



# Headway

## The Journal of the League of Nations Union

"Now is the time, if ever, for disarmament."—LORD BRYCE.

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### THE MONTH IN PERSPECTIVE.

The Washington Conference. The outstanding international event of the month has been President Harding's invitation to the principal Allied Powers and China to attend a conference on limitation of armaments and upon the Far Eastern and Pacific questions, to be held at Washington. Some such step on the part of the President has been anticipated for several weeks, but the fact that it was not unexpected has not made it any the less welcome. All parties to the Conference have now accepted the President's invitation. We learn that Belgium and Holland will probably be invited also.

Timidity— Why? This step of President Harding's has cleared the way for fruitful negotiations, as in the circumstances no other step could equally have done. Critics of the League have been too ready to accuse it of hanging fire in this matter; but, if the facts are viewed with an open mind, it must surely be obvious that the hesitation with which the problem has been approached is attributable to timidity on the part of all the Governments concerned, a timidity arising from two causes. In the first place, it must always be remembered, when Governments are criticised, that they are responsible to an electorate, and are therefore naturally apprehensive about trusting the interests of their countries to new machinery. No one can be so blind to facts as to deny that in the past its armaments have been recognised as the chief protection of any State of importance. It is not reasonable to cavil at Governments for proceeding cautiously in the matter of disarmament, so long as the electorates to which they are responsible have not given unmistakable evidence of their wish that the protection given by the Covenant of the League should progressively supersede that of national armaments for the purposes of defence. No such general manifesta-

tion of public will has been made. We believe that such an abhorrence of war now animates the general population of all civilised countries, and such is the burden of taxation directly attributable to armaments, that, were an organised expression of opinion taken upon the subject, it would be overwhelmingly for the League and in favour of disarmament. But, except in Switzerland, no purely League issue has been presented to any civilised people. Consequently, the Governments of the world are in ignorance of the extent of public feeling, and are therefore unable, seeing that the force of the League must ultimately be the force of public opinion, to estimate the degree of protection which the Covenant of the League can offer them in exchange for reduction of armaments. This is the first cause of Governmental timidity.

Members of the Union, Stand Forward! The second cause has been of a practical nature, and has undoubtedly been a serious obstacle. Happily, it is no longer valid. From the day when America refused to enter the League, and laid down her naval programme, disarmament became an impracticable thing to any cautious statesman. The action of America in proposing a conference has removed this difficulty. Now it rests with the public to make plain to their rulers (not only in this country, but elsewhere) that, since all are agreed to substitute discussion and arbitration for force in the settlement of international disputes, they demand a reduction in armies and navies; that they intend that the world shall at last be relieved from the terror of the sword. This provides a task to which all members of the League of Nations Union should make it their first duty to apply themselves. It is the task of awakening this country in particular, and the world in general, to realise the fundamental truth that you cannot remedy an abuse without removing its causes; that the menace of powerful armaments is, of all



other causes, the most provocative to war; and that one courageous act of example is worth more to-day to the cause of peace, than all the pious words and humanitarian sentiments that have ever been spoken.

#### The League and the Conference.

But, whilst welcoming the initiative of President Harding, it is necessary to deal with those shallow thinkers who have hastily assumed that the Washington Conference renders the League's disarmament work an unnecessary excrescence. In some quarters there have been heated words because, as it has been said, the League, instead of recognising its impotence and leaving to America and the Great Powers the whole disarmament problem to settle among themselves, has quietly proceeded with the work that was decided upon at the last Assembly. To anyone who has vouchsafed to the subject more than a cursory glance, it must be obvious that the functions of the League and the functions of the Washington Conference are not mutually supersessive, but are complementary. Each can do something which the other is unable to achieve. Each can bring to the conference chamber factors lying outside the purview of the other. The Assembly is powerless to deal with the American aspect of the question; the Washington Conference, however, is equally powerless to represent world opinion. The Assembly can virtually do nothing to attack the great problem of the Pacific; the Washington Conference can do little or nothing in regard to the Balkans, and, further, it is supported by no Covenant entitling it (not as of courtesy, but as of right) to "full and frank information" from all its members as to their military, naval, and aerial forces. The Assembly, in the absence of America, is paralysed with regard to naval questions; the Washington Conference is equally impotent to deal effectively with the problem of land forces. The Assembly envisages the problem from every point of view; it takes into consideration not only a progressive reduction of armaments by its members, but, which some think even more important, the control of the private manufacture of armaments. Now private manufacture of armaments can only be controlled by a general convention applicable throughout the world. It is useless to prohibit that industry in the United Kingdom or in the States, if it may continue unchecked in Bolivia, Finland, or Montenegro; for the armament manufacturers of Great Britain or America would be at liberty to migrate to any country in which it was not illegal and set up in business there. The Washington Conference, on the other hand, although called in general terms to discuss the limitation of armaments, really aims principally at the settlement of vexatious questions in the Pacific, and at bringing about a naval holiday among the three great naval Powers. Such is a brief survey of the limitations of each body considered by itself. But, taken in conjunction with each other, they effectively cover the whole sphere of disarmament throughout the world, with the exception of Russia. And, as far as land disarmament is concerned, it is yet to be seen whether Russia will not prove a stumbling block.

**The League's Mixed Armament Commission.** All this being so, how ignorant and childish are the gibes levelled at the League on the score that it has been superseded by Washington. So far from being superseded, the Temporary Mixed Commission which met on July 16th in Paris is still at work, and the work upon which it is engaged is likely to prove so valuable a basis for future decisions, that we think it should be described to our readers in some detail. Three meetings of the plenary Commission took place, in the course of which the general plan was discussed. The various questions before the Commission were then referred to three sub-Commissions which began work on the 18th July, and which are required to bring the results of their labours before the plenary Commission at the beginning of September next, so that the plenary Commission may make its report to the forthcoming Assembly of the League, which meets on September 5th.

#### The Nature of the Commission.

The character of the Commission, which is a body of men composed of statesmen, soldiers, sailors, economists, financiers, workmen, and employers, was carefully defined by the President, M. Viviani, in his opening address. He pointed out that the members were not present as nominees of their respective Governments, but as men chosen by the Council of the League on account of their distinction in their various spheres of life, with a view to considering the whole armament problem and seeking an abstract solution. It is highly important that the public should recognise that this Mixed Commission on Armaments has not been appointed to force a scheme of disarmament upon the world, but in order to work out the best method of dealing with the problems involved, as a groundwork for an agreement upon the subject to be reached by the Assembly of the League. The functions of the Mixed Commission are therefore purely advisory. The execution of their plans lies with the Assembly. It was with this in mind that M. Viviani, in welcoming "the noble initiative of President Harding," went on to say, "We are happy to salute this initiative, well assured that the labours which we are about to undertake will be of service to the Governments" (composing the Washington Conference) "in their search for a practical solution to the particular problems in which they are interesting themselves."

#### The View of the Workers.

The second plenary meeting was mainly remarkable for a speech by M. Jouhaux (France), speaking on behalf of the workers. He said plainly that since the Armistice the confidence of Labour in the League has been a good deal shaken, and it was highly important that the work undertaken by the Commission on Armaments should go to restore this confidence. He urged that the Commission must study the problem as a whole and put forward a general solution, and proposed that a sub-Commission should be appointed to prepare an amendment to the Covenant permitting of supervision over the military information mutually exchanged between the Members under Article 8.

