

HEADWAY

A Review of the World's Affairs



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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MONTH	121	THE VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES AND WORLD PEACE.	
GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE	123	By Viscountess Gladstone	130
THE TROUBLE AT PRAGUE	123	PRAGUE IMPRESSIONS	131
AMERICA AND WORLD POLITICS. By Viscountess Astor, M.P.	124	CARTOONS OF THE MONTH	132
GEOGRAPHY AND CITIZENSHIP. By J. F. Unstead, M.A., D.Sc.	125	CORRESPONDENCE :—	
A PIONEER LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By Olivia Rossetti Agresti	126	International Moral Education Congress	133
A LONDON LETTER	127	The General Council	133
A LETTER FROM GENEVA. C.	128	Ireland and the League	134
MAKERS OF HISTORY :—		Surviving Slavery	134
Lord Finlay. G. H. M.	129	SUMMER SCHOOLS	136
		BOOK REVIEWS :—	
		Current Fears	137
		MESOPOTAMIA	138
		LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION :—	
		Notes and News	138

THE MONTH.

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A REVIEW of the events of the month finds the balance on the side of confidence in the achievement of international co-operation as we understand it—the first session of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the opening of the Hague Conference of experts on the Russian question, progress of the League's International Credit Plan, the return of the Prince of Wales from his tour of the Far East, the visits of M. Poincaré and the Hon. William H. Taft, and the League of Nations Union's great campaign on behalf of the early admission of Germany into the League—all tending to the same object which it is the privilege of this journal to serve.

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IT is perhaps well that the Permanent Court's first business is not concerned with highly controversial subjects. France wants to know if the International Labour Office is competent to deal with agricultural conditions. The Dutch Government will ask for a ruling on the selection of representatives to the International Labour Office. When these cases have been disposed of, it is probable that the Vilna dispute will claim the attention of the Court.

HAVING wisely given way on the question of publicity, the Hague (Preliminary) Conference on Russia appears to be making some progress. It is satisfactory to note that France and Belgium have agreed to meet the Russians again. A great deal depends now on the line that the Russian delegates will take. If they are willing to talk business and to put aside doctrinaire arguments, it is fairly safe to forecast a successful outcome for the Conference. A mutually satisfactory trading basis between Russia and Western Europe will not only be of great help to trade, but will be a signal advance on the road of international co-operation.

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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS the Prince of Wales is a splendid crusader in the cause of international understanding. The effect of his tour of the East has been to promote good will wherever he went. This was particularly true of Japan, where the royal visit dispelled much popular misapprehension of the aims of British policy in the East.

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ALTHOUGH the Financial Conference in Paris failed to find a way to raise an international loan for Germany that was agreeable to France, it did, however, make important recommendations concerning the League's International Credit Plan. Mr. Pierpont Morgan's Committee was unanimous in its approval of the immediate application of the League's scheme. Much the same view was expressed by the Financial Commission of the Genoa Conference. At the instance of the International Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Conference of Central Banks, convened by the Bank of England, is now considering

the plan and the recommendations. Four applications have already been made. The first—that of Czecho-Slovakia—has been accepted, and already large orders are being placed in this country as a result. Ever since the Brussels Financial Conference in October, 1920, the League of Nations Union has been hammering away to get the League's Credit Plan adopted. Perhaps the Union's activities have had some part in bringing this about. We must always keep before the public mind the fact that unemployment at home is merely a local symptom of the world disease which only the League can cure.

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THE campaign of the League of Nations Union on behalf of the admission of Germany to the League may have great consequences to the future of the world. We have no wish to appear "panicky," but the incident of Rapallo should not be underrated. If Germany is to be a sort of permanent outlaw from the comity of nations she will naturally seek a new orientation of policy. This can mean only one thing—an alliance with Russia. Then we should have the old vicious circle of counter-alliances, balance of power, competitive armaments, and inevitably another world war on such a gigantic scale that by comparison the events of 1914-1918 will appear a mere skirmish. Given a continuance of Germany's intention to carry out her obligations to the best of her ability, her proper place is in the Council of the League of Nations. Europe is crying out for reconstruction, and we must have Germany's help in this task.

* * * *

EDUCATION Authorities throughout the country are rapidly adopting the Union's proposals for instruction about the League in the schools. Official action has been taken by more than twenty urban and county authorities. The scheme has been put up to over four hundred committees, and its general adoption seems probable.

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THE "World and Stars" design which the Union has been using for some time is now the official emblem of the Federation of League of Nations Societies. The stars represent the States in the League. We hope soon to have to add a 52nd for Germany. The Irish settlement seems so far advanced that the time may not be far off when she, too, will be eligible for admission to the League as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

* * * *

DOUBTS as to the attitude of the British public and of France have been held responsible for the delay in an official declaration of British policy in favour of the early admission of Germany to the League. These doubts were dispelled at the League of Nations Union Rally in Hyde Park on June 24th. Thousands of copies of the resolution were distributed in the streets, and it was passed unanimously at the eleven mass meetings in the Park. The French Ambassador spoke in favour of the admission of Germany. Within twenty-four hours the Prime Minister announced that the British representative on the Council of the League would vote in favour of the admission of Germany.

THE third anniversary of the signing of the Covenant of the League of Nations is being celebrated all over the world. The great Hyde Park Rally in London on June 24th is a sure sign of popular interest in the League. But our work is still in its early stages. The greater tasks of international co-operation are still ahead. Much depends on the success of the Third Assembly at Geneva in September. The admission of Germany and a bold attempt to secure a large measure of disarmament in Europe are the biggest jobs for the Assembly. In these as in all other matters it is organised public opinion that counts for everything. If we of the League of Nations Union can go forward with our great task of getting the vast majority of the British people solidly behind the League, we shall be ensuring the success of the only policy that holds out hope for the future of the world. If every present member of the Union regards himself as a "crusader" he can find 136 potential recruits for his personal attention.

* * * *

REPRESENTATION at the Assembly of the League is again occupying public notice. It is generally felt now that the British Government made a mistake last year in sending only official delegates. While, of course, the British vote must be given by the chief Government delegate, it is nevertheless of the greatest importance that there should be direct representation of public opinion in the proceedings of the Assembly and its Commissions. The League of Nations Union's policy is to appoint three substitute delegates, at least one of whom should represent the wage-earners and at least one other to be a woman. It is obvious that with six main Commissions in session the work will be altogether too much for the three official delegates.

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MR. JAMES M. BECK, the Solicitor-General of the United States, does not appear to be in agreement with Chief Justice Taft on the subject of the League. The latter, of course, is debarred by his position from taking sides in what in the United States is a controversial political issue. It is clear, however, from his speeches that he does not share Mr. Beck's hostility to the League. Writing in the "Sunday Times," on June 18th, Mr. Beck accuses the League of trying to be a "super world state," which offends "the basic principle of civilisation—namely, the equality of sovereign states." Mr. Beck also thinks that the five permanent members of the Council have no right to constitute themselves "a voting trust for civilisation." He sees no safeguards for the rights of little nations in the machinery of the League. By a curious inconsistency Mr. Beck concludes his attack on the League with an appeal for close co-operation between Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan. One wonders where the little nations appear in this arrangement. Why have these powers the right to constitute themselves a "voting trust for civilisation"? It is, indeed, the little nations that regard the League as their best hope against fitful partial alliances of Great Powers. The League is far from perfect, but it is a great living institution that will grow and change with the changing conditions of the world. Mr. Beck has no word of praise for all the humanitarian work of the League. Its campaign against disease, harmful drugs, and the traffic in women and children leaves him cold.

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE.

THE question of Germany's speedy inclusion within the League of Nations seems to be taking practical shape once more, after two years of quiescence. At the end of May a speech was delivered at Lyons by M. Noblemaire, who is Chairman of the P.L.M. Railway Co., a leading Deputy in the Chamber and one of the French Delegates at the last Assembly of the League. He stripped the wrappings of prejudice and sentiment off the problem and left it for examination by his countrymen in the clear light of logic.

It is instructive to follow the line of argument that this eminent Frenchman adopted when he set out to persuade the French nation that Germany's admission is a matter of stern and urgent necessity. He began by re-affirming the obligations of membership under Article 1 of the Covenant. He declared his belief that Germany has not yet completely fulfilled those obligations. He passed on, however, to insist once more upon the familiar truth that the League, incomplete in membership, is incomplete also in power for good. He then turned from the interests of the League to the interests of France.

These, he believes, will now be best served by encouraging Germany to enter the League. From the French point of view she is a greater danger out than in. So much so, that he was ready to say, "we might even refrain from insisting upon our full rights under Article 1, although we could never renounce these rights altogether. I believe that we shall vote ungrudgingly for the admission of Germany, though only of a Germany which has begun to give proofs of good faith."

It is unlikely that M. Noblemaire would have made so direct a statement as this without the approval of the French Government. But be that as it may, such a speech by a man of his standing is a significant sign of the times. It has been the subject of much comment in the Press of Europe.

For some time past British public opinion has been, on the whole, ready to welcome Germany within the League, but it is doubtful whether we have even yet fully perceived the danger of allowing her to stand any longer outside it. The warning, coming now from a Frenchman's lips, should surely open our eyes.

The Rapallo Treaty, concluded lately between Germany and Russia, may have begun to stimulate our perceptions. It is true that in some quarters the Treaty has been cited as an argument for continuing to ostracise Germany, but the reply is that the Treaty was itself the direct consequence of that very policy.

The plain truth is that the peace of Europe is menaced at present by the tendency to form State groups, suspicious of, and hostile to one another. It is still not too late to check the danger, but there is no agency fitted for the purpose except the League of Nations.

