeless to expect minorities to settle down into the sense of security which they now have a right to look for, and which is essential to a feeling of loyal citizenship. The League should investigate the facts of the case in every country. Governments sincerely desirous of carrying out their obligations towards their minorities should not be averse to clearing up these suspicions, and their aid should be invoked for bringing to the knowledge of the minorities the simple process by which petitions can be sent to the League. There can be no doubt that there is still great ignorance on this score even among the most politically educated of the minority groups. The spreading of this sort of information is a task in which the League of Nations Unions in certain countries are particularly fitted to help.

It may be too much to hope that racial bitterness will disappear speedily under League treatment. But at least we have the remedies at hand to prevent it from rankling and increasing, and it only remains to apply them vigorously.

President Wilson did not exaggerate when he spoke in Paris of justice to minorities as being part of the very basis of world peace. But it is not yet off the danger list of questions that may threaten that peace. It lies with the League, and therefore with the peoples who are behind the League, to enforce justice without fear or favour.

[A Map showing the Minorities in Europe appeared in the March number of HEADWAY.—ED.]

## THE LEAGUE IN THE DOMINIONS.

By CAPT. A. E. W. THOMAS.

THE writer has just returned from a tour through Australia and New Zealand, and has had an opportunity of learning a little of the work of the League of Nations Union in these countries. Being on the staff of the League of Nations Union himself he is not without knowledge of the difficulties encountered in conducting a national propaganda campaign in his own country, but the difficulties we have to face at home fade into insignificance compared with those which confront the propagandists in Australia. Let anyone who doubts this recall some of the facts.

Let him consider for a moment the physical condi-

tions, and the great distances to be traversed; to travel from Adelaide to Melbourne, for example, is almost like travelling from London to Geneva; while a journey from Perth to Adelaide, that is to say, into a neighbouring State, takes about as long as a journey from London to Rome. South Australia and Victoria are the only two States that are connected by rail of the same gauge. In some parts of the northern territory, near the Gulf of Carpentaria, the average time for driving cattle from the pasture to the abattoir is six months; in extreme cases the period extends to eighteen months, or even two years. Let him reflect too that the Australian business community is concerned mainly with primary products, that its foreign trade suffered very little during the war and that the population generally are hard-working people with little or no leisure. Nor should he forget the difficulty Australia experiences in obtaining the latest news or reliable information on current events in Europe. If weary propagandists in England can find comfort in comparative philosophy let them reflect on these things. Let them remember the immensely superior facilities possessed by the dwellers in even the most remote parts of England and Scotland compared with those of their Australian cousins. Indeed it should be a matter of legitimate pride to those who are working in the interests of the League in Australia that they have been able to make as much progress as they have since the movement started some two years ago. Every State in Australia now has a branch of the League of Nations Union, and though there does not exist as yet any central organisation, the Branches are constantly in communication with each other, particularly over matters of policy. A notable success was achieved last September when, as the writer was informed, *entirely owing to concerted action on the part of the Branches in Australia*, Mr. Hughes, then Prime Minister, was persuaded to wire to the Australian representatives at Geneva instructing them to propose that the Assembly should intervene in the Near Eastern crisis. The fact that Mr. Hughes almost simultaneously wired to Mr. Lloyd George to say that Australia was ready to fight if necessary need not detract from the value of the Australian Union's work. It should rather be cited as an example of Mr. Hughes' versatility as a politician. The change of Ministry and the advent of Mr. Bruce as Prime Minister, who, it will be remembered, represented his country at the last Assembly, may result in a more single-minded policy in future. The Australian Branches have, naturally enough, not been without their financial problems, but it may encourage those of us in England who are engaged in trying to gather up financial crumbs from the rich man's table to hear that it took the Sydney Branch less than three weeks to collect £500 in order to obtain the services of a paid secretary.

New Zealand is probably the nearest country to England—in the world—perhaps because it is the farthest away. If a New Zealander has a grievance against England it is that he sometimes imagines that in all the hurry and bustle of European life the mother country is neglecting her children. But he remembers that the dwellers in these Islands are a reserved people, and he determines that though there may be but little response in the old country he, at any rate, will not cease to raise his voice in praise of the Empire, and in honour of the King. And so he sings "God save the King" at the beginning and end of every meeting, placards his walls with the old motto: "My country [meaning England] right or wrong," and makes his own Prime Minister take the oath of Allegiance when he returns from an Imperial Conference. It is natural, therefore, that League doctrines should be looked upon not without a little suspicion by these hearty and vociferous loyalists, and speakers on internationalism in New Zealand do well to draw freely on the spirit of the Empire for their

inspiration and arguments. Moreover, New Zealand is a new country and very naturally hesitates to take a very active part in foreign affairs, and suffering in the same way as Australia from lack of news and reliable information, she is inclined to be more interested in her own affairs than in the complications of European politics. The League movement, however, is spreading. The main branches are at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin and although Wellington is the geographical centre, the strongest branch (of which Lord Jellicoe is Patron) is at Dunedin. The Branches are federated in a Dominion Union, of which Sir Francis Dillon Bell, one of the Ministers in the New Zealand Cabinet and representative of New Zealand at the last Assembly, has recently accepted the Presidency. It is well-known that New Zealand is not represented at the International Labour Conferences, and the correcting of this omission is one of the objects towards which the Union in New Zealand, backed up by National Labour Party, is directing its activities.

In travelling back through the U.S.A. the writer also had an opportunity of sounding American opinion with regard to the League. One American explained his country's hesitation and ultimate refusal to join the League in these somewhat expressive words: "We just didn't want to see America hitched up to a combination where she was to be the goat!" It is to be hoped that the visit of Lord Robert Cecil will help to dispel this illusion, and it is certain that the League of Nations Non-partisan Association which started last January and has its headquarters at New York, is rapidly fostering the desire of the American people to see their country take the place that awaits her in the Council of the Nations. Only a week or two ago a large meeting was held in the Lexington Opera House in New York where some 2,000 people were present and where, after an eloquent appeal from Mr. Justice Clarke, who has resigned his seat on the Supreme Court of the U.S.A. in order to devote all his energies to the cause of the League in America, a resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority and sent to President Harding urging that America should join the League of Nations.

## A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, April.

THE League carries on steadily and soberly the work which the nations are willing to carry out through its machinery. Those who take only general and short views, estimate its value, from time to time, on grounds of its non-intervention to finish a war in the East, to conduct a Genoa Conference, or to settle the question of the Ruhr. While these broad assessments of the status of the League are of vital importance, they must be considered with patience, and the rest of the work of the League must not be ignored.

While all these major complications have been occupying the mind of the world, the League, at any rate, has been steadily pursuing work which, without the League, would, without the slightest doubt, have been left unconsidered and undone. It is illuminating to look back over the activities of the League during the past month. There have been meetings of the Council Economic Committee, the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, a sub-committee of the Transit Commission, a sub-committee of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and an expert committee on Double Taxation. A mere catalogue conveys something of the League's ramifications, and a further consideration of the work being done, and the methods

followed, is not without significance. There are, for instance, before the Council, several political questions of great concern for the parties interested, which could not have been raised before any competent body, and which certainly could not have been compulsorily considered without the League and the terms of its Covenant. There are nineteen States represented at this meeting, including the ten Members of the Council, and delicate problems existing between Hungary and Roumania, between Bulgaria and Greece, between Bulgaria and the Allied Powers, &c., which are on the programme of business, would otherwise have gone on with separate discussions between the Governments with no obvious hope of friendly settlement and certainly with no final court of appeal. Imperfect it may be, impartial it may not always be, but there it is, an organ of international conciliation, developing and capable of development so far as the peoples of the world are disposed to insist.

I write too early to deal with the Council, but coming to the other lines of work, a committee of leading economists, including Professor Seligman, perhaps the greatest authority in America, and Sir Josiah Stamp, has drawn up a report laying down certain general principles for dealing with the complicated and serious problems of Double Taxation, which, with the heavy post-war taxes in all countries, has a very real bearing on the flow of capital and on international commerce. The practical application is to be considered by Inland Revenue experts.

Another body of experts has been preparing the ground for the Customs Formalities Conference which is to be held in the autumn, and this again is a scientific and carefully organised effort for oiling the wheels of international trade. An interesting incident in this connection is the recommendation to be made to the Council that the Irish Free State be invited to participate, and indications from Ireland seem to show that there is no doubt of the Free State's acceptance.

Another phase of the general effort towards the improvement of international business relations is the preparation by the Transit sub-committee of an international railway convention aiming at improving all kinds of cross-country regulations. This convention is to be submitted to the plenary Transit Commission and afterwards to the Governments, and it will serve as the basis of the general transit conference which is to be held in November. The expert committee appointed by the Council on the subject of arbitration clauses in commercial contracts has also been sitting in Geneva, and their work is now well advanced.

Some important decisions have been taken by the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. They recommend to the Council that an international inquiry should be conducted into the extent and nature of the traffic, that pending any decision regarding the abolition of the system of licensed houses, the employment of foreign women should be stopped, and the effect of this is obvious when it is stated that in Brazil, for example, 90 per cent. of women in these houses are of foreign birth. They also recommend that the Governments should be asked to make a report on the working and results of the system of licensed houses and the reasons which inspire it, while those who, on the contrary, have abolished the system are to be asked to furnish a report on the reasons why they have done so. They also recommend the setting up of an international sub-committee in collaboration with the International Labour Office for the protection of emigrants.

