

Headway

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THE MONTH.

The League of Nations is an organisation at present of fifty-two nations whose aim is to promote international co-operation and to achieve peace and security throughout the world.

The League of Nations Union is a British organisation whose aim is to educate and make effective public opinion in support of the League of Nations.

"The support which has been lent to the Government by every shade of opinion during the present negotiations has been an eloquent testimony to the efficacy of the work which the League of Nations Union has carried out since the war."—Lord Robert Cecil.

SO overpowering has been the number of resolutions sent to the Government by Branches of the League of Nations Union all over the country, urging that full use should be made of the League's power to act in the Italian-Greek crisis, that the Prime Minister has been quite unable to send individual acknowledgments. But it is certain that the firm attitude taken up by the British Government through their representative at Geneva has been rendered possible by the confidence of the majority of the thinking people of this country.

* * * *

THAT small, but very vocal, section of the Press which professes to believe, first, that the Government's action does not represent the will of the people of this country, and, secondly, that the case in point is one which does not concern the League, has either never read the Covenant or else adheres to the "scrap of paper" school, which the war was fought to destroy. The *Spectator*, in an excellent article on September 8, writes: "Italians in their present mood may fancy that their fine gesture in defying the League is a sign of strength. We greatly fear it is nothing of the sort. It is rather a sign of strength to be so sure

of the justice of your cause that you know it will be safe in the hands of impartial adjudicators." The whole article should be read by supporters of the League. Coming as it does from a moderate and conservative source, it supplies a convincing reply to the first contention quoted above. So also does the letter from Lieut.-Col. Durham, which we publish in our correspondence columns. The overwhelming applause, amounting to an ovation, which greeted Lord Robert Cecil at the Assembly, after his action in the Council, would seem to indicate that the people of other nations, as well as our own, found in him their spokesman.

* * * *

ARTICLES 10, 12 and 15 of the Covenant, signed by Italy in the Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Neuilly and Trianon, effectually dispose of the second contention. The complete solidarity of the League disclosed at Geneva has brought about a peaceful solution without necessitating action under these articles. But for the League, war would have been practically inevitable. Nor must it be lost sight of that the settlement which the Ambassadors' Conference was unable to arrive at was reached immediately the League took the matter in hand. By the time these words are in print Italy will have evacuated Corfu.

* * * *

LORD ROBERT CECIL, in his speech to the League Council on September 17, gave it as his personal conviction that without the League, and the pressure of public opinion directed from Geneva, success would never have been achieved. He urged, however, that the following three questions should go to the Permanent Court of International Trustees for final ruling: (1) The legitimacy under the Covenant of occupation of an opponent's territories by one party to a dispute; (2) the responsibility of the State for political crime committed within its borders; (3) the League's competence to handle

all disputes likely to lead to a rupture. Lord Robert made it clear that he regarded the latter point as vital, as the Italian challenge cut at the root of the League's activity and authority. As we go to press we learn that the Council, with the assistance of jurists, is to examine this problem.

THE serious aspect of the matter is that of creating undesirable precedents. France took the first step in her occupation of the Ruhr, and the action of Signor Mussolini in Corfu is on somewhat similar lines. It is, however, instructive to note the attitude of the French League of Nations Society, which recently called a special meeting of representatives of voluntary societies for the promotion of the League, and, having gathered together representatives of fourteen nations, proceeded to pass a strong resolution condemning both the murders and the Corfu occupation, and asking for immediate evacuation.

STRAWS of this kind indicate the attitude which France might be expected to take in the event of Italy trying a second fall with the League over Fiume. By most people the Fiume question was thought to be settled when d'Annunzio quitted the town, and Italy and Jugo-Slavia signed the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920, and the subsequent Agreement of Santa Margherita. Actually, however, the precise boundaries and administration have never been exactly settled. No better testimony to the value of the work done by the League in regard to the Italian-Greek affair could have been given than the complete change of face of Italy in regard to Fiume. The Jugo-Slavs having formally registered the Treaty of Rapallo with the League of Nations, the Italian delegation on September 15 completed the formality by adding Italy's signature. At the same time, it is announced that September 15, the date when Italy's ultimatum to Jugo-Slavia on Fiume was to expire, was never intended as a time-limit. As we go to press it is reported that the incident is closed, and that Italy has offered a treaty of alliance to Jugo-Slavia on certain conditions. Evidently the League atmosphere is thickening in this part of the world!

VISCOUNT ISHII, who, as Acting President of the Council, took the chair at the opening of the Assembly, before the election of M. de la Torriente as President, in reviewing the work of the League during the past year, rightly laid stress upon the reconstruction of Austria as the League's most notable single achievement. M. Ador, addressing the Second Committee a few days later, emphasised the fact that, whereas piecemeal assistance by different countries without collaboration and without control had involved an expenditure of 25 millions sterling and had not secured the main result of establishing Austria, the League's scheme has not only put Austria on her feet again with every prospect of keeping her in that position, but has done so without cost to the countries assisting her.

THE success of the Austrian scheme has brought other candidates into the field—Albania, Greece, and Hungary. Albania asked for and obtained a Financial Adviser—Greece asked for and obtained

a loan. The Hungarian application, as we pointed out last month, has not yet met with success, though there is hope that the sessions of the Assembly may effect a change in the situation. Meanwhile the extraordinary position of China, disintegrated and chaotic, would seem to indicate that here again is a case for League action.

A VERY remarkable tribute to the efficiency with which the League is carrying out one of the most difficult and delicate of its tasks was given by both the Greek and Bulgarian delegates to the Assembly on September 13. A Commission of the League on the Greek-Bulgarian frontier is supervising the mutual emigration of Bulgarians from Greece into Bulgaria and of Greeks from Bulgaria into Greece. So great is the confidence of both parties in this Commission that the Greek and Bulgarian Governments have appointed it as their agent for the protection of minorities or between the two countries.

ONE of the most important questions with which the Fourth Assembly is dealing is that of the limitation of armaments, which is now under consideration by the Third Committee. The American point of view on disarmament was outlined in an interesting speech by M. Edwards, the Chilean delegate, at the second meeting of the Third Committee. He pointed out that while for Europe the question was one of reduction with a view to preventing war and lightening budgets, for Latin America—leaving aside the United States—the problem was how to escape from being drawn into the European competition in armaments.

ILLUMINATING figures were given by M. Edwards of armament expenditure in Europe and America. Argentine, Brazil and Chile have a total expenditure of roughly £16,000,000 sterling, and the entire group of 20 Latin-American States a total of £43,000,000. The three Scandinavian countries and Spain (the most lightly-armed countries in Europe) total respectively £14,000,000 and £27,000,000. On a basis of population, expenditure is four times as heavy in the Scandinavian countries as it is in the three most strongly armed Latin-American countries. The 20 Latin-American Republics spend one-quarter of the amount budgeted for in the United States.

THE frank criticisms contained in the report to the League Council of the Permanent Mandates Commission on the Bondelswart rising in South-West Africa and on the method of its suppression by the Mandatory Power, the Union of South Africa, must dispel once and for all the idea still held in certain quarters that the mandatory principle is merely another name for annexation of the old, unsupervised nature. The criticisms have been replied to by Sir Edgar Walton, the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London, and no doubt the whole question will be thrashed out on the floor of the Assembly. The main point, however, which is made extremely clear in the Commission's report, is that the League is taking its responsibilities under Article 22 very seriously

PRESTIGE AND PEACE.

WHATEVER else is doubtful about the Græco-Italian controversy in its relation to the League of Nations one thing at least is certain. The whole incident will long remain the subject of lively debate and of diverse interpretations, and for the League itself it may well form a historic landmark, not indeed as demonstration either of the League's success or of its failure, but as a salutary reminder of the need for rather clearer definition of certain articles in the Covenant.

One other truth already emerges. Whatever the final judgments on the Janina murder and the Corfu bombardment may be, they will be very different from the early judgments. To take one single instance, there was hardly a competent commentator on either side of the Atlantic who did not lay it down as self-evident from the outset that this was a perfectly straightforward test case for the League. It is manifest now, and was manifest within a week of the original tragedy, that so far from being simple the Græco-Italian question was one of the most complicated the League had ever had to handle. It was complicated in the first instance by the fact that General Tellini, whose murder began the whole trouble, was actually executing a mission of the Conference of Ambassadors at the time of his death, and therefore it was out of the question for the League Council to claim that the Ambassadors had no jurisdiction in the matter. It was complicated further by the fact that the Greek Government, while it acted with perfect propriety towards the League, put itself at an early stage of the dispute completely in the hands of the Conference of Ambassadors, and undertook to accept any decision that body might give. It was complicated finally by the fact that many friends of the League, and possibly even some members of its Council, lost sight for a moment of the fundamental truth that the League's business in such a case is not to impose a settlement itself at any cost, but to secure an agreement between the parties by arbitration, conciliation or any other reasonable means.