When we look critically at the League to see how far it is ready at the present moment to perform this particular work, we see that it is fatally hampered by being still only a group itself. The inclusion of Germany is the first cure for this weakness. It must be followed eventually, of course, by the inclusion of America and Russia, but for dealing with the present situation Germany's admission would strengthen the League's position immeasurably.

But if Germany were included against the will of France, the advantage of her presence would be very seriously diminished. This has been no doubt one of the reasons why States eager to hasten the day of her entrance have refrained from pressing their wishes too hard. This is certainly the reason why M. Noblemaire's speech is of the highest importance, for it may be the signal that the time is at hand when public opinion may express itself openly and bring its overwhelming force to carry through the most urgent need of the day.

THE TROUBLE AT PRAGUE.

OF all the matters of interest which came under the notice of the Prague Conference, none received more attention than the Report of the Special Commission on racial, linguistic, and religious minorities.

The Commission which drew up the report was not appointed by the Executive of the British League of Nations Union, but by the Bureau of the International Federation of League of Nations Association, whose headquarters is at Brussels.

Sir Willoughby Dickinson, P.C., K.B.E., was President of the Commission, and Professor T. Ruysen, General Secretary of the Federation, acted as secretary. Fifteen States were represented: Switzerland, Sweden, France, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Italy, Holland, Argentine, Belgium, Hungary, Austria, Greece, Roumania, Serbe-Croate-Slovene State. Professor Gilbert Murray, representing Great Britain, was unable to attend.

That the Minorities Report, presented to the Plenary Conference of the International Federation of the League of Nations Associations at Prague in June, bristled with difficulties, most of the delegates who had made themselves fully acquainted with its findings must have realised, but it is perhaps a little hard to understand the strong objections taken by some of the delegations, particularly by those representing the Little Entente countries. The gist of the two main resolutions, put before the Plenary Assembly on June 7th and 8th last, was as follows:

1. "That the recommendations of the Report be approved and forwarded immediately to Geneva."
2. "That the Report be referred back to the Commission for any suggested verbal alterations and to be reconsidered to-morrow morning for presentation again to the Conference."

From the point of view taken by Sir Willoughby Dickinson, himself one of the authors of the report, it would perhaps have been advisable that resolution No. 2 should have been carried instead of resolution No. 1. The objectors to the report had already fixed upon certain parts of its wording as inconsistent with their views of the rights of minorities, and as not representing quite accurately opinions which the same objectors held, and upon which they had already stated they had not been sufficiently consulted. Be this as it may, it was Sir Willoughby Dickinson's intention, and he had already made this clear to the Plenary Assembly and to the objectors, to make such alterations as would fall in with the views of the latter. Unfortunately, from the point of view of the British delegation, no opportunity was given of voting upon resolution No. 2. No. 1 resolution was almost immediately carried by the Plenary Assembly (the British Delegation abstaining). The minority which included the Little Entente delegates were a good deal dissatisfied. Though efforts were made to secure a compromise they failed and the Little Entente delegates decided to take no further part in the proceedings.

It is a matter for consideration whether these conferences do not devote too much of their time to large questions of policy, and too little to what is after all the chief duty of voluntary societies for promoting the League of Nations, viz., propaganda and education.

AMERICA AND WORLD POLITICS.

BY VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M.P.

I HAVE been asked by the Editor of HEADWAY to write a short account of my impression of America's attitude to the League of Nations. This is not a very easy task. To begin with, nobody is in a position to generalise or dogmatise about such an immense country as America; one can only speak of one's own experience. In the second place, the League of Nations has unfortunately been made an issue of party politics in the United States, and as long as it remains in this category America cannot speak with a united voice.

What I do feel free to speak of is the overwhelming desire which I found in America to take her due part in world restoration, although big business, "politics," intense suspicion of European diplomacy and racial antagonisms may obscure the issue and retard its settlement.

One very real reason why the United States does not send representatives to European conferences is because they have the feeling that one of their ablest

men, ex-President Wilson, was fooled by European diplomats at Versailles. They are afraid of being drawn into "Balkan entanglements," and they feel this might be the fate of the average man who was sent over.

When I sailed for America it was with the firm hope of making only three speeches—one to the Baltimore Convention of the League of Women Voters, one to the English Speaking Union in New York, with my friend Mr. Davis, the ex-Ambassador, and one in Virginia among my own people. When I was thinking out what to say in these three speeches I realised that I must put all I most deeply felt and meant in the first one, for it is the first note that gives the key. I had been solemnly warned not to mention the League of Nations, but the more I thought about it the more impossible it seemed to avoid talking of the basic thing in world politics to-day. So at New York I took the plunge, and believing valour to be the better part of discretion, talked about the three most unpopular subjects

I could find, which happened to be among the three I cared most about—women's opportunity in politics, friendship with England, and the League of Nations. The audience not only accepted what I said most generously in the spirit in which I meant it, but the Press gave, and continued to give, my triple plea front page reports, while invitations from chambers of commerce all over America, universities and colleges, like Yale and Princeton, business men's clubs, and, of course, women's organisations, poured in like an avalanche. The



explanation was that this overpowering welcome had little to do with me personally, but was a response to what I was trying to express, and to the appeal I made the first night. After that, and as a result of it, I made over forty speeches in many different parts of America—Virginia, Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington, and to many different audiences—the League of Women Voters, the Women's Trade Union League, the Annual Luncheon of the Associated Press of America, and so on; but the deepest applause always came to an appeal for world co-operation. I could not and did not plead in so many words for America to enter the present

League as it is to-day—that is a matter for American statesmanship. But I did plead that she should enter some League to enforce Peace, by whatever name it was called, and bring her moral support and the idealism which is all the time there in the heart of the people, into a world-wide council. I was able to tell them that whatever politicians might do or say, a universal League of Peace was growing up in the hearts of women in all the civilised countries. The feeling for co-operation among organised American women is very strong indeed; it is something too sincere and vital to let itself be exploited for partisan ends.

Altogether, therefore, my impression of opinion in America, so far as it concerns Europe, is a very hopeful one. I do not for one moment believe that the forces that are deliberately fostering hate and prejudice are representative of the country, and speaking from my own experience, I am convinced that America will play a big part in future world peace.

GEOGRAPHY AND CITIZENSHIP

By J. F. UNSTEAD, M.A., D.Sc.

IT is now almost a commonplace that if the League of Nations is to be a reality, if it is to secure its object of substituting peaceful co-operation for armed conflict, it must have behind it not merely the sympathy but also the instructed opinion of the nations of the world. If the people of Britain are to play their part in building a new world they must know what are the conditions of that world; to have good will is necessary, and to have knowledge is equally necessary.

From this point of view it is no less than a calamity that the intelligent study of countries and peoples had been so neglected, and one reason for this neglect is that, a generation ago, the schools taught what was called "geography" in such a way that the word is still, by many minds, associated with those dry lists of bays and capes, towns and industries, which so often repelled and so seldom had any value.

Yet during the last few years geography has almost completely changed its character, and, rightly interpreted, is now a subject which has enhancing interest, and at the same time provides a most valuable training in citizenship.

The change first took the form of asking not merely "Where?" but also "Why?" For example, a city is studied, and the reasons for its growth in a particular situation are traced; its industries are examined and it is found that its position is one which gives advantages for the carrying on of those industries. The physical geography, too, has become scientific: the reasons for the hills and valleys, the climate, and the natural vegetation of regions are explained. The human geography is less easily interpreted; the location of industries is a relatively simple matter, but when the characteristics and ideas of the peoples are considered it is, in the present state of knowledge, sometimes better to describe than to attempt to explain the causes. Yet much can be explained; and in the study of geography there is opportunity for giving those fundamental facts which lie at the base of the political problems which the citizens of to-day have to face.

Thus the latest development of geography in education is to assist in the training of citizens. In the teaching of the smaller children the simplest ideas are given as to how other peoples live, and the pupils are given the habit of considering in a sympathetic manner the lives of the inhabitants of distant lands, as far as possible putting themselves in the place of those peoples and realising the common problems of their daily lives. At a later stage, the physical conditions of the countries are described and studied, and the pupils are taught how to use maps of various kinds; the influence of

the environment upon the work and habits of the peoples are examined.

Still later, the political geography may be studied. The various States are considered; the characteristics of their peoples are described, some account being given of their races and languages, religious and national aspirations, together with their relations with their neighbours in adjoining States.

An example may be taken from the Balkan region, where the conflicting interests led to the wars of 1912 and 1913 and to the murder of the Archduke Francis, which was the immediate cause of the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, and where conditions are even yet far from stable, and still threaten the peace of the world. A study of the reasons for the difficulties shows that they fall into three groups. The first group consists of the characteristics and feelings of the various peoples, Greeks, Bulgarians, Jugo-Slavs, and Albanians, among whom is found a great diversity of race, language, and religion. These peoples live in a region where there are no large and clearly separated fertile areas which would form centres of independent national development; in the chaos of mountains and valleys a chaotic mingling of peoples has been inevitable. The second group of problems is concerned with the communications through the region to markets beyond; the lines of the valleys and the courses of the rivers Danube, Vardar, and Maritza all cut across the State boundaries, and hence conflicts between the nations are very likely to arise, and indeed can only be avoided by mutual understanding and forbearance. The third group of problems depends upon the relation between the region as a whole and the adjoining parts of Europe and Asia. The Balkan Peninsula forms a bridge between the two continents across which would-be conquerors have again and again passed; for centuries it was held by the Turks who forced their way into Europe, and more recently the Austrian Empire occupied the Western part and desired further extension of its dominion. Thus, only by a realisation of the geography of the Balkan region can the interplay of political ambitions and fears be understood and any just and permanent solution be attempted.