There has been no sitting of the Opium Commission, but some remarkable and interesting results have followed on one of its recent recommendations, namely, the exchange of information by Governments on the illicit drug traffic. A considerable number of Governments have already supplied information of large seizures

of drugs in many parts of the world, and this information has been passed on from one Government to another, and has led to inquiries into the activities of particular firms, and in some cases to specific steps to prevent the continuation of the evil.

Taking the League on broader grounds, there are four points to be noted during the month. One is the apparent effect on public opinion in America of Lord Robert Cecil's visit, which, while it certainly has not eliminated the partisan political discussion of The Hague in America, seems to have impressed many people, even some of the old irreconcilables, with the honest facts of the League's constitution and work. Though the League has been buried periodically by its opponents in America, it seems quite likely that it may again be an issue in the next presidential election. The whole situation is still rather obscure.

In another direction, Soviet Russia has modified its attitude towards the League. It still refers to it as the "so-called League of Nations," but one of its official publicists, writing in the official paper, *Iszvestia*, a few weeks ago, set out the theory that the Soviet is prepared to take part in any international conference, whether summoned at Genoa, Lausanne, or Geneva, because so long as it negotiates with Governments separately, there is no logical reason why it should not negotiate with them if they prefer to do so collectively. It is in this spirit that the Soviet has made known its view that if it is invited to the naval armaments conference of the League, it will accept.

From Santiago news is not very precise or complete. The Conference started under the handicap of the absence of several States on the American Continent for various political reasons, and it is rather doubtful whether any definite or conclusive arrangements will be arrived at. Nor is it likely, so far as can be judged at the moment, that the conference will cause any set-back to the development of international co-operation.

## A LONDON LETTER.

15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

### TEACHERS AND WORLD PEACE.

"This Conference declares its belief in the application of the principle of the League of Nations in international affairs."

THIS was one of the motions passed unanimously by the 1,700 delegates of the National Union of Teachers in public session at Brighton on Wednesday, April 4, during its annual conference. The previous afternoon many of the delegates withstood the counter-attraction of a lecture dealing with the vital problems of the teachers' salaries, in order to listen to addresses on the subject of the League of Nations by Professor Gilbert Murray and Dr. C. W. Kimmins.

The occasion was noteworthy in that this was the first time in its history that the National Union of Teachers devoted a session of its annual Conference to a discussion on the League of Nations and invited speakers from another organisation to address its meetings.

### LORD ROBERT CECIL.

Members of the Union will have learned with very great satisfaction of the success which has evidently attended Lord Robert Cecil's delicate task in the United States. It is too early to attempt to sum up the general results of his tour, but it is certain that a great many people will be eager to hear Lord Robert's own account of his reception and of the attitude of America, at the luncheon to be given in his

honour at the Hotel Cecil at 1.15 on Tuesday, May 15. Particulars of the luncheon and tickets (price 10s. each) are obtainable at 15, Grosvenor Crescent.\*

#### LETTER FROM EX-PRESIDENT WILSON.

The following extract from a letter from ex-President Wilson to the secretary of the North Staffs District Council of the League of Nations Union will interest our readers:—

"... I have from time to time learned of the very useful activities of the League, and I should be happy to think that I had in any way contributed to the success it is doing.

"We are looking forward with keen pleasure to welcoming Lord Robert Cecil in this country, where I am sure his addresses will do a great deal toward clarifying public sentiment with regard to the League of Nations. I learned in Paris to entertain for him a most affectionate regard as well as a most sincere admiration.

"... Cordially and sincerely yours,

"(Signed) WOODROW WILSON."

#### A MINORITIES COMMITTEE.

On another page we publish an article by Mrs. Edgar Dugdale on the question of minorities. The Executive Committee of the Union have had this matter under consideration and recently formed a sub-committee to deal with minorities, with the following terms of reference:—

1. To consider the most effective method of bringing to the knowledge of the Minorities in Central Europe and Near East countries the machinery for transmitting their complaints to the League of Nations.

2. To investigate the reality of the alleged difficulties which some Minorities find in transmitting complaints, and to consider how best to safeguard these Minorities in the exercise of their rights under the Minority treaties, keeping in view the fact that the Minorities have duties as well as rights.

3. To consider how far unofficial bodies can usefully undertake investigation of the actual complaints made by Minorities, or whether their activities should be directed towards influencing the Minorities to utilise the machinery of the League.

4. To consider if and when it would be useful to send memoranda on Minority questions to the British Government.

5. To consider Minorities questions under discussion by the Federation of League of Nations Societies, with a view to briefing the League of Nations delegates in order that they may be able to express the considered policy of the Union on this matter.

6. To consider the possibility of bringing the provisions for protection of minorities into one common form and making them binding, in that form, on all members of the League; and generally to consider the Minorities Treaties and the application thereof.

#### NO MORE WAR!

Once more the anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War (Saturday, July 28) is to be celebrated by "No More War" demonstrations throughout Great Britain, on the lines of the demonstrations organised last year with the same purpose. To get rid of war and to remove its root causes is the prime object of the League of Nations Union, and the Executive Committee has therefore decided to take part in these demonstrations.

It is to be hoped that the Branches of the Union will realise their responsibility in this matter and will see to it that in any demonstration in which they co-operate speakers will not merely rest content with condemning

\* Our readers' attention is directed to Miss Maude Royden's lecture on England and America, at the Kingsway Hall, on May 17, on her return from the States. See page 340.

war and demanding to have no more of it, but will do their utmost to convince the demonstrators of the fact that the League of Nations affords the only practical means of ensuring that there shall be "No More War."

#### THE RULES OF THE UNION.

In accordance with the decisions reached at the Council meeting in March, the rules of the Union have been altered as follows:—

Rule 4.—Omit the last five words, so that the last paragraph of the Rule shall read—

"No person shall be deemed to be members until they have paid at least the initial subscription."

Rule 12.—As from July 1st, 1923, to read as follows:—

Not later than April of each year each Branch shall supply Headquarters with an annual statement of income and expenditure, and shall pay to Headquarters:—

(1) An annual fee of 7s. 6d. for documents and literature supplied for the use of the Branch, this fee to be payable for the first time when the Branch has been in existence for a year; and

(2) A capitation fee of threepence for each member of the Branch, together with the nett cost (2s. 6d. per annum per member supplied) of HEADWAY and the nett cost (5s. per annum per member supplied) of other literature supplied to members of the Branch; and

(3) One-half of the balance of each membership subscription after deducting from it ninepence for the use of the Branch and the amount payable to Headquarters under Sub-section (2) above; and

(4) One-half of all donations received by the Branch, except such as are specifically given for other allocation;

provided that the Executive Committee shall have power to waive or modify these obligations in the case of Branches situated in Wales or Monmouthshire, and in the case of Branches in Universities and University Colleges. Money raised under sub-paragraphs (3) and (4) will form part of the Branch's contribution to the Council's Vote.

(NOTE: It is requested that these contributions together with those under (2) shall be sent to Headquarters not later than one month from the date the subscriptions or donations are received by the Branch.)

Rule 18.—Add the following clause:—

Each District shall, not later than April of each year, supply Headquarters with an annual statement of income and expenditure, and shall pay to Headquarters:—

(i.) An annual fee of 7s. 6d. for documents and literature supplied for the use of the District. This fee to be payable for the first time when the District has been in existence for a year;

(ii.) And the proportion specified in Sub-sections (2), (3) and (4) of Rule 12 of all subscriptions or donations paid direct to the District instead of to a Branch.

(NOTE: It is requested that these contributions shall be sent to Headquarters not later than one month after the subscriptions or donations have been received by the District);

provided that the Executive Committee shall have power to waive or modify these obligations in the case of Districts situated in Wales or Monmouthshire.

Rule 22.—Add the following words to the second paragraph:—

"The second regular meeting of the General Council shall be held during the month of December. At this meeting the Council shall vote for the use of Headquarters during the ensuing year a sum of money, which shall be called the Council's Vote, for that year, and which shall be additional to any payments which Branches may make to Headquarters under Rule 12 in respect of literature, documents and threepenny capitation fees. Each Branch or District shall raise and send to Headquarters during that year such proportion of the Council's Vote as the Executive Committee may notify. This notification shall be made as soon as possible after the Council's meeting."

## THE NEW WORLD.

### VIII.—ARMENIA.

By J. de V. LODER.

SINCE the Russian revolution there has emerged for the first time in modern history an Armenian State, which, for all the present unstable conditions of its existence, has a place in the new political configuration of the world.

The name Armenia, however, has a much more extended significance than that of the small territories of what is sometimes called the Republic of Erivan. It is primarily used to denote the eastern portion of Asia Minor comprised in the six Turkish provinces (vilayets) of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, Diarbekir, Mamuret-el-Aziz, and Sivas, together with parts of two others, Adana and Trebizond. It also embraces a considerable portion of the country south of the main Caucasus range formerly within the boundaries of the Russian Empire.

Most of this region is very mountainous. Its general level is considerably above that of the Persian and Anatolian plateaux on either side. It reaches a culminating altitude of nearly 17,500 ft. at Mount Ararat, the traditional resting-place of Noah's Ark, where the frontiers of Turkey, Persia and Russia meet.

