

Headway

The Journal of the League of Nations Union

"I will strive with things impossible: Yea, get the better of them."—SHAKESPEARE.

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THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

What of America? President Harding's announcement that his country would have no part or lot in the League of Nations has been emphatically confirmed by a speech from the new American Ambassador to Great Britain, on May 19th. The present American Government, he declared, will have nothing whatever to do with the League, "or with any Commission or Committee appointed by it, or responsible to it, directly or indirectly, openly or furtively." It goes without saying that we regret the decision. But we do not see in it any reason for abandoning hope in the League. On the contrary, the warning that we cannot in the near future expect any help from America should be accepted as a call to further effort on our own part. The article which appears on page 84 affords striking proof that this is practically the unanimous opinion of the Press of this country.

A Call to Service. A manifesto just issued by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union points the same moral. "The Union," it states, "which has, for some time, been increasing at the rate of more than 3,000 a week, has now reached a total of over 100,000 paying members. That achievement may be regarded as a definite pledge of the success of our movement and an encouragement to further exertion. And further exertion, vigorous, continual, devoted exertion, is necessary if the greatest of all political causes is to be securely won. At the birth of the League of Nations its strongest support was believed to come from America and Great Britain, and we have now been formally warned that we cannot in the near future expect any help from America. Let us accept the warning in all friendliness as a call to further effort and a reminder of the increased national responsibility that rests upon Great Britain. The same task is before us, and the fellow-worker whom we expected is not at our side. That is, no doubt, a matter for regret, but not for complaint or despond-

ency. In one sense, indeed, it is a challenge to be welcomed:—

"The fewer men, the greater share of honour."

We did not stint our blood and treasure to secure victory in the war. Do not let posterity say that we failed them at the last hour through faint-heartedness in garnering the best fruit of the Peace."

Reparation. An important feature of the month has been the settlement of the reparations question. At last a scheme has been evolved which both parties consider satisfactory and practicable. This scheme fixes the total indebtedness of Germany to the Allies at £6,600,000,000. The method of payment is ingenious and interesting. Germany is to issue bonds for the whole £6,600,000,000 in successive instalments, £2,500,000,000 this year, and the remainder—£4,100,000,000—at a later date, paying on these as soon as issued 5 per cent. interest and 1 per cent. sinking fund. The money for these payments is provided by an annual levy on Germany of 2 milliards of gold marks (£100,000,000) plus an equivalent of the value of 26 per cent. of her exports. As between Germany and the subscribers to the bonds, the situation will be simply that of an ordinary borrowing nation. It results, from this arrangement, that Germany is no longer in the false position of being heavily indebted to a group of other nations, a state of affairs that could hardly have failed to breed international ill-will. It is to be noted that the further sum of £4,100,000,000 will be suspended, without carrying interest, until, in the opinion of the Reparations Commission, Germany is in a position to repay it. It will then become payable in instalments, the size of which will be determined by the Reparations Commission.

Upper Silesia. On March 20th, in accordance with Article 88 of the Treaty of Versailles, a plebiscite of the inhabitants of Upper Silesia was taken, under the auspices of an Inter-Allied Commission of Control. In thirteen out of seventeen districts the voting went in favour of

Germany. The plebiscite taken, the Allies were faced with the task of drawing the frontier. Clause 5 of the annex to Article 88 says that in recommending a boundary line to the Allied and Associated Powers, regard is to be paid not only to the wishes of the inhabitants, as shown by the vote, but the geographical and economic conditions of the locality.

This clause gives a spark of hope to **Nine Points of the Law.** the minority that the industrial prize of Upper Silesia may not entirely slip from their grasp. But the outvoted Poles, not content to trust the Allied Powers to carry out the terms of the Treaty with justice to both parties concerned, have hastened to fan the spark into a blaze. An insurrection, headed by Korfanty, former Polish Plebiscite Commissioner in Upper Silesia, broke out early in May, and Polish troops were shortly in possession of the important mining and industrial districts in the south-east and east of the province, the troops at the disposal of the Inter-Allied Plebiscite Commission being entirely outnumbered.

Korfanty is the second of the Polish **Flouting the Treaty.** adventurers on whom the mantle of d'Annunzio has fallen within the past eight months. The d'Annunzio tradition has been successfully maintained in Lithuanian territory by the Polish General Zeligowski, who, although officially disavowed by the Polish Government, has effected his purpose by means of Polish troops. But Korfanty has gone a step further than Zeligowski. His *coup* has been carried out in the presence of an Allied Commission, and in the very teeth of the Treaty of Versailles. The resulting situation is all the more serious. Feeling in Germany naturally runs high. The decision to accept the Allies' reparation terms has undoubtedly been affected by the Upper Silesian pro-German vote, and Germany cannot be expected to take lying down a Polish *coup de main* which would deprive her of a large portion of the assets which would enable her to carry out the obligations that she has now undertaken. But matters would not be mended by the despatch of German troops into Upper Silesia. That would merely constitute a further breach of the Treaty of Versailles. A French Note to Germany of May 9th, makes this abundantly clear.

Nor is it reasonable to contend that **League or Treaty?** this is a matter for the League of Nations. This argument ignores the facts of the case. The Treaty of Versailles does not invoke the offices of the League of Nations in this instance. Under the Treaty, all executive power in Upper Silesia is vested in the Inter-Allied Commission. It is for that Commission to restore order in the disputed territory.

This fact was stressed by Mr. Lloyd **Honouring the Bond.** George in his magnificent speech in the House of Commons on May 13th. The Prime Minister condemned the attitude of the Polish Government, ridiculing its disclaimer of responsibility in view of the fact that Polish arms and Polish officers were crossing the frontier into Upper

Silesia. Poland, he said, was the last country which had a right to complain of the Treaty of Versailles, which was its charter of freedom. It was a matter both of honour and of security that the Allies should adhere to the terms of the Treaty, whether those terms benefited themselves or Germany. To disarm Germany so that she could not defend herself, and then to override the Treaty in favour of her rival, was neither just nor honest. We had asked the Germans to honour our bond. Could we ourselves do less?

This argument is certainly the **Breaking Crockery.** strongest that can be brought to bear upon the Silesian question, for it is one which affects the peace of Europe as a whole. There can be no question of stability, and, therefore, no question of peace, if the Treaty is to be honoured in one instance and flouted in another. But in order to enforce the Pact in Upper Silesia the Inter-Allied Commission must have sufficient troops at its disposal. There is point in M. Briand's rejoinder to Mr. Lloyd George, that the presence of a strong British force in Upper Silesia would be of more value than any amount of good advice. It is now announced that British troops are to be despatched without delay. But there is still more weight in the argument of the British Prime Minister, who is voicing the opinion of America and Italy as well as this country, that the fate of Upper Silesia must be decided by the Supreme Council, uninfluenced by the *fait accompli* of Korfanty, and that the terms of the Treaty must be applied justly, whether they happen to be for or against Germany. "The children of the Treaty must not be allowed to break crockery in Europe with impunity."

On June 17th, the Council of the **The Aaland Islands.** League will have to consider the findings of the Commission on the Aaland Islands. The report of the Commission is especially interesting as the first practical decision on the question of self-determination. It provides, moreover, a striking example of the superiority of the methods of the League of Nations over those previously employed to settle differences of this kind. A solution entirely satisfactory to all parties cannot be hoped for, but it is at least certain that whatever "settlement" might have been arrived at by war would have had the disadvantage of creating bitterness, and leaving behind a smarting sense of injustice which would have prejudiced peaceful relations for many years to come. The suggestions made by the League Commission, on the contrary, as far as possible conciliate all parties to the dispute.