The difficulties that faced the League Council in the early days of September might be further elaborated, but it will suffice here to examine briefly the course actually taken, bearing in mind always the two determining facts that the Council could not, on the one hand, disregard the appeal which Greece most properly addressed to it, nor on the other claim sole jurisdiction in the matter regardless of the Ambassadors' Conference, which clearly had some competence to deal with an attack on one of its military representatives and which actually had the affair before it when the League Council met.

What, in a word, was the course actually taken? The League Council, which might, as some of its more ardent friends demanded, have endeavoured to elbow the Ambassadors off ground they were clearly entitled to occupy up to a certain point, did its best to avoid an almost certainly disastrous controversy regarding jurisdictions, thus, incidentally, acting in full consonance with the spirit of articles XII and XIII of the Covenant, which provide for a settlement outside the Council as the

indeed as a "sacred trust for civilisation." The words of the Chairman are worth quoting:—

"I admit that circumstances in the past, special conditions on the spot, and the particular characteristics of the population may make the task of the Mandatory Power a very difficult one. My conscience, however, will not allow me to admit that these difficulties justify a departure from the principles of the Mandate—a departure which, instead of appearing to be a demonstration of strength and superiority, might be considered an indication of weakness and incapacity in the exercise of a mission which is only a lofty one if its true spirit is respected."

AS we write, two new countries have applied for membership of the League, and one has been admitted. The admission of Ireland constituted in some degree a landmark in the history of the League. Ireland has been enabled to join the League through the triumph in Great Britain of the principles which underlie the Covenant. The Political Committee has decided to advise the Assembly to admit Ethiopia (Abyssinia) provided its representatives receive full authority to sign various undertakings regarding slavery, the arms traffic, and other matters. Searching questions were put to the Abyssinian delegation on the question of slavery, but it is certain that the admission of Abyssinia to the League will go a long way towards abolishing this shameful institution. It is interesting that the Italian Government has instructed its Legation in Abyssinia to take immediate steps to free all slaves owned by the native staff of the Legation.

TURKEY has not yet applied for admission. A more unfortunate, though less unexpected, omission is that of Germany. We still maintain our view that had Germany formally applied for membership, undertaking at the same time (as the Cuno Government had done) to accept the decision of an impartial body of experts on her capacity to pay, and inviting the advice and assistance of the League Financial Committee in the reorganisation of her finances, she would have given the best possible guarantee of good faith. The hopes raised by the announcement that direct negotiations between the French and German Governments were imminent have unfortunately not been realised. The Ruhr occupation, however, raises the whole question of reparations, inter-allied debts and security, and cannot be dealt with by the two countries acting alone. A settlement under the auspices of the League is the only possible solution which offers any hope of real peace and security.

A TESTIMONIAL to the value of the voluntary League of Nations Societies is contained in the report from the Commission of Experts on the Libraries of the Secretariats of the League and the International Labour Office. The paragraph in question reads: "It further appears to us that it would be desirable to obtain assistance from the various countries, members of the League, in the way of recommendations of books there published on historical, political and economic subjects. The provision of such lists might be entrusted to the League of Nations Union in a given country where such a body is strong and energetic."

first resort, and recourse to the Council itself as the last. When, however, the Ambassadors had laboured for a week without visible result the Council did itself draft a proposal for settlement. That proposal was forwarded to the Ambassadors at Paris. It reached them on a Friday morning. Before Friday evening had gone they had adopted it virtually as it stood, and placed it before both disputants, each of whom promptly accepted it. On the basis of the League scheme, therefore, the crisis was ended.

Does that spell failure or success for the League? To everyone who compares Signor Mussolini's original ultimatum terms with those approved by the League and adopted by the Ambassadors' Conference, and who realises the effect produced at Paris by the unprecedented display of unity among the nations met in Assembly at Geneva, there will be small temptation to underrate the decisive part the League was able to play. Confronted with the fact that while both parties accepted the Ambassadors' Conference as tribunal, whereas one accepted and one rejected the Council itself, the Council might have taken the weak and spectacular and perilous course of insisting that Italy should accept its intervention whether she liked it or not, or it might have contented itself with the acquiescence of both parties in what was in effect an arbitral ruling by one of those extra-League tribunals, whose existence and operation the Covenant expressly envisages. In taking the latter course the Council was certainly guilty of no dereliction of its duty.

But that, it may be contended, covers only a part of the facts. The original dispute was one thing. After the bombardment of Corfu it became quite another, and in any case to overlook Italy's challenge to the League's competence would be fatal. With regard to Corfu it may properly be argued that it was a separate issue. It could have been so treated. But to draw a line between the first phase and the second of the controversy was never easy, and since the Ambassadors chose to regard them as one question, and have to all appearance succeeded in settling them together, it is going far to say that the League for the sake of its own prestige should have interfered and imperilled this success. The League's first concern is not prestige but peace.

As to Italy's challenge to the League, that certainly cannot be ignored. But let it not be thought that the challenge was successful. The end of the whole matter is that the dispute has been settled, settled on terms that Greece accepts, and settled by Signor Mussolini's abandonment of his own conditions in favour of the League's. Italy's attitude dishonours her in so far as it involves a violation of the obligations she undertook when she signed Articles XII, XIII and XV of the Covenant. On the League itself it has had little effect, except to emphasise the unanimity with which all members except Italy—and Italy in this connection means only the Italy of the moment—recognise the comprehensive and binding character of the articles Italy has chosen to call in question.

In fine, the Italo-Greek dispute was far too complicated from the first to admit of dramatic intervention and clean-cut decision by the League.

The League, moreover, is bound by its Covenant, and most of the criticism directed at Council members has been based on a quite inadequate appreciation of the articles involved. But as the dusts of the controversy clear away there is little doubt that the League will emerge strengthened rather than weakened by the action it has taken, and equally little that the wisdom of the course it has followed in face of a situation both difficult and delicate will be generally acknowledged.

THE GRÆCO-ITALIAN CRISIS.

By PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY.

THERE has been some confusion of thought about the position of the League in the dispute between Italy and Greece. People have imagined that the League possessed, or claimed, a right to impose itself as arbitrator of all disputes. It seems even possible that when M. Mussolini denied "the competence of the League" it is this supposed claim that he was denying. The only right which the League has asserted, or can assert, under the Covenant is the right—and duty—to see that the Covenant is observed, *i.e.*, that before resorting to war members of the League must submit their disputes to *some form of arbitration for peaceful settlement*. It has no right to insist on choosing the arbitrator, much less on being the arbitrator—except, indeed, in the last resort, when all other arbitration has failed.

In the present case, as the first cause of the dispute was the murder of certain members of a Commission sent by the Conference of Ambassadors, that body was obviously concerned in the settlement, and the Council of the League suggested to it certain terms of settlement which it thought likely to be acceptable to both parties, and which were, in fact, accepted. Instead of being an indignity imposed arbitrarily by Italy upon Greece, the act of reparation has become an agreed measure, suggested by nine members of the League Council out of ten, proposed by the Conference of Ambassadors and accepted both by Greece and Italy; the reparation is to be assessed by the International Court; on these conditions, it is understood, Italy will evacuate Corfu and the incident will be over.

The actual effect to-day on the Græco-Italian crisis of the existence of the League may be summarised as follows:—

1. Had there been no League, Greece would have either been goaded into a disastrous war or subjected to extreme humiliation and perhaps permanently despoiled of territory, while other small nations with strong neighbours would have lost all sense of security. The existence of the League enabled Greece to obtain a settlement based on the proposals of the Ambassadors as defined by a decision of the International Court, while the small nations realise that they have a protector against arbitrary violence.

2. The ordinary weapon of the League is public opinion or the conscience of the world. By great good fortune the Assembly was just about to sit when the present dispute broke out; the small States were able to discover their unanimity and the moral power which they possess when united. The moral opinion of the world was marshalled to its full value. Where, before the existence of the League, very few nations would have felt free to take position in a matter so critical, now, with the League, it became a positive duty and an act of self-preservation for many of them to do so. And all parties were able not only to see, but to work towards alleviating the extreme difficulties of the situation.

Not only closely interested Powers, such as Great

Britain and France, had the opportunity of discussion, but also other Powers, such as Japan, Belgium, Sweden, on the Council, and all the fifty-one other nations of the Assembly in their informal but vitally important meetings and conversations.

3. The question having thus come as of right to international discussion, it was possible to discuss it on a higher plane than ever before attainable. All the nations involved, not only Italy and Greece, but also all the other nations, were bound by treaty to certain principles of co-operation and peaceful settlement which never before had existed as an organic part of international law. Whatever the final outcome may be, there can be no doubt that the discussions have taken place on a higher moral plane and with a higher sense of moral responsibility than any other such diplomatic discussions in history. Those who believe in the sanctity of international agreements and the necessity for the enthronement of public right as the common law of the world must appreciate that even if the final outcome is not all that they desire, at least this great advance has been obtained.

4. The existence of a permanent, organised international mechanism has made possible continuous negotiations looking to a settlement. In spite of Italy's denial of "the competence of the League," Italy has been represented at four meetings of the Council, one after another, where this matter has been discussed. These meetings, except the first, have been open to the Press and the public, and each one has marked a definite step forward towards a peaceful solution.