**Munitioneer-** Speaking on the question of private manufacture of arms and munitions, he considered that one had only to look at the existing European situation in order to see immediately the menace constituted by that industry. The whole international situation had been falsified since the war, because those who manufactured munitions desired, for their own ends, to exploit existing disorders. There was no solution except control and limitation of private manufacture. He therefore urged that a sub-Commission be appointed to go into the whole question of private manufacture of arms and munitions. This sub-Commission ought to prepare a report which would be presented to the Assembly with a view to the latter body calling an international conference to study the matter and bring about an international convention for checking and controlling the industry. These eminently constructive proposals met with warm approval. M. Schanzer (Italy), a political member, in associating himself with all M. Jouhaux had said, put forward the further valuable suggestion that statistical tables be prepared showing the actual situation in relation to armaments in all the countries of the League.

Finally the Commission split itself up into three sub-Commissions. The first will deal with private manufacture of arms, traffic in arms and munitions, and the creation of an international bureau for controlling the arms traffic. The second will study the right of control over armaments of conquered countries (as provided under the various Treaties of Peace) and also the question of mutual control between Members of the League by means of exchange and verification of military and naval information as directed by Article 8 of the Covenant. The third will collect statistical information with regard to the armaments and budgets of the various countries at the present time. The first of these sub-Commissions will deal with M. Jouhaux's proposals regarding an international convention on private manufacture of arms; and the second will consider his proposals regarding an amendment to Article 8 of the Covenant. The composition of the sub-Commissions is as under:—

**1st Commission.**—Two naval or military members, one worker, one employer, one political member, and one economist or financier. Mr. Fisher, Admiral Calthorpe, and M. Jouhaux are all members of this Commission.

**2nd Commission.**—Three political members, one worker, one employer, two naval or military members, one financier or economist. M. Viviani, M. Branting, and Marshal Fayolle are members of this Commission.

**3rd Commission.**—Three financiers or economists, one worker, one employer, one military member, two naval members, and one political member.

Each sub-Commission has power to appoint its own President and Rapporteur.

#### A Word of Warning.

Such, very briefly, is the situation at the moment with regard to disarmament. It is a situation that is full of discouragement. If all parties will but conduct their discussions in a broad and conciliatory spirit, keeping their eyes resolutely on the goal and caring nothing for such secondary questions as whether the League or the Washington Conference is

to have credit for the result, then indeed we may look forward with hope. And in this connection we venture most deferentially to voice our anxious expectation that M. Viviani's *beau geste* to the Washington Conference will be accepted in the spirit in which it was offered, and that no narrow considerations will prevent the Conference from profiting by the work of the League. For if a party spirit be allowed to intrude, it may well lead to such jealousies and bitterness as will wreck beyond repair all the fair promise that is before us. And if that shall come about, those responsible will not easily excuse themselves for the mischief they will have done.

#### White Slaves.

The White Slave Traffic Conference of the League opened at Geneva on the 30th of June. It was attended by representatives of thirty-two Governments, including Germany. M. Levine (Belgium) was elected President, and Mdlle. Forchhammer (Denmark), Vice-President. Great Britain was represented by Sir John Baird. The object of this Conference was to secure uniformity of legislation against the traffic in women and children, and the main resolutions adopted by the Conference aimed at the suppression of the traffic by common measures to be adopted in all the States, and by legislative provisions for punishing, not only actual offences, but also attempts to procure. It was recommended that offences against the 1910 Convention should be made extraditable; and it was also decided that an annual report should be sent out to Governments recording all satisfactory measures adopted during the year. It was further recommended that a Committee of representatives of private associations be appointed to co-ordinate protection for young girls, and that from three to five Assessors be appointed as an Advisory Body to the League. The deportation of women and children for political reasons was strongly condemned; and all States were urged immediately to adhere to the Convention of 1910, making their adherence applicable also to all their Colonies for the purpose of protecting women and children of all races and colours.

#### A Daniel Come to Judgment.

A well-known theatrical *entrepreneur*, Sir Oswald Stoll, has put himself forward as an opponent of the Ter Meulen Credit scheme. In a double-column "splash" advertisement in the *Daily News* he denounces this "iniquitous" scheme on the ground that, "for the benefit of a few exporters," it pledges the assets of Great Britain in exchange for pieces of paper, and tends to draw out of the country commodities which are needed for national consumption and support; he suppresses the inconvenient fact that Ter Meulen bonds are to have a definite gold value secured upon assets deposited with the League Commission of Control; and in the course of what, no doubt, he would call his argument, overwhelms the League itself with a veritable cloudburst of abuse. Dealing with this kind of ignorant vituperation is really too easy. It corresponds in sporting parlance to shooting a sitting bird. Sir Oswald mixes up the



Ter Meulen scheme with the British Export Credit scheme—a sufficiently “grievous” howler to begin with; he confuses the pledging of other people’s assets with the pledging of our own; and seems to suffer under the delusion that the trade of this country can prosper when our Central European markets are in such a condition of chaos that they cannot buy. It is all very well for him to talk glibly about commodities “which are badly needed in our own country for national consumption and support,” but does he happen to be aware that for months past valuable British cargoes have been rotting on the docks because there are no markets to which to export them, and does he think they would continue to rot on the docks if there were any market for them in this country? Does he also happen to know that the populations of Russia and Central Europe are starving because of the economic breakdown, and that until this state of things can be set right, not only will the misery of those peoples be a constant menace to the peace, but also the trade of the rest of the world will suffer from the corresponding depression? There is an excellent old adage about shoemakers sticking to their lasts. We commend it to Sir Oswald’s attention.

#### The Permanent Court.

We are glad to be in a position to state that Great Britain and all the British Dominions, have now ratified the Statute of the Permanent Court of Justice. France has ratified; so has Italy. A number of smaller Powers have also deposited their ratifications, and there now seems to be no reasonable doubt but that the necessary majority to enable the election of Judges to take place during the Assembly, will be reached at an early date.

The outstanding feature of the Polish-Lithuanian negotiations, continues to be the fact that peace is being preserved. In the maelstrom of negotiations and counter-negotiations, proposals and counter-proposals, alarms, excursions and flourishes of trumpets that have characterised the controversy, one definitely satisfactory result has emerged—there has been no organised bloodshed. Feeling has run high on both sides, but the calmative influence of the League has at all times prevailed. We were told in the middle of July that the Lithuanian Delegation could not see its way to resume negotiations in Brussels on July 25th. Since then, however, wiser counsels have prevailed, and we are now informed on the authority of the *Morning Post* that this decision has been reconsidered and that negotiations will proceed. Whatever may be said, and there is a good deal to be said, about want of reason on both sides, credit must at least be given both to Lithuania and to Poland for having continued to remain at peace; and we venture to predict that, if they will continue to discuss and bargain together, and especially if they will allow themselves to be guided by M. Hymans, whose unflinching tact and fertility of resource have been such important factors in all the negotiations up to the present, they will not look in vain for a peaceful solution to their difficulties.

#### Upper Silesia.

The problem of Upper Silesia is one in which the aid of the League has not been invoked. The difficulties involved have thrown a severe strain upon the Entente between Great Britain and France, and it is the intention of both Powers to consider the whole problem at a meeting of the Supreme Council, which is to be convened at an early date—probably August 8th. As to the rights and wrongs of the matter, the question being still *sub-judice*, we do not feel ourselves called upon to speak; but we venture humbly to give our support to the proposal recently made in *The Times*, that those districts that are indubitably Polish or indubitably German should at once be handed over to the nations for which they have voted. We venture to agree that such a step would both lighten the burden now lying on the Allies, and greatly conduce to the pacification of the region. We mention the subject because at the instance of the Overseas Committee of the Union, the Executive Committee is about to consider the whole matter with a view to defining the Union’s policy in regard to it.