The Aaland Islands have been under **Self-Determination.** Finnish Administration since 1634, but until 1808 Finland was a part of Sweden. In that year, Finland, including the Islands, was handed over to Russia. In 1917 Finland, up to then an autonomous Grand Duchy, seceded from Russia, and became an independent Sovereign State. But the 22,000 inhabitants of the Aaland Islands, 96 per cent. of whom are Swedish-speaking, claimed the right to decide by plebiscite whether they would belong to Sweden or Finland. (A plebiscite taken in 1917 had resulted in an overwhelming majority for

Sweden.) Finland refused to recognise the validity of a plebiscite in virtue of her sovereign rights. Matters came to a head in the spring of 1920. The Islanders sent a deputation to Sweden. On their return the members of the deputation were arrested and sent to Finland. Sweden thereupon withdrew her Ambassador from Finland. Finland sent a machine-gun corps and other troops to the Islands. A breach seemed imminent, when Great Britain, availing herself of her "friendly right" under Article XI. of the Covenant, intervened and brought the matter to the attention of the Council of the League of Nations. The Council appointed a Committee of Jurists to determine, first, whether the matter was, as Finland claimed it to be, a purely domestic question of her own; second, whether the stipulations of her Treaty of Paris of 1856, in regard to the demilitarisation of the Islands, still held good. The Committee, which met in August and September, 1920, answered the first question in the negative, the second in the affirmative. It was thus established that whoever possesses the islands must not make use of them for military or naval purposes.

Next, the Council of the League set **The League Solution.** up a Commission of Rapporteurs to report on the matter with a view to reaching a settlement. The Commission has come to the conclusion that a small minority cannot claim the right to separate itself from the State of which it has long been a part, if the State has the will and the power to guarantee the right of the minority to a certain amount of self-development. It, therefore, insists that Finland should formally guarantee the islanders certain rights in language, in ownership, and in administration, including the right to select the candidates for the post of Governor of the Islands. Should Finland refuse to do so, the islanders should be allowed to have their plebiscite. It should be understood that, in the event of Finland complying, the League would have the duty of watching over the application of these guarantees.

Mr. Balfour's announcement in the **Opium Traffic.** House of Commons on May 12th of the personnel of the International Opium Advisory Committee which has just been appointed by the League, has probably been read by few people, and its importance appreciated by still fewer. Nevertheless, the work which lies before the League in regard to the control of a dangerous traffic will, if carried out successfully, once more justify the existence of that body. For this is not the first attempt to control the traffic in dangerous drugs. It is only the enhanced likelihood of success which differentiates the League venture from previous efforts in the same direction.

The campaign against opium was **Previous Efforts.** opened at the International Commission on Opium at Shanghai in 1909, and continued at the three Opium Conferences at The Hague in 1912, 1913, and 1914. The resulting Opium Convention was signed by forty-two States, and ratified by nineteen. But the Convention could not come into force until three months after the last of the acts of ratification had been

received. To the Netherlands Government was entrusted the task of dealing with the business of ratification, but the outbreak of war in 1914 interrupted the measures which that Government was in process of taking to invite the remaining twenty-three Powers to ratify the Convention. The work of the Opium Conference was, however, continued by the Peace Conference, by the insertion in the various Treaties of Peace with the Central Powers an article requiring the signatories to sign and ratify the Opium Convention, if they had not already done so, and to bring it into force without delay by the enactment of the necessary legislation. It is laid down in the Peace Treaties that ratification of these Treaties is equivalent to ratification of the Opium Convention. Now, through the machinery of the League of Nations, progress is at least being made towards the universal and effective execution of this Convention.

It was decided by the Assembly of **Enter the League.** the League last December that the duties hitherto carried out by Holland in regard to the Convention, should, in accordance with Article 23 (c) of the Covenant, pass to the League and its Secretariat as far as countries which are members of the League are concerned. But certain States signatory to the Opium Convention are not members of the League, and accordingly the Netherlands Government has undertaken to continue its good offices as an intermediary in their case. The immediate next steps are to press for ratification by the twenty-three Powers who have so far only signed the Convention, and to secure the effective co-operation of all the Powers in administering restrictive regulations in regard to the production and distribution of dangerous drugs. A *questionnaire* is to be circulated to the signatory Powers with a view to obtaining information as to action already taken, and it is hoped that by the time the Assembly meets next September, the League's Committee will have considerable progress to report. The United States of America has already passed the necessary legislation. Our own Dangerous Drugs Act of 1920 will secure British concurrence with the Convention.

The necessity for such legislation **Two Hundred and Fifty One.** becomes apparent when it is realised how far in excess of legitimate medical use is the world production of opium. Seven tons of opium yield one ton of morphia, which supplies 32 million injections—which the "Times" estimates to be more than sufficient for the medical needs of all the Americans from Patagonia to Alaska for a whole year. In 1919, 250 tons of opium were imported into the United States; 372 into this country. Comment is superfluous.

A very important Conference will **Traffic in Women and Children.** meet at Geneva on June 30th to deal with the question of the international traffic in women and children. A resolution passed by the Assembly of the League last December authorised the Secretariat to send a *questionnaire* to all Governments signatory,

or adherent to the 1904 and 1910 Conventions asking what legislative measures had been taken or were contemplated by them to combat the traffic. The information to be gathered from the *questionnaire* will provide a lengthy agenda for the Conference. A point to notice in connection with the reference of this matter to the League is the abolition of the word "white," thus broadening the scope of the enquiry and the field for reform. Traffic in women and girls in Colonial territories on behalf of white men has long been known to exist, but the efforts of reformers have hitherto been blocked because the International Conventions referred mainly to "White" Slave Traffic. This obstacle no longer exists, and it will now be possible to deal with the practice which is alleged to exist in certain Colonies, of adopting, pawning, or bartering native children, for immoral as well as for industrial purposes.

The problems confronting the **The Imperial** Imperial Conference which meets in **Conference.** London this month have more than exclusively imperial significance. The Premiers of the British Dominions are faced this year with far-reaching questions of world-policy. Foremost among these are the foreign policy of the Empire, the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and Imperial defensive measures. The second of these items on Conference agenda is closely allied to the third. In some form the Alliance must be renewed in July if it is not to lapse altogether. Canada fears that its renewal will be regarded by America as a challenge, and that an armaments race will follow. Australia, on the other hand, sees in the Alliance the best means of guaranteeing peace in the Pacific and of reducing Australia's armament bill. The more detached view of South Africa, voiced by General Smuts, is that the alliance should be continued provided that it does not impair the supreme aim of Anglo-American co-operation against war. A vital factor in the situation is the changing opinion in Japan on the question of armaments, and the fact that the United States Senate has unanimously passed the Borah amendment to the Naval Appropriation Bill authorising the President to call a conference of representatives from the United States, Great Britain, and Japan on the question of naval disarmament.

The fears of those who see, or profess to see, in the League of Nations a channel for official extravagance, will be allayed by the report just issued by an independent body of experts on the general expenditure of the League. The report will be summarised in the next number of "HEADWAY."

The June number of the "Canterbury Diocesan Gazette" contains a very important statement from the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate gives his strong support to the proposal that on June 19th (the Sunday before League of Nations Day) all churches throughout the land should make special reference to the League. He further urges upon the clergy everywhere that they should throw their energies into recruiting for the League of Nations Union.

AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE.

By LORD ROBERT CECIL.

THERE is one characteristic of my fellow-countrymen which is not always recognised. They are charged by critics abroad with arrogance and insularity. Englishmen, it is said, never speak of foreigners—they always call them "damned foreigners." And yet we are, in reality, very amenable to foreign criticism. Take the League of Nations. Here is a plan, not novel, indeed, but the culmination of a long tradition of British foreign policy. We have always desired peace. We have long described it as the greatest of British interests. We have been forward among the nations of the world in submitting international disputes to arbitration, and in negotiating general arbitration treaties. The European Concert—an arrangement by which the greater European Powers agreed to deal with affairs in South-East Europe by consultation, and which was of no little service in preserving peace there for a considerable time—was largely the work of British diplomacy. Pursuing this same line of policy, in association with the representatives of the United States and the other Powers at Paris, we elaborated the Covenant of the League of Nations. No one says it has failed. Every one who has studied the subject admits that in the short time during which it has existed it has done much to promote international co-operation, and has brought to a peaceful settlement more than one international dispute. But because the American Ambassador, speaking with, if one may say so, characteristic Transatlantic emphasis, declared that the present United States administration will not enter the League, a certain number of timorous, or reactionary, gentlemen here have hastened to proclaim that the League is dead. They are entirely mistaken.

The League is much too solid a structure, is far too important to the peace of the world, to be even seriously shaken by the words of any orator, however eminent. If America now, or in the future, were prepared to help us we should rejoice. But if not we can and will get on without her. It would be a bad day for mankind if its progress towards a better civilisation could be vetoed by even the most powerful and respected of the nations. Britain has led the world before, and, if necessary, it must be prepared to do so again.