Other great problems, such as those of the Pacific Lands and the Tropical Regions, might be cited, and when the world-wide range of these problems is realised, it becomes clear that the systematic study of geography is of vital importance in the training of those who are to be "citizens of the world."

The Education Committee of the League of Nations Union has given considerable attention to the teaching of geography, as well as of history, in our schools and colleges, and we hope to be able, in our next issue, to publish a Memorandum containing some important proposals on the subject, which the Union submitted to the President of the Board of Education, together with his reply.

A PIONEER LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

BY OLIVIA ROSSETTI AGRESTI.

WHILE the eyes of the world were turned on the spectacular events of the Genoa Conference, a gathering of the most significant kind was being held in Rome, devoted to such sound, practical issues, and doing its business in such a prosaic, business-like way, as to pass practically unobserved. I refer to the General Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture, which brought the representatives of sixty-two nations together at the seat of the Institute in Rome.

The circumstances which led seventeen years ago to the foundation of this Institute were stranger than fiction. An American, fired by that humanitarian enthusiasm which is the ennobling characteristic of the most business-like of practical peoples, came to Europe to find a King who would consent to father his plan for creating an international economic parliament. The purpose was to take out of the hands of speculators and price-manipulators and place under the impartial auspices of an international body the collection and dissemination of information on all factors which affect the production, price-formation, and distribution of the agricultural staples of the world. David Lubin found the King of his dreams in Victor Emanuel III. of Italy, and Young America and Old Rome joined hands to bring into being the first effort at an effective League of Nations.

David Lubin was a typical product of American democracy, that alchemist's crucible which so often converts into gold the matter which other nations have despised and rejected. Born in a ghetto of Russian Poland, he had been brought as a young child to New York. At the age of twelve he was earning his living as apprentice in a jeweller's business in Massachusetts. A spirit of adventure and daring took him when barely more than a boy to California, and thence to three years' pioneering in the wilds and deserts of Arizona. The vivid, dynamic forces of American democracy acted on innate idealism and racial gift for speculative and logical thinking to produce a practical idealist whose head was in the clouds but whose feet were firmly planted on mother earth.

When his wander-years were over David Lubin started to build up a business in Sacramento, Cal., never forgetting to use the small store he opened in 1874, not only as a means for making money, but also as a pulpit for preaching and demonstrating the ethics of merchandising. And he was able to show that "honesty is the best policy," for he prospered. Having made good as a merchant he took up farming. His business experience had taught him that the prosperity of manufacturer and merchant is conditioned by the prosperity of agriculture; that right adjustments in the equities of exchange between town and country are essential to national wealth and political stability.

Bringing business experience to farming, Lubin found much food for thought, and step by step he was led to realise that the problems he found himself up against in marketing his crops were not local, sectional, or national, but international in their bearing, and demanded international action if they were to be successfully solved. He perceived, in advance of his day, that economic solidarity is world-wide. No nation is a self-contained economic unit, able effectively to protect itself by national action. The economic unit is the world. The market for the great staples of agriculture is a world market, their price a world price. To seek to protect agriculture by special legislation, by protective duties, is empirical. But he also noted that, while this was fully realised and acted upon by the big business interests, by those who handled the international trade in grain and cotton and livestock, &c., it had not been grasped by the farmers themselves. Their outlook was

necessarily a local one. Unlike the manufacturer, they produced with no knowledge of the market for which they were producing. The factors that governed the price of their products were beyond their ken.

David Lubin set to work to find out what these factors were. The price of grain, for instance, is, in the main, dependent on the ratio between supply and demand, the supply and demand not of one locality, or one country, but of the world as a whole. How was the knowledge of the supply obtained? The U.S. Department of Agriculture proudly pointed to its elaborate system of crop-reports; yet they covered but a small segment in the circle of world production. Who supplied the information for the other countries? Enquiry revealed anarchy. Some countries, it is true, had agricultural statistical services, but each organised for its own needs regardless of what others were doing. There was no co-ordination, no comparability. And, moreover, the most important factors, Russia, the Danube countries, Argentina, Canada, &c., had no system at all. The work of ascertaining the supply of grain available for meeting the world's demand was left to private and irresponsible parties whose reports were necessarily based on inadequate data and inevitably colored by the interests they represented.

David Lubin saw here a vast and little understood cause of social and political unrest, a fundamental inequity which could only be remedied by international action. He saw the need for an international economic parliament, a World Chamber of Agriculture, as a means toward this end.

Failing to secure a hearing in his own country, Lubin came to Europe. He realised that in the case of agriculture the initiative for international action must come from above; he would find the Head of a Nation to issue the call. He came to Rome. He had no official backing, no introductions, no knowledge of the country, no language except the picturesque, forcible English of the Far West. Within twenty days of his arrival he had seen Victor Emanuel III., and found in him a leader with vision and courage. His message was understood. "A merchant reckons his success at the end of a year by the amount of dollars he has been able to accumulate, a King by the work of historic importance he has been able to perform; I bring you the opportunity to perform a work of historic importance," the Californian had said at his first audience with Italy's Chief Executive, and he left with the King's promise that the proposal would be taken up.

Five months after this interview, in June, 1905, the representatives of forty nations met on the historic Capitoline Hill in Rome and signed the Treaty creating the International Institute of Agriculture, which opened its doors in May, 1908.

Since then the world war has come and gone. Right through those cataclysmic days the Institute pursued its peaceful and beneficent task, supplying the Food Controllers of the several countries with the basic data on available supplies, crop prospects, &c., which enabled them to shape their policies and tide the world over the crisis without the calamities of actual famine. None of the member countries seceded, and now sixty-two nations are inscribed on the roll of this pioneer League of Nations which has just held its sixth General Assembly.

In getting the nations to recognise their essential economic solidarity, and to act on the basis of that recognition, the International Institute of Agriculture is doing more to promote the cause of peace than any disarmament conference attended by nations who act on the assumption that their economic interests are incompatible. In making it possible for this institution to be founded the King of Italy forged an essential link in the chain of World Organisation, a chain which it is the purpose of the League of Nations to lengthen and strengthen until it circles the whole world and embraces all fields of human activity.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, Grosvenor Crescent.

ALTHOUGH the outstanding event of the month with regard to Union affairs has been the meeting of Voluntary Societies at Prague, there have been other events less spectacular but nevertheless interesting and important to the enthusiast.

At Whitsuntide the Annual Conference of the United Kingdom Commercial Travellers' Association, held at Swansea, passed the following resolution:—

"That this Conference recognising the close relationship existing between international peace and commercial prosperity affirming its belief in and support of the League of Nations, and further recommends all U.K.C.T.A. Branches to support the work of the League of Nations Union in its work of educating public opinion in favour of the League."

This resolution clearly pledges the branches of this important association to become "corporate members" of the Union, a most valuable increase of support.

BOY SCOUTS.

The watchful eye of the Union discovered in the Boy Scouts Association Magazine the two following notices:—

(1) "The Committee do not recommend members of Imperial Headquarters or Local Associations, as such, becoming members of this Union."

(2) "With reference to the notice in this column of the April issue, in order that there should be no misunderstanding, it should be understood that the Boy Scouts Association is in sympathy with the ideals of the League of Nations, but owing to questions of politics being involved the Boy Scouts Association should not be officially represented on the League of Nations Union."

It was therefore decided to put the non-political basis of the Union before the General Purposes Committee of the Boy Scouts Association and an influential deputation of the Union was appointed for the purpose. The result was most successful.

The General Purposes Committee agreed to insert in the next issue of the magazine a notice that there was no objection whatever to scouts joining the Union in their individual capacity, and there would be no objection to scouts or scout patrols maintaining order or performing similar functions at meetings or demonstrations organised by the League of Nations Union.

THE COUNCIL OF THE UNION.

The third annual meeting of the General Council of the Union was held on May 25th, with Lord Robert Cecil in the Chair at the morning session, and Professor Gilbert Murray at the afternoon session. Lord Robert, in presenting the Annual Report, emphasised the progress made by the Union during the preceding year. The fact that the membership was approaching 200,000, and that the number of Branches was in the neighbourhood of 800 was good evidence of the effective work accomplished. Lord Robert stated that only nineteen of the English constituencies were still without a Branch, and that new members, coming in at the steady rate of 2,000 a week, enabled us to boast that, allowing for people under sixteen, we have one person in every 179 a member of the Union. Lord Robert suggested that the practice made by some very active branches of holding a monthly meeting to discuss League affairs should be adopted by every Branch. He also suggested to the genuinely devoted, as a method of reaching the individual mind of the population, a house-to-house canvass; while the number of meetings held, now averaging about ten a day, might be largely increased. Lord Robert made an appeal to all the London members of the Union to come and to get others to come to the Hyde Park Rally on June 24th, and he drew the attention of the Council to the Summer Schools, so successful, interesting and amusing last year, which are this year to be held in Oxford and Geneva. Lord Robert concluded his interesting address by an eloquent appeal for an understanding of the relation of the Union to the

League, pointing out that it is "the main purpose of this Union to see that the international policy of this country is carried on on League principles."