#### A Leg-Up for the League.

A useful stimulus to the League movement in England generally and to the work of the Union in particular, has been given by a series of articles which have recently been appearing in the *Daily News*. These articles—it is no secret that they are by the able pen of Mr. Wilson Harris—present a well-proportioned picture of the League’s situation as it is to-day; and taken in its entirety, that situation is indeed a crushing indictment against the Governments composing the League. Mr. Harris fearlessly points out how opportunity after opportunity has been let to slip, and how all the world, we not less than others, have fallen short of the obligations undertaken in the Covenant. Lord Robert Cecil, in a letter to the *Daily News*, published after the articles had ceased, draws the following moral with which we warmly identify ourselves:—

“As long as there is apathy, as long as people generally are content to say ‘It’s the Government’s business,’ as long as the public refuses to take an intelligent interest in foreign affairs. . . . so long will the Governments go slow with the League.”

“If the British people would come forward as one man and say, ‘Come what may, we are for the League,’ our act of leadership would inspire other nations to follow suit and the difficulties and dangers which now beset the League would vanish like shadows.”

These words point out to us a clear duty. We of the Union must go all out for the League; and we must so infect others with our enthusiasm, that they will join with us in a great united effort to place it on the pinnacle of this country’s foreign policy. When that has been done we may take things more easily. But until then, no rest for any of us! We are far too ready to congratulate ourselves because we lead the voluntary societies with a membership of 115,000 and a circulation of 45,000 for HEADWAY. This is a creditable beginning; but it is only a beginning. If we are to be an effective force behind the League, we must number our members in millions. Why does the Prime Minister hesitate to go to the

Assembly as our Representative? Because he is not convinced that the country wants him to go. Wake up, Union, and convince him.

#### A Great Speech.

Considerations of space prohibit us from reporting the magnificent speech made by Mr. Balfour at the Imperial Conference on 13th July last. A brief review would fail to do any kind of justice to the strong idealism and warm belief in the League and its potentialities that shine through. But we are glad to say that Mr. Balfour has revised it for publication as a White Paper. It will be issued at an early date, and we recommend our readers to acquire and read it.

### THE LEAGUE IN PARLIAMENT.

By POLITICUS.

ON July 11th, a very important precedent in connection with the League was established. Mr. Lloyd George, in answer to many inquiries about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, announced that the Governments concerned were anxious to bring the agreement into complete harmony with the Covenant, and had notified the League that, wherever the two were inconsistent, the terms of the Covenant should prevail.

In answer to an inquiry as to whether the League would be represented at the Washington Conference, the Prime Minister made the significant reply that all who would take part, except the United States, were members of the League. This certainly cannot mean less than an assurance that no principle of the Covenant will be traduced at Washington.

In answer to a suggestion that the League might suspend operations pending the results of the Washington Conference, Mr. Balfour very tersely replied that it would be neither possible nor desirable to do so. We are particularly grateful to Mr. Balfour for that “not possible.” It must have met with sympathetic assent in the minds of many who listened to Mr. Fisher’s admirably lucid and encouraging account of the last meeting of the Council. The League goes on with its work; it has no quarrel with other agencies attempting to accomplish the same objects, so long as these objects are attained and not betrayed.

Mr. Aubrey Herbert complained, with some justice, that the case which Albania had submitted to the Council of the League had been left by them to the Conference of Ambassadors. True, it was the League’s privilege to examine this question, certainly its duty to see it settled; but, if it can be regulated in a satisfactory way by the Conference of Ambassadors, the League will not stand on its dignity and refuse to recognise the settlement. At the same time, we are anxious to see the precedence of the League recognised as the precedence of the Covenant is being recognised. The Prime Minister indicated that he might be present at the next meeting of the Assembly. Few things would go further to establish the position of the Council of the League than the attendance of the heads of the Governments at its meetings. Sir J. D. Rees laid it down that the promotion of peace is, or should be, the chief object of the League; and this object is important and urgent enough to warrant the attention of even the most harassed of Prime Ministers.

### A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT.

By LORD ROBERT CECIL.

It is to be doubted whether sufficient regard has been paid in this country to the demonstration of the efficiency of the machinery of the League of Nations Covenant provided by the award just given by the League Council in the dispute between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Islands.

The facts can be briefly stated. In the early part of 1920 tension between Sweden and Finland, due to the desire of the Aaland Islanders, about 22,000 in number, for transference from Finnish sovereignty to Swedish, had grown so acute that war between the two countries was seriously apprehended.

At this juncture, in June 1920, the dispute was brought before the Council of the League of Nations by the British representative, Mr. Balfour, in accordance with Article XI. of the Covenant, which lays down that any war or threat of war is to be regarded as a matter of concern to the League. Representatives of the two countries having been invited to discuss the question with the Council, Finland, in the course of the conversations which ensued, claimed that the matter was one which lay solely within her domestic jurisdiction, and as such was outside the competence of the League.

This objection was submitted by the Council to a committee of jurists, presided over by Professor Larnaude, of Paris, which ruled that the Finnish claim could not be sustained. The Council proceeded accordingly to despatch a special commission of *rapporteurs*, one Belgian, one Swiss, and one American, to Stockholm, Helingsfors, and the Aaland Islands, to examine the question on the spot in all its bearings.

The commission, in due course, presented a reasoned report to the effect that there were not sufficient grounds for the transference of the islands from one sovereignty to another, provided the autonomy of the inhabitants was safeguarded by the passage through the Finnish Parliament of a stringent law of guarantee.

At the recent sitting of the League Council at Geneva, the Swedish and Finnish delegates again occupied seats as *ad hoc* members of the Council, under Article 4, and representatives of the Aaland Islands themselves were also heard. The Council decided unanimously to adopt the recommendations of its *rapporteurs*, and a conference was immediately arranged between the Swedish and Finnish representatives, under the able chairmanship of M. Paul Hymans, the Belgian member of the Council, to discuss the details of the guarantees. Complete agreement was reached on this point, and there is every reason to believe that a dispute involving the most serious danger of war has been permanently, as well as equitably, settled.

The League of Nations machinery, in a word, proved itself capable of discharging effectively, and with small expense and little delay, the functions it was created to execute. It is clear, moreover, that in this case the disputants were ready to make, at the instance of the League, concessions they would never have made at the instance of one another.



## MR. WELLS LOOKS AHEAD.

BY J. C. MAXWELL GARNETT.

[Mr. Garnett's recent book, "Education and World Citizenship," stamps him as an authority on the problems raised by Mr. Wells.\*]

A book by Mr. Wells, and especially a book on education, is always important. "The Salvaging of Civilisation" is no exception. Part of the book has already been published as a separate essay; part of it consists of lectures to an American audience; and part of it was doubtless prepared for the present volume. But it all fits together, because it all forms part of Mr. Wells's remarkably clear and orderly thought.

In his "Outline of History" Mr. Wells has sketched in amazingly firm lines, the uncertain origins of our race. In the present book he presents, with the same firm touch, our equally uncertain future. It would be tempting to compare Mr. Wells as a historian with Mr. Wells as a prophet; for this is a prophetic book. It is concerned with the purpose and future of mankind, but with the distant, rather than with the immediate, future. Mr. Wells has gone scouting far ahead of those whose principal concern is with the next step towards international co-operation and world citizenship.

In this volume he tells us what he has seen of the distant goal, but he has little to say of the first practical steps towards it. One thing, however, he is sure about. If the goal is ever to be reached, it is education that will get us there. "The task . . . is not primarily one for the diplomatists and lawyers and politicians at all. It is an educational one."

It is true that thought tends always to end in action; and it follows that deeds are the ultimate (and ideas only the intermediate) product of a system of education. The Universities, for example, because of their increasing concern with applied science, especially during the war, are realising that their business is not only to discover and to disseminate knowledge, but also to see that practical effect is given to it. The practical effect, here in question, is no less than the political reconstruction of the world. So that, as Mr. Wells acknowledges, politicians, as well as educators, have their part to play. But "world-wide educational development and reform are the necessary preparations for, and the necessary accompaniments of, a political reconstruction of the world. The two are the right and left hands of the same thing. Neither can effect much without the other." But in the beginning, and for most of the way, it is the educator, rather than the politician, that plays the title rôle in Mr. Wells's outline of history yet to be.