5. Through the existence of the League it was possible for Greece without humiliation to make a further offer to Italy after her first offer had been rejected. As a result of this offer and the various discussions of the Council it was also possible for the Council to draw up a detailed programme of eight points for the settlement of the reparations phase of the enquiry, which— it must be noted—was accepted and put into effect, first by the Council of Ambassadors, and secondly by the Italian and the Greek Governments.

The settlement recommended by the Council of the League and accepted by the Conference of Ambassadors is far more favourable to Greece than the original Italian ultimatum, particularly in that the apologies shall be addressed, not to Italy alone, but to the three Allied Powers; that the salutes shall not only be made to ships of the three Powers rather than to Italy alone, but that they shall be returned; that, instead of an enquiry in the presence of an Italian, to which Greece had agreed, the enquiry is to be controlled by a commission presided over by a Japanese, and consisting of an Italian, a Frenchman and an Englishman; that, instead of the immediate payment of 50 million lire in five days, as demanded by Italy, that sum shall be deposited in a Swiss bank against whatever figure of reparations may be fixed by the League Court at the Hague; and finally that Greece shall not have to agree in advance, without condition, to the imposition of the death penalty for those guilty of the murders.

It seems reasonable to claim, therefore, (1) that the existence of the League made it possible for Greece to avoid the dangerous alternatives of a humiliating surrender or a disastrous war, and relieved other States from extreme anxiety; (2) that it brought the dispute out before an international forum where world public opinion could become operative; (3) that it raised the discussion to a level higher than ever before possible; (4) that it allowed steady and continuous negotiations to take place; (5) that, so far as concerns the first phase of the dispute, these negotiations have led directly to a peaceful settlement accepted by all parties. It is important to bear in mind the following dates: August 27th, murder of the Italian officers; August 29th, the

Italian ultimatum to Greece; August 30th, the Greek answer thereto; August 31st, the bombardment and occupation of Corfu; September 1st, receipt of appeal of Greece to the Council and the first meeting of the Council of the League; September 4th, September 5th, further meetings of the Council; September 6th, proposal to the Council by the Spanish member of a plan of settlement and transmission of that plan to the Conference of Ambassadors; September 7th, practical acceptance of that plan by the Conference of Ambassadors and transmission to the Greek and Italian Governments; September 9th, acceptance of that proposal by the Greek and Italian Governments—in short, an agreement by both parties within ten days of the bombardment of Corfu on a plan elaborated by the Council of the League of Nations.

So much for the situation to-day; what the future holds is another matter. The great fact which must be borne in mind is that the object of the League must be to secure peaceful and just settlements rather than to impose its will, advertise its triumphs, or indulge its *amour propre*. Its duty is on the one hand to maintain international good will, and on the other to insist on the observance of international agreements.

This is the first time that the duty of the League has brought it into direct conflict with a Great Power, and the situation must necessarily cause anxiety. The first stage of the dispute has ended correctly with the acceptance by Italy of mediation and arbitration, and there is reason to hope that certain misunderstandings having been cleared away the remaining stages may actually result in improved relations between Greece and Italy, as well as between Italy and the League. But our final judgment must be reserved till both nations have resumed their normal positions and some outstanding juridical questions can be settled in a calmer atmosphere.

One moral is that, since all nations in the League are now bound by the Covenant the citizens of each State should be made to read and understand it.

A LETTER FROM GENEVA.

GENEVA, September.

IT is said that an organisation like the League of Nations suffers less from direct attack than from indifference and neglect, and if this be the case there should be no cause for depression in the newspaper comments of the last three weeks. It has been brought home to us in the matter of the dispute between Greece and Italy that, just as the pace of a regiment is that of its slowest soldier, so the strength of the Covenant is that given to it by the least enthusiastic members of the Council. But this dispute is dealt with elsewhere, and it will suffice here to point out that the impression it has left on the delegates has been so profound that they have never before shown so little interest in the discussions of the Assembly.

The more ardent delegates have been restrained from expressing their discontent in public debate only with the greatest difficulty. The fact that Lord Robert Cecil himself has deemed caution wiser than rash action has succeeded in calming the anxieties of men such as Dr. Nansen, M. Motta and M. Branting, but now that the date for the evacuation of Corfu has been fixed there will probably be some discussion in the Assembly on the question of competence, and once that discussion has ended rapid progress should be made. There will be no more reason to avoid holding Assembly meetings or to drag out long and dull debates lest the more impatient delegates should have the opportunity of stating their views about Italy in such a manner as to endanger the negotiations in Paris.

It is perhaps significant that more visitors with no apparent connection with any organisation to support

the League of Nations have crowded to the meetings of the Commissions this year than on preceding occasions. Of course, there are many of the leaders of politics and learning to attract the curious. M. Branting may be found discussing the situation with Lord Robert and Dr. Benes; M. Paderewski is here again as a spectator; everyone wanted to see Mr. Cosgrave and his colleagues from the Irish Free State; the delegates of Abyssinia are picturesque figures in their long white garments; there are nearly thirty former Prime Ministers or Ministers of Foreign Affairs. But these factors would surely not be important enough to draw hundreds of visitors day after day, visitors who will sit from three in the afternoon until seven in the evening listening to technical discussions on disarmament or on amendments to the Covenant. One is forced to the conclusion that the general interest in the work of the League is growing steadily year by year.

The discussions of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance have proceeded so far as well as could be expected, considering the immense interests involved. Smaller States with insignificant armaments and favourable strategic frontiers are naturally reluctant to take a share in the responsibilities of keeping the peace between larger States with warlike pasts, and they have yet to be convinced that particular defensive agreements can be controlled in such a way as to do away with the risks of a new Balance of Power. On the other hand, France, for example, will not disarm unless the guarantees that are offered her by way of compensation can be made immediately effective in case of aggression. It is as yet too early to predict the fate of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, especially since it involves juridical questions of great importance, but the optimists remain optimistic and the pessimists remain relatively quiet.

The Canadian amendment to Article 10 naturally depends to some degree on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The British amendment to Article 16 will probably have to be postponed until next year, since it is itself an amendment to an amendment which has not yet been ratified by the required number of States. The slowness with which some countries are ratifying amendments has again aroused indignant comment, and Sir James Allen, on behalf of New Zealand, pointed out in the Assembly that this reluctance, especially on the part of two or three members of the Council, was almost intolerable, since it meant that not one of the amendments to the Covenant was yet in operation. Thus the scale of contributions to the League's expenses during 1923 had no legal basis. This matter will be discussed by the First Committee, and it is to be hoped that moral pressure brought to bear on Brazil, Italy and Spain will induce them to ratify Article 6 without further delay.

Good progress has been made in the Second and Fourth Committees dealing with Health and Social work. There have been several references to the absolute necessity for economy, and it is possible that the French insistence for still further reduction of expenses, pressed by their delegate, M. Reveillaud, in the Fourth Committee, will have an unfortunate effect, especially in Health and Epidemic work. Without the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation much of this activity, warmly praised though it is by all the delegates in Geneva, would have to cease altogether.

Apart from the fact that the expenses of the League for France come to about one four-thousandth of the French budget, the fact that the budget for the coming year has, at M. Reveillaud's request, been referred back to the Supervisory Commission has been interpreted in some quarters as being a reflection on the work of that body. It should be remembered that the Supervisory Commission consists of experts representing different countries and having no direct interest in the Secretariat of the League. In their opinion they have

already cut down the Budget as much as possible, and it remains to be seen what they will be able to suggest to meet M. Reveillaud's demands, which include a definite reduction in the budget to the extent of about 10 per cent. It is particularly unfortunate that France should have made this drastic request at a moment when the Greek-Italian dispute should have persuaded the different member States to add to rather than to subtract from the League's power and prestige.

At the moment of writing the discussion on the Report of the Council is still proceeding. Therefore the more interesting work of the Assembly has still to be done. There remains the question of the admission or non-admission of Abyssinia—a difficult question to solve, since the Ethiopian delegates have not yet succeeded in persuading the sub-committee which deals with the admission of new States that there is no slavery, but only a form of serfdom, in their country. It seems very possible that the Assembly will decide to postpone Abyssinia's admission for another year, since the delegates from Addis Abeba have not as yet powers to pledge their Government to a strong policy against slavery. No moments in the Assembly Hall are more stirring than those when delegates from some new member State file into their seats for the first time. The welcome given to the Irish delegates was exceptionally warm, and there will be some disappointment if the Abyssinians are not to be admitted. But there is consolation in the reflection that their rejection would be one more proof that the States members of the League stand definitely for steady moral, as well as material, progress in international affairs.

B.

A LONDON LETTER.

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1.

Testing the League.