Armenia is the general term for the area thus loosely defined, but the whole of it never formed a single independent political entity. The rugged nature of the country made cohesion difficult in any case, while its position laid it open to invasions which proved fatal to corporate development.

We first hear of Armenia in about the 7th century B.C. Thereafter it fell under the successive dominion of the Medes and the Persians. It was overrun by Alexander the Great in the 4th century B.C., but won independence from his successors for a time. During the period of the Roman and earlier Byzantine emperors, when for centuries they were in conflict first with Parthia and then with Persia for the mastery of the Middle East, it usually constituted a buffer State, vassal to whichever empire was in the ascendancy. After the Moslem invasion (7th century A.D.), it came under the influence of the Arab Empire. With the beginning of the Turkish migrations from Central Asia (10th century A.D.), it was traversed again and again by Seljuk and Mongol conquerors such as Alp Arslan, Houlagou, and Tamerlane. It was finally annexed to the Ottoman Empire in 1514. The Russians obtained possession of territory in Trans-Caucasia containing important Armenian populations and the venerated Armenian cities of Erivan and Echmiadzin in wars against Persia and Turkey during the 19th century.

Throughout these two thousand years Armenia never managed to acquire fixed frontiers. Sometimes a large area would come under one strong ruler, sometimes the country would be split up among petty chiefs. The memory of some of these Armenian States has survived in history as of considerable momentary political importance and cultural advancement. Mention must be made of the kingdom of Little Armenia, established in Cilicia in the 12th century, since the survival of its Armenian population in territory which is scarcely Armenia proper has led to the proposal of establishing an Armenian National Home in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Alexandretta. But foreign domination or influence was always present. The indigenous population were repeatedly jostled by foreign invaders. From their original homes on the slopes of Mount Ararat and the shores of Lake Van groups were pushed westwards and were dispersed over a wide area. This area, which we now call Armenia, has indeed an Armenian population, but for the reasons indicated, and from the circumstances of their subsequent history under Turkish rule, the Armenians are now almost everywhere in a

minority among Turkish, Kurdish and other populations.

The Armenians are themselves a mixed race, partly Indo-European, partly Iranian (Persian), partly Semitic, speaking an Aryan language. They are for the most part robust in appearance, with somewhat coarse features and straight black hair. Their most general characteristics are an exclusiveness, tenacity and adaptability which reminds one of the Jews. The vagaries of their political fortunes has always tended to drain away the richer and more intellectual of their numbers to the chief cities of neighbouring empires, and latterly still further afield; hence the development of two types, the one familiar in Constantinople, Tiflis, Teheran and elsewhere, the other rarely met outside the native mountains. In the former case the national characteristics have taken an intellectual turn and have been applied to business and skilled trades; in the latter they have produced a hard-working but ignorant and unambitious peasantry. In both cases the defects of their qualities, and especially quarrelsomeness, greed and subtlety, aggravated by centuries during which they have been considered a subject race, have made them generally unpopular.

The Armenians were converted to Christianity about 250 A.D. by St. Gregory, called "The Illuminator." Nearly two hundred and fifty years later their refusal to accept the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon led to the separation of the Gregorian Church from both the Roman and Greek Orthodox Churches. In the fourteenth century the contact of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia with Latin Christianity led to the formation of an Armenian Church in communion with Rome. During the last century an Armenian Protestant Church was established as a result of Western, and particularly American, missionary enterprise.

The majority of Armenians, however, still adhere to the Gregorian Church. Their spiritual head is the Catholicos of Echmiadzin in Russian Armenia. There was at one time doubt whether the primacy lay with this prelate or the Patriarch of Constantinople. The decision arrived at and sanctified by treaty was taken with the support of Russia, who thus hoped to acquire influence over the Armenians in Turkey and to strengthen her claim to protect them, as also to further her political ambitions.

No people has stood more staunchly by its faith under cruel trials than the Armenians, especially as in the past the unorthodoxy of its creed has caused the assistance of other Churches to be withheld in times of stress.

During the four centuries they have been under Turkish rule the Armenians have been organised as a "milli," or "nation," in accordance with the practice adopted after the conquest of Constantinople towards all non-Moslem communities. The Patriarch had administrative and judicial as well as spiritual authority over his flock within certain wide limits, and for these purposes he was a high official of the Turkish State. Thus, as regards their personal lives, the Armenians were virtually autonomous. They thrived and became, with the Greeks, the economic mainstay of the Empire. Many of them reached high positions, and some acquired lasting fame in the Turkish service. National consciousness developed in an atmosphere of prosperity and comparative security. On the other hand, the non-religious functions of ecclesiastics degraded the priesthood by inducing a tendency to put political matters before spiritual, while the mass of the people were not allowed to forget that subserviency was the price of the comparative freedom they enjoyed. When the wave of nationalism which swept over the world after the French Revolution penetrated into Asia it found the moral fibre of the Armenians weakened, but nevertheless it stirred them. External influences helped to fan the flame. Russia was by no means averse to the success of a movement



TURKISH ARMENIA.

tending to the disintegration of Turkey. Political societies were allowed to carry on a work of sedition and intrigue from Russian Armenia. On the other hand, the Turks failed to appreciate the motives of an agitation which aimed not so much at separation as at the rehabilitation of a self-respect consistently ignored by the dominating race and the acquisition of fuller means of national expression. They looked upon the question as one of insubordination among "rayahs" fomented by foreign intrigue. The administrative reforms which they were compelled to agree to in successive treaties during the latter half of the nineteenth century under European pressure were never carried out. Instead of trying conciliation they resorted to violence, and the Armenian massacres of 1894-96 were the early results of what later developed into a policy of extermination. During the late war it is estimated that 800,000 Armenians or something like two-thirds of the number in the Ottoman Empire perished as the result of organised massacres and deportations.

Meanwhile the Russian revolution had provided the opportunity for the Armenians in the Russian Caucasus to establish an independent State with its capital at Erivan. For a time it seemed as if this Republic, with its neighbours, Georgia and Azerbaijan, might consolidate itself in spite of the hostility which existed between them. The British withdrawal from Batoum and Northern Persia in 1920, however, practically severed communications with Europe. Sandwiched between the Bolsheviks and the Turks, the Armenian State was bound to throw itself into the arms of one or the other, and now, though nominally independent, it is really an appenage of the Soviet Government of Moscow.

## PRESIDENT WILSON AT PARIS.

By DR. J. C. MAXWELL GARNETT.

**P**RESIDENT WILSON kept on his desk at Paris during the Peace Conference a large steel document box with a spring lock. Into this box he "plunked" all the papers and memoranda which reached him, and this he used to do at the close of the day, after the meeting of the Council of Four. As the box filled up, papers were transferred to other boxes and trunks, and the whole returned with the American delegation in the *George Washington* after the signing of the treaty. But the President fell desperately ill, and it was not until January, 1921, that the two trunks and three steel

boxes were opened by Mr. Ray Stanard Baker, who had been with him in Paris and whose three large volumes—"Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement (Heinemann, 36s. for Vols. I. and II. and 18s. for Vol. III., containing documents)—present a new account, and an invaluable addition to previous accounts, of what happened at Paris.