If, then, the end of education, like the end of thought itself, is action, we are not to be educated passively to imagine, but actively to seek, the ideal future for mankind; our immediate purpose must be "to find release from the contentious loyalties and hostilities of the past, which make collective world-wide action impossible at the present time, in a world-wide common vision of the history and destinies of the race." This purpose is to be central and dominant in the outlook that is to result from Mr. Wells's scheme of education.

Mr. Wells further recognises that, to get things done, there must be unity of purpose among large numbers of men and women, as well as strong purposes dominating each of them individually. "It is manifest that unless some unity of purpose can be achieved in the world . . . the history of humanity must presently culminate in some sort of disaster." But the unity which Mr. Wells rightly demands for the central purposes of men and women the world over, he would also have for a large part of their outlook on the Universe. Unity of outlook upon natural science, upon history, and upon literature, as well as upon the aim and purpose of human progress, he would secure by means of common text books—"The Bible of Civilisation"—always being revised, but always and everywhere in use. Many of his readers will find this suggestion revolting. But they would be ill-advised to reject it without the most careful scrutiny. From many points of view, it is far in advance of modern practice. Middle-aged students of mathematics will gratefully remember what Clerk Maxwell called



J. C. MAXWELL GARNETT, C.B.E., M.A.,  
General Secretary of the League of Nations Union;  
(formerly a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Principal  
of the Manchester College of Technology, from 1912 to 1920.)

"Hard truths made pleasant  
By Routh and Besant  
For one who hasn't  
Got too much sense."

The codification of elementary applied mathematics by these great Cambridge coaches, enormously facilitated the progress of most students who would otherwise have had to depend upon comparatively incompetent teachers and "over much tedious lecturing," as Mr. Wells has it. It created, among Cambridge mathematicians, a school of thought that was probably advantageous to their subject as well as to themselves.

But Mr. Wells's scheme of world-wide education, like the national system of education, foreshadowed for England in Mr. Fisher's great Act of 1918, depends for its realisation upon the money being available. Mr. Wells has no doubt where the money is to come from. And, in truth, there can be little doubt about the matter. According to a recent American book, the United States spent last year no less than 93 per cent. of the national revenues upon wars, old and new. Great Britain, not being made up of forty-eight States

\* This article is republished by permission from "Nature" of August 4th.

## SECOND THOUGHTS.

BY DORA MARY WILLIAMS.

A FEW weeks ago I stood on the bank of one of the Hampstead Ponds; a few urchins were fishing from the opposite bank, while swifts in pursuit of gnats skimmed the surface of the water.

Far away in New Jersey, ninety odd thousand men and women, all agog with excitement, were gathered together to witness an important prize fight. They paid exorbitant prices for seats so that they might sit and satiate their senses as they watched the spectacle of two men hammering one another to the point of exhaustion.

And on the same afternoon in England, nearly one hundred thousand people had gathered at the Hendon Flying Ground to enjoy "a three-hour chain of breath-catching and heart-stopping moments"—which culminated in an air raid on a dummy village by a formation of bombing aeroplanes. . . .

It was a cool, quiet spot where I stood; and suddenly there emerged, from out of the sedges, a moor-hen. Quite unmoved by the excitement in the air—for the reports of explosions were repeatedly heard—she did not even lift her little head as a dirigible, passing overhead, came lower. Unfurling, she proceeded to cross the pond, carrying in her scarlet bill a piece of water weed which hung over her olive brown back and trailed in the water behind. Her mate, with a curious bobbing motion of head and neck, followed closely, and together they disappeared in the thick cover that fringed the bank.

Happy birds! that had built so eagerly in the Spring. Would that we educated beings of superior intellect and infinite possibilities of heart and mind were as eager to lay the foundation of a saner and a cleaner world.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our milkman, who had lost several sons in the war, said he was going; the woman who cleans our steps and suffers with rheumatic feet said she was going—even though she had to hobble all the way; and I, just an ordinary woman of ordinary intelligence, said "I shall go," and I found myself marching—for the first time in my life—in a procession with many other ordinary people to the Rally in Hyde Park on League of Nations Union Day. In our ranks young men were few—one was not surprised at that; it was the mothers and fathers of those who had fought and died in the cause of Liberty who predominated, marching resolutely with fire and limped at her side. . . .

Pinned on a woman's shoulder was a miniature dove—an emblem of peace; she wore it with tears in her eyes for the son who would never come back; yet she marched with a brave air, thanking God for the remaining son who limped at her side.

Later, happening to look back, I espied the little dove, lying where it had fallen unheeded on the dusty, tarred road. Many had passed by, but not one had trampled it under foot—surely a good omen!

As we marched, it was as if the spirit of my brother—who was shot by a sniper—moved with me; his last words in a letter written in the trenches came to me suddenly: "Oh, it is awful this war . . . but it will better the whole world and purify it. This is the only thought that keeps me going." And he was but one of the Legion who gave their lives in a war that was to end wars.

with separate incomes, naturally spent a smaller proportion of her national income on war charges. But last year, and again in the estimates for this year, the proportion of the national revenues that this country is spending on wars, old and new, is no less than 64 per cent: more than twelve shillings in every pound of taxes. When we remember that a simple agreement between a few great naval Powers is all that is needed to abolish battleships, and that a battleship costs, in capital, some £8,000,000 sterling, or, in income (for interest, depreciation, and repairs, but not including personnel) £1,000,000 a year—nearly twenty times the British contribution to the League of Nations—we wonder that this money is not diverted to remunerative expenditure. The whole contribution of the British Government to University education is only £2,000,000 (of which half a million pounds is a special grant for superannuation purposes) this year, and used to be much less. It is thus equal to the cost of maintaining the structure and equipment of two battleships. Mr. Wells says that we need to press "for a ruthless subordination of naval, military, and court expenditure to educational needs." At all events, we need to come to an agreement with the other nations of the world (most of whose incomes are at present insufficient to meet their expenditure) for a general limitation of armaments that would enormously reduce the burdens of taxation and set free far more than sufficient money to expand and improve our educational organisations as rapidly as is humanly possible.

Mr. Wells's book is marred by minor defects, which are only minor because of the greatness of the whole. Thus, he would apparently have his readers believe that the world commonwealth which he regards as the ultimate goal should be attained by the immediate absorption of the existing seventy or eighty independent sovereign States of the world into a single super-State. Such a first step would certainly be a false step, even if it were anyhow practicable. How would it, for example, be possible to persuade Japan to place the control of her destinies in the hands of a Parliament, Congress, or Assembly, most of whose members would be of European race? The first step towards increasing the political unity of the nations is surely their co-operation in multifarious works for the benefit of mankind, and especially in the abolition of world war. This is what is being done by the "quite inadequate League of Nations at Geneva," which consists, after all, of forty-eight sovereign States representing three-quarters of the population of the earth.

Moreover, Mr. Wells is surely mistaken in supposing that we must get rid of patriotism if we are to have an adequate sense of world citizenship. Loyalty to a smaller group is not necessarily inconsistent with higher loyalty to a larger group that includes the smaller. The Yorkshireman or the Cornishman, who loves his county, is not on that account an inferior Englishman. Nor is one who loves England likely to be a less loyal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations than one who has no feeling for his own people. Nor, again, has it ever been suggested that loyal members of the British Commonwealth are on that account feeble supporters of the League of Nations.





MR. A. J. BALFOUR,  
British Representative on the Council of the League.