No! The League must be maintained. For, if not, what is the alternative? Are we to go back to pre-war conditions—competitive armaments, alliances and counter-alliances, secret diplomacy, and all the rest of it, leading up eventually to another and final Armageddon? There are some faint hints of what is peace. Does any one seriously believe that those who have rejected the League as too like an entangling alliance would ever enter into any binding arrangement of the sort? And to be of any value the arrangement must be a binding one. The maintenance of peace is far too vital to depend on any understanding of the nod-and-wink variety.

The League holds the field, it gives good promise of success. It would be madness to scrap it unless we have offered to us some guarantee of peace more stable and more effective.

FRANCE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Her Only Safeguard.

By HAMILTON FYFE.

I HAVE been writing a letter to a French friend. This is what I said to him:—

"You know, my dear Ludovic, my love for your country and its pleasant people. We have wandered together in it, and in other countries, and you have remarked that no other delighted me in so many ways. You will, therefore, be able to assure yourself that I am writing as a sincere well-wisher to France and the French.

"What I want to ask you—and, through you, your countryfolk, since your pen has influence with them—is how you expect to escape the vengeance of the Germans if you continue to behave towards them as you are behaving now? I do not enter into the question whether the Germans deserve to be crushed and humiliated, as your politicians wish to crush them. I will not ask you whether you regard generosity towards fallen foes as a duty imposed upon all who profess and call themselves Christians. I merely want to suggest to you that in your case, at any rate, generosity is, as a matter of hard, practical politics, your only safe course.

"What is your situation? You are a nation of forty millions of people, and you are not increasing. Next door to you are the Germans, seventy millions of people, who were, and who soon will be again, increasing fast. You have for many years been declining in industrial competence. If you have dipped into the sixty volumes containing the reports of the *Association Nationale d'Expansion Economique* on the causes of this decline, you will have learned that it had been going on for some time before the war, and that it was due to 'psychological causes.' In plainer words, the cause of it was not imposed from without, as is the cause of the industrial decline of Great Britain: it was to be found in your national character. That is what your own reports say.

"Your production of cotton and woollen fabrics had fallen off lamentably. In all branches of electrical supplies your manufacturers were outstripped. In jewellery and in watchmaking you had fallen behind. Even in the production of women's dresses, fancy goods, and artificial flowers, once your monopoly, you had lost a great deal of ground. And who was the competitor that you had, according to these reports, most reason to fear? Germany, your next-door neighbour, with a population which will soon be double yours. The Germans could deliver within two months electric plant which French manufacturers could not make in less than a year. In 1902 the Germans began to compete with French watch and clockmakers: in twelve years they had won: French production had enormously decreased. And so on. You doubtless know the reports.

"Now, your politicians imagine they can defeat German competition in industry by political measures

designed to crush and humiliate the German people. I am sure that you are deceived by no such foolish hope. You have read history. You know that it has always proved impossible to destroy the energy and enterprise of large and vigorous nations. Efforts to do this have only damaged those who made them. What your politicians are doing is making certain that the Germans will not only beat you in industry, but will, in course of time, make war upon you and reduce you irrevocably to the position of a second-class Power.

"For if these politicians continue to heap injuries and insults upon the Germans, there can be no doubt but that every German child will be taught to hate the French and to look forward to the hour of revenge, just as for forty-three years after the Franco-German War French children were taught to long for it. And as the Germans will soon have double your numbers, and as they will be going ahead in industry, while you, owing to your restricted population, can only mark time, the result can easily be foreseen.

"'No, no,' you cry, 'Britain will save us, the United States will save us. Germany will not be allowed to do that.'

"My dear friend, do not rely on the support of anybody. Even if you were prepared to submit to the humiliation of being dependent on others, with the necessary condition of taking orders from them, you could not count upon such support. Political sympathies will change, are changing already. You could not count upon Germany being held back, because Germany would contrive, as Bismarck did before the Franco-German War, that your politicians, always ready to commit the most stupendous of *gaffes*, should be the aggressors. If you continue in your present course, your doom, it seems to me, is certain.

"There is one way, and only one way, open to a small nation, with industries on the down-grade, which is afraid of a big nation, industrially powerful. *That way is to rely upon the League of Nations.* Your politicians have, up to now, mocked at the League. Yet it is, to all who have eyes to see, the one hope for you French people of escape from the fears and suspicions which keep you awake at night, and make some of you fancy that you must try to destroy Germany now. The League of Nations can protect you: you can accept its protection without loss of self-respect. The League of Nations *will* protect you, if you give it the chance. You need it more than any other people. Without it you either remain in humiliating dependence on others, or you are lost.

"If there are any flaws in my argument, please point them out. I have tested it, and others have tested it, and none have been found. This is the cold, hard logic of the situation. Can you not help your countryfolk to act upon it before they doom Europe to another long period of preparation for slaughter and themselves to certain disaster?

"Your friend always,

"HAMILTON FYFE."

That is what I wrote to my French friend. I should like to know if readers of HEADWAY think I am right.

THE "TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS" OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

III.—THE FINANCIAL ORGANISATION.

By far the most disastrous legacy which the war, now happily dead, but, alas, not yet buried, has left us, is the economic crisis which the world is at present traversing. Most nations to-day are spending considerably more than they produce, and official figures show that eleven out of twelve European States cannot contrive to make their Budgets balance. Furthermore, the intense effort of the war has already begun to react on the mass of the people of the world, and a general disinclination for honest work is noticeable. A social crisis thus threatens to complicate, if it has not already done so, the economic tangle which exists.

On the initiative of the League, the International Finance Conference opened at Brussels on September 24th, 1920, with the object of "studying the financial crisis and looking for the means of remedying and mitigating the dangerous consequences arising from it." Thirty-nine States were represented, and the members, who attended as experts and not as spokesmen of official policy, prepared specific recommendations with regard to questions of public finance, currency and exchange, international commerce and credits. The chief point upon which the Conference insisted was the necessity for Governments to abandon their policy of extravagance and to devote their attention to the development of industry.

After the Brussels Conference, the League appointed a temporary Financial and Economic Committee to report on questions arising from the Conference and relating to the economic situation in general. The Committee passed several resolutions. The first was that an International Conference to discuss general financial questions is undesirable until 1922. It was feared that a premature International Conference, following close upon the heels of the Brussels Conference, might merely have the effect of upsetting the work already done. The second resolution recommended the consideration of an International Credits Scheme, proposed by Mr. C. E. ter Meulen, a member of the Committee. The object of the scheme is to enable impoverished countries, whose credit is low, to obtain raw materials for industrial purposes, but does not involve the issue of international loans. By it, the assets of industrial firms of importing countries are, under the control of the League, to be offered as security against export of raw materials to the firms of exporting countries. A third resolution dealt with the technical problem of finishing credits. In view of this valuable work accomplished by the Temporary Committee, the Assembly decided to appoint a permanent Committee to advise the League on all financial questions. To this Committee has been referred the important question of re-establishing Austria's financial position. Though the problem is a financial one, it carries in its train matters of much wider consequence, for it involves the whole economic, financial, and administrative situation of the Austrian Republic. The re-establishment

of Austria, if it could be achieved, would have a great influence on the stabilisation of Central and South-Eastern Europe, which in turn would have a repercussion upon the whole Continent, to the benefit of all.

The Financial Committee, which sat in Paris during the last week in March, had as its mandate, and as the general basis of its discussion, the declaration of the Allies to the Austrian Financial Delegation in London. In this declaration, the Governments of Britain, France, Italy, and Japan undertook to release for a term of years, to be determined later, their liens under the Treaty of St. Germain in respect of claims against the Austrian Government for the cost of armies of occupation, relief credits, bonds, and reparation, provided that other Allied Governments agreed to similar postponement, and on the understanding that the Austrian Government desired the application to Austria of the International Credits Scheme of the League of Nations. The four Allied Governments expressed their intention of taking steps through their representatives on the Reparations Commission to obtain the release of these liens on the part of other Powers represented on the Reparations Commission, and stated that they would communicate in that sense with the Governments who participated in relief loans to Austria, but who are not represented on the Commission. These released assets would therefore be available for the exercise of the International Credits Scheme known as the Ter Meulen Scheme.*

The conditions under which the Committee is prepared to assume the responsibility it has been invited to undertake come broadly under three heads:—

- (1) Action by the Allied Powers.
- (2) Action by the Austrian Government.
- (3) Relations between Austria and her neighbours.