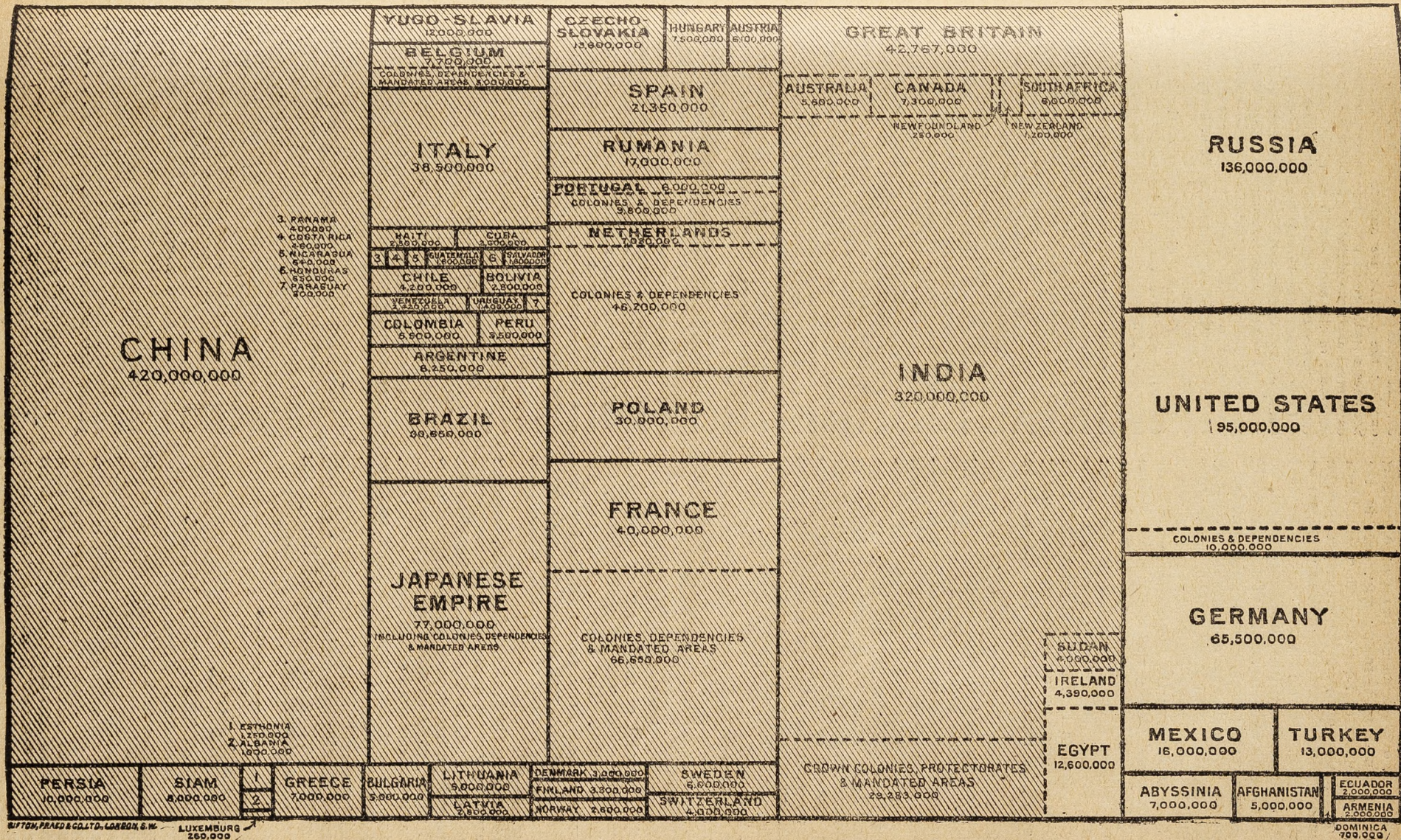
There is a widespread impression that President Wilson went to Paris without a considered plan for translating into practice the general ideas—in particular, self-determination—summarised in the Fourteen Points of his address to Congress in January, 1918, and in the Four Points of his address on Independence Day, 1918. Readers of Mr. Keynes remember something of the President's being "bamboozled" and then failing to be "de-bamboozled." It is commonly thought that Mr. Wilson's unpreparedness for the hard and practical issues made him an easy prey when M. Clemenceau tried to "bamboozle" him into accepting a Carthaginian Peace, and made him so intractable when Mr. Lloyd George afterwards tried to "de-bamboozle" him lest the Germans should refuse to sign the draft Treaty.

But Mr. Baker's narrative and his supporting documents throw much new light on this tremendous drama, and especially on the heroic part played by one of the greatest of American Presidents.

The peace that President Wilson sought was "the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed [self-determination], and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind [the League of Nations]": free nations, freely co-operating, "bound together in a spirit of service to each other—service of the great to the small, of the rich to the undeveloped, service of those experienced in freedom to the politically backward. If autocracy was to be overthrown and many new and weak nations were to come into being, it was necessary that there should be a strong League of Nations, not only to prevent future war, but to protect these new nations until they could establish themselves firmly."

Such was the plan from the new world. But the old world's representatives at Paris were in a different mood. They and their people had been so wrought upon by the war that they could not attain American detachment as they looked towards the peace. Italy had not forgotten the *sacro egoismo* that guided her into the war; France must have security and reparations and, as M. Clemenceau told the Germans when he handed them the draft treaty on May 7, must take "on our side" all the necessary precautions and guarantees that the peace made by this Second Treaty of

(Continued on page 332.)



**THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE WORLD.**

From the above diagram, the figures for which were taken from Whitaker's Almanack, 1923, it will be seen that the combined populations of the States Members of the League of Nations, including colonies, dependencies, war-dated areas, etc., are equal to nearly four-fifths of the total population of the world.

HEADWAY

Versailles shall be a lasting one; and the people of Great Britain were overwhelmingly in favour of hanging the Kaiser and making Germany pay. So, in the meeting of the Council of Four on June 9, Mr. Lloyd George quite frankly opposed the American demand that the sum total of German reparation payments be fixed in the treaty. He said that "any figure that would not frighten them [the Germans] would be below the figure with which he and M. Clemenceau could face their peoples in the present state of public opinion." The American proposal was consequently defeated. Had it been accepted, the present trouble in the Ruhr would probably never have occurred; but it would also have been avoided, as Mr. Lloyd George has lately said, if America had ratified the treaty which Wilson signed, and had thus become a member of the League of Nations. Wilson himself remarked at the time: "Personally, I think the thing [the problem of the occupation of German territory] will solve itself upon the admission of Germany to the League of Nations"; but, of course, he reckoned that America would be there too.

Mr. Baker tells how the treaty was made to combine the President's plans for a world of free nations willingly co-operating; and the French plans for a peace that would for ever deprive Germany—not of the will, but—of the power, to invade France; and the British plans about colonies and ships and future trade and reparations. But these plans would not mix: they can never mix. So it came about that the League of Nations (whose Anglo-American genealogy Mr. Baker tabulates), instead of being the main pillar of the temple of peace, is more like an ante-chapel; or, as some would say, still more like the garrison church of a bristling fortress! But, it appears from Mr. Baker's narrative, that until the President went to the United States for a few weeks in February, 1919, he sacrificed nothing of his principles, and that it was only on his return, and in view of what had been done during his absence, that he began to lose the clarity of his vision and to compromise on less important issues in order to preserve the Covenant of the League as an integral part of the treaty. That was his great objective, his unalterable conviction. The League, and not the treaty, was to make the real peace; let the fever and frenzy of Paris subside, and the lasting world-peace will be made by the nations of the world assembled in the League.

A peace of some sort had to be made at once, however: a temporary arrangement until the greater work could be undertaken. And, in the end, the President felt justified in signing a treaty, parts of which seemed over-harsh and unjust, parts of which seemed unworkable, because that treaty contained within itself the Covenant. The League of Nations, Germany included in it, could be trusted to soften the harshnesses, eradicate the injustices, revise the impracticabilities, and eventually replace the separate and separating national interests by a common spirit of service working for world-good through the organised opinion of mankind.

## Correspondence.

### NATIONS AT THE BAR OF JUSTICE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—May I supplement Mr. Keen's admirable article upon this subject by a few observations?

I fear the public has failed to appreciate the fundamental distinction between the voluntary submission of a particular dispute to a tribunal of arbitration and an agreement to submit all disputes which may arise in the future to the unfettered judgment of a Court of Justice. What would any one think of our Royal Courts of Justice, if every defendant might refuse to appear and defy with impunity the decision of the court? In an arbitration the parties

themselves settle the issues to be decided. The award may be, and usually is, of the nature of a compromise, and no one but the parties are bound. Thus an award seldom becomes a legal precedent. In an action at law the defendant must meet the plaintiff's claim as best he may. The judgment of the court, based upon the facts and the law, thus becomes a precedent for similar claims.

Long before the World War—in 1899—a permanent Court of Arbitration had been established at The Hague. It settled some sixteen international disputes, and had it possessed compulsory jurisdiction, which was nearly conferred upon it by The Hague Conference, 1907, the Austro-Serbian dispute of 1914 would in the ordinary course have been referred to it.

It is quite clear that the intention of the framers of the Covenant was to establish three modes of settlement for international disputes. Non-justiciable disputes—i.e., disputes primarily political—were to be submitted (1) to the Council of the League for conciliation, or (2) to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague or some other *ad hoc* arbitral tribunal for arbitration. Justiciable disputes—i.e., purely legal and non-political—were to be referred (3) to the Permanent Court of Justice for judicial settlement. The jurisdiction of the latter was to be compulsory. This scheme was embodied in the statute framed by The Hague jurists, but it was wrecked by the opposition of Great Britain. The reasons alleged by Lord Balfour for the British opposition are, to my mind, quite illusory. The fear that disappointed litigants in the British Prize Courts might appeal to the Permanent Court of International Justice was groundless, since as constituted the Court did not possess jurisdiction in Prize. Moreover, individuals had no *locus standi*; only States could be parties. But even if such questions might have been brought before the Court, what valid objection could there be? Prize cases are essentially those eminently fit for adjudication by an International Court administering international law. Upon the condemnation of the "Knight Commander" and other British vessels by the Russian Prize Court in 1904-5, the British Government would certainly have appealed to an International Prize Court had one been in existence, and they would probably have appealed successfully, since the Russian action was clearly illegal.

I agree with Mr. Keen, and have urged elsewhere,\* that the recognition of a Court with compulsory jurisdiction is the only effective check on war. The really dangerous disputes are seldom settled by voluntary arbitration. The World War should be sufficient proof of this. Unwillingness to submit to a Court of Justice usually indicates unwillingness to submit the same issue to arbitration. When these and other legal distinctions are generally understood, the public will demand the adherence of Great Britain to the provision recognising as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice.—Yours, etc.

HUGH H. L. BELLOT.

(Hon. General Secretary, International Law Association.)  
Temple, E.C.4.

### A GENEROUS DONATION.

The following is an extract from a letter received by the General Secretary of the League of Nations Union from Mr. G. W. Shipway, Secretary of the Szechuan Co-operative Society in China. The generous donor will doubtless be glad to know of the success which has attended Lord Robert Cecil's visit to the United States:—  
To the Secretary, League of Nations Union.