SIR ERIC DRUMMOND,  
Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

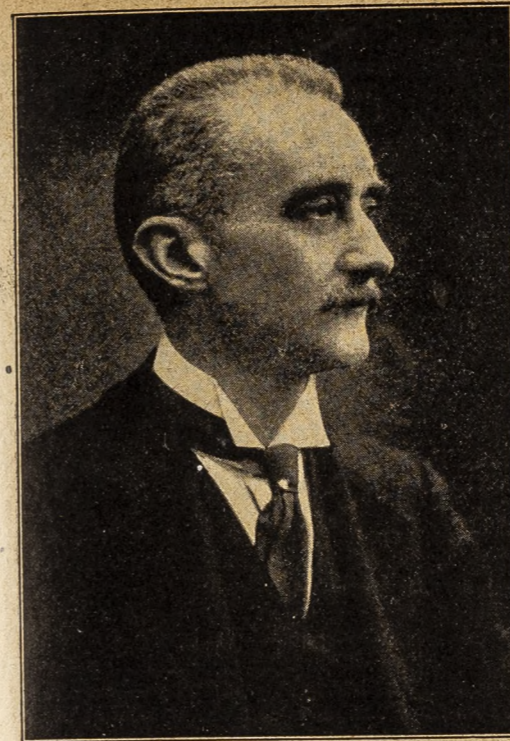


THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.  
DECEMBER SESSION, 1920.

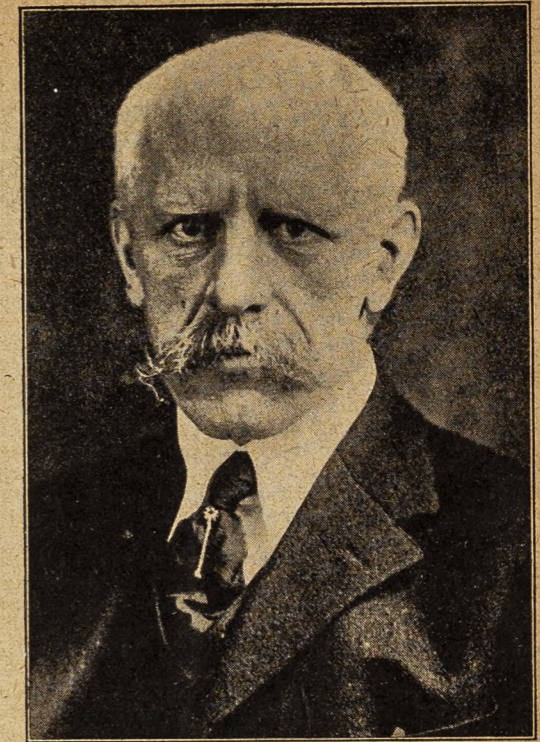
*Seated at the table, reading from left to right:—*

M. da CUNHA (Brazil), M. QUINONES de LEON (Spain), Signor TITTONI (Italy), M. LEON BOURGEOIS (France), M. PAUL HYMANS, President (Belgium), Sir ERIC DRUMMOND, Mr. FISHER (British Representative in the absence of Mr. Balfour), Viscount ISHII (Japan), M. CACLAMANOS (Greece).\*

\* Since this meeting China (represented by Dr. Wellington Koo) has been elected by the Assembly to take the place of Greece on the Council.



M. PAUL HYMANS,  
President of the First Assembly and Belgian  
Representative on the Council.



DR. FRIDJHOF NANSEN,  
League High Commissioner for Repatriation of  
Prisoners of War.



THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE LEAGUE AT GENEVA.

An air photograph of the Hotel National looking towards the lake.



## A WORLD LEAGUE OF YOUTH.

THE WORK OF THE JUNIOR RED CROSS.

"There has never been a time before when a humanitarian organisation of thirty-eight countries has asked the children in all those countries to help in its work and learn its work, so that they may help also when they are men and women."

As one way, and perhaps the best way, of keeping alive the spirit of the Red Cross, and obtaining new recruits for humane service in the cause of peace, the Junior Red Cross has an immensely important part to play. It is not a new idea. There were beginnings in France more than twenty years ago; Spain developed an elaborate plan in 1903; the Province of Quebec began in 1915, when the war was new. But there seems to have been little exchange of ideas among these pioneers. The Secretary of the League of Red Cross Societies, Mr. Lyman Bryson, writing in the June-July number of the *Review of Reviews*, says that the greatest spreading of the common faith came through the missions sent to Europe by the American Juniors. By the time that organisation numbered 11,000,000 boys and girls, half the school children in the United States had their representatives carrying on special projects in foreign countries as a part of the foreign work of the American National Red Cross Society.

When peace came, the directors of the American Junior Red Cross could not bear the idea of demobilising so much goodwill and young activity, and decided instead to adapt the power of it to the purpose of peace.

Mr. Bryson gives examples of the kind of work that the Junior Red Cross accomplishes:—

"In a Saskatchewan prairie town, a club of Canadian boys is gathering every scrap of newspaper or rag that can be baled and sold to the refuse merchants. In New South Wales, Australian boys and girls have established and maintain a tea room for blinded Service men. A huge shipment of garments, saved and mended by Chinese children, was sent some time ago to poor children in Siberia. In Poland school children have cultivated gardens; in California they have made toys for children's hospitals; in Hungary they are knitting for themselves and for their poorer neighbours."

All these children are part of the same great enterprise. They are showing their elders that under all circumstances, in all sorts of places and conditions, they are capable of grasping the ideal of service, and can, immediately and successfully, find a way to express it.

"They are proving it daily in nine countries. The Junior Red Cross is a part of the National Red Cross Society in these nine countries, which are: Australia, Canada, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States. They work under the solemn sanction of their elders and under the central organisation of National Red Cross bodies, the League of Red Cross Societies of Geneva."

"In the Junior Red Cross the ingenuity of millions of children has been called upon in the past three years to find ways of expressing, under conditions that run the range of Western civilisation, the idea of practical benevolence, the idea of taking trouble to lighten the unhappiness of others, or to better the circumstances of all."

How their imagination ranges in doing things under the stimulus of the opportunity to be of help to other children and their communities is evident from a mere list of things which are now included in the Junior Red Cross programme of one group of American schools, all of them on the Pacific Coast, most of them in California. Their methods include the cultivation of gardens; gathering and marketing cast-off shoes, clothes, and waste paper; providing scholarships for some of their own number and for disabled and sick children; the establishment and maintenance of "preventorium" for tuberculous and other children; of dental and eye-clinics, day nurseries and soup kitchens; the support of the Junior Red Cross Missions which extend from Belgium to Turkey in Europe, and range in activity from playgrounds to feeding stations, from special schools in Albania to scholarships for French orphans.

The work is growing apace. Many nations are now considering the way to open the same avenue of usefulness to their own children, among them our own country, France, Italy, Belgium, Bulgaria, and Portugal.

"There are those who lodge a great hope in this Junior Red Cross work, because they think that through it the children of the world may discover their common humanity."

## NEWS OF THE UNION.

## THE OXFORD SUMMER SCHOOL.

Those who remember the Kempsey Summer School of a year ago will hardly believe that its success could be surpassed, but it has been! It has been eclipsed by the Oxford Summer School, organised by the Education Section. The school has just come to a memorable close. For seven fleeting days 200 men and women, including Branch Secretaries, Ministers of Religion, Teachers, and Public Lecturers, drawn from all parts of Great Britain and other countries, including America, followed with intense interest a unique course of lectures on the League of Nations.

There was hardly a world problem which was not dealt with. On every aspect of International Affairs we were fortunate in hearing the leading authority.

Nor could we have chosen a better place for our Summer School than Balliol—Oxford's premier College.

Our pleasant river-trips and outings helped to bring the members of the Summer School into close touch with each other, and at the end of one glorious week we felt most loth to part.