Without the co-operation of both Austria's creditors and the Austrian Government, no foreign assistance can be obtained. First it is necessary to find out whether the Governments who were not represented at the London Conference where the declaration upon which the Financial Conference is acting was agreed upon, are prepared to accept the invitation of the four Allied Powers for the postponement of their liens on Austria. It is stated that certain of the Succession States of the old Austrian Empire are showing unwillingness to withdraw their liens, and this question is likely to figure prominently on the agenda of the Porto Rosa Conference, which meets on June 15th. But one of the main requirements of effectual assistance is that Austria should herself give assurances that she will undertake measures to relieve her financial situation, both in administrative and other directions.

In order to investigate the position on the spot the Financial Committee of the League despatched a Mission to Austria consisting of M. J. Avenol (France), M. E. Gluckstadt (Denmark), and Sir Drummond Drummond Fraser (Organiser of the International Credits Scheme). The Mission reported to the Financial Committee, which has just held a conference in London. The Report gives a full account of the proceedings of the Mission to Vienna, describing how some thirty witnesses of high standing in

* See "Headway," May, 1921, p. 67.

finance, industry, trade, and politics, came before it for examination; and it sets out the two main conclusions arrived at, namely, first, that the situation in Austria can only be relieved by a reform of the monetary system embracing comprehensively the whole financial policy, and secondly, that any programme to bring this about must be treated by Austria as a national enterprise entirely divorced from any considerations of party politics. It is essential that Austria should show the world that she is willing to face her obligations. The first step on the part of the Austrian Government was to draw up an ample and vigorous programme. The Report emphasises that although the suggestions of the Mission occupy an important place in that programme, it must be quite clear that the programme itself is an act of sovereignty on the part of the Austrian Government, and that the various political parties of Austria have bound themselves to support it in every way. The programme entails heavy internal sacrifices and burdens. The subsidies on foodstuffs are abolished; administrative economies have been introduced; transport rates have been increased; and a number of new taxes have been imposed, including a twofold legal mortgage on all private property. "If the principal element in the credit of a country," proceeds the Report, "consists in its desire for order and stability, the Austrian Government has now certainly taken a long step towards the restoration of Austrian credit."

A tragic picture is drawn of the situation which has been brought about in Austria by the continual depreciation of her currency. Practically no reserves of money exist, for nobody ventures to save, on account of the risk of finding their savings reduced to a mere fraction by a further fall in the currency. Confidence in any kind of long-term investment disappeared when the bottom fell out of the currency. It is impossible to negotiate loans. The monetary situation grows worse every day, and may finally lead to disaster. If, however, the situation is resolutely taken in hand the future is not without hope. The members of the Mission record their belief that Austria has the prospect of very considerable opportunities for development. Great stress is laid on the necessity for treating the various conditions necessary to the restoration of Austria as a comprehensive whole. The problem cannot be attacked piecemeal. The Austrian Government concurs in this view.

The programme put forward revolves around two main things, each essential to the other, namely, currency reform and the creation of a Bank of Issue. By means of the first, stability and confidence are to be re-introduced. By the creation of the second, an organisation is set up as the principal financial agent of the State, and the depository of the guarantees offered by the Government. The re-establishment of confidence through the stabilising of the currency will put the Government in a position to abolish subsidies, raise the transport rates, and impose fresh taxes. The Bank of Issue will enable it to issue loans and will also be a check on the issue of paper money.

The programme, however, must be supplemented by foreign credits. These are recognised to be indispensable to the restoration of Austria, and their

administration will be entrusted to a Commission of Control appointed by the Financial Committee of the League.

Finally, there is the question of the relations between Austria and the neighbouring succession States. The Porto Rosa Conference, which meets this month, will consider the distribution of rolling-stock, the allocation of debts, the allocation of pre-war securities, and the question of the Bank of Austria-Hungary. If, as a result of this Conference, the economic and other barriers between Austria and her neighbours are eliminated, the League Financial Committee will have had one considerable obstacle removed from its path.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

By J. H. CLYNES.

SINCE the two conferences were held (Washington, 1919, and Genoa, 1920) the various Governments of the nations represented at them have had time to consider the Draft Conventions which were formulated.

The terms of the Treaty of Versailles (Article 405) provide that Governments shall take action within twelve months (or within eighteen months under special circumstances). The twelve months period in reference to Washington elapsed on January 28th of this year, and an inquiry was sent from the International Labour Office to all the nations concerned, as to their action.

The results of this inquiry were revealed in the report of the Director-General of the I.L.O., to the Governing Body, on April 12th, 1921. At that time, he said that Greece was the only nation which had ratified all the Conventions. She had communicated the fact to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. (It is interesting to note that if any other nation ratifies the Draft Conventions in the technical sense, and officially notifies the League of the fact, the Draft Conventions then become, by the provisions of the Peace Treaty, actual International Conventions. Many nations who have given legislative effect to the reforms outlined in the Draft Conventions, but have neglected to ratify in the technical sense.)

Great Britain has put into legislative effect all the Draft Conventions and Recommendations excepting the Maternity and Eight-hours Conventions, and the Unemployment Recommendation. It is stated that these are already covered by existing legislation—an odd reason for refusing to confirm them! A Debate was held in the House of Commons on these two matters on May 27th. Speeches were almost all in favour of "parliamentary consideration" as against "Cabinet decision," but the Government was able in this debate to maintain its position of refusing either to ratify these Draft Conventions, or to promise that future Draft Conventions should be submitted to Parliament.

Space is so limited that we cannot detail the action taken by all the remaining nations—in many cases

Draft Conventions have been put into effect (though "ratification" may not have taken place), in other cases, such as Canada, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Jugoslavia, Panama, Salvador, South Africa, Sweden, Venezuela, "consideration" is still being given, but in the case of Albania, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Portugal, Uruguay, "no notification of any action taken has yet reached the International Labour Office." These apparently complete or partial failures do not, after all outweigh the good which has positively accrued from the actual legislation carried out by some countries. The work may go on with seeming slowness, but it is going on, and the failures will gradually take their place amongst the successes.

THE LEAGUE IN PARLIAMENT.

BY POLITICUS.

It is, perhaps, hardly realised by the man in the street how established an institution the League of Nations has become. The League has ceased to be a daring and suspected novelty; it is now paid the compliment of being taken for granted as part of the ordinary machinery of government. Ministers refer to the League and comment upon its rights and duties as they would upon the rights and duties of the House of Lords or the Privy Council. A regular attendant at "question" time in the House could not fail to be impressed, not only by the continual reference that is made to the League, but also by the vast ramifications of its activities. There is hardly a question in the domain of foreign affairs with which the League is not vitally concerned, and in reference to which its existence can be ignored. The system of Mandates in itself is sufficiently wide in its importance to require constant attention from Members of Parliament, and within a few days there can be found upon the order-paper questions upon land tenure and ex-enemy property in Tanganyika, upon conscription in Togoland, upon taxation in mandated territories, as well as upon the constitution and duties of the Permanent Mandates Commission itself. During the first half of May, the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty has interested many Members. All the aspects of this problem, the necessity of reconciling the Treaty with the Covenant, the rights of China as a member of the League, the effect of the renewal upon our relations with the United States, have been dealt with in the House.

To turn to widely different subjects, we find Members urgently pressing the Government on the subject of the ratification of the Washington Conventions on Maternity, which were drawn up by the International Labour Conference, and in which intricate constitutional problems are involved. The composition of the Advisory Committee on the Opium Traffic is demanded and obtained. The Government is successfully urged to adopt the scale of charges for passport visas recommended by the Conference in Paris. The need for the ratification of the convention for the establishment of the Court of International Justice is insisted upon. Members are also anxious for more frequent meetings of the Council of the League, in order that the Report on the Aaland islands, the Polish-Lithuanian dispute, and the recommendations of the Brussels International Financial Conference may be discussed forthwith. The mere catalogue of the vexed questions with which the

League has dealt convey an impression of widespread activity entirely unselfish and disinterested.