A lengthy discussion then took place, in which various questions, such as the attitude of the Churches towards the Union, the necessity of forming a reserve fund, the advantages or disadvantages of insisting upon a membership subscription, were raised by representatives of the Branches. The principal subject, however, raised upon the report, was the style and character of HEADWAY. Professor Gilbert Murray, as Chairman of the Editorial Committee, put into a sentence what he rightly called the perennial difficulty. "Some people think that it ought to be run on the lines of a parish magazine; others as the great organ for spreading information about the League and the problems of League policy. The Editorial Committee tries to do both." Various speakers took up one or other of these attitudes, Col. David Davies pleading eloquently for the former, and Mr. Harris of Burslem putting admirably the case for the latter. Lord Robert Cecil, in summing up, promised that the Executive Committee would carefully consider everything that had been said.

Lord Queenborough, in a most interesting speech, then moved the adoption of the Balance Sheet. He said that the Finance Committee, who gave a great deal of time and consideration to the problems and projects put before them, had always been supported by the Executive Committee if they decided any expenditure would not bring in benefits to the Union commensurate with the cost. He was convinced that there was increasing efficiency in the organisation, and that no money was being wasted. Lord Queenborough expressed himself as a strong advocate of subscriptions as opposed to "tons of stuff in the way of autographs," and concluded by pointing out the difficulty that all causes were finding now in the collection of funds.

The following Resolutions were then discussed and carried:—

1. Proposed by Mr. Bell of Stourport on behalf of the Kidderminster Branch:—

"This Council strongly protests against the formation of military pacts between two nations, as contrary to the spirit of the League of Nations, and to the policy of the Council as laid down at Birmingham."

2. Proposed by Mr. F. N. Keen on behalf of the Executive Committee:—

"That the Voluntary Societies for the League of Nations should bring pressure to bear on the Governments of their countries to sign the compulsory jurisdiction protocol of the statute of the Permanent Court."

"That the League of Nations Union should take action with the British Government in the sense of the above resolution."

3. Proposed by Mr. Gwilym Davies on behalf of the Welsh National Council:—

"That the General Council, while affirming the principle that in Great Britain and Ireland there shall be a League of Nations Union, one and indivisible with General Headquarters in London, recognise that, inasmuch as the work in Wales is now and will continue to be entirely self-supporting, and that conditions in Wales may call for administrative measures peculiarly adapted to the Principality, it is desirable that provision should be made in the Rules of the Union to meet the special circumstances of Wales, and that to this end, the General Council of the Union should introduce into the Rules, such special provisions for Wales as may from time to time be proposed by the Welsh National Council and recommended by the Executive of the Union."

4. Proposed by the General Secretary on behalf of the Executive Committee:—

"That Branches be urged to establish District Councils or Federations representative of a County or other suitable area."

The above Resolutions are given in their amended form as they were ultimately carried. They gave rise to very interesting and instructive discussions.

O. S. B.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, June, 1922.

THE question of Germany's admission to the League has now reached a point at which the real difficulties have to be faced. Every sensible Englishman sees the value of bringing Germany permanently into a general society of nations, not as a sop to Germany, nor as a means of keeping a tight grip on Germany, but as a solid step towards normal relations, and towards the dispersal of the war spirit which still poisons European life. It is scarcely necessary to argue the importance of the step, but for those who are less inclined towards it there are the alternatives of Germany's drifting away to a closer and perhaps more dangerous entanglement with the East, or of her *rapprochement* with the West. It is for such people to decide which part they think is more likely to benefit not only the interests of the West—to put it on a low scale—but also the interests of the whole of Europe.

The question is not so much whether Germany ought to enter the League, but how she is to enter. It is undoubtedly true that if she were to apply for admission she could obtain a sufficient majority in the Assembly for membership pure and simple, but that is not enough. There is no hope of Germany making application for membership unless she is assured that membership also implies immediate membership of the Council; she will accept nothing less, and therefore it is of little value to talk about the necessary majority in the Assembly. For membership of the Council—and in this, no doubt, is implied permanent membership—it is necessary to have the unanimous vote of the Council. This, therefore, requires French consent, and the whole question of Germany's membership thus resolves itself, as is the case with so many other outstanding European problems, into a consideration of French susceptibilities and intentions. It is probably safe to say that France is prepared to have Germany in the League, but it is very doubtful whether she is prepared to have her on the Council. Even her readiness to have Germany in the League is based on grounds hardly likely to attract the enthusiasm of Germany; and France's most honest adherents of League ideas have gone little beyond expressions of opinion that it would be to the interest of France to have Germany in the League (by which they mean only the Assembly), because of the view held in France, contrary to those of all real League adherents, that the League is a guarantee of France's privileged position as victor.

It is a mistake to assume that Germany has any overweening ambition to become a Member of the League, and she would remain outside, in company with the United States and Russia, with complete serenity. She would probably be wrong, for she would have obvious advantages in joining, but they are certainly not so obvious that she will submit voluntarily to any further humiliation, either in the form in which she enters the League or in her treatment after entry. It has been suggested in various quarters that the best method would be the passage

of some form of the Argentine resolution still before the Assembly, which provides for the admission of all recognised sovereign States unless they deliberately declare against membership. This, however, has several disadvantages, and, in any case, it is unreasonable to expect that any society or club should throw open its doors in this haphazard way. Even if such a resolution were passed, it would be an amendment to the Covenant; it would, therefore, have to be ratified by the States individually, and it would delay Germany's entry at least for another year. It is not likely to be passed.

But for the unfortunate tactical blunder of the Rapallo Treaty, it might have been feasible for the Genoa Conference to have taken some steps to indicate to Germany that if she applied for admission it would not be opposed; but there, as now, it is the position of France which matters, and no one should flatter himself that France's pride suffers in the least degree when she finds herself isolated time after time in the consideration of European politics. It is not impossible to conceive that, on the contrary, it is a fact which ministers to her pride. The serious fact is that French goodwill is essential to nearly all vital European settlements. The first step is to make friendly efforts to persuade the French authorities of the general importance to the world and of the particular importance to the League, of which France is now the leading Government champion (at least as spokesman), that the time has arrived for the enactment of this symbolic and practical advance in the halting progress towards real and established peace. If and when France is persuaded to this view, Germany must, in some form or other, be informed of it, and if France were wise she would reach that step in preliminary negotiations with Germany.

Germany has so far received no single hint of any value whatever from any leading Chancellery in Europe that her entry would be welcomed, or, at least, made likely. Although the British Prime Minister has so often said the League cannot hope to undertake its real responsibilities until its membership is complete, the British Government has done absolutely nothing in public to encourage Germany to make any serious approaches. It has declined to give any indication even as to what its attitude would be if Germany applied, though it is undoubtedly safe to assume what that attitude would be. It may possibly have been prudent, in view of the French position, not to be too explicit or precipitate, but if the British Government, or any other Government, has a really honest desire to see Germany a Member of the League, and so to help forward by a stage the completion of this world organisation, it is useless to stand by without taking action. Germany and the Members of the League will stand gaping at each other interminably.

Has not the time come to think out some logical and hopeful means of taking up the subject seriously with the single Government—France, which, for various reasons, is now, to all intents and purposes, the only real stumbling block? The time for discussion of principles is past. It is now the moment for getting down to ways and means.

C.

Makers of History.

LORD FINLAY.

WHATEVER English people may think of the possibilities of the International Court of Justice, and however reluctant the British Government may be to give the assent which it has hitherto withheld to the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court, we have, at any rate, paid it the compliment of appointing as British member one of the most illustrious lawyers and judges that we have. Lord Finlay has been Attorney-General and Lord Chancellor. He has represented Great Britain on some of the most delicate and complicated arbitration cases which have arisen in recent years, and with the exception of the President of the Court, Mr. Loder, he is the only judge in the whole panel who has had previous experience in trying causes. The rest are jurists, experts of the highest repute in International Law, professors and students of legal principles, but they sit in nearly all cases on a Bench for the first time. Lord Finlay, therefore, brings to the Court of Justice a peculiar authority—an authority which is already recognised by his fellow judges, because in the course of the meetings which were held

to decide the rules of procedure of the Court, he took a predominant and decisive part. When he first went to the University it was to qualify as a doctor, which he duly did, but I do not think he ever practised medicine. He must, however, have practised some of it on himself, for even in the longest-lived of all professions, which is the English Bar and Bench, I doubt whether anyone, except perhaps Sir Edward Clark, looks more vigorous and less elderly than he. And Lord Finlay has not only the vigour of youth, but other qualities, too. When he went to The Hague for the first meetings of the Court at which, as I have said, the rules of procedure were settled, he displayed, not only activity, but impatience. Some of his fellow-jurists were inclined to be meticulous in arguing over small points of detail, such as whether the subsistence allowance of a Judge who came from Brazil should begin at his point of departure, some saying that to do so would mean that he would get more money than a Judge who had only come from, say, Brussels, and others arguing in the contrary sense. This kind of subtlety is dear to the legal mind, but it received very short treatment from Lord Finlay. "I have not," he said to me on one occasion, "come here to spend the rest of my life." I think it could be honestly said that in all this mixture of ages and experience from the Registrar of the Court, frail-looking, under thirty, to the venerable President himself, Lord Finlay seemed the youngest and most

vigorous man present. When he read out the oath which the Judges took in English or French, according to the language which they preferred, he did it in his own, but the manner in which he did it made his particular utterance the most impressive moment in the whole ceremony.