DEAR SIR,—At the recent Members' Meeting of the Szechuan Co-operative Society a motion was moved that twenty dollars be subscribed to your funds, with the suggestion that missionary work be started in America. Unfortunately, this motion was not carried. As I am secretary of the society, and put in an enormous amount of time quite gratuitously, I decided to ask for two hundred dollars as "payment" for a small part of my work, and the Committee agreed to this. The enclosed £20 5s. 3d. is the sterling equivalent of this \$200. I regard the League of Nations as the most important matter at the present time, from several points of view . . . . .

Yours faithfully,

Chungking, West China. G. W. SHIPWAY.

\* Grotius Society, *Texts for Students of International Relations*, No. 8. See also Dr. Loder, *British Year-Book of International Law*, 1921-2.

## HOW TO LEARN GERMAN, FRENCH OR SPANISH.

### New Method Saves Years of Study.

Could you pick up a book written entirely in a Foreign Language (a language which perhaps you have never learnt) and read it through correctly without referring to a dictionary?

This is just what the new Pelman method of learning German, French and Spanish, now enables you to do.

The new method enables you to learn a Foreign Language without using English. You learn French in French; German in German; and Spanish in Spanish. This enables you to speak any one of these languages naturally and fluently, without that hesitation which is almost unavoidable when a language has been acquired in the old-fashioned way.

Secondly, this method does away with the task of memorising long vocabularies of French, Spanish or German words. You learn the words by using them and in such a way that you never forget them.

Thirdly, all grammatical difficulties and complexities are done away with. By this method you learn to speak, read, and write German, French or Spanish, fluently and accurately without spending months learning formal grammar.

Fourthly, this method enables you to learn a Foreign Language in your leisure time—without the inconvenience of attending classes.

**This method will enable you to read the leading German, French and Spanish reviews, newspapers, books and Government publications, and thus keep in close and intimate touch with Continental opinion.**

The following letters are typical of the hundreds of similar communications received by the Institute:—

New College, Oxford.

"The Course is most remarkably ingenious and deserves the highest praise. It is unique."  
H. Dunsmore (S.D. 115).

"Bodley," 16 Gordon Hill, Enfield.  
"By your method of instruction, which is gradual and sure, the pupil learns more in one year than in four years by the ordinary method."  
(Rev.) J. Mare (S.M. 163).

Trenant Park, Duloe, Cornwall.  
"I cannot speak too highly of your Course, my little daughter of twelve really enjoys it and looks forward with the keenest interest to the return of the work sheets. The professor of Spanish is extremely helpful and kind in his corrections. If possible, I hope my little daughter will be able to take the French and German courses; to a mother teaching her child alone the Courses are invaluable."  
M. A. B. Peel (S.P. 130).

13 Railway Terrace, Thorpe Road, Staines.  
"I am extremely satisfied with the progress I have made. I have managed during the past few months to obtain a better knowledge of colloquial French than I acquired in three years at school."  
W. D. Cooper (C. 416).

Everyone who has adopted this new way of learning German, French or Spanish agrees that it is the simplest, most interesting, and most effective of all methods of learning Foreign Languages. It enables you to learn French, German or Spanish perfectly in about one-third the usual time.

Write to-day for a copy of "How to Learn Foreign Languages," mentioning the language about which you would like special information. By return this information, together with a copy of the book, will be sent you GRATIS AND POST FREE. Write for it to-day to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112 Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1.

### AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE: A CORRECTION.

In our last issue we dealt with the current belief in the United States that membership of the League of Nations entails acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles, and pointed out that this opinion was erroneous. We added that "the only States which are bound by this Treaty are those which have signed it." The word "signed" should of course read "ratified," the former word being used inadvertently, having escaped the notice of the proof corrector. America can become a member of the League by either of two methods: (1) She can ratify the Treaty of Versailles and become *ipso facto* a member; or (2) she can apply for membership in the ordinary way, in which case she will not be bound by the Treaty.—ED. HEADWAY.

## The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,

You will be as glad as I am to know that a new edition of Mr. Leonard Woolf's *International Government* (George Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.) has now been published. It has been out of print for some years; when it first came out you and I were experiencing the result of the lack of international government in a very unpleasant manner and had not much opportunity for reading. Indeed, I am not at all sure that we were much interested in the subject; our interest has been the consequence of four years' bitter lessons and of more than four years' subsequent awakening. However, we can now repair our loss at leisure, and at an absurdly small price, considering the size of the book and the value of its material, can learn all that we need to know about the causes of war and their prevention. There are some books which you can skim over at express speed, there are others which are out of date almost as soon as they are published; this one falls into neither category, and its value may be tested by the fact that though the whole map of Europe has been changed since it was written, though the League of Nations has come into being, there has been no need to alter a single word, and the principles which Mr. Woolf laid down remain unshaken by subsequent events. Indeed, it is instructive to find that when he is discussing in the first part of his book the questions of arbitration, an international court and an international authority, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Council and Assembly of the League have largely carried into effect the proposals that he made seven years ago. In this connection he has some wise words to say upon the matter of unanimity of decision and points out that so long as national sovereignty and national independence are recognised as fundamental, "we do not cease to be a nation, or, at any rate, a nation with 'national honour,' because we make submission to the expressed will of other nations." His whole argument here is worth much consideration, since it is this condition of actual or implied unanimity which tends to sterilise the decisions of the League on vital issues. Mr. Woolf, of course, is not blind to the difficulty created by giving great and small States an equal vote and of thus placing, say, France and England at the mercy of a combination of other States whose total importance does not equal one-tenth part of theirs; a way must be found out of this difficulty if the idea of unanimity is to pass, though Mr. Woolf's suggestion to this end is not now practicable. The latter part of the book deals with realised facts and points out that "in every department of life the beginnings, and more than the beginnings, of International Government already exist"; and if this could be said in 1916, it is true to a far greater degree to-day. If I complain that the book lacks an index, that is a small thing, which we can do without; what we could not afford to lose is Mr. Bernard Shaw's preface; it is in his best style, and

(Continued on page 334.)



if only on that account, you must not fail to buy the book at once.

I have seldom found more chunks of solid information hurled at my brain than those which appear in a small compass in the 2nd edition of *The Labour Speaker's Handbook* (Labour Party, 33 Eccleston Square, S.W.1. rs.). I know that you are not qualifying as a Labour speaker and the L.N.U. is not concerned with party politics, but the official programme of His Majesty's Opposition deserves to be read by everyone, whether they believe that it will be the death-blow or the salvation of our country's prosperity. Politics, however, altogether apart, it contains useful and documented information on armaments, e.g., "Our Colossal War Bills" is the title of one section; and it translates the cost of past and future wars from incomprehensible millions into the terms of the cost of beer, tobacco, sugar, tea and the like. After all, this is what most of us need to know and can understand. The section on the League will not add anything to your knowledge, but it is well to be reminded that as far back as 1917 the Labour Party called for the creation of a League of Nations, and that in spite of the defects of the existing League, which we all recognise, "Labour is vigorously supporting the League."

The general subject of this handbook leads me on to Mr. Watson Kirkconnell's *International Aspects of Unemployment* (George Allen and Unwin, 6s. 6d.). Mr. Kirkconnell is a Canadian and writes as a citizen of a "country of hard work, where emphasis is still placed on duties more than on rights, on service more than on leisure." England's tragedy to-day is that even where men are ready for hard work, there is not enough work of any kind for them to do. As a result of his recent visits to a dozen different European countries, all of some importance, the author has grasped the fact that unemployment is an international problem, which can only be dealt with by international conference and legislation. By ample, yet not bewildering, figures he shows how as a result of the war and the peace the whole process of the cross-country exchange of goods has broken down and needs to be built up afresh. But the economic decay has its roots in political insecurity, and therefore unemployment can only be cured by a new political orientation. Like almost every other writer on economic subjects he sees only one remedy against still worse chaos and disaster:—

"The internationalism of the League of Nations is the only hope of Occidental civilisation. The voluntary federation of all peoples for mutual help and advancement is the only possible answer to the challenge of the war."

If you have not already seen it, let me recommend to you the *Report on Palestine Administration* (H.M. Stationery Office, 2s.), which the Palestine Government has recently published. The Palestine mandate has been one of the most difficult to administer, but this report gives an encouraging picture of the not unsuccessful attempts which this country has made to fulfil her obligations. On the vexed question of the rights of the native population it is satisfactory to read that "care has been taken that in no case shall hardship be caused to any cultivators who may have been in occupation of portions of the land" which have been purchased for Jewish colonies. Altogether you will find a record of marked progress in every direction, particularly in regard to public health and education.