Not for a moment is the Government allowed to forget the League or overlook its recommendations. The Assembly has but to express a wish that its Members would assist the cause of disarmament by not increasing their Army Estimates, and the House of Commons is always ready to disturb the Ministerial pigeon-holes with enquiries as to what is being done to carry out that wish. Members are anxious to see the Mandates for Tanganyika and Mesopotamia. The possibility of utilising the services of the League to decide the subtle financial difficulties of Reparations is canvassed. It is clear that the value of the international arbitrator becomes more recognised and more acknowledged as the difficulties and dangers of the post-war world increase.

But it must not be imagined that the private Member is merely engaged in forcing the League to the notice of a reluctant and sceptical Administration. The boot is often on the other leg. Any Member, and a few such exist, who attempts to throw cold water on the League, to exaggerate its authority, or to whine about its cost, receives no encouragement from the Government. On the contrary, Ministers have made it perfectly clear that the place of the League as a vital factor in European affairs and as an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles is fully recognised and admitted. Members asking, for instance, for an Alliance between Great Britain and Spain, have been told that our common Membership of the League is a sufficient consolidation of friendship. And Members complaining of the agitation in the Tyrol for junction with Germany have been reminded that under the Treaty Austria can appeal on this subject to the Council of the League. It is, indeed, satisfactory to observe how tightly the League is becoming entwined with our ancient but elastic Constitution.

AMERICA'S DECISION.

PRESS COMMENT ON COL. HARVEY'S SPEECH.

THE reception accorded to the American Ambassador's speech throws an interesting sidelight upon the way in which the League is regarded in this country. Of the great London Dailies only the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Express* take an anti-League attitude. The former eagerly welcomes Mr. Harvey's opinion of the League, and urges Great Britain to withdraw from that body. The latter rejoices that Mr. Harvey has buried this "expensive sham" that was only half alive, and expresses the opinion that an Anglo-American Alliance would be a firmer substitute for the League. The rest of the principal London daily Press takes an entirely different attitude. Mr. Harvey's frankness is welcomed as showing us where we stand, but the moral drawn from America's abstention from the League is increased effort on the part of its members. *The Times* sums up the situation by remarking that the League can continue working in its own sphere of usefulness without estranging America, while, at the same time, the American co-operation offered outside the League's ambit should be unreservedly accepted. Among the evening papers, the *Evening Standard* alone shows signs of alarm, believing that the American decision will seriously affect the League. But it solaces itself with the reflection that if the League has vitality it will live.

Turning to the Provincial Press, we are met by a strong body of pro-League opinion. The *Manchester Guardian* is not discouraged by the United States attitude, but advises the League to prove itself so valuable that no great Power will desire to remain outside it. The *Yorkshire Post*, the *South Wales Daily News*, and the *Huddersfield Examiner* take the same view, believing that the evolution rather than the destruction of the League should be used to secure the co-operation of America; and that the evidence of facts will wear down her opposition. The *Eastern Daily Press* says that the League must

pursue its own work without the aid of the United States, who will continue to work for the same objects along a path of her own choosing. The *South Wales Argus* pours derision on the idea that the League is dead: "A thousand Harveys could no more kill the League than a thousand Mr. Bottomleys could interfere with the action of the moon on the tides." The *Scotsman* and the *Glasgow News* advise philosophical acceptance of America's decision. The *Glasgow Herald* suggests that American co-operation on the Supreme Council will lead to membership of the League. The *Liverpool Daily Post* is of opinion that the logic of events will compel America to join this, or an amended League. The *Western Daily News*, putting the same idea negatively, cannot believe that any substitute for the League suggested by President Harding will appeal to America, because, to be effective, it must have the characteristics of the present League.

A very small minority of the more important provincial newspapers adopt a tone antipathetic to the League. The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, the *Irish Times*, and the *Halifax Daily Guardian* think that without America the League has little chance of life, though they do not explain how it is the League has already completed seventeen months of existence without any help from across the Atlantic. The *Dundee Courier* thinks the League is an idea, and will never now be anything more. The *Aberdeen Journal* takes the startling view that America's decision nullifies the League and that when Mr. Harding formulates his Association of Nations, Great Britain will be morally bound to join it. "She cannot sit on the two stools of the League and the Association." Perhaps not! But is it not a little odd to conclude that her choice must, therefore, fall on the Association to which she is in no way pledged, rather than on a League to which she is bound, not only morally, but legally? It seems more reasonable to believe, with the *Observer*, that the League is inextinguishable, a practical necessity, and independent of American participation. This paper, indeed, goes so far as to prophesy that America will become a convert, and that President Harding and Mr. Hughes will wear the mantle of President Wilson. Of the other important Sunday papers, the *Sunday Times* thinks that Anglo-American co-operation is a more practical instrument of human progress than any League of Nations. The *Weekly Dispatch* is not greatly disturbed by America's present abstention. If occasion for American co-operation arose, as in the case of the last war, it could not be withheld. This brief review of the Press will suffice to show that in the main the League of Nations Union has correctly interpreted the temper of Great Britain by welcoming America's warning as a call to further effort on our own part to "garner the best fruit of the Peace."

WHAT THE WORLD IS THINKING.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

"If this war is not the last war, the next will leave Europe in ashes."

PRESIDENT HARDING.

"We never were, and never will be, able to maintain isolation. . . . An aspiration of the present Administration is to inaugurate an era of understanding."

GENERAL SMUTS.

"Perhaps more than in the case of any other combination or group of States, world peace is our greatest requirement."

LORD ROBERT CECIL.

"It is a mistake to suppose that the League is the outcome of unpractical idealism. It was, and is, a sober and serious attempt to safeguard mankind from a repetition of the horrors and destruction of the late war."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

"If America finds it impossible to co-operate with us in promoting the League, there is all the more need that we should redouble our effort to secure its success."

THE OPEN COLUMN.

A FORUM FOR INTER-UNION DISCUSSION.

This month introduces a new feature into HEADWAY—a page devoted to articles on the League of Nations, written solely by members of the Union. Month by month various aspects of the League's activities will be brought up for discussion, and the five best articles received each month will be published in HEADWAY.

Conditions of publication are as follows:—

- (1) No article may be longer than 200 words.
- (2) All articles must be based on and supported by facts. Unpractical theorising will disqualify for publication.
- (3) All articles must be received by the 20th of each month.

Next month the subject will be AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT. This subject has already been referred to in HEADWAY (Jan., p. 8), and has also been dealt with in full in "The First Assembly" (pp. 93-98), obtainable from the offices of the L.N.U., 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1, price 3s. 6d. Writers may confine themselves to the amendments already put forward, or are free to suggest new amendments of their own.

THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY: A SUGGESTION.

BY CHARLES E. HOOPER.

When speaking recently at a meeting of the National Council of the League of Nations Union, Lord Robert Cecil remarked that the Council of the League of Nations should represent the respective Governments, and should properly include the Prime Minister or Foreign Minister of each nation, but that the Assembly should be "a conference of men representing the nations as a whole." Italy is actually considering a proposal to give its Chamber of Deputies powers to elect the Italian delegates, at the same time recommending other nations to adopt the same system. My own opinion is that the League Assembly could, and should, be made still more directly representative of the various peoples; though each nation must, of course, be allowed to adopt its own method of appointing delegates.

I suggest that the ideal method would be a triennial election of the nation's delegates by the whole body of citizens. The right to nominate delegates should rest with certain public bodies, and the number of candidates should be limited to—say—sixteen. Of these, four might be nominated by the Senate (or reformed House of Lords), four by the House of Commons or other Representative Chamber, four by a congress of the Universities and other authoritative educational bodies, and four by a joint congress of Trade Unions, Employers' Associations, and Co-operative Societies. The nominations should take place consecutively, so that, for instance, if the Commons approved some selections of the Lords, it would still nominate four persons whom it considered the next most suitable candidates; and so with the educational and industrial bodies of nominators. The whole sixteen names should then be submitted to the people, and each voter would place his mark against the names of the three candidates of whom he specially approved.

A probable objection to the above scheme will be that the delegates elected in this manner may not be sufficiently in touch with their own nation's Government. That, however, could be easily obviated. The statute providing for the supposed methods of nomination and election might also enact that the three elected delegates, before assuming their duties, should meet the Cabinet Ministers of their own country for a full discussion of pending international problems.