Our thanks are due to all the Lecturers—in particular, Professor Gilbert Murray, and that incomparable Master of Balliol, Dr. A. L. Smith.

## BYE-ELECTIONS.

The Executive Committee of the Union is anxious that in the event of a Parliamentary bye-election, the local Branch Secretary should endeavour to obtain the answers of the candidates to the following questions, and to make clear that the votes of the Branch will be given to the candidate whose replies are most satisfactory:—

- (a) What are your views on the League of Nations?  
(b) If elected, will you use your influence in Parliament to support and strengthen the League of Nations?
- What is your attitude with regard to the admission of the remaining ex-enemy States into the League of Nations?
- Are you in favour of the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, and will you support any plans unanimously agreed upon by the Council of the League for that purpose?
- Would you agree to any draft convention agreed upon by the International Labour Conference established by the Treaty of Versailles (or, alternatively, do you agree that every draft convention agreed upon by the International Labour Conference established by the Treaty of Versailles should be submitted to the House of Commons)?
- Are you in favour of the principle that the territories of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific Islands, which were taken from Turkey and Germany, should be entrusted to Mandatories on behalf of the League of Nations to be administered by them or by their advice in the interests of the inhabitants of those territories, and for the equal advantage of all States members of the League?
- Will you press the Government to secure the fullest possible publicity for all proceedings of the League?

## INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES.

Professor Théodore Ruysen, of Bordeaux, has been appointed Secretary-General of the Federation. The seat

of the Central Bureau will be provisionally at 18, Rue Barennes, Bordeaux, France, until September, when the Secretary-General will take up residence in Brussels.

The General Council will meet at Vienna on Monday, October 3rd, 1921. The following items will be placed on the Agenda:—

- Report by the Secretary-General on the organisation of the Bureaux at Brussels and Geneva.
- The financial position of the Federation; funds available; recovery of outstanding contributions from Societies; provision for running expenses.
- Preparations for the Sixth International Conference (at Prague, Easter, 1922).
- Consideration of a number of proposals and questions referred by the Fifth International Conference to the Bureau or the Council.

## OUR INDIAN GUESTS.

Major David Davies, M.P., entertained at dinner, on July 21st, at the Carlton Hotel, a number of distinguished Indian gentlemen at present in London in connection with the Imperial and other conferences. Among the guests were also some of the members of the Executive and Overseas Committees of the League of Nations Union. An informal discussion on India and the League was opened after dinner by Major Davies, and developed in a highly interesting way. Some of the Indian gentlemen present have since declared their intention to go to Geneva for the meeting of the Assembly in September in order to study the League at work, and others have expressed their hope of inaugurating a League of Nations Union in India as soon as conditions are favourable for instituting successful propaganda.

## CUBA AND THE LEAGUE.

At the suggestion of the League of Nations Union the *Sociedad Cubana de Derecho Internacional* (International Law Society of Cuba) devoted a recent meeting almost entirely to the study of the League of Nations.

After it had registered its adherence to the idea of the League of Nations, the most important resolution adopted was that urging all the national Societies of International Law affiliated to the Institute to discuss and declare their views on the effect of the Monroe doctrine in relation to the League as affecting the United States and the Latin American countries that are members of the League of Nations.

The Society has published an instructive report of the proceedings of this meeting. It contains full details of the debates and of the papers read on the following subjects:—

- The attitude of the Society towards the League of Nations.
- A general review of the Covenant.
- The American standpoint.
- A critical exposition of the terms of Art. 10 of the Covenant.
- The Monroe doctrine and the working of the Covenant.
- Articles 10 and 21 of the Peace Treaty in the light of the traditional foreign policy of the United States.
- The case for possible reservations on ratification of the Peace Treaty by Cuba.

The Secretary of the Society is Sr. D. Gustavo Gutiérrez, 89, Obispo, Habana.

## THE PALESTINE MANDATE.

We have been asked by the Zionist Organisation to state that it is prepared to send a lecturer, free of all charge, to any Society. The lecture would deal with the Jewish national movement and the Mandate for Palestine, and can be illustrated by lantern slides dealing with

Palestinean life and scenery. Application should be made to the Lecture Secretary, Zionist Organisation, 77, Great Russell-street, London, W.C. 1.

## LEAGUE DEMONSTRATION LESSONS.

The Union has been most fortunate in securing the valuable services of Mr. F. J. Gould, the eminent teacher. Not only has he voluntarily prepared two excellent pamphlets for the Union—(1) "Notes for Teachers," (2) "The Wonderful League" for children—but he has also been giving demonstration lessons on the League of Nations to classes of school children in many parts of the country. We have received most enthusiastic reports of the demonstration lessons which Mr. Gould gave recently at Hornsey and at Watford.

Any Branch wishing to avail itself of Mr. Gould's services for similar demonstration lessons should apply to Headquarters.

## BRANCH VIGILANCE.

An error in the amendment to the Tanganyika Mandate submitted to the Council of the League by the L.N.U. through the Secretariat was discovered by the Barton-on-Humber branch, who brought it to the notice of the Executive Committee of the Union.

This error has now been rectified, and the Secretary-General of the League informed.

The Executive welcomes comments on its work of such a helpful nature as that of the Barton-on-Humber branch.

## A LEAD FROM YORKSHIRE.

One of the best-known and most popular speakers of the Union recently gave an account of a highly successful meeting at Silsden Grammar School, Yorkshire. "I never ask," he declared, "for a better chairman"; while the interest and intelligence of the audience was proved by the high level maintained at question time. The audience consisted of boys and girls; the chairman was a boy of eleven; the vote of thanks was moved and seconded by a boy and girl of about the same age. The success of the League would appear to be safe in Yorkshire, if this example is typical of the spirit of North-Country youth.

## WANTED A LIBRARY.

The Executive Committee of the Union is anxious to establish at Headquarters a comprehensive library on international subjects. Unfortunately, there are no funds for the development of this project, and the Union is dependent upon gifts or loans of books to extend its library. The Committee, therefore, appeals to members to send, either as a permanent or temporary loan, suitable books, which would be gratefully received by the General Secretary. Bookcases or shelves are also badly needed for the accommodation of the present library.

## CANTEEN AT HEADQUARTERS.

A canteen for the supply of luncheons and teas has been established at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1, and members of the L.N.U. and their friends are heartily invited to make use of this canteen when in the neighbourhood. The charges are most reasonable, and everything is done to make visitors comfortable. Don't fail to pay a visit to the canteen when calling at Headquarters.

## A CORRECTION.

The Rev. R. E. Burlingham, of The Vicarage, Ossett, Yorks, who is the Secretary of the Ossett Branch, writes: "The photographs of the Demonstrations held in that



town which were reproduced in the July number of HEADWAY are wrongly described. No. 2 photograph should be described as Ossett, and not Dewsbury, Town Hall; also it is really the children's Demonstration in the Market Place. No. 3, that should read "The Mayor and Corporation of Wakefield received by the Mayor and Corporation of Ossett."

### THE PROGRESS OF THE UNION.

Our membership on July 31st was 120,325, being an increase of 5,282 on last month's figures.

### WHAT THE WORLD IS THINKING.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.

"It is no use merely talking about peace unless you so steer your course that peace is in fact achieved, secured, and maintained by the suffering peoples of the world."

M. BRIAND.

"As to the League of Nations, France's duty is to urge the nations into this great way."

SIR ROBERT BORDEN.

"It rests with the peoples of the world to see that disputes of the future shall not be determined by the methods of the jungle."

BARON HAYASHI.

"To continue to construct warships is a waste of money."

### REVIEWS.

#### THE THEORY OF MANDATES.

THE MANDATE FOR MESOPOTAMIA AND THE PRINCIPLE OF TRUSTEESHIP IN ENGLISH LAW. By D. CAMPBELL LEE, M.A., LL.B.