THE so-called holiday season has been a period of unusual excitement, and the League of Nations Union has had perhaps its first real opportunity of testing the effect of the work it has been doing up and down the country during the past three or four years. It is satisfactory, therefore, from the Union's point of view to observe that in spite of the "heathen rout of disreputable journalism" (and, my word, it has been disreputable!), England has shown herself of all countries to be the one that is most in earnest about the League—the most determined that it shall succeed. This is perhaps not saying much. In fact, some people are complaining that the British Government is not showing all the pluck one might have expected in the way of vindicating the Covenant. But after all, the progress of the League, like the progress of an army on the march, must be regulated by the slowest member—and some members seem desirous of turning the progress into a funeral march.

The test, moreover, has been the means, as it were, of shaking the Union together and separating its real friends from those who choose a time like the present for "reconsidering their position." It is a lovely phrase—"I am reconsidering my position." Waiting to see which way the cat will jump does not sound nearly so lovely, but it means much the same thing. I wonder just how long Christianity would have lasted if its Founder, on hearing of His impending crucifixion, had started reconsidering His position? And yet the League is nothing but organised Christianity.

But if this test has shown up some fair-weather champions of the League, it has, on the other side, evoked some magnificent testimonies from hitherto unexpected sources; read, for example, Sir Philip Burne-Jones' letter in *The Times* of September 14, where he says that it is surely a merciful miracle that

the League exists in our time, and the man who would try to belittle it deserves poorly of his fellows, and the memory of him in days to come will be anything but enviable. Or read the memorandum of Professor Gilbert Murray on p. 424 of this journal and compare what you read there with the sort of stuff which appears in certain well-known "dailies," or in letters written by people reconsidering their position, and you will easily perceive the difference between generous and modest-minded men who are capable of seeing into the low, spiritual growth of things, and mere logicians and bad ones at that—who delight to think that their preconceptions of the League have been corroborated. Keats says somewhere, I think in his letters, that everything can be argued, but nothing can be proved. Let the logicians say what they like, the League will not die.

What the Union has Done.

But I must report progress. By the time this is read the Executive Committee of the Union will have been specially called together three times to formulate its policy and to give a lead to British public opinion. The first special meeting was held on August 21—just after the last British Note on the subject of Reparations and Inter-Allied Debts had been handed to France—when the following resolutions were passed:—

In view of the ever-increasing danger to peace resulting from the continued occupation of the Ruhr district by French and Belgian forces:—

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union respectfully urges His Majesty's Government at or before the meeting of the Fourth Assembly on September 3, 1923,

1. To exercise its declared friendly right under the second paragraph of Article XI of the Covenant and to bring to the notice of the League the present relations between France, Belgium and Germany.
2. To propose that representatives of Germany be invited, under the terms of Article XVII, to take part in the discussion of those matters in which Germany is directly interested.
3. To endeavour to bring about a settlement under the auspices of the League (with the assistance, if possible, of the United States) of the whole problem of reparations, inter-Allied debts, and security out of which the present strained situation has arisen.

The Executive also hopes that His Majesty's Government will press vigorously for a Treaty on Disarmament and Guarantees, as the most effective means to ease the international situation by relieving the dangerous burdens of national expenditure, as well as to secure the future maintenance of peace.

The second special meeting—held on September 5, five days after the bombardment and occupation of Corfu—spoke as follows:—

"That the Executive of the L.N.U.—remembering the abrupt termination of hostilities between Jugo-Slavia and Albania which resulted, in November, 1921, from the intervention of the League of Nations—welcomes the British Government's action in instructing their representative on the League's Council and Assembly to press for the full use of the League's powers under the Covenant with a view to an immediate settlement of the dispute between Italy and Greece.

"Its courageous action on this occasion may establish or destroy the League of Nations, upon which the future peace of the world depends. The Executive Committee accordingly appeals to H.M. Government to do all that lies in their power to secure that the League shall not hesitate to enforce the Covenant in the present critical instance, confident that such action on the part of the Government will command the support of the great majority of the people of this country."

And now just as we are going to press the third meeting is held on September 19 to consider, among

other questions, how best to combat the newspaper attacks which are being made on the League.

Copies of the above resolutions were sent out to all our Branches with a request that they should communicate with the Government in the same sense. As a result the Prime Minister writes to us to say that he is receiving so many resolutions from our Branches (both about the Ruhr and about the Græco-Italian dispute) that he cannot possibly acknowledge them all individually, and that he desires to give a general and comprehensive acknowledgment through these columns. In this connection it may interest readers to know that the Bristol District Council utilised the occasion for appealing for members through the local press. The resolutions dealing with the Ruhr question were also sent to some fourteen foreign societies, suggesting that they should similarly urge their Governments to utilise the League's machinery.

"Famiglia Italiana."

In the matter of the Græco-Italian question the resolutions were forwarded to the Italian and Greek Societies. The reply received from the Italian Society is of sufficient interest to be quoted as showing the effect that a cry of national honour can have on presumably the most internationally minded section of a community. The Italians reply with engaging candour as follows:—

"The Council of the 'Famiglia Italiana' met to-day, and in considering your telegram, appreciated the sentiments which inspired it, since your idealism must not be confused with the attitude of that section of the international press which seems to occupy itself specially in invoking the intervention of the League of Nations only in questions which do not affect the interest and honour of their own country. The actions which started the Italian-Greek affair are such, without the possibility of misunderstanding, as to justify profound and unanimous resentment on the part of the Italian people; the past inefficiency of the League of Nations in dealing with questions no less threatening to the peace of Europe; and lastly, the stage which the affair had reached—all these considerations and circumstances induced us to hold back, as any action by the 'Famiglia Italiana' on the lines of your suggestion would end by damaging the very ideal of international justice to which we have remained faithful.

"As, however, the League of Nations Union will not ignore the spirit and fervour with which the 'Famiglia Italiana' has worked on every occasion within the modest limits of its powers, to support the League of Nations, not hesitating to assume the heaviest responsibilities, we are sure that you will give to this, our frank declarations, their proper meaning."

Letter from Lord Robert.

Some people may be inclined to doubt the utility of sending resolutions to the Government. Here is a letter from the Lord Privy Seal acknowledging the receipt of our Græco-Italian resolution. It is addressed to the General Secretary:—

"I write to thank you for the valuable resolution concerning the Greek-Italian crisis which you were good enough to forward to me on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Union.

"The support which has been lent to the Government by every shade of opinion during the present negotiations has been an eloquent testimony to the efficacy of the work which the League of Nations Union has carried out since the war."

Officers of the Union.

The last Council meeting elected and re-elected the Union's officers for the coming year. Acceptances have been coming in during the past month, among others, from M. Poincaré, Dr. Benes and M. Venizelos, who wishes to "convey to our members the expression of his great appreciation of their confidence and the

(Continued p. 430.)

THE NEW WORLD.

XIII.—HUNGARY.

By DOUGLAS JERROLD.

DURING the years immediately preceding the war, when the Near East was the storm centre of Europe, one of the most constant menaces to the stability of *status quo* was seen by all close observers to be the policy of "Magyarisation" steadily—and according to some ruthlessly—pursued by the Government of Hungary at the expense of the non-Magyar races within her boundaries. Of these races which formed nearly 50 per cent. of a total population of some 20 millions, the Roumanians, the Slovaks, and the Serbs were, of course, the most important.

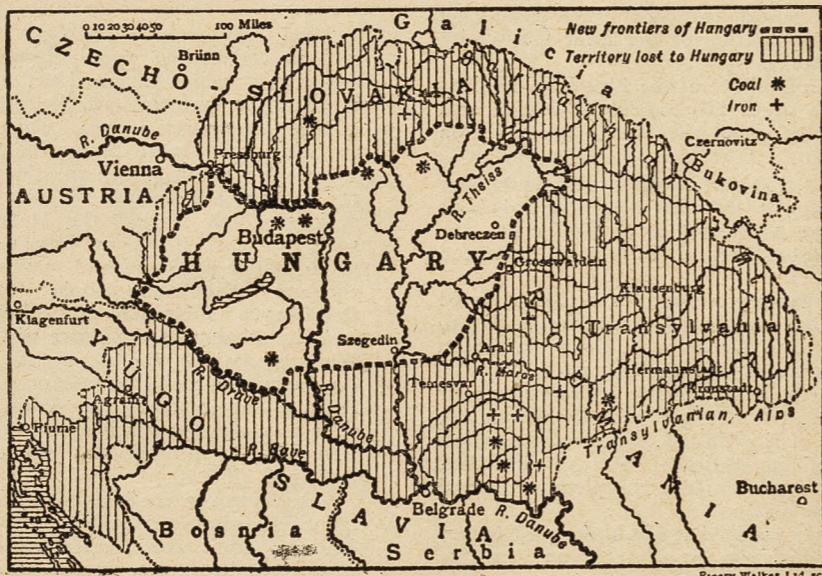
To-day the wheel has come full circle, and it is not too much to say that one of the chief sources of danger to the health of Europe is the economic prostration of Hungary, directly resulting from the readjustment of her boundaries and the transference of a third of her populations to the now powerful states of Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Roumania.