There are, and will always be, two sorts of barristers, though sometimes, as in the case of Cicero or Sir John Simon, the two sorts happened to be combined in one man. There is the brilliant advocate who decorates a criminal trial with his gifts of eloquence and his capacity for handling personalities and personal issues—the man who can make the story of some sordid crime interesting, as if it were fiction and not fact, and who can manipulate and exploit all the personal traits of prisoners and witnesses—and the other kind of man, whose inclinations and talents run to the patient disentangling of a complicated series of facts or of rearranging what is discordant into a new concord and of applying his business qualities which are logical and philosophical rather than those which belong to art. The second sort of advocate steps nowadays rather more easily on to the Bench than the other. All his life he has been engaged in the kind of legal work which made him, within his duty to his clients, an assistant to the Judge rather than the pleader. When he does come on to the Bench he is frequently quite unknown to the general public. It was so

with Lord Finlay. His work in the Law Courts was in the second manner which I have been describing—in the patient and unhurried unravelling of complicated facts in previous cases, and in an atmosphere undisturbed by any of the heat or passion which the conflict of humanity in other Courts necessarily arouses. It is this kind of training which, of all that the British Courts could provide, is the most suitable for the Court of International Justice, which will often, if it is properly used, have to apply as between nations, the methods of the Courts in which Lord Finlay has practised in the face of circumstances which might seem like those of the other kind of Court. The lifelong practice which Lord Finlay has had as a pleader in Courts like the Commercial Courts, the Courts of Appeal, and before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, together with his experience as Lord Chancellor, as President of the two final Courts of Appeal for Great Britain and the British Empire as a whole respectively, give him a position on the Court of International Justice which not only is considerable in itself, but may have a definite influence on the importance attached to the decisions of the Court. Also, The Hague is only a few minutes journey from Scheveningen, and Lord Finlay, who took his title as Lord Finlay of Nairn from the most exclusive golf course in Scotland, will perhaps, in his spare time, give a few lessons to the Dutch.

Q. H. M.



THE VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES AND WORLD PEACE.

By VISCOUNTESS GLADSTONE.

IT is always an interesting and instructive experience to attend an International Conference. There are opportunities for making acquaintanceships with the men and women of other countries, which, in many cases, ripen rapidly into friendships in the stimulating atmosphere that surrounds the intercourse of people who have come together to work for a common cause. Such individual friendships are threads in the fabric of the national friendships out of which the League of Nations is being woven. Therefore, every delegate who has the privilege of representing his or her country in a conference for international co-operation has the power of adding fresh strands to the web which stands so urgently in need of completion to-day.

PEACE WORKERS FROM MANY LANDS.

The Federation of the Voluntary Societies for the League of Nations has now held six conferences in different cities of Europe. The latest of these met in Prague, the capital of Czecho-Slovakia, between June 3rd and June 7th. Twenty-two Associations were represented, belonging to approximately as many different nations. The number of delegates was between two and three hundred. The mere list of their names, and of their native countries, was profoundly stirring to the imagination, for they came from every quarter of Europe, from China, from Japan, and from Asia Minor. The Germans, the Austrians, the Hungarians, and certain Russian Societies were already members of the Federation. This year the Turkish Society was among those whose request for admission was unanimously agreed to. Thus the proof seemed to be before our eyes that in every land there was a group of people willing and eager to work together to restore a spirit of friendliness to the world.

NO PARTY POLITICS.

The groups, of course, varied immensely in their strength and in the stage of organised development which they had reached. The readers of HEADWAY will not, I hope, think me lacking in sense of proportion if I draw this sketch of a few of the main incidents of the Conference from the point of view of the League of Nations Union Delegation. We had it brought home to us once more, perhaps even more strongly than at any previous Conference, that an immense responsibility and power for good lies in our hands. We are at present incomparably the strongest body in the Federation. Other societies may, and often do, send delegations to the Conference equal to ours in size and in the personal influence of the individual representatives, but they have not as yet got behind them an organised and growing public opinion represented already by a live member-



ship of nearly two hundred thousand. I should like the readers of HEADWAY to realise the weight which that fact gives to their representatives in the discussions of the Federation. It was particularly apparent this year in the Propaganda Commission of the Conference, which dealt with matters affecting the internal organisation of the Voluntary Societies within the Federation. The chief representative of each gave an account of the progress of the organisation in his own country, and of the various obstacles encountered. Hearing how often these arose from the hostility of some powerful political party, the British delegates realised afresh that the

greatest strength of our own Union is derived from its non-party, or rather its all-party, character. Dr. Maxwell-Garnett was the British representative on this Commission, and, of course, had at his fingertips practical experience gained by his work as General Secretary of the League of Nations Union. He put it at the service of our foreign colleagues. Most useful work was done. "The League of Nations day" was fixed by general agreement for May 18th in every year, the anniversary of the First International Peace Conference. Arrangements were made for an exchange of literature between the Societies. This is a way in which the League of Nations Union with its wider resources and with a literature department already created, can be of great present help to the Societies who badly require suitable reading matter for distribution, and have small means of getting it.

These are two instances, taken at random from the records of the Commission, which did practical work in the cause of international co-operation without set-backs of any kind. Some of the other Commissions were not fated to complete their tasks without serious disagreements. I do not propose to discuss here the question of how far we should regret such disagreements. Storms do clear the air, although everybody prefers fine weather. The lightning flashes may reveal the true position of affairs and drive home the comprehension of facts. To us, members of the British Society, whose outlook has escaped the distortion of the more violent emotions of nationalism (vanquished or victorious as the case may be) such glimpses into reality are of the highest value.

ELIZABETH MURRAY TO THE RESCUE.

One incident of the Conference may serve to illustrate the part which the League of Nations Union played in the service of peace. The Political Commission was discussing what steps the Federation of Voluntary Societies could take to help the oppressed nationalities of Asia Minor. Representatives of the Greek, the Armenian, and the Turkish Societies were among the delegates seated, to the number of about thirty, round the table in the Commission room. It was not unnatural that the opportunity should be seized for letting off steam, and the atmosphere of the Commission quickly became pretty hot. Moreover, the discussion was relapsing

into recriminations which were worse than futile. It was rescued by a member of the League of Nations Union Delegation, Miss Murray (daughter of Professor Gilbert Murray). In a speech of real eloquence, she begged the antagonists to direct their efforts to finding the cure, rather than to fixing blame for the disease. She spoke with perception of the practical difficulties, but with the force supplied by the conviction that it is only through the League attitude of mind that these difficulties can be overcome. Her appeal entirely changed the spirit of the Commission's discussions, and led to the unanimous adoption of the following Resolution of the League of Nations Union. "The Sixth Conference of the Federation calls upon the League of Nations to send Commissioners to Asia Minor as soon as possible, whose task shall be the protection of the oppressed population therein."

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE.

I cannot attempt within the limits of my space to give any complete account of the work accomplished in Prague, but before leaving the subject a word must be said upon the policy of our delegation in the question of the admission of Germany to the League. Convinced of the vital necessity for her speedy entrance, the Executive of the Union had prepared a Resolution pressing the Voluntary Societies to urge their Governments to take action that would secure Germany's admission at the next meeting of the Assembly. It should be remembered that the Federation of Voluntary Societies has already included the German Society among its members, so that the Germans themselves were participators in our discussion.

The French Society had a motion on the paper couched in vaguer terms, but also recommending the speedy admission of Germany. It was felt by all of us, including the Germans, that the initiative coming from the French carried so much moral weight that it must be left with them, therefore the British Resolution was withdrawn, perhaps somewhat to the personal disappointment of some of us, for we felt its specific suggestions for hastening the moment of Germany's inclusion were the expression of a vital necessity.

SPLENDID HOSPITALITY.

I have not attempted in these impressions to give any account of the discussions on the Minorities Report, which led to a split, we may reasonably hope only temporary, in the Federation itself. The facts are given in another column of this paper. They have naturally attracted a good deal of attention, and I have preferred rather to dwell on less spectacular work which was actually done, but of which less has been heard.

One word in conclusion about the social atmosphere in which the Conference moved. Thanks to the splendid hospitality of the Czecho-Slovak Government, the Czecho-Slovak Society, and the town of Prague, this was wholly delightful. One scene I may describe as typical of others. An evening reception was given to the delegates by the Prime Minister, M. Benes. In the coolness of the evening, delicious after a long, hot day's work in the Conference, we climbed the hill to the castle, and there, from the windows of a suite of rooms where in past times Austrian Emperors entertained their guests, we looked down upon the towers and spires of Prague below, and the wide stream of the Moldau flowing between them, gleaming in the light of the moon. Within there was music and a friendly company, drawn from nearly every State in Europe, old and new. Outside, the ancient city which has played, and is playing, so great a part in history old and new. The beauty of the surroundings was almost unreal, but the occasion gave a contrary sense of intense reality, for it was impossible to forget that we ourselves were not merely spectators but actors. Our very presence in that unlikely place proved that a new spirit is abroad in the world.

THE LESSON OF PRAGUE.

The great question for Voluntary Societies is how to make that spirit more effective than it yet is. The experience of the Prague Conference seems to supply an answer. We must increase our knowledge of conditions in other countries and spread it more widely among ourselves. We must recognise facts boldly so as to measure our limitations and our great opportunities. Our task is not precisely the same as the task of the League itself (and this I think is a fact which needs emphasising). But our spirit must be caught from Geneva, and given back to Geneva in the form of intelligent support.

PRAGUE IMPRESSIONS AND OPINIONS.

Lt.-Col. David Davies, M.P.

"I was glad to be able to impress upon the Sixth Assembly of League of Nations Societies the importance of getting things done. I had been to four of the previous five meetings and had concurred in the same resolutions on each occasion without seeing much practical result. At Prague, however, we agreed that a deputation from each society should present the resolutions to its Government within one month, and that the headquarters of the Federation at Brussels should prepare a report on the concrete results before the next Assembly.