It should be added that the delegate receiving the highest number of votes would be the recognised leader of the trio, and the one who would formally record his nation's vote in the Assembly. He would, of course, vote only after consultation with his colleagues, and ought not to vote unless one, at least, of the two others was in full agreement with him. There should be nothing to debar a suitable delegate from re-nomination and re-election.

NEWS OF THE UNION. HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION.

THE great celebration of League of Nations Day, Saturday, June 25th, organised by the League of Nations Union, will be a memorable event in the history of the movement in this country. Eight processions, carrying banners and flags, will march to Hyde Park from various parts of London. The first seven will be composed of Branches of the Union; the eighth of outside organisations who wish in this way to demonstrate their support to the League. The routes and times for assembling are given below:—

Route No. 1.

- 2.15 p.m.—1st Contingent assembling at Langham Place, marching via Upper Regent Street and Oxford Street to North Audley Street.
2.30 p.m.—2nd Contingent falls in behind Contingent 1 at North Audley Street, marching down Oxford Street via Park Lane, entering Park at Grosvenor Gate.

Route No. 2.

- 1.45 p.m.—1st Contingent assembling at Clarence Gate, Regent's Park, marching via Baker Street to Portman Square.
2.15 p.m.—2nd Contingent falls in behind Contingent 1 at Portman Square, marching via Orchard Street and Oxford Street and Marble Arch, entering Park at Marble Arch.

Route No. 3.

- 1.45 p.m.—1st Contingent assembling at Hamilton Terrace, marching via Maida Vale and Edgware Road.
2.30 p.m.—2nd Contingent assembling at Connaught Square, falls in behind Contingent 1 at Edgware Road, marching via Oxford Street and Marble Arch, entering Park at Marble Arch.

Route No. 4.

- 1.45 p.m.—1st Contingent assembling at Holland Park, marching via Holland Park Avenue and Bayswater Road.
2.30 p.m.—2nd Contingent assembling at Hyde Park Gardens, falls in behind Contingent 1 at Bayswater Road, entering Park at Victoria Gate.

Route No. 5.

- 1.30 p.m.—1st Contingent assembling at Warwick Gardens, marching via Kensington Road, Kensington High Street, Kensington Gore.
2.30 p.m.—2nd Contingent assembling at Exhibition Road, falls in behind Contingent 1 at Kensington Gore, entering Park at Alexandra Gate.

Route No. 6.

- 2.0 p.m.—1st Contingent assembling at Royal Avenue, Chelsea, via King's Road to Sloane Square.
2.15 p.m.—2nd Contingent assembling at Sloane Square, falling in behind Contingent 1 at Sloane Street, marching via Sloane Street, entering Park at Albert Gate.

Route No. 7.

- 1.30 p.m.—1st Contingent assembling on Embankment, via Northumberland Avenue, Admiralty Arch, The Mall.
2.15 p.m.—2nd Contingent falling in behind Contingent 1 at Marlborough Gate, via The Mall, Constitution Hill, Hyde Park Corner, entering Park at Hyde Park Corner.

Route No. 8.

- 1.30 p.m.—Assembling on Embankment, via Whitehall, Admiralty Arch, The Mall, Constitution Hill, Hyde Park Corner, entering Park at Hyde Park Corner.

Headquarters Branch.

All members of the Headquarters Branch are asked to form up in the procession assembling at Exhibition Road, at 2.30 punctually, opposite the entrance to the School of Art Needlework, where Green Cross Guides will act as their stewards. It will greatly help in the organisation if all those who intend to come will send a card to the Organising Secretary.

The Rally.

The Green Cross Corps, under the leadership of Mrs. Charles Beatty, C.B.E., late of the W.R.N.S., is acting as guides to the processions. Detachments of girls in their smart khaki and green uniforms will head the processions, and will be stationed with standards in the Park to mark out the ground

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The Salvation Army

4. The Army as Colonizer.

THE late General Booth's ambition to transfer the "landless man to the manless land" has not been realised to the full, but something in that direction has been achieved by the efforts of the Emigration Department of the Salvation Army. In the ten years immediately before the war no fewer than 100,000 persons were emigrated, mostly to the Dominion of Canada; and work was found for all those who desired it.

EMIGRATION is not indiscriminate. The Army does not take people at random, ship and disembark them, and then leave them stranded. The emigrants are carefully selected; they must first satisfy the Army that they are of good character and physique—and more so because the Colonial Immigration Authorities have great confidence in the discretion of the Salvation Army. That this confidence is not misplaced—that the selection is sound and careful—is shown by the fact that

less than 1 per cent. of Salvation Army immigrants have been returned by the Canadian Authorities as undesirable.

A MORE recent development is the emigration of orphan, deserted, and Poor Law children. These unfortunate children are rescued from evil surroundings, relieved from the stigma of pauperism, and given an opportunity to make a start under conditions that England could not afford them.

THE Salvation Army's choice of emigrants and method of settling them, have been warmly commended by members of the Canadian Government, by Earl Grey (lately Governor-General of the Dominion), and by other leading representatives of Colonial and public life.

Please help us to give some unfortunate child or deserving adult a fresh start in a new land. We are entirely dependent on voluntary contributions. Will you not send a donation (no matter how small) to

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

FRENCH ACQUIRED IN 100 DAYS.

REMARKABLE LETTER.

The following letter has been received by the Modern Languages Department of the well-known Pelman Institute:—

" . . . You will observe that I have been able to learn French by your method in the short space of three months.

I commenced the Course on January 15th, 1921, and to-day, 26th April, 100 days after the commencement, I am sending you my last Work Sheet.

During one week of this period, the Easter holidays week, I spent no time whatever on the Course.

I feel sure that this has created a record in language teaching; I have never before learned anything so quickly and so well. At the same time I have no doubt that many others could learn more quickly than I have already done.

It is the ingenuity and the thoroughness of the Course that does it.

As I am now trying to catch the last post, I cannot express my full appreciation of the Course and the courteous attention I have received, but I should like to do so later, and I should be pleased to have your advice with regard to French Books.

The above letter is indeed a remarkable tribute to the merits of the new Pelman method of learning Foreign Languages (French and Spanish Courses now ready), which is arousing intense interest in educational and other circles.

Men and women who were never able to "get on with" Foreign Languages in their school days are now finding it quite an easy matter to acquire a fluent mastery of French or Spanish by this new method.

"After several years' drudgery at school I found myself with scarcely any knowledge of the French Language, and certainly without any ability to use the language.

I realise now that this method was wrong.
After about six months' study by the Pelman method I find I have practically mastered the language"
(writes B. 143).

NO TRANSLATION.

The Pelman method is taught through the post, and one of its most distinctive features is that the student learns the particular language in question in that language and without using a word of English. Yet, even if you do not know a single word of French or Spanish to begin with, you can study the lessons, right from the commencement, with the greatest ease.

Many students on starting to learn a Foreign Language are repelled by the difficulties of the Grammar. These difficulties are avoided by the Pelman method. This method enables you to read, write and speak French or Spanish first—the formal grammar coming later. Further, it enables you to learn either language without learning long lists of French or Spanish words by heart. You learn these words by using them and in such a way that you never forget them.

The simplicity of the new method, its novel, fascinating and effective character, and its ingenious method of teaching Pronunciation, have all combined to win for it widespread popular interest and support. The number of people who are learning French or Spanish by the Pelman method is increasing rapidly. All state that it is the easiest and simplest method of learning a Foreign Language they have ever met with. Readers who would like to know more about this remarkable method should write to the address printed below. Mention which of the two languages particularly interests you, and by return you will receive a copy of a book fully describing the new method, gratis and post free. Send a postcard to-day to the Pelman Institute (Modern Languages Dept.), 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C. 1.

where the processions take up their stand in front of the Reception Tent and the Massed Choir and band.

Boy Scouts and Girl Guides are marching in the processions and helping at the tents and platforms, and forming a guard and acting as messengers to the tent for distinguished guests.

The Boys' and Girls' Life Brigade have generously offered to provide many bands of all kinds, both for the processions and to play in the Park. They will also send a large detachment in the uniform of their services, headed by a flag party and band to march from the Embankment.

The Reception Tent and enclosure will be under the trees by the circular garden at Stanhope Gate, looking over the whole parade ground to the Serpentine. To this tent are being asked the Ambassadors and Ministers and representatives of all the forty-eight countries within the League; the Cabinet; the hundred Members of Parliament who form the Parliamentary Committee of the Union; the Presidents and Executive and Advisory Committees of the League of Nations Union; Colonial Ministers and Agents-Generals; high dignitaries of the Churches of all denominations; Heads of Government and Educational depôts, &c.; Presidents and Chairmen of National Organisations, and many other distinguished people.