The fact that the danger now to be feared is not a military upheaval, but intensification of that economic paralysis which is the culminating achievement of the Peace of Versailles, makes the problem which Hungary presents to-day one of direct concern to the British trading community. Unfortunately, the Peace Treaty as drafted not only created the problem, but did its best to prevent its peaceful solution.

Before the war, as to-day, Hungary was a predominantly agricultural country (no less than 69 per cent. of her population being engaged in agriculture and allied industries), but the most vigorous efforts were being made to promote manufactures. Her trade was, indeed, only barely maintained, despite the balance possession of resources in raw materials so great as to enable her not only to be virtually independent of imported raw materials, but to export in sufficient quantities to compensate for the undeveloped state of her industry. Furthermore, the industrial districts surrounding the present State of Hungary used to absorb regularly the surplus population of the agricultural districts (the Magyar peasantry migrated steadily into Croatia, and there was a steady flow of population from Transylvania to Roumania).

The Peace Treaty changed all this. While freeing the Magyars from the Austrian domination (though this was of a very modified character and in many cases extended only to military and foreign policy), it left them with an impoverished country, saddled with a pre-war debt and the obligations of a defeated country. Actually, Hungary lost in mere acreage more than 50,000 square miles of territory, and in population more than 12,000,000 (including 3,500,000 pure Magyars), and in the process she lost 90 per cent. of her timber, 80 per cent. of her mineral resources, and is deprived of all access to the sea. The result has been staggering.

In the last year (1922) for which figures are available, her imports exceeded her exports in value by nearly 80 per cent., the respective figures being £25,000,000 and £14,000,000. This disastrous discrepancy is attributable to easily ascertained causes. The imports of wood, coal and other minerals to make up for her lost resources amount to 15 per cent. of her total imports. The imports of textiles (partly necessitated by the lack of natural resources, but accentuated by the fact that the manufacturing centres for textiles—fostered with great care by the pre-war Government—were almost wholly in ceded territory) account for no less than 33 per cent. of the total imports. A third, and vitally important, cause of Hungary's economic crisis is the banishment from the surrounding states of Magyar populations, and the definite measures taken by these States to check what used to be a heavy annual emigration from the present Hungary. A fourth—though more transitory—cause of the present trouble is the social and economic dislocation caused by the adjustment of boundaries. The number of State officials, for instance (700,000 in a population of 7,500,000), is vastly in excess of the requirements of the new State, but they cannot be dismissed at once, since the industries which could support them do not exist. Again, the railway systems are not planned to serve the small area which is now Hungary,



but to be an integral part of a far larger system from which they are now severed. Still more curious is the effect of the very artificial frontier between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, when the normal channels of daily intercourse and actually of retail trade have been suddenly blocked. In a wealthy and flourishing country these difficulties would soon right themselves. They gravely accentuate the severity of conditions approaching rapidly to bankruptcy.

The effects of the Peace Treaty have been dealt with at length because the British public have, I believe, got a definitely false impression of the nature of the Hungarian problem. Accustomed as we are to regard an agricultural country as self-supporting, we cannot easily grasp the truth that without a relapse to the standard of living of the Dark Ages, even a purely agricultural country cannot maintain itself if it is suddenly separated from all sources of supply of manufactured goods.

The possible solutions are two. The barriers set up by the Peace Treaty must be broken down, or Hungary must develop her manufactures. To do the one, the Little Entente will have to be persuaded to relax some portion of their political intransigence; to do the other, they will have to give up their stranglehold on the finances of Hungary, so that she can raise the necessary loans for capital works. The former solution—not an ideal one—is, at any rate, impracticable. The latter should not be, though the shadow of Reparations across the path is not a portent of good omen.

The financial position of Hungary is, remarkably enough, not unsatisfactory. The deficit, indeed, for

1922/23 was a very substantial one (more than 30 per cent. of the revenue for the year), but there is much to be placed on the credit side. Hungary has definitely succeeded in retarding the fall in her currency (though without foreign support she cannot ultimately succeed in staying off a serious collapse); she has endeavoured to meet her obligations (e.g., in regard to the pre-war debt convention and the British Food Loan) and she has increased her taxation.

The legitimate deduction is that Hungary's financial solvency can still be preserved by prompt international action, but that, without such action, a collapse is, in the long or short run, inevitable.

Hungary has already applied to the Reparations Commission for a waiving of the Reparation mortgages on Hungarian assets in order that she may raise a loan under the auspices of the League of Nations, whose financial control she is prepared to accept. Great Britain and Italy have, it is known, supported the idea, but the representatives of France and of the Little Entente voted against it and the French President of the Commission gave his casting vote against Hungary. There lies the crux of the problem. The Little Entente, through the Reparations machinery, have a measure of control over Hungary. Will they; can they be persuaded to, surrender this control to the only body capable of exercising it strictly and impartially for the common good of Europe, and thus, in the end, for the greatest good of the Little Entente itself? Without some such solution of the present impasse there can be no hope for Hungary's rehabilitation or for the lasting peace of the Near East.

GREECE AND ITALY: WHAT THE PRESS THINKS.

The excerpts given below from the principal daily and weekly newspapers tell their own story so eloquently that it is quite unnecessary for us to point the moral.

Times. September 20.—The competence of the League to hear and to determine the whole controversy between Italy and Greece . . . is in theory indisputable. . . . But does the most reckless and visionary among the die-hards of League idealism fancy that the democracies would have faced the risks of a fresh European war in order that the quarrel between Italy and Greece should be settled directly by the League, rather than settled through the Conference of Ambassadors? It is certain they would not. As a fact, League and Conference worked together side by side, with results which both disputants accepted as satisfactory. By assenting to this arrangement the League performed its primary function. It contributed efficiently to the preservation of peace. . . . But . . . the occupation of Corfu was accompanied by the unprovoked bombardment of an open and unoffending town. . . . If the League rises without in some shape placing upon record its formal condemnation of this flagrant breach of public law it will long forfeit the confidence and the respect of the democracies of Europe.

Daily Telegraph. September 3.—It is a case for the League, and the whole League.

September 4.—It can be assumed as fixed that the British Government have decided to stand by the League of Nations. They hold that the League is the proper tribunal to take cognisance of the dispute which has arisen between Italy and Greece. That is manifestly the general opinion of the world at large. . . . Of the competence of the League what reasonable doubt can there be? . . . If Italy, as we believe, is earnest for peace, she can assure it at once by recognising her plain obligations under the Covenant of the League.

Daily News. September 3.—Italy says she cannot have recourse to the League in an affair touching her honour. But to refuse recourse to the League will touch her honour far more

nearly. Her signature binds her to have recourse to the League in the event of "any dispute likely to lead to a rupture."

September 10.—It is at least almost certain that if the League had not existed the occupation of Corfu would have provoked instantly war between Italy and Greece, and that other Balkan States would soon have joined in the mêlée. . . . In our view the delegates at Geneva handled an extraordinarily difficult problem with admirable skill.

Westminster Gazette.

September 3.—The wording of the Covenant is absolutely clear; and there is no possible room for doubt that the members of the League are bound to take cognisance of the crisis, and that the line of action which it is their duty to take is clearly laid down for them.

September 10.—The League of Nations, in the view of those whose support of it on this occasion has been conspicuous by its absence, has suffered a rebuff, but we do not share that view at all.

Daily Chronicle.

September 10.—The very serious issue left outstanding is that in an elementary question of its competence the League has been defied, and its Covenant overridden, by one of the Great Powers which belong to it.

Daily Herald.

September 6.—Those who support the League of Nations and those who, for any reason, distrust it will alike agree that on the decision to be taken in the Italian-Graeco quarrel depends its whole future. . . . The issue is clear. Either the League is competent to deal with a situation threatening the peace of the world, and is prepared to face opposition from one of the "Great" Powers in carrying out its duties, or the League must confess its impotence.

Daily Mail.

September 5.—The League is not concerned, for the situation does not imply "war or threat of war."

September 10.—The League of Nations is preparing to retreat, though there are still possibilities of further interference by that assembly of busybodies which ought to be compulsorily wound up.

Morning Post.

September 10.—[The task of the Government] has been rendered exceedingly difficult . . . by the only too obvious disparity between the official pretensions and the actual powers of the League of Nations. After all, diplomacy must be based on realities, and far too many people are ready to give to the League an authority which, as a matter of fact, it does not possess. If a settlement is reached over the Jamina outrages, European statesmen will have to consider very seriously the present Covenant of the League of Nations, and the commitments in which they are thereby involved.

Daily Express.

September 3.—Here we have a first-class illustration of the impotence of the League of Nations. If it functioned as it was designed to do, no power on earth would date to do what the Italians have done.

September 5.—The League of Nations has suddenly ceased to be a pretty toy and become an active menace.

September 10.—It is useless to blink the fact that Mussolini has got the whole of his way by a crude form of violence, and that the League of Nations has finally proved itself a vain, impotent, and extravagant chattel.

Manchester Guardian.