"We have made mistakes in our societies, but I believe that we have learnt the lesson of these mistakes. To be a real force in the world the League must have behind it great organised bodies of public opinion of which our present societies are the nucleus. It is because I have such faith in the mission of our societies that I propose that the basis of representation be standardised. The voting power of each society should be determined by reference to the proportion of the membership of the society to the total adult population of the country."

Brigadier-General C. D. Bruce, C.B.E. (Member of the British Delegation at Prague).

"To my mind the chief value of such a Conference is the opportunity it presents of meeting all kinds and conditions of men. Although there may be objections to such Conferences, the good, it seems to me, quite outweighs the bad. One thing we must do, and that is to cut down the number of delegates. There were too many at Prague.

"Of the foreign delegates, the most interesting personalities were Senator La Fontaine and Count Bernstorff. The latter struck me as a typical "Junker" of the modern type; though I should say that I think he had learnt a good deal from the war. I imagine he would still make use of war sooner than not obtain an aim he felt absolutely necessary for Germany. He is, however, too clever a man not to realise that war does not pay even the victor, and is therefore anxious to accept the League.

"The Minorities problem is the open sore of Europe. I myself can see no way out except by a kind of United States of Europe. One is impressed by the fact that it is to the little countries that the League means so much—it is their best hope of justice and the right to live and work out their own salvation."

Mr. Frederick Whelen (Headquarters Lecturer of the League of Nations Union).

"The whole thing was splendid and inspiring. I think that it is excellent that differences of opinion on policy should find expression at such Conferences. By all means let us get to grips with the thorny questions. I, for one, never understood the intensity of feeling about minorities until I went to Prague. I see the problem now in a new light. The task of the voluntary societies is tremendous, but I feel that we are making good progress."

Cartoons of the Month.

THE RUSSO-GERMAN ALLIANCE.



Karikaturen
DADDY LLOYD GEORGE: "What's this your Ma tells me about you two getting engaged to be married behind our backs? We won't allow it!"

PASSED ALONG.



Evening Public Ledger



Kladderadatsch
LLOYD GEORGE to POINCARÉ: "Come along! There's another Conference on now!"

The page of foreign cartoons which we publish each month is intended to give our readers a bird's-eye view of the trend of public opinion abroad. No responsibility whatever is taken for the views expressed in these cartoons.

Correspondence.

INTERNATIONAL MORAL EDUCATION CONGRESS.
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Two main topics—(1) The international spirit in education, with special reference to history teaching; and (2) Social solidarity and service—will occupy the five days' meeting of the Third International Moral Education Congress, to be held at Geneva, July 28th to August 1st, 1922. The papers presented (not read aloud) will be less than forty, and among them may be named the following: "Advanced historical teaching," by Mr. G. P. Gooch; "The teaching and problems of history in English secondary-schools," by Mr. Cloudesley Brereton; "History teaching as an educational aid towards the league of humanity," by F. J. Gould; "Education in love in place of fear," by Sir R. Baden-Powell; "Moral progress of humanity as a subject for moral instruction," by Dr. Paul Barth, of Leipzig; "World Religion and Education," by Dr. Oskar Ewald, of Vienna; "How to make a history book for international use," by Dr. Siegfried Kaweran, of Berlin; "History, for city and humanity," by Señor P. Vila, of Barcelona; "An International Bureau for Universal Education and Moral Culture."

The papers will be issued, all in French, in two volumes; one to appear in June, the second in July; to be distributed free, or at a reduced price, to Congress ticket-holders. Tickets are to be had, twenty Swiss francs each, from the Secrétari at du III. Congrès de l'Education Moral, Institut Rousseau, 5, Taconnerie, Geneva.—Yours, &c.,
F. J. GOULD.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL.
To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I had looked forward with considerable interest to the gathering at the Central Hall, Westminster, but it was with a growing impatience that I sat through the sessions. I expected to hear great questions debated with some degree of penetration and insight, but the general tone was peddling, and the major part of the speeches trite to the point of platitude.

The criticisms offered on HEADWAY were so long-drawn-out that they became wearisome, and the frequently repeated charge that it was not written brightly was positively nauseating. Indeed, the poor level of the debate was not worthy of the most courteous and dignified reply, by which Prof. G. Murray honoured it. Surely it is not to go forth that our membership is so incapable of assimilating ideas that in order to effect their entrance such ideas must be worked up into chatty paragraphs worthy of the "London Mail" (with pictorial assistance) or "Tit Bits." I protest most emphatically against such a travesty upon our membership. As a regular reader of HEADWAY, I assert it is not written too technically. It is informative, and affords a liberal education in foreign affairs to any who will trouble to read it. I trust the Editorial Council will not rate the average intelligence of the members of the Union at the indescribably low level inferred by the critics.

Probably nothing was lost by the failure of Liverpool District to sponsor their motions on Genoa; and Prof. Murray's substitution of the minute from the Executive Committee, in a general sense, commended itself to the meeting.

The first paragraph was entirely unexceptionable, but the same cannot be said of the second. The minute would have gained immeasurably by its deletion. It seems to be the outcome of the spirit which views things from the impossible vantage ground. Genoa should have been under the ægis of the League. Quite so! Only, unhappily, Russia spurs what she calls this capitalist League, and America, for reasons best known to herself, equally abstains from participation beyond now and again graciously giving one of her Ambassadors a sort of watching brief. That being the position, why continue to cry for the moon? Instead of showing smallness of mind by carping criticism which does not help one whit, shall we not maintain a generosity of outlook and rejoice in seeing the ideals of the League winning their way in the minds and hearts of men, even though it be through organisations which are not staffed entirely by devotees of the League and by others who appear to be outside its "Covenanted Mercies"?

Washington, Genoa, The Hague are not, of course, Geneva, but they are glorious contributaries.—Yours, &c.,
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EDGAR A. SHAW.

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IRELAND AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—The treaty by which England acknowledges the position of the Irish Free State as a self-governing Dominion within the Empire raises an interesting question in respect of the League of Nations which has not hitherto attracted attention. Is Ireland a member of the League or is she not? The Treaty of Versailles, and therefore the Covenant of the League, was signed on behalf of his Majesty the King of "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" by his Ministers, Messrs. Lloyd George, Bonar Law, Balfour, and Barnes, and by Lord Milner, and it might therefore be argued that as Ireland is still a part of the Empire under the sovereignty of the King his plenipotentiaries have the power to bind her to the same extent as England. The Crown has not abrogated its authority; it rules as it rules Australia, by delegating its powers to the self-governing Ministers. Hence the binding character of the Covenant is no more altered because the King has chosen to govern through native Ministers than it is because there happens to be a change of Government in England. That would seem to be the argument on the one side. On the other it may, perhaps with greater weight, be argued that there has been a complete change of constitution in Ireland, which has given her the position within the Empire exactly analogous to that of Canada and Australia. These Dominions have been admitted as independent members of the League, and within certain limits they have separate votes. The case of India is even more striking, for it cannot be pretended that she has yet risen to the full status of a Dominion. If, therefore, the Irish Free State is held to be still a member of the League, it follows that she is so only as an integral part of Great Britain, whether she likes it or no, and, having no separate vote, is to that extent inferior in status both to the admittedly self-governing Dominions and to India.

It would be anomalous if Ireland, almost a one of the European Powers other than the Quadruple Entente and Russia, were to remain outside the League. It is open to question whether these latter ought not to have been admitted long ago in the interests of European peace, since the Covenant of the League involves not only privileges but also obligations, and it is admitted that the League can never come to its full stature without their participation. There are, no doubt, difficulties in the way; the accession of Germany involves her readmission into the comity of nations, and that of Russia the *de jure* recognition of the Bolshevik Government. But, as seems to be the case on the balance of the argument, Ireland must either ratify her acceptance of the Covenant or must apply afresh for admission; it will be interesting to see if she shows any eagerness to do this or prefers to follow the example of America. For the present she is too much occupied with internal affairs to give any close attention to the League of Nations.—Yours, &c.,
East Sheen.

STANLEY RICE.

[It is quite plain from the reading of paragraph 2 of Article I. of the Covenant that Ireland, being a "fully self-governing . . . Dominion . . . not named in the Annex" thereto, must apply for admission if she desires to join the League of Nations. Great Britain has made no contract in the name of any of her self-governing Dominions in this respect.—EDITOR.]

SURVIVING SLAVERY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Not the least of the tasks committed to the League of Nations is that of securing the complete abolition of slavery—and the fact which surprises most people is the extent of existing forms of slave-owning and slave-trading. We do not know how many thousands or hundreds of thousands of slaves there are in Abyssinia, nor do we know how many thousands of Mui Tsai there are in Hong Kong—who, by the way, are a long way yet from actually receiving the priceless blessing of liberty—but we do know upon the evidence of our own Foreign Office that upon the outbreak of war there were 185,000 slaves in the mandated territory of Tanganyika.

The task of the League, therefore, in this direction alone is a big one—and in the case of Abyssinia a peculiarly difficult one. The two main obstacles arise, first, from the fact that Abyssinia is not a member of the League, and, secondly, the natural reluctance of Abyssinian rulers to enter into formal relations with any European Power or group of Powers, lest by doing so their independence should thereby become imperilled.



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This appeal is issued by the FRIENDS' RELIEF COMMITTEE, which is co-operating with the Save the Children Fund and the Russian Famine Relief Fund in the All-British Appeal for the Russian Famine. Donations, which may, if desired, be earmarked for any of these Funds, should be sent to the Russian Famine Relief Fund, Room 10, General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.