From the front of this enclosure the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Robert Cecil will deliver their addresses of welcome.

The Conference of Prime Ministers will be taking place in London at the time, and it is hoped that many will be present.

Volunteers Still Needed.

A Massed Choir composed of volunteers from all parts of London, Church choirs, the League of Arts, Choral Societies, schools, &c., will be stationed near to the tent, and will sing "Jerusalem"—words by Blake, music by Parry; "The Prayer for all Nations"—words by Laurence Housman, music by Geoffrey Shaw; "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"—words by Julia Ward Howe, music by Martin Shaw; Lowell's hymn, music by R. H. Pritchard.

The conductor will be Mr. Kennedy Scott, and Mr. Martin Shaw and the Rev. Professor Percy Dearmer are giving great assistance with the musical arrangements.

Mass Meetings.

The Mass Meetings will commence when the bugles sound at 3.30. Eight platforms will be stationed at various points in the Park, and will be decorated by the standards of the forty-eight countries of the League. Among those who have already consented to speak are the Right Hon. G. N. Barnes, the Right Hon. J. H. Clynes, Lord Eustace Percy, Sir George Paish, Sir Samuel Hoare, General Gough, and General Sir Frederick Maurice. There will also be an International platform, from which addresses will be given in twelve different languages—Persian, Chinese, Japanese, Lithuanian, French, Belgian, Finnish, Italian, Czech-Slovakian, Roumanian, Dutch and Georgian, under the chairmanship of Colonel Borden-Turner.

Entertainments.

Entertainments will take place in the natural amphitheatre of the Park lying between the Police Barracks and the Bayswater Road side of the Park, a few minutes from the Mass Meetings. These entertainments are being organised in conjunction with the Save the Children Fund, and are to take the form of a Pageant by the Guild of Citizenship called "The Citizens of To-day and To-morrow," national dances in costume by the members of the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs, a symbolic ballet by Miss Elsie Lanchester's dancers.

The performances will take place in a circular enclosure, with a delightful background of trees and natural stage of fine turf. All seats will be reserved, and are price 3s. and 1s. 9d., inclusive of tax, and must be obtained at the League of Nations Union Offices, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1, or at the Save the Children Fund, 16, Golden Square. No seats may be sold in the Park.

The Silver Dove of Peace is to be sold in the streets as an emblem of League of Nations Day. Girls in white frocks with the silver dove perched on their shoulders will sell small replicas of the bird, which are attached to a small clasp, and can be worn perched on the finger, or can be stood on any object, and make a charming decoration in a room or for a dinner table.

ARE YOU GOING TO GENEVA?

PLEASE fill up the form below and send it as soon as possible to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, if you wish to attend either of the two informal conferences being held at Geneva between August 1st and 6th.

A fee of £10 will cover your travelling, hotels, and passport charges from July 30th to August 8th.

You can study on the spot the Secretariat of the League and take part in discussions on international affairs, or you can study the International Labour Organisation at work, and see what it is doing for the workers of the world.

And three magnificent excursions will show you some of the most beautiful scenery in the world.

A letter giving full details of these conferences has already been sent to Branch Secretaries who will supply any further information required.

I wish to attend the League of Nations* } informal conference	
from August 1st to August 6th, 1921.	
I undertake to pay the fee of £10, and herewith enclose £1 on deposit.	
Name	Address
Branch	Date
* Strike out the title of the Conference you will not attend.	

VOLUNTARY HELP.

THE rate of increase in the membership of the Union has more than doubled during the past two or three months, and help is badly needed at Headquarters to cope with the consequent additional clerical work. Help is also needed in addressing envelopes and sending out circulars and notices. A splendid opportunity this offers to members who can spare the time to give voluntary help to the Union, and so render very real assistance to the cause of the League of Nations.

Services of a voluntary worker would be gratefully received in the Intelligence Section, to help with Press filing and typing if possible.

THE PROGRESS OF THE L.N.U.

OUR membership on May 31st was 108,327, being an increase of 10,890 on last month's figures. The total number of duly constituted Branches is now 523.

REVIEWS.

EUROPE OF TO-DAY. By J. F. UNSTEAD, M.A., D.Sc. (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1921. 4s.)

The book is one of a new series of geographical text-books and will be found specially applicable to the present needs of the general newspaper-reading public. At the same time it is a valuable addition to school text-books on political geography, and breathes the true spirit of internationalism.

THE LIVING PAST: A SKETCH OF WESTERN PROGRESS. By F. S. MARVIN. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1920. 5s. 6d.)

Into 296 pages, including an index, a bibliography, and illustrative time-charts, Mr. Marvin has succeeded in compressing a history of the world from the earliest times to the present day. Limits of space naturally prevent the specialised treatment of this vast subject given by Mr. Wells in his "Outline of History," but the basic principle of the two works is the same. "The Living Past" must be welcomed alike by teachers and by students who are beginning the serious study of history.

The book may be obtained from the League of Nations Union, price 5s. 6d., postage 4d. extra.

TOWARDS A WORLD AT PEACE (Pages for Young Readers). By FREDERICK J. GOULD. Introduction by JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D. (Obtainable from the League of Nations Union, 1s. net, postage 2d. extra.)

Teachers in Day and Sunday Schools will find this a useful "primer in internationalism," unmarred by the propaganda spirit. The young people for whom the book was written are here given the facts of history in a form enabling them most easily to extract the lessons of the League of Nations. They will learn from Mr. Gould's pages not merely that such a League is an essential necessity, but that it is the natural result of historical evolution.

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE SPIRITUAL IDEALS IMPLIED.
By the REV. EDMUND W. SARA, M.A., and MISS ELSA LANGLEY.
With a Foreword by the RT. HON. LORD ROBERT CECIL, M.P.
(National Society's Depository, 19, Great Peter Street, Westminster, S.W. 1. 1921. 2s.)

This book consists of two courses of lessons for Sunday and Day Schools, Bible Classes, Clubs, &c., the junior course being for children under twelve and fourteen, the senior course for children over these ages. Educationalists should find this book (the two parts of which may be obtained separately, price 1s. 2d. each) very useful.

THE NEXT STEP: AN ESSAY ON THE MISSING POLICEMAN. By ALFRED OLLIVANT. (G. Allen & Unwin, 1919. 4s. 6d.)

Although published two years ago, Mr. Ollivant's book is by no means out of date, and as a review of the evolution of the idea of a League of Nations from the earliest times to the present day, it should prove a useful corrective to the majority of school histories. Tracing the progress of mankind from individualism, through nationalism and imperialism, to internationalism, with a side-glance at such improvements on imperialism as the British Commonwealth, and such products of internationalism as the Hague Tribunal, the writer shows that the League of Nations is the inevitable next step which evolution demands.

"OUTWARD BOUND."

This is an excellently illustrated international monthly for young people. Short stories and articles, written by well-known writers from all parts of the world, give a vivid picture of the varied lives of the inhabitants of the different countries, which constitute the Family of Nations. The magazine is edited by Mr. Basil Mathews.

The July number will contain an article by Mr. M. T. Z. Tyan (Technical Adviser of the Chinese Delegation to the League of Nations), on the training of young life in China to support the League.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REVIEW.

Some of the most valuable work accomplished in connection with the League of Nations has been done by the Labour Organisation. Speakers and students of the movement should make a point of acquainting themselves with the literature provided by the International Labour Office at Geneva. In addition to the weekly

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lies largely in the hands of the teachers of childhood to-day. ARE YOUR CHILDREN interested in the work and ideals of Christian Missions? If you are, they will be.

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"Official Bulletin," which records the internal work of the Organisation, and publishes the decisions of the Governing Body, the "International Labour Review" should be consulted, a periodical which brings together the statistical and other scientific information regarding labour and industry from all nations, and puts it before the public in readable, non-technical language.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A LENDING LIBRARY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I quite agree with Mr. Delf and with what he says in his letter published in the May issue of HEADWAY.