September 12.—The critics and pessimists who think that it is all over with the League because it did not take immediate action and direct action in the case of Italy may be reminded of services that the League has rendered which nobody else could have rendered. It is a mistake to be despondent about the League, as it is a mistake to expect too much from it. Thanks largely to the devotion of a few of its leading members, among whom Lord Robert Cecil holds an honoured place, it has become a power in Europe.

Evening Standard.

September 10.—The Council of the League of Nations has apparently shown a good deal more common sense

than some of its own members. . . . But there seems to be a disposition in some quarters to insist on fighting to the bitter end the question of the League's competence. This is sheer folly. . . . Italy knows as well as the British Government that in no case would the British people tolerate the use of their fleet to carry out against a friendly Power the behest of the League of Nations.

Sunday Times.

September 9.—Signor Mussolini . . . has refused to admit the competence of the League of Nations to intervene in the Græco-Italian quarrel. . . . Now the League of Nations is clearly recognised in Great Britain as an experiment. . . . But such as it is, it is the only alternative in sight to the old régime that went up in flames in 1914. . . . To strangle it in its infancy and reduce it to the impotence of a mere debating society is to do Europe an ill-service.

Observer.

September 9.—The League of Nations, such as it is, has come near suicide. . . . Precipitate action and open challenge by the League would be wrong in any case. . . . If Geneva does not learn by this lesson to act in future emergencies—and they will come—with more measure, more tact, and with a better knowledge of what resources are and are not at its back, the question whether peace can be saved from the League may become a real problem.

Sunday Pictorial.

September 9.—The real weakness of the League is that, except in small matters, it can do nothing. Its only weapon is boycott, and the world will never unite in boycotting a great Power like Italy. . . . If Italy were a thousand times wrong, which she is not, it is not the duty of Great Britain to thrust the League upon her at this grave juncture.—(LOVATT FRASER.)

Reynolds's News.

September 9.—The feeling in this country is one of alarm at the possibilities opened up when a nation, after signing a solemn treaty, deliberately treats it as a scrap of paper; when Signor Mussolini says that Italy will leave the League of Nations rather than submit to its intervention. That sort of thing is perilous to humanity.

Sunday Express.

September 2.—If the sanctions [of the League] are not invoked, the League becomes a bad joke and must perish finally. . . . If the League acts, it breaks itself and the peace. If it does not act, it dissolves. The last is the better alternative.

Truth.

September 5.—This affair is of incalculable importance to us and to all the world. To us and to every signatory of the Covenant it presents the question whether the League of Nations means anything or nothing. . . . Once openly defied and violated with impunity, the Covenant is gone for good.

New Statesman.

September 15.—The League was bound to take up the challenge, to assert itself as the mouthpiece of the public opinion of the civilised world, to insist on its right to handle this dispute, and to handle it. So far there was no alternative. But having stood to its guns on the vital question of principle, it was presently faced with two alternative courses. It chose the prudent and not the heroic—and we believe it chose rightly. . . . If peaceful persuasion can cast out the devils that have taken possession of Signor Mussolini, the League will have lost nothing by the momentary exercise of self-restraint.

Economist.

September 15.—The British Government were incontestably right in insisting upon the authority of the League in the Italo-Greek crisis. . . . The League has emerged from the crisis less battered in prestige than was at one time feared. . . . The League has proved its effectiveness in assisting the maintenance of peace, even if it has not . . . proved effective in securing justice.

Nation and Athenæum.

September 15.—The Government, and Lord Robert Cecil in particular, deserve the gratitude of all thoughtful

men and women for their unhesitating adherence to the letter and the spirit of the Covenant in a testing issue.

Spectator.

September 15.—In our opinion, Lord Robert Cecil took exactly the right line at Geneva. . . . We rejoice that the British Government were known to be wholeheartedly behind the League.

IN A SUFFOLK CHURCHYARD.

BY CANON MEYRICK.

NOT far from Dunwich, the ancient capital of East Anglia whose glory has utterly departed, there is a little village, Theberton, whose name must live in history. For it was from here that Lieut.-Colonel Doughty-Wylie, V.C., went out to die with undying splendour on the hopeless shores of Gallipoli.

It was here that in June, 1917, a murderous Zeppelin was shot down, and in the churchyard you may stand by the graves of sixteen men, who in their flaming monster miserably died.

During the war we called them murderers; we feared them; and fear is the child of hate. To-day as you stand by their graves you cannot hate them. True, they were sent on a vile and murderous mission, but they were but the obedient servants of masters who ordered them to their terrible death. Perhaps they went unwillingly. Who knows but that the men, whose bones are lying in this quiet English churchyard, loathed their horrid work? It was not theirs to reason. It was theirs to obey. They were obedient unto death. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?" so runs the inscription round the graves. "To his own master he standeth or falleth."

The little church is remarkable for three grotesquely hideous gargoyles, symbolic of men's evil passions. They are so near to you that you feel they might leap at your throat on a dark night. At least, their devilish laughter would mock at all that makes life possible. To-day their stony silence is eloquent. "Remember your danger on that night in June. Meet force with force; arm; build; make your poison gas; 'tis the world's hope."

"Never Again."

From the far-off shore of Gallipoli the answer comes, "It is folly, it is worse than folly. We died to end war. We died praying for goodwill and mutual understanding. There are but two ways—the way of force, of hate, of hell, and the way of peace and of goodwill."

The Fire of Conviction.

I seem to see sixteen tortured Germans, rising from their English graves to face the gargoyles. They are twisted, blackened, but the fire has been extinguished except in their eyes. Their eyes are burning no longer with hate—they are beyond the realms of hate—but with the fire of certain conviction. They silence the monstrous gargoyles—the symbols of brute force, cunning and stupidity. Hate and greed have been burnt out of their souls. They re-echo the heroic voice that comes from Gallipoli to the village home in Suffolk. "It is folly, blindness, madness. Learn, learn to live at peace during your tiny span of life."

LONDON LETTER.

(Continued from page 427.)

assurance that he will still, as ever, share their enthusiasm for the great cause which they uphold."

Japan.

At its second special meeting the Executive Committee passed a resolution of condolence with Japan. The terrible disaster which has befallen the citizens of that brave country seems almost to dwarf the man-made problems—serious as they are—of Europe to-day. No doubt many Branches and members of the Union will wish to give practical expression to the sympathy conveyed in the Executive's resolution. In this connection readers may be interested to hear that the Lord Mayor of Hull, at the suggestion of the Hull Branch of the Union, has opened an appeal fund on behalf of the victims of the earthquake, A. E. W. T.

LEAGUE (OF NATIONS) FOOTBALL.



[London Opinion.

Referee Robert Cecil: "Look here, Mussolini, you can't do that in League Football."

Signor Mussolini: "Then I retire from your League."



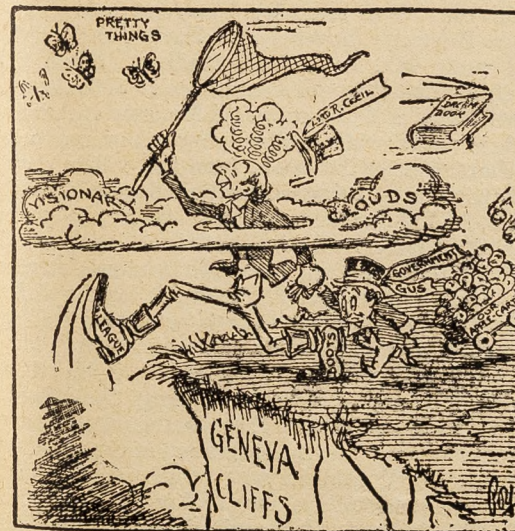
[South Wales Daily News.

Mussolini: "Is it a Bubble? Will he let me Burst it?"



[Manchester Sunday Chronicle.

Small Boy: "Better Leave it Alone, Mister."



[Evening News.

Half a "League" Onward.



[Sunday Mercury, Birmingham.

Silence that Dreadful Drum!

From the enormous number of cartoons that we have seen illustrating the Italian-Greek crisis, it is clear that only one section of the Press—which it is unnecessary to specify—regard treaty obligations solemnly entered upon as "pretty things" and "visionary dreams" to be relegated to the scrap-heap to suit the convenience of the signatories.

Correspondence.

THE GREEK-ITALIAN CRISIS.

The General Secretary of the League of Nations Union has received the following very practical demonstration of support for the Union's policy in the present crisis. The letter speaks for itself.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I feel that it is the duty of every one to join the League of Nations Union in the present crisis in order to help to demonstrate the correct manner to settle international disputes.

I confess that perhaps it would have been better if this had been done earlier, but somehow I think we did not fully realise how soon the appalling disaster of international conflicts could be forgotten.

I am not aware of the amount of subscription that is necessary, but I enclose a cheque for £5 5s. which I wish you to credit me with as my subscription for the current year.—Yours in sympathy,

F. R. DURHAM,
Lt.-Col., C.B.E., M.C.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I was startled to see in your current issue (p. 402) a paragraph on the subject of scientific research. The phrase conveys to my mind vivisectional experiments on animals. Doubtless it includes other things, but vivisection is there, and, to me, it is the most prominent.