DR. LEE has now printed in pamphlet form the interesting lecture on the Mesopotamian Mandate which he originally delivered at London University. Article XXII. is undoubtedly one of the most original of the many experimental ideas contained within the Covenant, and Dr. Lee's study of the legal aspects of that idea will assist to clear the minds of those folks who doubt, if not those who scoff. It is no doubt correct to say that much ignorant prejudice has been aroused by the word Mandate itself, a word unknown to British politics, and appearing to imply the dominant jurisdiction of a power greater than that of the State. Names are very important in political life, and as a nation we are apt to distrust profoundly political arrangements that have a foreign sound. Those who wish to move the English people on to a new path must show very clearly that that path is the continuation of an old road. We prize very highly the continuity of our constitutional history, and Dr. Lee has done a service to the League by showing how closely the Mandatory system adheres both to the principles of English law and the fundamental objective of British Imperialism.

The honourable office of trustee, the duties involved therein, and the rules of conduct that it demands, are familiar elements in our legal life. It is an office, without immediate profit or possible loss, that the private citizen is accustomed to fill, and it can be no great shock to his political conceptions if the State is called upon to hold the same position towards countries unable to manage their own affairs. But Dr. Lee carries the principle of Trustee-

ship further than this. He maintains that, since the loss of the American Colonies, this principle has been the foundation on which the Empire has been built. The gradual development of the Dominions, the Constitution of South Africa, the Indian Proclamation of Queen Victoria are sufficient evidence of our sub-conscious knowledge that our Trusteeship was the sanction of our rule. Let us hope that now our ancient principle of Trusteeship is written down for us in a Mandate we shall consciously fulfill its obligations as honourably as we have done by instinct in the past.

O. B.

### BOOKS WORTH READING.

THE SWORD OF JUSTICE. By J. E. WINSTANLEY WALLIS, M.A. (B. H. Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford. 5s.)

BELGIUM: THE MAKING OF A NATION. By H. VAN DER LINDEN. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford. 7s. 6d. net.)

IT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED TO YOU. By CONINGSBY DAWSON. With an Introduction by LORD WEARDALE. (The Bodley Head, London. 2s. 6d.)

ALLIED SHIPPING CONTROL. By J. A. SALTER, C.B. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 10s. 6d.)

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE. By HUGH H. L. BELLOT, M.A., D.C.L. (Grotius Society Publications, Sweet & Maxwell, Ltd., London. 2s. 6d.)

THE EVOLUTION OF WORLD-PEACE. Edited by F. S. MARVIN. (Humphrey Milford, London. 9s. 6d.)

### NEW PAMPHLETS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

THE WONDERFUL LEAGUE. A few pages for Young Readers about the League of Nations. By F. J. GOULD. (3d.)

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Mr. Charles Hooper, in your June issue, supports the view that members of the Assembly should be elected instead of being merely nominated, and suggests a method of election; but he appears to be content with the present system of making the delegates of each nation vote as a single unit. I imagine that most readers of HEADWAY would agree as to the urgent importance of making the delegations directly representative; of all changes this seems the most essential for giving life to the League and making it truly a League of Nations, not of Governments. But I suggest that the change will be incomplete unless the elected delegates are set free to vote separately, as in the Labour Conference, instead of in national units; they must be at liberty to sort themselves into international groups, instead of being perforce confined within

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national groups. How can people be expected to take a lively interest in electing, say, a Labour delegate, if he is to be powerless, whenever he happens to disagree with his colleagues, to register an effective vote. If you make the delegate a representative, you ought also to make him a voter.

W. E. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

[We invite further correspondence on this subject from our readers.—EDITOR.]

### PROPAGANDA BY BOOKS.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—As I see from your June issue that there is some difficulty in securing an adequate supply of books on the League of Nations, I think it may interest your readers to know that the Edward Wright and Cavendish-Bentinck Library of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, 62, Oxford Street, W. 1, has formed a section dealing with the League of Nations.

The subscription to this library is very low, and every effort is made to provide readers with the books they ask for. Individuals or societies subscribing may have two volumes per week, or a book-box containing twenty selected volumes from one to three months. Further particulars may be had on application.—Yours, &c.,

K. GORDON BROWN,

Hon. Librarian.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Teachers in Day and Sunday Schools hold the ends of many levers, but in no respect is their power greater than it is in the capacity of International peacemakers.

We have just tried an experiment in this district (Mill Hill) which may be usefully followed elsewhere, especially in areas where schools and teachers are more numerous.

An exhibit of selected books appeared in a local bookseller's shop, with an appropriate notice in the window.

Letters were sent to all discoverable teachers, inviting them to call and look at the books and pamphlets, without any obligation to buy. Many did go and some made purchases, but the fact that someone was trying to give publicity to the cause and its literature was probably quite as efficacious as the literature itself. It will have the effect, in some cases, of making people select their own materials to suit their own needs.

We found that in addition to the publications of the League of Nations Union, teachers required for younger scholars a good supply of simple descriptive literature dealing sympathetically with the home life of foreign peoples (so much depends upon the child's first impression, say, of the African. We have all been guilty of the "foreign devil" business).

This need was admirably met by the inexpensive books issued by the United Council for Missionary Education, 12, Eaton Gate, S.W. This is not the place to describe their merits, it would take too long, but your readers might well reap the benefit of our experience and make inquiry about these books.—Yours, &c.,

DAVID CHAMBERLIN.

### PASSPORTS.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—This is a matter which I think deserves attention, and comes within the scope of the work of the League of Nations.

At this time, when we should be encouraging free exchange of ideas between the nations, I submit that the system of passports is ridiculously old-fashioned and should follow the fate of the local tolls formerly existent in England. It is an unnecessary bar to such free intercourse, waste of time and money, and a decided infringement of personal and national liberty. Is it not a fact that one is a prisoner in his own country and an outlaw from all the other lands until he gets the necessary permissions to change locality? Now that we are extending the operation of law and peace from among individuals to nations, might not free movement also be similarly extended?

I should like to know the views of the L.N.U. or other of its members upon this question.—Yours, &c.,

HUBERT LANE.

### BRANCH ACTIVITIES.

#### STUDY CIRCLES.

THE CHIEF OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT WRITES:—  
I have a letter before me from a member of our Kendal Branch, in which he says, "I am sure I am voicing the feelings of our members when I say that we owe a debt of gratitude to the League of Nations Union for promoting these

## INVESTORS NOT RECEIVING ADEQUATE RETURN FROM THEIR CAPITAL.

This year will be remembered by thousands of people not as the year of the great Coal Dispute, but as the year of "Passed Dividends." Where profits have been earned the money in many cases has not been paid out because it might be needed for the business. A wise precaution, perhaps, but one that weighs very heavily on the Investor who has only dividends to live upon.

Investors not receiving adequate return from their capital have the remedy in their own hands. Instead of leaving their money to produce a safe but small return, or a larger but very uncertain income, they can adopt a Plan whereby the Income is fixed and guaranteed for life at a figure considerably higher than even the income derived from very speculative sources.

The Sun Life of Canada Annuity offers the solution to all the difficulties. This great Company, with assets of over £23,000,000, offers Annuities of all kinds to meet all circumstances. The Immediate Annuity is the most popular, and is to-day in great demand.

One case just completed is that of a retired Doctor, whose £7,000 Capital brought him in an uncertain £350. His age being 68, the Sun Life of Canada offered him an annuity of £899 10s., guaranteed for life. Another case, of a younger man (57), with only £3,000, saw an income of about £150 turned into an Annuity of about £270 15s.—a very gratifying increase.