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But it is equally clear that the civilised Powers cannot allow matters to drift on as they have been doing now for many years. Not only the League of Nations under the Covenant, but under another international instrument *Europe and America* are pledged to bring about the abolition of slavery in Africa. In almost every other case of slavery, or forms of labour barely distinguishable from slavery, the most powerful means of securing the desired end has been an organised expression of public opinion, but in the case of Abyssinian slavery the pressure of public opinion would seem at present to be powerless to accomplish very much. It is hoped that in a few months the situation will have fundamentally changed and an opportunity presented not only to the civilised Powers but also to public opinion to assist in securing freedom for the slaves throughout Abyssinia.—Yours, &c.,

JOHN H. HARRIS,

The Glen, Crawley, Sussex.

SUMMER SCHOOLS.

VERONA.

The Summer School at Verona in June was a remarkable success. The hospitality and kindness of the Italian hosts were overwhelming. Verona itself made the visit an official town affair. There were municipal receptions, conversaciones, and various other entertainments, besides lectures and discussions. The party came to be known as the "English Mission." Padua, Venice, and Vincenza were visited. Professor Ussami's lecture at Padua University was a most interesting account of that ancient seat of learning and its contribution to the world's knowledge. Miss Muriel Currey gave several lectures alternately in English and French. No trouble was too great for the Italians. They threw open their homes to the visitors.

GENEVA.

Naturally, the social side will not be so marked a feature at the Geneva Summer School. It is certain, however, to be pleasantly instructive. The party will leave London on August 2nd. Arrangements have been made for a stay of either eight or eleven days. Those who take the full course will leave Geneva on August 13th. The charge for this will be £14. Those who take the shorter course will return on August 10th, and the charge to them will be £12. Normally, applications should reach the Headquarters of the Union before July 7th. Deferred applications may be liable to an additional fee of £1. There will be two main lecture courses—one dealing with the general work of the League and the other covering the activities of the International Labour Office. The syllabus is so arranged that members of the party will be able to attend nearly all the lectures of both courses. Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League, and M. Albert Thomas, head of the International Labour Office, are each giving receptions. The lectures will be under the direction of the Secretariat, and will be held in the rooms in which the Council and Assembly of the League are accustomed to meet.

OXFORD.

There are still vacancies for the Summer School at Oxford during the last week of July. The charge for the lectures and accommodation in Oxford will be only 4½ guineas. Professor Gilbert Murray, Viscount Grey, Viscount Burnham, Major the Hon. W. A. Ormsby-Gore, and numerous other authorities on international affairs are among those who will speak.

VIENNA INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL.

Those who are interested in Central and Eastern Europe would do well to attend the International Summer School at Vienna from September 7th to 21st. It will be under the auspices of the Imperial War Relief Fund, and Dr. Gorg Tugendhat, of the London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C. 2, is the organising secretary. There will be lectures on a wide range of subjects by eminent professors. The return fare will be about £7. Those wishing to attend should write to Dr. Tugendhat, enclosing a registration fee of five shillings.

THE MAGAZINE WITH A WORLD OUTLOOK.

The July "Outward Bound" is almost a League of Nations number. Mr. A. E. W. Mason contributes a striking article on the League entitled "Lamps Along a Great Highway." Viscountess Gladstone writes on the "World's Children," and the Editor, Mr. Basil Matthews, gives a vivid account of the League's task in defeating the "Dope Menace." "The Live Magazine with a World Outlook" is living up to its title, and we strongly recommend "Outward Bound" to all our readers.

Book Reviews.

CURRENT FEARS.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By LORD BRYCE. (Macmillan.) 8s. 6d.

WHAT NEXT IN EUROPE. By FRANK VANDERLIP. (Allen & Unwin.) 8s. 6d.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By N. GOLOVIN. (Gyldendal.) 10s. 6d.

THE lectures given by the late Lord Bryce last August in the United States treat material as wide as the world, as long as time. There are references to the sentiment of nationalism in Uruguay and a stern but deserved censure on the policy of King Clovis. An important section discussing friendship between nations is based on the 8th and 9th books of the Nichomachæan Ethics, and the workings of diplomacy are illustrated by the lecturer's reminiscences. Lord Bryce, perhaps, was too largely comprehensive. Even the reader of the printed word will be occasionally fatigued by this magazine of loosely related facts. Facts must be linked by some theory if they are to be intelligible, and Lord Bryce's theory was through-out the earlier lectures discreetly veiled.

There is, however, this to be said for Lord Bryce's method, that he was able in his two last lectures to approach the League of Nations without confusing the issue by disparaging the advantages of national isolation. He began by showing the limits to the use of Conference and Arbitrations as preventives of war. The danger of defensive alliances, the impossibility of World Federation was next with equal smoothness and swiftness described. His final defence of "the plan for combined action recently created by the Versailles Covenant" comes with culminating force, and is framed in language which should serve as a beautiful monument of that great practical idealist and friend of peace and justice, the lecturer himself. For this passage, and for the brief and brilliant summary of the effects upon Europe of the Treaty of Versailles "International Relations" cannot be too highly praised. But the subject of the lectures generally is not treated with the freshness and the freedom from obsolete legal phrases which is urgently desired.

The Vanderlip plan contains two independent proposals. The first is aimed against inflated currencies. To the suggestion made, for example, in Poland, that the old currency should be abandoned when hopelessly inflated and a new currency instituted by the Government. Mr. Vanderlip objects that any currency, new or old, is hopeless so long as it can be indefinitely inflated by the Government Printing Press. It was, by the way, in Warsaw that Mr. Vanderlip observed an old woman selling newspapers; on one side of her was a bundle of papers for sale, on the other a rather large bundle of notes also weighted down by a stone. And Poland started in 1919 without debts and without indemnity to pay. He suggests then the foundation of a Gold Reserve Bank, the capital of which would be subscribed mainly in America to issue notes, normally convertible into gold, in an international currency. Control would be assured to American stockholders until their share of the capital was reduced below a certain proportion. The prospects of profits to be made by carefully secured loans should attract, he believes, sufficient capital to enable business to be begun in, at first, a limited area of Central Europe.

The second proposal relates to the vast sums due to America from European States. The debts, says Mr. Vanderlip, are just and should be paid. But the receipt would be disastrous to America since payment can only be made in goods. Therefore, let every dollar that can be collected be applied to the rehabilitation of Europe. Let loans be made, but for strictly defined purposes, back to the debtor States.

General Golovin, an officer of the Tsar, writes with the pardonable purpose of proving that Russia must be "regenerated" in order that Japan's forces in the Pacific should be balanced by a strong power occupying Siberia. While admitting the necessity of embracing "the entire field of social, economic, political, and military conditions," the author has little of interest to say except on the last, and even here the general reader is compelled to feel dissatisfied at the author's omission to discuss the later possibilities of submarine and aerial warfare.

H. C. H.

A Language a Month.

During the last twelve months the Bible Society published the Gospel in TWELVE new forms of speech.

In Africa, *Meru* is for a tribe on the slopes of Mount Kenya; *Kololo*, for Barotseland; *Kroo*, for the West Coast; *Jaba*, for Northern Nigeria; *Lugbara*, for Western Uganda; and *Luba Katanga*, for Belgian Congo.

Southern Chin is spoken in Upper Burma; the *Kiaotung* dialect of Chinese is current in Eastern Shantung; and *Western Lisu* belongs to the Province of Yunnan.

In Canada, *Coastal Cree* belongs to the shores of James' Bay.

In the South Pacific, *Manus Island* is spoken in the Admiralty Group, while in the Solomon Islands is found the *Arosi* dialect of *San Cristoval*.

The translators included Englishmen, Frenchmen, Africans, Asiatics, Americans, Canadians, and Germans.

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MESOPOTAMIA.

THE question of Mesopotamia, or Iraq, as it should more properly and briefly be called, has too often been presented to the British taxpayer from a financial point of view. The expenditure, however, which our administration involves is a secondary consideration, and the future of the country must be decided on other and primary issues, with which the good faith of the British Empire is closely bound up.

The present position is that Iraq, as an ex-Turkish territory, is being administered by Great Britain under the mandatory system, though the mandate itself is not actually in operation owing to the non-ratification of the Treaty of Sèvres. In the meanwhile, with the full approval of the British Government, the Emir Feisal was elected king of Iraq by the almost unanimous vote of the population. Further than this certain pledges have been given to the people which they have not forgotten, even if we appear to have done so. In November, 1914, Lord Kitchener laid down the British policy in the following words:—"Till now we have defended Islam in the person of the Turks; henceforward it shall be in that of the noble Arab." On the accession of King Feisal a letter of congratulation was addressed to him by King George in which he wrote: "The treaty which will shortly be concluded between us to consecrate the alliance into which we entered during the dark days of war, will, I am confident, enable me to fulfil my solemn obligations by inaugurating an era of peace and renewed prosperity for Iraq." Only so recently as last February Mr. Churchill spoke of our relations with the Arabs of Iraq being readjusted on a treaty basis.

In view of these statements it is not perhaps surprising, however much we may regret it, that these two and three-quarter million people, in whom the sense of nationality runs strong, should resent the term "mandate" as derogatory and implying undue tutelage, and as crippling their national spirit of independence which, rightly or wrongly, they suppose we have pledged ourselves to regard. All information from the country points to a state of unrest and dissatisfaction, which is being used by anti-British influences in Turkey and elsewhere, and which may have serious consequences in the near future. At present the Arabs have no love for the Turk, at whose hands they have suffered bitterly in the past. Hitherto they have had profound confidence in the British influence and desire to retain it. The only question is, how shall that influence be maintained?