In our own country 97,000 experiments were performed on animals in the last recorded year. Here no one professes to like vivisection—it is looked on by its supporters as a painful necessity. But no compunctions are felt on the matter in foreign countries. France, Germany and Italy hold a certain pre-eminence in the recorded cruelties inflicted on animals—of course, "for the good of humanity."

If HEADWAY is going to support the perpetrators of these atrocities on animals in getting international financial support for their alleged wonder-working discoveries, or for any other reason, then I, for one, must oppose it. I think in one matter your judgment is at fault.

The scientists who carry on this work are not by any means backward in assessing the money value of their services, and, if one may judge from recent examples, manage to obtain a good deal of money while "the boom" for their preparation—the latest of its kind—is at its height. In these things there will always be a latest discovery—one object of which is to prove that all its predecessors were futile.

Health is not to be found in the vivisection of animals, but in the application of cleanliness, the use of good and wholesome foods, sanitation, and the dissemination of moral and kindly principles of life.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN NAYLER,
J.P. for Surrey.

East Cowes, Isle of Wight.

[We appreciate our correspondent's difficulty in regard to the serum problem, but, at the same time, we would point out that when a great international campaign is inaugurated against some particular disease and each nation contributes its best doctors and they determine to work on a particular course of action, it is next door to an impossibility for any lay body to intervene and overrule them. In addition to this, of course, there is certainly not a majority to be found in the Assembly of the League which would be likely to condemn the use of sera. The League is only a method by which Governments meet and co-operate, and no individuals can overrule a Government, though, of course, everyone has the right to criticise and to protest.

The question of scientists' fees, raised by our correspondent, does not arise in connection with this discussion. No one can surely be found to suggest that vaccination at a cost of 1½d. per head is an expensive proceeding.—

EDITOR.]

ESPERANTO AND PEACE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—At Nuremberg has just taken place the fifteenth International Esperanto Congress. Five thousand Esperan-

tists from forty-three nations have met to talk and sing and laugh together for a week. Nationality was for the time abolished, and if, after chatting awhile with your neighbour, you discovered that he was a fellow-countryman of yours, the sensation was like finding at a masked ball that one has been dancing with one's own wife; if, on the contrary, he turned out to be from Iceland or Brazil, it seemed quite natural.

The immense audience that on the third day filled the big theatre to listen to "The Meistersingers," in Hans Sach's own town, sang Zamenhof's hymn "La vera Fratara" (The true Brotherhood) with unmistakably deep emotion; they felt that they were forging links of universal peace.

I am by no means under the illusion that a common language of itself implies peace, but actual verbal contact does engender brotherhood rather than suspicion, or at least friendliness rather than aloofness.

One soon realises, at the Congress bookstall, the immense output of Esperanto literature. Over thirty periodicals are running in different parts of the world—from Paris to Yokohama and Buenos Ayres. Translations of Shakespeare, Dickens, Molière, Einstein, Bernard Shaw, Omar Khayyam, crowd the tables, opening wide, East and West, the domain of thought.

An interesting discussion, among others, took place as to whether effort should be directed more towards fluent talk or easy reading, and I think that the advocates of reading were the more convincing.

Among the small nations with obscure languages the progress of Esperanto is greatest. To them it gives access to the world without dependence upon the ruling languages, whilst the recalcitrants are chiefly in France and England, though England at the Congress had well over a hundred representatives, many of them well-known men; and some of the best Esperantists are Frenchmen. Strange to say, in Geneva, in the country of four languages, are the headquarters of Esperanto.

JAMES LEAKEY,

Hatfield.

The Book Counter.

MY DEAR PUNCH,

Your holiday letter from Pudlington-on-Sea was delightful, and it was good to hear that you found scope there for your League of Nations' enthusiasm. Of course you would; no one could talk to you for two minutes without hearing the reason of the faith that is in you. You ask why I haven't told you of Miss Vera Brittain's novel "The Dark Tide," which you and your wife have been reading. Frankly, I did not think that a casual mention in it of the League of Nations Union and of a supposed Ministry of Arbitration made it worth while calling your attention to it; all the characters in the book, from the villain downwards, struck me as being rather horrid people, whose acquaintance I have no particular desire to make. However, the book is well written and well constructed.

You will soon be getting your study circles started, I suppose, and if you are on the look-out for a syllabus you could not do better than spend seventeen shillings on "Round Table Conferences," which the Oxford University Press publish. Like study-circles themselves, this book comes to us from across the Atlantic, and it should keep you going through the whole season. It consists of a report of the proceedings of the Williams-town Institute of Politics in 1921, which was fortunate to have the help of such persons as Lord Bryce, Signor Tittoni, and a host of other authorities, including Mr. Taft and Dr. John Bassett Moore, who now sits as judge at the League's Permanent Court. Your study circles may not reach the same pitch of perfection as these Round Table Conferences, which, after all, were only glorified study circles, but in their smaller way they may be as useful, and you will find a wide range of subjects, your "apportionments" ready made, and a full bibliography with the passages noted for study. When I tell you that the subjects of discussion covered Re-

HOW TO SPEAK FRENCH LIKE A FRENCHMAN.

Remarkable Tribute to New Pelman Method of Learning Languages.

"I can say without any hesitation whatever that I have derived wonderful benefit from the work I have done under your guidance."

This statement occurs in the course of a letter received by the Pelman Languages Institute from one who, having taken the Pelman French Course and derived "wonderful benefit" from it, is now learning German by the same method.

"It is best," continues the writer, "to rely upon the testimony of Frenchmen themselves in this matter, and I am sure that you will be pleased to hear that on very many occasions I have been complimented by them on the facility with which I express myself in their language without any apparent realisation that I am using a 'foreign' language at all.

"Many Frenchmen have said that they find it difficult to believe that anybody could attain such a facility in carrying on a discussion in French without a prolonged residence in the country, which I certainly have never had.

"Before I worked through your Course . . . the simplest letter was a task, to be painfully worried through. But now

"I can write a letter in French with as little hesitation as I should write in English;

and not only with as little hesitation, but also with as much confidence that what I do write is correct, and is pretty much the same as a Frenchman would write in similar circumstances.

Taken for a Frenchman.

"As evidence of this, I may mention that on more than one occasion, when we have been visited by one of our French business friends (the majority of whom have very little useful English), and I happen to have been absent, they have asked whether our French correspondent could not act as interpreter, and when they have been informed that we do not employ a Frenchman to conduct our French correspondence, they have replied:—

"But surely you have! Who is it then who writes to us?"

"A pretty little tribute to the Pelman method, I think."

WRITE FOR FREE BOOK.

This new method has now been applied to three languages (FRENCH, SPANISH AND GERMAN) and is explained in three little books (one for each language) any one of which can be obtained free of cost by writing for it to-day. Everyone who has adopted this new method agrees that it is the simplest, most interesting and most effective of all ways of learning Foreign Languages. It enables you to learn French, German, or Spanish perfectly in about one-third the usual time.

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

Write to-day to the Pelman Languages Institute, 112, Bloomsbury Mansions, Hart Street, London, W.C.1, asking for particulars of the French Course, the German Course or the Spanish Course. A copy of the book, giving you full particulars of the particular Course about which you require information, will be sent you by return, gratis and post free.

parations, the Treaties of Peace, the New Countries and Frontiers of Central Europe, International Law and Tariff Problems, as well as Latin American problems, you will see your work cut out for you, and you may be edified by the verbatim account of the opening and concluding "exercises" of the Institute, which will tell you when the audience laughed and where the speeches were interrupted with "applause" and even "great applause."

From the same Institute of Politics comes also Dr. Fujisawa's *Recent Aims and Political Developments of Japan* (Oxford University Press, 10s. 6d.). The author writes, of course, with first-hand knowledge, and deals with the internal and foreign policy of his country, in particular with the events since 1915. Japan is sensitive when militarist aims are attributed to her, and Dr. Fujisawa points out that even compared with the United States "Japan has a record for peace that may well be the envy of other nations." It must also be remembered that since the war a strong anti-military party has had increasing influence in the country, and it is no small evidence of its activity that a list of nine peace organisations can be given as existing there. The recent appalling disaster cannot be without effect on Japanese policy and development, but it will certainly not increase the danger of war that some persons have seen in that quarter. Dr. Fujisawa rightly lays stress upon the contribution which the East must give to the West, and which the West must be willing to receive, and his words are worth noting when he says that "the United States, and, next to her, Japan are, I believe, the two nations best qualified for the herculean task of the fusion of Oriental and Occidental cultures as a basis of permanent peace." At the present moment the outburst of practical sympathy from this country and America may assure Japan that in the face of urgent need race distinctions disappear, and East and West are as one.