This class of Annuity appeals both to men and to women who are 55 years of age and over. Though the cases quoted happen to be of people who had thousands to invest, others could have been cited of people who had only a few hundreds at their disposal. In cases of Impaired Health, Annuities larger than the usual rates are given. This is a most important advantage.

In addition to this Immediate Annuity, there are Deferred Annuities (particularly suitable for people who are still earning incomes), there are also Joint Annuities, and Educational Annuities, and other kinds to suit individual circumstances. For example: if there are dependents, an Annuity may be obtained with guaranteed return of the purchase money.

Why not investigate? Send particulars of your exact age, how much money you have to invest annually or in a lump sum, and without any obligation on your part you will receive the fullest particulars to enable you to come to a wise decision. Write to the Manager: J. F. Junkin, Sun Life of Canada, 9, Canada House, Norfolk Street, London, W.C. 2.



Study Circles." Another letter from a Hornsey leader states: "The result of our Study Circle meetings has shown us that not only is the League right in principle, but that it is perfectly practical."

There are a multitude of other testimonials which give an indication of the valuable work which our hundred Study Circles have carried out during the past months. If one may be allowed a frivolous comparison, these testimonials quite easily vie with the varied ones we see daily in the advertisement of popular medicines. There is no doubt, however, about their authenticity.

It is clear that our Study Circles have proved their usefulness. They have enabled their members to render indispensable help to the branches with which they are associated. Through them fuller information as to the organisation, achievements, and possibilities of the League is being more widely disseminated, so that our Study Circles are vigorously helping to create the strong public opinion, well informed on all aspects of international politics, without which we cannot hope to maintain world peace.

By public meetings and demonstrations we seek to arouse the interest and enthusiasm of the general public for the principles and general purpose of the League of Nations.

The degree of our success in that direction is favourably registered by the rapid growth of our membership.

If, however, we rely solely on occasional public meetings, we build our organisation on sand. We must be upon the solid rock of fact and knowledge. Hence the great value and need for Study Circles. Those who attend them, or who go to regular courses of informative lectures, or who systematically follow the progress of world movements through the medium of HEADWAY, the daily Press, and current literature, are helping towards securing the stability of our organisation and the success of our cause.

If your Branch has not yet formed Study Circles, get to work now to start them for next autumn and winter.

Write for a copy of our Study Circle leaflet, which will explain clearly to you how to obtain the necessary information for conducting Study Circles.

Text books (price 1s.) for special courses for Study Circles and Outlines of Study based on them have been prepared.

The courses available are:—

<i>Text-Books by</i>	
1. The Covenant	The League of Nations Union
2. The League and its Guarantees	Professor Gilbert Murray
3. The League and Labour	C. Delisle Burns
4. The Economic Functions of the League	Norman Angell
5. Mandates and Empire	Leonard Woolf
6. The League and the East	Professor Arnold Toynbee
7. The Future of the Covenant	G. Lowes Dickinson

The Union is prepared to answer all questions submitted by Study Circle leaders and to supply any special information required.

Arrangements have been made with the Central Library for Students, 20, Tavistock-square, whereby members of our Study Circles may borrow the more expensive books on the League, and so make deeper study of world problems.

The problem of world peace is a problem of education. It is the task of forming the "international mind." Constant analysis of international difficulties, probing their causes, and prescribing their cures must produce a world outlook. Study Circles should therefore find a definite place in the educational work of each Branch.

A Branch without Study Circles or their equivalent is as a body without a backbone.

#### LONDON REGION.

STEPNEY.—An interesting and successful experiment was made recently at a group of L.C.C. schools in Stepney. A number of prizes were offered for the best essay on the League of Nations. About 600 children were instructed in the first principles of the League by their teachers, and ten days before the essays were written Mr. Whelen lectured to them. He had a most attentive and responsive audience. The prizes were distributed on Empire Day before a gathering of 2,000. An encouraging feature of this venture was the sympathetic attitude of the school staff.

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#### EAST ANGLIAN REGION.

ST. ALBANS.—This Branch, which now numbers 400 members, is already planning its programme of autumn and winter work. A Study Circle is being started under the direction of Mr. A. Ogilvie, and two prizes have been offered for the best essays on the following subjects: (1) "Compare the League of Nations with previous attempts of a similar kind" (open to scholars between 15 and "leaving age"); and (2) "What the world owes to Italy, China, India, or the United States of America" (open to scholars under 15). Details of this competition and literature bearing on the subject can be obtained from the hon. secretaries.

#### MIDLAND REGION.

TAMWORTH.—A magnificent demonstration was arranged by this Branch on June 26th. A special service, attended by 1,500 people, was held in the Parish Church, and all other churches held similar services at the same time. A procession then assembled outside the Parish Church, and practically the whole town, as well as many people from the surrounding villages, fell in. Headed by the town band and the Mayor and Corporation, the procession, with banners flying, marched to the Square, where at least 2,500 persons listened to speeches on the League. The proceedings were marked by tremendous enthusiasm.

#### NORTH-WESTERN REGION.

HESWALL.—Over 1,400 people attended a Garden Fête arranged by this Branch on June 18th. The chief feature of the programme was the pageant play, "The Dawn of Peace." Other attractions included a display of national dances, games, and a Continental market, which lent a picturesque and cosmopolitan effect. Speeches on the League were given by Mr. Stainton and Mr. Collin Brooks. As a result of the Fête, the membership of the Branch was increased by about 100, and a substantial sum of money was added to the funds.

LIVERPOOL AND MERSEYSIDE DISTRICT.—The Council for this district appointed an "Open-Air Meetings Committee," and as an outcome of its efforts the five Branches in the Wirral Peninsula arranged for a week's campaigning in the villages. Each Branch was responsible for the arrangements of the meetings on one night, and two villages were visited each evening. The need for the campaign was proved by the fact that at one village the formation of a Branch had been eagerly awaited by the inhabitants, and 70 new members were enrolled. At most of the villages visited arrangements were made for the promotion of a Branch, and some 250 people signified their willingness to join the Branches when formed.

OLDHAM.—This Branch now has a membership of nearly 600, and is making steady progress. Since its inauguration a considerable amount of propaganda work has been carried on, chiefly among churches and Sunday-schools, over forty meetings having been addressed by members of the local executive. During the winter it is proposed to arrange a series of public lectures on specific aspects of the League's work. The formation of a Junior Branch is under consideration.

#### SOUTH-EASTERN REGION.

DARTFORD.—The demonstration organised by this Branch on June 22nd resulted in a considerable number of new members. It took the form of a procession consisting of representatives from many local organisations and churches, which, headed by the Salvation Army band, marched to the Park, where a great crowd was addressed by League speakers.

#### FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

During the month of July 105 meetings were held, although in the July publication only twenty-two were announced at the time of going to press.

For the next month meetings have already been arranged in the following places:—

August 3rd, Shere and Gomshall. August 5th, Hornsey Rise. August 11th, Poole (Dorset). August 15th, Exmouth. August 18th, Oxford. August 30th, West Wickham (Kent).

Among the speakers are: Miss Elizabeth Murray; Capt. Reginald Berkeley; Sir Arthur D. Steel-Maitland, M.P.; W. Llew. Williams, Esq.; Basil Yeaxlee, Esq., O.B.E., B.A.; Mrs. G. Skelton.

### TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.

Persons of sixteen years of age and upwards who signify, in writing, their general agreement with the objects of the Union and their desire to join it may become members on payment of subscription as under.

An annual subscription of at least 3s. 6d. entitles a member to HEADWAY monthly and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued.

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A payment of £25 secures life membership. HEADWAY monthly and copies of pamphlets and similar publications as issued are sent to all Life Members.

Applications to join the Union should be made to the secretary of a local Branch or to the General Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to "League of Nations Union" and crossed London Joint City and Midland Bank. All annual subscriptions terminate on December 31st.



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