It would be a very nice thing if the Publications or another department were to start a library, as I for one find it a very difficult thing to buy all the books I should like to read and which are advertised in HEADWAY. I feel quite sure that a large number of readers would avail themselves of the splendid opportunity which would be afforded by such a scheme.

I should like to suggest that the books be lent out per month to all subscribers who take in your valuable organ, and also that all such should be sent a complete catalogue of the library when it is started; or else a supplement made to HEADWAY.

With regard to the collecting of the books for the library, I should like to suggest that all the authors whose books have appeared, should be approached with a view to their giving a copy gratis towards the good cause which you are helping to carry on.—Yours, &c.

JAMES BLACKWOOD.

"Roseworthy," Chalkwell Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I am glad that the question of a lending library for members of the L.N.U. has been raised. It would be a boon to many who, like myself, are not in a position to buy any of the books noticed in your columns, and yet are very keen on keeping up to date their knowledge of international affairs. But why only at Headquarters? Why should not every branch (or at least every branch in a big town) have its own library? I hope that the idea

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will be adopted. It would not only be a great help to the rank and file of the members, but would also make the Union more effective in so far as the ordinary member advanced in knowledge.—Yours, &c.

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16, Newton Road, Bitterne Park, Southampton.

[It may interest our correspondents to know that arrangements have been made with the Central Library for Students, 20, Tavistock Square, W.C. 1, to supply members of Study Circles with books they may require. No books, however, are supplied whose published price is less than 6s. Students and Study Circles should apply to the Library at the above address.]

"HEADWAY" AND THE POST.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The forthcoming increase in postal rates will doubtless involve the League of Nations Union in heavy additional expenditure. We know that the work of the Union is handicapped already by financial difficulties. These are common to most of us at the present time, but, nevertheless, I venture to propose that every subscriber to HEADWAY should forward 3d. in stamps to Headquarters to cover the extra postage for the year.

Many of us who cannot give donations could do this, and thereby with little inconvenience to themselves do much to relieve this new and unforeseen drain upon the funds.—Yours, &c.

H. R. SPARKS.

88, Ashburton Avenue, Addiscombe, Croydon.

BRANCH ACTIVITIES.

[News intended for publication in HEADWAY, must be sent separately from the ordinary monthly Branch Report, and must reach the Editor without fail by the 27th of each month. Will Branch Secretaries please note that preference will be given to news of a definitely educational nature?—EDITOR.]

LONDON REGION.

EALING.—A Study Circle has been formed which met for the first time on April 18th, under the leadership of Miss Chick. A short résumé of each gathering is to be given by Mrs. Harokin. A useful precedent for future co-operative work among the Branches of the Union was set by Ealing before the postponement of the Pilgrimage, when the Secretaries of the Hanwell, Acton, and Oaklands Road (Shepherd's Bush) Branches were asked to meet the Secretary of the Ealing Branch to discuss co-operation in this work.

KENSINGTON.—On Empire Day a letter from the Mayor of Kensington was read in every school in the Borough, and the ideals of patriotism and imperialism were given a wider significance by a short explanation of the principles and objects of the League of Nations. A copy of this letter was given to each child. Some slight conception of what the League of Nations stands for was, in this way, carried into about 13,000 homes.

MIDLAND REGION.

BIRMINGHAM.—The 17 Branches in the Birmingham Area have formed a District Council.

LINCOLN.—A most successful Children's Demonstration was held on Whit-Monday. Fuller particulars will be given next month.

OXFORD.—During the Easter vacation and the present term the work of this Branch has been largely reorganised. Sir P. D. Agnew has taken over the duties of Hon. Secretary, assisted by Mr. J. W. Parkes as University Secretary. The University membership is approaching 1,000, but that in the City numbers only 400. Negotiations are in progress towards acquiring a room for an office in the business part of the town. It is hoped that this may become a real centre of activity and do much towards keeping the work of the Union in the public eye. The Trades and Labour Council have voted in favour of co-operation by a majority.

NORTH-WESTERN REGION.

CONGLETON.—A meeting is held monthly at the Primitive Methodist Church in connection with the L.N.U. Branch. It takes the form of a tutorial class. A paper, or address, is given on some aspect of the League or some international problem, followed by questions and discussion. On April 14th, a Debating Meeting was held at St. Peter's School under the presidency of Ald. S. Maskery, J.P.

Arrangements are being made by the Committee for members of the Branch to address "ready-made" local

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

The *Glasgow Herald* says:—"Such 'talks,' intended to give guidance and suggestion to teachers of 'Nature Study,' are Professor Thomson's speciality. He knows what kind of information is needed, and has given it."

ORDER TO-DAY.

LONDON:

THE PILGRIM PRESS, 16, Pilgrim Street, E.C. 4.

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meetings in the town. All the Churches have been approached by the Branch's Anglican and Free Church Organisers. The first of these visits was paid by Mr. J. H. Wood to the Boys' Club of St. John's Church, Buglawton.

SOUTH-EASTERN REGION.

HASLEMERE.—A circular has been sent out by this Branch in regard to a Reference Library for International Study. It is suggested:—

1. That with 30 or 40 Annual Subscriptions (minimum 2s. 6d.) it would be possible to purchase some of the books frequently needed for reference in study connected with the League.
2. That the books would be in circulation according to list to save library expenses.
3. That someone holding the list would be responsible for tracing any book urgently needed.
4. That non-subscribers would have second call on books, paying 2d. per week per book.

Those willing to support the scheme are asked to write to the Branch Secretary, stating the subscription they would be willing to give, and offering suggestions.

YORKSHIRE REGION.

WAKEFIELD, OSSETT, AND DEWSBURY.—These three Branches arranged a highly successful joint Demonstration from May 28th to June 1st. On May 28th matinée and evening performances were given of a League of Nations Mystery Pageant Play, "Amor Omnia Vincit," in the Town Hall, Ossett, and an evening performance was given on May 30th. On Sunday the 29th a mass meeting was held in the Opera House, Wakefield. On May 31st a Children's Demonstration was given in the morning, and in the evening a Mass Meeting was held in the Town Hall, Ossett, preceded by a performance in the Market Place by the Ossett Borough Band, and a reception of the Mayor and Corporation of Wakefield by the Mayor and Corporation of Ossett. At both these meetings Mr. Frederick Whelen was the speaker. On June 1st a third Mass Meeting was held, in Dewsbury Town Hall, at which the speakers were Mr. Walter Runciman and Mr. Frederick Whelen. This meeting was preceded by a reception by the

Mayor of Dewsbury of the Mayor and Corporation of Ossett, who, accompanied by the Gawthorpe Victoria Band and public, had left Ossett Market Place on decorated tram cars.

FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

During the month of May 127 meetings were held, although in the May publication only forty-five were announced at the time of going to press.

For next month meetings have already been arranged in the following places, to be addressed by the following speakers:—

June 10th, Portsmouth. June 11th, London (Tavistock Place), Ashford (Middlesex). June 12th, Herne Hill. June 14th, Plaistow, Colchester, Great Malvern. June 15th, Selhurst, Colchester. June 17th, Brighton, Birmingham. June 19th, Westcliff-on-Sea, Rainham, Ealing. June 20th, East Ham. June 21st, Hatfield, Silsden, Sheffield. June 22nd, Chichester, Keighley. June 23rd, Halifax, Cheltenham, Leytonstone. June 25th, Gosport. June 26th, Merton, Brockley, Camberwell, Islington, Aberystwyth. June 28th, Nails-worth. June 29th, Horsham, Fleet (Hants.). July 1st, Stafford.

Among the speakers are: Capt. T. Johnson; J. H. Harris, Esq.; Henry Vivian, Esq.; Major David Davies, M.P.; Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.; Frederick Whelen, Esq.; Canon Bickersteth Otley; Miss Muriel Currey, O.B.E.; Rev. Hudson Shaw; Neville Dixey, Esq.; Miss Edith Johnson; Viscount Grey of Fallodon; H. Everitt Reid, Esq.; and Foster Jeffrey, Esq.

The meetings arranged include the following:

June 10—Portsmouth. 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.
June 17—Brighton. 7.30 p.m. The Dome, Brighton. Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.
June 19—Ealing. 7 p.m. Palladium. Rev. Hudson Shaw.
June 21—Sheffield. Evening. Victoria Hall. Viscount Grey of Fallodon, K.G.
June 26—Aberystwyth. Open Air. Major David Davies, M.P.

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