As against the mandate, they ask for a treaty in accordance with our implied pledges, under which both parties would agree to carry out every provision and principle of the Covenant of the League, and by which the *amour propre* of the people would be respected, while they would continue to welcome "the administrative advice and assistance" of the present mandatory, and the British Government would not be divested of its responsibility to the League or the Supreme Council. It would appear from a careful examination of Article 22 of the Covenant and of the existing political situation that no legal objection could be taken to the execution of such a treaty. The Article distinctly foresees in paragraph 4 a time when the territory of Iraq shall be able to stand alone and its independence recognised; it stipulates no limit for the intervening period. The moment for this recognition seems already to have arrived. The conclusion of a treaty between this country

and Iraq would almost certainly stabilise the internal condition of affairs, and would weld at present conflicting religious and political factions into a harmonious whole; it is urged by those who know the Arabs best; it will secure to us their friendship and disappoint our enemies; the good faith of the British people will have been once more upheld. If not, broken pledges have an inconvenient habit of coming home to roost.

H. W. F.

League of Nations Union
Notes and News.

The Great Crusade.

"We have got to make this country solid and vigorous in favour of the League, we have got to get a Parliament absolutely convinced of the necessity of the League, we have got to get a Government which represents fully that Parliament and that public sentiment."—Lord Robert Cecil at the General Council of the Union.

The crusader spirit is catching on. News from all "fronts" shows steady progress in our task—the task of making the vast majority of the British people intelligent and whole-hearted supporters of the League of Nations. The "Quarterly News Sheet," which has just appeared, promises to be a valuable link between headquarters and the great body of members, and therefore a considerable help in our work.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters

November, 1918	...	...	...	3,217
November, 1920	...	...	...	49,858
November, 1921	...	...	...	135,450
June 17th, 1922	...	...	...	190,248

New Corporate Members.

New Corporate Members have been registered as follows: Women's Institute, Barrow Gurney, near Bristol; B.W.T.A., Batley, Yorks; Baptist Church, Bingley, Yorks; Mount Zion Brotherhood and Sisterhood, Bristol; Free Church Council, Gillingham, Dorset; Battlefield Congregational Church, Glasgow; Scottish National Brotherhood Union, Glasgow; Free Church Council, Guernsey, Channel Islands; Liberal Jewish Synagogue, London; National Council of Women, Oldham; Queen's Road Baptist Church, Wimbledon; Ray Lodge Congregational Church, Woodford; Portland Road Wesleyan Church, Hove; Congregational Church, Hoyle, Cheshire; Old Meeting (Unitarian), Ilminster; Co-operative Society, Long Eaton. It was notified in error in April HEADWAY that Green Street Congregational Church, Wolverhampton, had become a Corporate Member.

Branches.

On May 18th there were 840 recognised Branches, together with 37 Junior Branches and 80 Corporate Members. On June 22nd there were 881 Branches, 41 Junior Branches, and 97 Corporate Members.

A Worthy Endowment.

The Principal of the Royal College for the Blind, Upper Norwood, has notified the Union that Mr. Walter Dixon, of

Oxford, himself blind, has given a sufficient sum for an annual prize essay competition on the League amongst senior students of the Royal College, this to be in perpetuity.

Wales Active.

The Welsh Council of the Union is showing remarkable activity. During the week-end, May 19th-22nd, a Conference was held at Gregynog Hall (Montgomery) on "Education and International Co-operation." Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and others took part in the discussion. Resolutions were passed dealing with the teaching of history and geography from the point of view of the League of Nations.

On June 28th the children of Wales sent the following message of peace to the children of all other nations through the Marconi wireless station at Carnarvon:—

"We, boys and girls of the Principality of Wales, on this 28th day of June, 1922, the third anniversary of the signing of the great Covenant of the Nations, greet with a cheer the boys and girls of every other country under the sun.

"Will you, millions of you, join in our prayer that God will bless the efforts of the good men and women of every race and people who are doing their best to settle the old quarrels without fighting?

"Then there will be no need for any of us, as we grow older, to show our pride for the country in which we were born by going out to hate and to kill one another.

"Three cheers for the Covenant of the League of Nations—the Friend of every Mother, the Protector of every Home, and the Guardian Angel of the Youth of the World."

Accrington Education Authority.

The recent decision of the Accrington Education Authority is typical of what is happening in many parts of the country in response to the Union's effort to promote the cause of the League in the schools. Accrington has decided:—

- That a suitable letter be sent to the Head Teachers of the schools on the inclusion of lessons bearing on the work of the League of Nations in the geography and history teaching of the school curriculum.
- That special lessons on the subject be authorised in connection with Empire Day and Armistice Day.
- That a supply of suitable pamphlets be obtained from the League of Nations Union for distribution to the Staff of the schools, and that other literature asked for by Head Teachers be supplied as required.

Model Study Circles.

The Norwich Branch conducted a remarkable series of study circles in June. There were three sections each with several group meetings and all leading up to a general Branch meeting. One section dealt with the Constitution and Covenant, another with the League's political achievements, and the third with the humanitarian side. The main purpose of the series was to train study circle leaders, but the result was to arouse a great deal of general interest in the League.

New Zealand Forging Ahead.

The Branch at Dunedin, New Zealand, has arranged for a Conference of all the New Zealand Branches to meet at Wellington in order to federate into a Dominion Union. It is interesting to note that Mr. Massey's attitude to the League has changed since the campaign of the New Zealand Branches began.

Helping Headquarters.

At Nelson, Lancs., on May 10th, Lord Robert Cecil addressed a very large public meeting the collection at which was £30 17s. 9d. in excess of the expenses. The Committee promptly sent a cheque for this amount to the Central Fund.

Important Meetings in June.

About 150 meetings were arranged by Headquarters during the month. Amongst those held were meetings at Bromley, Rochdale, Oldham, Kensington, Sydenham, Northfield, Watford, Bradford, Mortlake, Rugby School, Stoke-on-Trent, University College School, Dulwich, Epsom, Maidenhead, Leeds, Nelson, Moseley, Eton College, Hyde Park, Portsmouth, Tooting, Ventnor. The speakers included the Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., Rt. Hon. Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P., Professor Gilbert Murray, the Rt. Hon. Lord Parmoor, K.C.V.O., Fröken Henni Forchhammer, J. F. Green, Esq., M.P., Lt.-Col. Sir Alfred Warren, O.B.E., M.P., G. R. Thorne, Esq., M.P., Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P., Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy, M.A., M.C., the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hamilton Baynes, D.D.,

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DAILY NEWS

Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G., Lt.-Col. Borden Turner, O.B.E., M.A., Lt.-Col. Sir Gilbert Barling, Bart., C.B., C.B.E.

The Potteries Busy.

North Staffordshire Branches are carrying out a continuous programme of monthly meetings. Fröken Forchhammer's visit to Stoke-on-Trent, on June 16th, was the occasion of a splendid Town Hall meeting.

The Proper Spirit.

A Branch Secretary writes: "Spoke at several open-air meetings last night. The best was from a lorry drawn up in an open space on the main street opposite the War Memorial, a suitable (if noisy) location. Got very attentive hearing and pleased to find some local stalwarts (particularly a Councillor) doing good spade work. Home at 11.30 p.m. tired and hoarse, but satisfied."

Remembering the Appeal.

The Hull Branch has started its appeal effort with £1,000 from its President. Meanwhile it has kept up its vigorous propaganda campaign.

Classic Dancing in Glasgow.

The Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch has been organising classic dances and mimes in aid of its funds. The experiment has proved a great success.

The Weybridge Pageant.

On Empire Day the Weybridge Branch organised a demonstration of children in the Oatlands Park Recreation Ground. There was a striking parade of the banners and flags of all the fifty-one member States of the League. "The Crowning of Peace" was very well acted. The Branch Secretary, whose address is St.-Cross, Weybridge, has offered to hire out the flags and banners for a fee of £1 1s.

Shakespeare Helps.

At Newbury a performance of scenes from Shakespeare, with interludes on the League, raised the Branch membership to 400 and brought in nearly £30 for the Central Fund.

"Woodbine Willie" at West Bromwich.

The Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy, M.C., recently addressed a large open air meeting organised by the West Bromwich Branch. Great enthusiasm was aroused, and the whole community is now at work on a big demonstration, and pageant which will take place on July 22nd.

Reading's Enterprise.

A special service was held in St. Lawrence's Church, Reading, on June 10th, to celebrate the opening of the first session of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Mayor and Corporation attended in state and all denominations were represented.

Progress.

The Lozells Branch (Birmingham), which is made up almost entirely of ex-Service men, is holding fortnightly meetings throughout the summer months. This branch is rapidly increasing its membership, which now stands at over 500. The new "West End" Branches in Birmingham at Edgbaston and Moseley are very active. There were six demonstrations in the Birmingham District during June. The joint Hampstead Branches are holding five open-air meetings a week this summer. It is found that pre-arranged questions soon gather a crowd on the Heath. The series is going on splendidly.

A German View of the League.

H. von Gerlach, in the "Berliner Welt am Montag" of June 6th:—

"The League which already contains fifty-one States, is the greatest political association on earth, and in virtue of the natural law as to the attractive power of great masses will in an increasing degree draw all important political, economic, and social questions within its province. If we are to have any say in these matters we must belong to the League."

Various Views.

"The balance of power will not balance our accounts."—*Mr. Frederick Whelen.*

"We shall not believe that Sir Arthur Conan Doyle really converses with the dead until he produces a message from the League of Nations."—*Seattle Post Intelligencer.*

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