It may seem a queer notion to have a play written and published by Quakers, but here is one entitled "*William Penn*," by Miss Mary L. Pendered (Society of Friends Bookshop, 140 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.2. 2s. 6d.). It is written in six scenes, linked by an interpretative "chorus" in the person of a Quaker dame. There is considerable variety in the action and the dialogue is good; it would probably want a little

pulling together on the stage, but if the settings are not too elaborate, it would be quite worth the Committee of your dramatic society looking at it for production in the autumn.—Yours,  
THE SHOPMAN.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

In pursuance of the decision of the Council of the Federation of League of Nations Societies held at Budapest, the three Committees appointed, viz., Minorities, Economic and Disarmament, have met on three occasions at Bale, Switzerland. In view of the excessively large agenda before the Minorities Commission, which dealt in the main with problems relative to the Protection of Minorities in Asia Minor and the adjacent territories, it has been decided to hold a further meeting at the end of this month. The Economic and Armaments Commissions will not, however, meet again before the Plenary Assembly at Vienna on June 24. Such resolutions or recommendations as have been drafted by these Commissions will figure on the agenda fixed for this Assembly. Although the minutes of these two Commissions have not as yet come to hand, a copy of the statement made to the Commission by the Union's representatives, Mr. Layton, editor of *The Economist*, has just reached us. This statement, which treats of the occupation of the Ruhr and the problem of Reparations as a whole, is certain to prove of great value to the Union. It contains concrete proposals for a rapid settlement of the Reparations conflict, proposals based primarily on an unconditional reconstruction by Germany of the devastated areas; on full provision for the security of the French frontiers from external aggression (thus being acceptable from the French point of view), but in most other aspects tuned to Germany's capacity to pay. The argument underlying the statement foresees a satisfactory settlement of the Reparations problem by the League of Nations were these proposals accepted.

From the Union's delegate to the Armaments Commission, Capt. Reginald Berkeley, M.C., M.P., a full report has not as yet reached us.

League of Nations Union.  
Notes and News.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

November 1, 1918	..	..	..	3,217
November 1, 1920	..	..	..	49,858
November 1, 1921	..	..	..	133,649
November 1, 1922	..	..	..	212,959
April 21, 1923	..	..	..	267,859

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

Anglesey	1	member	per every 21 of population.
Monmouthshire	1	"	" 22 "
Westmorland	1	"	" 27 "

Branches.

On April 20 the number of Branches was 1,344, together with 81 Junior Branches and 303 Corporate Members.

Corporate Members.

The following have been admitted to Corporate Membership since the April issue of HEADWAY:—

Ashford—South Ashford Adult School. Ashton-under-Lyne—National Union of Railwaymen; Ryecroft Independent Church. Biddulph—St. Lawrence Church; Wesley Hall Church. Blyth—Blyth Congregational Church; Blyth Wesleyan Church; St. Mary's Parochial Church Council. Brierley Hill—Free Library Committee. Bristol—Southville Brotherhood; Bristol Baptist College. Bromley—Bromley Division of the Girl Guides. Burnham-on-Sea—St. Andrew's Church. Crosby-on-Eden—Parochial Church Council. Darlington—North Road Wesleyan Church. Dursley—Tabernacle Congregational Church. Egypt—The Anglican Church Council for Egypt. Folkestone—Radnor Park Congregational Church. Glasgow—Claremont Street Wesleyan Methodist Church; Pollokshields East, United Free Church (Young People's Guild); Pollokshields West, United Free Church (Young People's Society); Trinity Congregational Church. Harrogate—Wesley Chapel. Hertford—Congregational Church. Horwich—Primitive Methodist Brotherhood. Idle—Wesleyan

UNIVERSITY OF GENEVA (SWITZERLAND)  
SUMMER SCHOOL JULY 16 to SEPT. 1, 1923

- FRENCH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.**  
Lectures and Practical Work in small graded groups. Phonetics, Conversation, Composition, Translation, Grammar, &c.
- CURRENT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.**  
Subject matter of Lectures and Round Table Conferences: (a) The Present Political and Economic Conditions of the States of Europe, America and the Near East; (b) Organised International Co-operation in the Political and Social Field, &c. Members of the Summer School will receive tickets of admission to the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations.
- BOTANY AND GEOLOGY.**  
Laboratory and Field Work for advanced students in the Mt. Blanc, St. Bernard, Jungfrau and Matterhorn regions. Excursions on the Lake to Chamonix and Zermatt.  
Sports.—Rowing, Bathing, Tennis, &c.  
Fees.—French course (including practical work), six weeks Fr. 120, four weeks Fr. 100. Lectures on International Problems, Fr. 60. Botany, one month Fr. 120, two months Fr. 200. Geology, one month Fr. 200.  
Board and Accommodation in French-speaking families and pensions from Fr. 7 a day and upwards.  
For particulars and detailed programme apply to the Secretary, University of Geneva, Switzerland, or to the Economic Divisions of the Swiss Legation, London, 32, Queen Anne Street.

BANNERS FOR BRANCHES OF THE  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

HAVE YOU GOT YOUR BANNER?

We make the finest Banners in the country.

Let us make yours.

BEST MATERIAL. FAST COLOURS. BEST DESIGNS.

Write us for particulars.

J. WILLIAMS BUTCHER,  
2 & 3, Ludgate Circus Buildings, E.C.4.

Spend Your  
—Holiday—  
at Geneva

The Home of the League of Nations.

A well-equipped, centrally situated Hotel has been retained by the W.T.A. from middle of June to end of September as a centre for W.T.A. parties. One minute from the Lake. Parties of 25 persons leave London every Saturday.

Terms: One Week . . . £9 9 0  
Two Weeks . . . £12 0 0

Price includes second-class rail and boat, 7 or 14 days' accommodation, food and tips and certain excursions.

Special visits to League of Nations and International Labour Office, Lectures, visits to Mont Saleve, Castle of Chillon, Trip round the Lake, Contact with local workers' organisations.

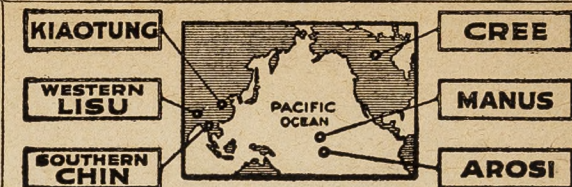
Other W.T.A. Summer Centres at:—

PARIS BRUGES BRUSSELS  
St. MALO VIENNA BERLIN

The excellent opportunities offered by W.T.A. parties for studying International Problems on the spot should be of special interest to the League of Nations Union members.

Full programme sent on receipt of 1½d. stamp.

WORKERS' TRAVEL ASSOCIATION,  
Branch B, Toynbee Hall,  
28, Commercial Street, London, E. 1.



God's Book — and  
in their mother tongue

The Bible Society's latest Report announces the Gospel printed in six new languages for the coastlands or islands of the Pacific. Here are their names. In China (i) *Kiaotung* is a dialect of Eastern Shantung; (ii) *Western Lisu* is the speech of aborigines on the Yunnan border. For Upper Burma, St. Mark appears in the (iii) Southern dialect of *Chin*. (iv) *Coastal Cree* is an Indian dialect of Canada. St. Mark is printed in the speech of (v) *Manus Island*, the largest of the Admiralty group. (vi) *Arosi* is a dialect of San Cristoval, one of the Solomon Islands.



The Bible Society has now sent out the Scriptures in 550 different tongues. Send a gift to the Secretaries, 146, Queen Victoria Street, London.

MISCELLANEOUS.

REAL SHETLAND HOSIERY. Jumpers in White, Grey, Dark Brown, Fawn and Moorit, 20s. to 30s.; Skirts, 25s. 6d.; Cardigan Coats, 25s. 6d.; Ladies' Hose, 8s. 6d. per pair; Yarn per Head (about 8 ozs.) in 2 ply White, 7s., Grey, 7s., Dark Brown, 7s., Fawn, 8s., Moorit, 8s. Fair Isle coloured Yarn, in 2 ply Yellow, Blue, Red and Green, 10s. per Head. Jumpers with Fair Isle border, 35s. to 50s.; Allover Fair Isle Jumpers, £5 10s. Shetland Tweed, 56 ins. wide, 17s. 6d. per yard. Postage extra.—A. A. FAIRCLOTH, Stromness, Orkney.

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO. Easy and lucid. 3d. of all booksellers.—DREADNOUGHT PRESS, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.

MISS MAUDE ROYDEN, lately returned from U.S.A., lectures on *England and America* at the Kingsway Hall, on Thursday, May 17, at 8 p.m., supported by the Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard. Chair:—The Viscountess Astor, M.P. Tickets, 10/6, 5/-, 2/6, 1/-, all reserved and num.—TICKET SECRETARY, Guildhouse, Berwick Street, Victoria, S.W.1.

HOTELS, BOARDING HOUSES, Etc.

N.R. CARMARTHEN.—Llanstephan Park Villas. Board residence 45/- each. All convenience, bath, electric light, nice sea bathing, tennis, lovely country.—Mrs. GIBBON.

Readers of Headway are invited to purchase one of the British made

**HARPER PIANOS.**  
ORDINARY PIANOS or PLAYER PIANOS.  
High grade quality and finish. Beautiful Tone. Finest value at moderate price.  
Sold for CASH or on MONTHLY TERMS.  
HARPER PIANO CO., LTD.,  
Write (Sidney C. Harper, Managing Director.)  
for list 256-262, HOLLOWAY RD., N.7.

**ENGLISH HAND-MADE LACE**  
of every description.  
Collars, Handkerchiefs, Tea Cloths, Edgings, Motifs, D'oyles, Yard Laces and Insertions, &c. Hand-sewn Lingerie and Blouses of beautiful design and workmanship. Illustrations free.  
Mrs. ARMSTRONG,  
Lace Maker—Olney, Bucks.

Men's Institute. Hldey—Congregational Church; Wesleyan Church, Leigh-on-Sea—Union Congregational Church. Liverpool—Victoria Settlement. London—St. Michael's and All Angels Parochial Church Council (Chiswick); Ealing Broadway Wesleyan Church; Earlsfield Congregational Church; Harecourt Congregational Church (Canonbury); St. Simon's Parochial Church Council (Shepherd's Bush); Union of Jewish Women; Westminster Congregational Church; St. James' Church Council (Gunnersbury). Manchester—Walkden Provident Industrial Co-operative Society, Ltd. Newbiggin—Newbiggin Branch B.W.T.A. Oxford—The Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral. Perth—Young Men's Fellowship Association. Ryton-on-Tyne—Clare Vale Branch B.W.T.A. Shrewsbury—St. Giles' Women's Institute. Stocksfield—The Churchwardens of Bywell St. Peter's. Stoke-on-Trent—Holy Trinity Church, Hartshill. Westcliff-on-Sea—St. Saviour's Church. West Malling—Women's Institute. Woking—Christ Church. Woodford—Derby Road Wesleyan Church; Woodford Branch B.W.T.A. Worthing—Steyne Gardens Wesleyan Church.

#### Increasing the Union's Membership.

The Maidenhead Branch made 182 new members in 1922, bringing its total membership up to 375. Membership figures, however, are not the only test of the activity and enthusiasm of this Branch, which has made marked progress during the past year. Branch Secretaries may be interested to learn that the local scholars in Maidenhead and Cookham have saved many pounds of Branch funds and relieved the Secretary of an onerous duty, by delivering most of the notes to members. In this way the schoolboys and girls themselves have become interested in the League. Four addresses on the League were given during 1922 in the Council and County Boys' and Girls' Schools.

The Yeovil Branch during 1922 increased its membership from 55 to 233.

In February, 1922, the Gerrards Cross and Chalfont St. Peter Branch had 25 members. To-day it has 510.

The membership of the Bishopston and Horfield Branch was 226 at the beginning of last year, and had increased to 601 by the end of the year; the figure is now 740. If every Branch were to progress at this rate the continuous line in the graph on page 311 of the April HEADWAY would pretty nearly approximate with the broken one.

The Ealing Branch has increased its membership from 472 to 700.

Diseworth is a village whose total population only numbers 318, and 82 of these belong to the local Branch!

#### An Active Junior Branch.

Excellent work is being done by the Junior Branch of the Rochester Girls' Grammar School.

At a recent meeting of the above branch, short lectures were given by members of the fifth and sixth forms on the following subjects:—

1. Some Activities of the League of Nations.
2. The Geneva Conference of 1922.
3. Labour Work in Connection with the League.
4. The League of Nations Union in Schools.

These lectures were voluntarily prepared by groups of girls, and delivered by one member of each group. A lively discussion followed on various points raised during the lectures.

#### Hampstead School Children in Paris.

A very practical form of propaganda is being tried at the Fleet Road Central School, Hampstead. The headmaster, Mr. Millward, who, together with his staff, is a strong advocate of the League of Nations, has arranged for thirty children between the ages of thirteen and sixteen to spend a week of their Easter holiday in Paris.

The French Education Committee and the French Railway authorities are co-operating. The children will live in French schools—lent very cheaply for the purpose—and will travel on the railways at half price.

The Hampstead Branch of the League of Nations Unions have given help to the extent of £15. About £12 of this will pay the expenses of two girls who, owing to circumstances at home, would otherwise have been unable to go in spite of the fact that they are keen French scholars, and would derive much benefit from the journey, both socially and educationally.

The Branch Committee made this grant because they

felt that it was the best practical way of working for peace. If French and English children grow up knowing and understanding one another's lives and difficulties there can be no room for hatred and misunderstanding. "Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner."

#### Good Organisation at Brighton.

A gathering of coast dwellers drawn from Brighton, Hove, Southwick, Shoreham, Portslade and Rottingdean came together for the annual meeting of the Brighton, Hove and District Branch at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, on March 22. The Branch now numbers over 3,000. Decentralisation is secured by working the area in six districts, autonomous in committee work, yet remaining closely in touch with the main executive, of which their officers are members, and constantly vitalising its monthly meetings with new ideas and practical suggestions from the district committees.

The most distinctive features of Branch work during 1922 have been the extremely important work of its education committee, and the very interesting series of debates at the Royal Pavilion.

Addresses have been given by Miss Currey, Mr. Whelen and others in Brighton Municipal Training College, the three secondary schools and nine of the best-known proprietary schools of Brighton and Hove. The respective Education Authorities granted Armistice Day facilities.

There is a flourishing debating society. Nine well-attended debates have been held in public, the speakers including Col. Borden Turner and Mr. Everett Reid.

The year's public meetings have numbered eighteen.

#### A Successful Pageant.

A most successful Pageant on the League of Nations, written by the Rev. Andrew Aitken, of Kilmarnock, and the Rev. Thomas Simpson, of Glasgow, was performed at Kilmarnock on March 21 and 22, under the auspices of the Young People's League. The Pageant is written in verse, with great variation of metre, which thus avoids monotony, and each of the characters was dressed in the distinctive garb of the country he or she represented.

#### Work in Wales.

The memory of Henry Richard—"the apostle of Peace"—of the middle of last century—has during the past month received its due homage through various Memorial Celebrations in the Principality. On March 27 Mr. David Davies, M.P., Chairman of the Welsh Council, addressed a crowded memorial meeting at Merthyr Tydfil. He was supported by the Rev. D. C. Davies.

On Easter Wednesday, April 4, Tregaron was *en fête* in celebration also of her famous son. Hundreds of Welsh folk had made pilgrimage to the birthplace of Henry Richard and enthusiastic public meetings and a children's meeting were held in the town. It is hoped that this demonstration will become an annual event in Wales.

The Second Annual Conference of the Welsh Council at Aberystwyth promises to be of great interest. Among the speakers will be the Rev. Herbert Morgan, M.A. (in the chair), Captain Ernest Evans, M.P., the Rev. J. Puleston Jones, M.A., Col. David Davies, Mrs. Coombe Tennant, Senor Augustin Edwards, President of the Third Assembly of the League.

On May 21 there will be an evening of singing under the direction of Sir H. Walford Davies, Mus. Doc., Director of Music in the University of Wales.

On May 22 there will be a conference of the International Labour Organisation, at which Mr. Sydney Herbert, Lecturer in International Politics, Aberystwyth College, will speak, and Major W. P. Wheldon, D.S.O., M.A., will take the chair.

#### Sunday Meeting in Cinema.

The Kingston Branch are holding a meeting in the Super Cinema, Kingston-on-Thames, on Sunday, May 13th at 3 p.m. The Mayor will preside, and among the speakers will be Sir Maurice de Bunsen, G.C.M.G., Miss Muriel Currey and F. A. Broad, M.P. for Edmonton. As a further means of bringing the importance of the work of the League before the general public, arrangements have been made with the manager of the cinema in which the Sunday meeting is to take place for the exhibition of the League's film on Saturday, May 12th. It is hoped that the meeting will be widely attended by members and friends of the League of Nations Union in the Thames Valley.

# OUT OF THE WRECK.

Russian peasants in Buzuluk and Pugachev who have so far escaped from death by starvation or disease are still dependent upon our help if they are ultimately to be saved. They may have escaped from the wreck of last winter, but they are faced with four full months before harvest until which many of them have nothing. Even now 112,000 are solely dependent upon our relief in Buzuluk and 20,000 in Pugachev.

## THE NEED IS URGENT— LET THE RESPONSE BE GENEROUS!

*GIFTS OF MONEY* should be sent to *FRIENDS' RELIEF COMMITTEE* (Room 10), 10, Fetter Lane, LONDON, E.C.4.

*Gifts in Kind* (Clothing, Soap, etc.) should be sent to *The Friends' Warehouse*, 5, New Street Hill, London, E.C.4.

Co-operating with the Russian Famine Fund and the "Save the Children" Fund in the "All-British Appeal" for the Famine in Russia.

**The Right Spirit.**

At a meeting of Girl Guides addressed by Dame Rachel Crowdy at Bromley, the whole meeting joined the League of Nations Union as a corporate member, and promised to join individually as well. As a record method of increasing membership this is hard to beat.

\* \* \* \*

**Froken Forchhammer.**

Will those Branches who desire to secure Froken Forchhammer for a lecture in June, kindly send in an application at once to 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

\* \* \* \*

**International Garden Fête.**

A Grand International Garden Fête will be held at St. Dunstan's, Regent's Park, on Friday and Saturday, the 20th and 21st July, 1923, by kind permission of Mr. Otto Kahn.

The object of the Fête is twofold:—

(1) To create and develop a wide-spread interest in the League of Nations.

(2) To raise money for the League of Nations Union.

The following letter has been received from Colonel Streetfield, Private Secretary to Queen Alexandra, giving Her Majesty's gracious consent to become Patron of the Fête:—

"Dear Lord Robert Cecil,

"Sister Agnes has to-day forwarded to Queen Alexandra your letter to her of the 16th instant and Her Majesty desires me to tell you that it will give her sincere pleasure to grant her patronage to the Garden Fête, in aid of the League of Nations Union which is to be held at St. Dunstan's, Regent's Park, in July next.

"I am to say that Her Majesty is only too glad to support in any possible way the great work of the League, in which she takes the deepest interest."

It is hoped that most of the foreign embassies will be represented. National costumes of the various member States of the League of Nations will be worn, and it is intended to make the Fête of a thoroughly international character. Entertainments of various kinds will be arranged; a Thé Dansant, both evenings, will take place in the beautiful ballroom of the house, sales of various kinds will be held, and everything will be done with the object of making the Fête a very attractive function, worthy of the League of Nations.

The organisation of the Fête will be in the hands of the London Regional Federation of the Union, who have appointed a Grand Committee to deal with it. This Committee will, it is hoped, be representative of every Branch of the League of Nations Union in the London area and of several organisations known to be in sympathy with the work of the League of Nations.

\* \* \* \*

**Summer Schools.**

We recapitulate for the benefit of our readers the main particulars about the summer schools and tours organised by the League of Nations Union this year.

**OXFORD (BALLIOL COLLEGE).**

July 23rd-30th. Fee 4½ guineas. Lectures and addresses by the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P., Professor Gilbert Murray, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Mr. C. Delisle Burns, Professor Ruysen (Secretary of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies), M. Albert Thomas (Director of the International Labour Office), or Mr. H. B. Butler (Deputy Director of the International Labour Office), and others.

**GENEVA.**

August 3rd-11th. Fee 12 guineas. Lectures by the Director of the International Labour Office, the Heads of the Administrative, Political and Health Departments of the League Secretariat, Sir Arthur Salter, and others.

**ASSEMBLY TOUR TO GENEVA.**

August 30th-September 6th. Fee 12 guineas. Object: By attending the sessions of the Assembly, and by lectures from experts, to study the machinery and working of the League at first hand. Early application should be made to Mrs. Innes, 44, Friars Walk, Lewes.

**HEIDELBURG.**

Owing to the uncertainty of the international situation due to the Ruhr occupation, we are still unable to state definitely whether the proposed summer school at Heidelberg, beginning August 17th, will be held, but a letter received recently from the Rektor of the University at Heidelberg holds out some substantial hopes of the school materialising.

**BOLOGNA.**

May 17th-25th. Fee 16 guineas, including one night in Milan. Captain Colin Coote, M.P., and Professor Currie Martin hope to be among the lecturers. Excursions to Ravenna and Ferrara and motor trips into the mountains. Applications should be made to Mrs. Croxton, 68, Elsham Road, W.14.

**VIENNA TOUR.**

The party attending the meeting of the Federation of League of Nations Societies at Vienna will leave London on June 22. The first meeting of the Federation is on June 24 and continues until the evening of June 27. On the 28th an expedition is being organised by the Austrian Society to one of the most beautiful spots in Austria on the Danube. The party will leave Vienna on the 29th, arriving in Trieste on the same day. It will spend the week-end, June 30 to July 2, in Venice, arriving in London on Wednesday, July 4.

It had been originally planned to spend a day in Fiume, but this has been cancelled in order that the party may attend the Austrian expedition to the Danube. Full particulars of the cost have not yet been arranged as we are still waiting to hear from the Austrian hotels, but the maximum cost will be £25. This will not include meals on the trains, passport visas, or "de luxe" expenditures by individuals.

In order to facilitate the booking of rooms, those wishing to join the party are asked to notify the General Secretary *not later than May 15, 1923.*

\* \* \* \*

**TWO SCOTTISH SUMMER SCHOOLS AT BONSKIED.**

June 15-18, 35s., including registration fee of 7s. 6d. Group discussions on the work of Branches; lectures by Dr. Maxwell Garnett on "The Task before the Union and the Achievements of the League."

June 29-July 2, 37s. 6d., including registration fee of 7s. 6d.; lectures on the "International Labour Office," "Disarmament," "Mandates," and other subjects of general international interest. Speakers: Col. Borden Turner and Mr. Henderson Pringle.

Bonskied House is magnificently placed in the Grampians among typical Scottish scenery—mountain, forest, river and loch. The station is Pitlochry, 4½ miles from the house, on Highland line, about 30 miles north of Perth.

These schools are more especially intended for Scottish members, although applications from English and Welsh members of the Union will be considered if the accommodation will permit. Application should be made, before June 1, to David Crawford, Esq., 213, West George Street, Glasgow.

\* \* \* \*

**Study Circles on the League and its I.L.O.**

A gift has been made to this Union by the League of Nations and its International Labour Office of a certain number of reports and documents concerning the League; and of complete sets of the reports of the Director to the International Labour Office conferences, together with publications relating to hours and wages of labour in various countries.

These documents can be borrowed by study circle leaders for a period of two months. Postage to be paid each way by the borrower. A list of the publications can be lent by Headquarters to intending borrowers.

\* \* \* \*

**Public Meetings.**

Owing to the Easter holidays falling in the month of April, the number of meetings held during this month was somewhat less than usual, about 240 having been arranged by Headquarters, in addition to those arranged directly by Branches. Up to the time of going to press just over 100 meetings have been arranged for May, the

principal of which are to be held at Folkestone, Buxton, Hereford, Croydon, Oundle School, Stockton-on-Tees, Gateshead, Kingston-on-Thames, Sunderland, North Islington, Carlisle, Plymouth, Chelsea, Waterloo (Liverpool), Southampton, Essex Hall (London), Wimbledon, Blackburn and Nottingham. Amongst the speakers are Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Bart., G.C.M.G., the Bishop of Derby, Bishop Whitehead, the Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy, M.C., the Rev. S. M. Berry, Sir Willoughby Dickinson, K.B.E., Sir Arthur Haworth, Bart., Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe, C.M.G., Miss Margaret Bondfield, J.P., V. L. McEntee, Esq., M.P., J. C. Maxwell Garnett, Esq., C.B.E., M.A., Sc.D., John H. Harris, Esq., Professor Henderson Pringle, M.A., LL.B., Major W. E. G. Murray, M.C., D.F.C., E. Everitt Reid, Esq., F.R.G.S., Mr. Frederick Whelen and Miss Muriel Curry, O.B.E.

\* \* \* \*

**Enquiries.**

Many of our members who write to Headquarters asking for information on League subjects, send stamped addressed envelopes for reply. It would be a great help if this practice could be universally adopted.

\* \* \* \*

**Renew Your Subscriptions.**

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

\* \* \* \*

**To Branch Secretaries.**

If news of your Branch sent to HEADWAY fails to obtain publication, do not imagine that the work you do is not

appreciated at Headquarters. So great is the activity of Branches throughout the country that to publish all that is sent to us would easily fill the whole of HEADWAY each month. The Editor has no choice but to make a selection and endeavour in the course of the year to distribute publicity as fairly as possible.

**TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.**

1s. a year. Minimum Subscription.  
3s. 6d. a year. Membership and HEADWAY.  
£1 a year. Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.  
£25. Life Membership, HEADWAY, and all literature.  
All subscriptions run for 12 months from the date of payment.

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

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

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas.

**WIDEN YOUR OUTLOOK BY FOREIGN TRAVEL.**  
THE ARLINGTON TOURING CLUB has arranged  
**SPRING AND SUMMER TOURS TO**  
Tyrol and the Dolomites, Florence, Siena, Assisi, Venice, Spain and the Pyrenees, Norway (Fjords and inland villages), Switzerland, Jersey and Brittany. **Walking tours** to the Dolomites, the Bernese Oberland, Chamonix and Zermatt.  
Send stamp for programme to—  
**FRED TALLANT, 28, RED LION SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.**

# A Land of Stalking Death

Robbed, plundered and brutally treated, thousands barely escaped with their lives.

They are hungry, naked and suffering: without beds or bedding, sick and dying.

Such is the state of things at Salonica.

## What Can Be Done?

Reports from other centres say:—

"There are 40,000 refugees of which 7,000 are living under canvas outside the city (Aleppo) or in shanties made of wood and cotton."

"We have 7,000 refugees here living partly in a large building but mostly in quarries. Their general conditions are very deplorable indeed."

"The refugees from Marash and further north are most miserable, not being permitted to bring their goods and being robbed on the way."

## A Crusade of Compassion needed to meet this tremendous catastrophe.

Will you help?

# CHRISTIAN REFUGEE FUND

At the Office of the Bible Lands Missions' Aid Society,

S. W. GENTLE-CAKETT,  
Hon. Relief Commissioner.

**358<sup>I</sup> STRAND,**  
**LONDON, W.C.2**

# THE ROYAL TOURNAMENT

(Navy, Army and Air Force)

Takes place at

## OLYMPIA

MAY 24th to JUNE 9th

At 2.30 and 8 p.m.

### LONDON'S BEST SHOW

.....

#### GRAND SCOTTISH PAGEANT SCOTLAND IN ARMS

Representing Gathering of the Clans  
from the early days of  
Roderick Dhu, the Famous Clansman  
HIGHLAND DANCING AND PIPERS

.....

#### Popular Displays and Competitions

Interport Competition  
Musical Double Ride  
Air Raid  
Officers' Jumping Competition  
etc., etc.

### BOOK YOUR SEATS NOW

Tickets Obtainable from all Libraries

**POPULAR  
PRICES**

*Seats may now be booked as under:*  
OLYMPIA (Addison Road Entrance).  
Telephone No. 2720 Hammersmith.  
66, VICTORIA STREET, S.W. 1.

**POPULAR  
PRICES**

Telephone No. 9755 Victoria. Tel. Ad.: "Militatum, Sowest."

*The Royal Tournament is held annually for the Benefit of Naval and Military Charities.*