The British Institute of Adult Education in publishing *The Way Out* (Oxford University Press, 4s. 6d.) have done a good thing. The book consists of seven short essays on the meaning and purpose of adult education by such writers as Lord Haldane, Dr. A. E. Zimmern, Lord Eustace Percy, Mr. Albert Mansbridge and others, with an introduction by Lord Grey of Fallodon. The aim of the Institute, as Lord Haldane remarks in his opening essay on "A Vision of the Future," is to inquire and to inform, and it has given us information both as regards ideals and facts. Much that is said is encouraging as to the way that adult education has been taken seriously, not only in the big industrial towns, but also where it is much more difficult, in the country districts and on the sea, and much useful advice is given about its necessary administration and finance. The longest, and in many ways most arresting contribution, is made by Dr. Zimmern in his "Evolution of a Citizen." He accuses us of our insularity and our "schoolboy minds"; we confess the justice of his accusation, and we admit that there is but one answer to his question:

"Is it not time, in this age when men fly the Channel in ten minutes, that we became Continentals, that we should break down our island inhibitions and seek to relate ourselves to the deeper problems and issues which are engaging the minds of men throughout the wider world?"

There is yet a vast field to be covered, and, to quote Dr. Zimmern again, "the enemy that we have to face is . . . an inner Prussianism, an enslavement of our nature and inherited qualities, a mutilation of our personality." The knowledge that we all need most is a self knowledge that will make us aware of our own faults and inconsistencies, and ready to learn from those in this country and outside who are fit to teach us. However great the work which the W.E.A. has done,

and the possibilities which lie before it, Dr. Zimmern sees the greatest possibilities in the army during the period of military training; he points us to the example of the Rumanian colonel who turned the two-year service of his peasant lads into a first-rate boarding school. On the other hand, there is truth as well as humour in what Mr. Mansbridge says:—

"It is as reasonable for a craftsman to go to a University teacher and to say: 'It is essential for your good and for the good of the community that you should learn how to make a box' as it is for the University professor to go to the craftsman and say, 'For the good of your soul it is necessary that you should study history, or literature, or poetry.'"

This is a high ideal; but though I am not a University teacher, I think I shall go out and learn how to make a box.

You have probably met Mr. S. de V. Loder at some time when he was working for the League of Nations Union. You may have the opportunity of improving the acquaintance if you read the book he has just published, *The Truth about Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria* (George Allen & Unwin, 7s. 6d.). He has had peculiar opportunities of gaining first-hand knowledge of the political situation of which he writes, and he gives a plain unvarnished statement of the facts, which is perhaps all the more valuable because he leaves you to form your own opinions, and very rarely discloses his own. French and British, Jew and Moslem are the chief characters in the story, and if you hesitate how you regard one or the other, Mr. Loder makes it quite clear what are their own respective feelings or antipathies. In addition to appendices, which give the texts of the Sykes-Picot and other agreements, there is a preface by Lord Robert Cecil, who states that he is a convinced Zionist, and commends the book "to all those who wish to know the facts that have led up to the present position in the Middle East."

Yours,
THE SHOPMAN.

OVERSEAS NEWS.

The Federation on the Italian-Greek Crisis.

A special Conference met in Geneva on September 13 of representatives of League of Nations Societies from fourteen countries (Great Britain, France, Poland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Japan, Serbia, Belgium, Canada and Estonia). After a keen debate, the chief feature of which was the unanimity of French and British opinion, the following resolutions were adopted:—

1. That this Conference expresses its horror at the abominable murder of the Italian officers acting as officials of the Conference of Ambassadors in the delimitation of the Græco-Albanian frontier, and desires to express its sincere sympathy with the Italian people.
2. The Conference also expresses the same sentiment of reprobation as regards the action of the Italian Government in occupying the island of Corfu after a bombardment which resulted in the deaths of innocent persons.
3. The Conference, unanimously faithful to the principle, according to which all States members of the League are mutually obliged to guarantee the integrity of each other's territories, declares all violation of the territory of a member of the League by another member to be an encroachment on the Covenant, justifying and making necessary an immediate action of the Council, or, failing the Council, the Assembly of the League.
4. The Conference tenders to the Council of the League of Nations its appreciation of the steps taken by the Council in accordance with the Covenant to bring about a settlement to this conflict

between Italy and Greece and congratulates the Council on the results which have so far been achieved.

5. The Conference expresses satisfaction at the prompt action taken by the Conference of Ambassadors in pursuance of the recommendations of the Council of the League.
6. The Conference, recording the acceptance by the Italian and Greek Governments of the terms submitted by the Conference of Ambassadors, and moved especially by the readiness of both parties to submit the question of an indemnity to the Permanent Court of International Justice, expresses its strong confidence that Italy, having accepted the terms and methods of fixing an indemnity, will proceed without further delay with the evacuation of Corfu and the adjacent islands.
7. The Conference affirms its opinion that the League of Nations is fully competent to deal with this dispute. It recalls that in the case of the Albanian-Serb-Croat-Slovene conflict of November, 1921, Italy not only concurred fully with the intervention of the League of Nations, but also co-operated in the action taken in the settlement of that dispute.
8. The Conference, believing that the future peace of the world depends upon the unquestioned authority of the League, appeals to the Council and Assembly to continue their efforts to promote a settlement based upon the principles of justice and equity, and to apply the provisions of the Covenant, if necessary to their fullest extent, in order to attain this end, and not to dissolve its present Session until a just settlement has been secured.
9. Members of societies present pledge themselves to support to their utmost their respective Governments in any action which it may be necessary to take in pursuance of the provisions of the Covenant.

Deputation to President of Assembly.

The *Assembly Journal* for September 13 (No. 10) contains a report of a deputation to the President of the Assembly and the Secretary-General from the Federation of League of Nations Societies. The deputation consisted of Baron Th. Adelswärd (President of the Federation), Prof. Th. Ruyssens (Secretary of the Federation), Col. David Davies, M.P. (British League of Nations Union), Prof. E. Bovet (Secretary of the Swiss Association), Prof. J. Prudhommeaux (Secretary of the French Association), and Senator Lafontaine (Belgium). The resolutions passed at the Seventh Assembly of the Federation at Vienna last June were handed to the President, who referred in appreciative terms to the invaluable service which was being rendered to the cause of the League by the efforts of the societies represented by the Federation. In conclusion, he referred hopefully to the continued co-operation between the League, on the one hand, and the National Association, on the other, in a common service to humanity.

Melbourne Conference.

As a result of a Conference of League of Nations Union Branches, held in Melbourne on May 26th, various resolutions have been submitted to the Prime Minister. These resolutions cover the appointment of delegates to the Assembly, including that of women, also the appointment of delegates to the International Labour Conference, and urge that the recommendations of these Conferences be submitted to competent legislative authorities. It is considered desirable that a Committee on Foreign Affairs consisting of members of the Commonwealth Parliament be appointed, and that this committee be provided with full information on the administration of the Mandated Territories, and on Nauru, and report annually to Parliament.

News from India.

With a growing publicity in the press in India we learn that there is a distinct turn of public opinion in favour of the League. Lectures have been given to university students and in Rotary Clubs by the General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A.—Mr. James. The publicity given to the report of the Council proceedings in connection with the Saar has cleared away many misapprehensions. There is a keen feeling of resentment amongst Indians of all classes and political opinions against the Kenya decision, and the Imperial Conference has asked permission of the Government of India to raise the question of the status of Indians in the British Empire at the Conference. There is

IF YOU BUT KNEW

the joys that the power to read French would bring, you would employ every possible means to cultivate that power. To be able to browse at will on French literature—one of the richest in the world: To know at first hand from French newspapers what Frenchmen think of the day's events: To appreciate the delicacy of French wit—and no translation can help you there: To penetrate without the intervention of others, the brilliant realm of French thought—is not the attainment of all these things worth a little effort? And that effort will be in itself a source of delight if it takes the form of reading.

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no suggestion of withdrawing from the League of Nations, but a growing feeling that no solution of the European situation can come except through the League of Nations. It is felt that the general Indian public cannot be effectively interested until India's representatives on the League are all Indians. Meanwhile quiet publicity is going forward, and a series of lectures will be given in Madras on the League in September. A paper for publication is now in course of preparation, entitled "Answers to some objections about the League of Nations." All League material sent out is of the greatest assistance to the movement in India.

A promise has been given by Judge Carey, of Gezira, Egypt, of a list of British residents who would no doubt be glad to take an active part in League affairs. He himself on his return to England in the near future hopes to assist the cause of the League of Nations at home.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION. NOTES AND NEWS.

Membership of the Union as Registered at Headquarters.

| | | | | | |
|----------------|----|----|----|----|---------|
| Nov. 1, 1918 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3,217 |
| Nov. 1, 1920 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 49,858 |
| Nov. 1, 1921 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 133,649 |
| Nov. 1, 1922 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 212,959 |
| Sept. 22, 1923 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 311,431 |

A Generous Offer.

Miss Joyce Beckett, the well-known violinist, is a warm friend of the League of Nations. She is willing to give her services free at concerts organised by the League of Nations Union. Branches wishing to avail themselves of this generous offer should write to Miss Beckett at 25, Leaside Avenue, Muswell Hill, N. 10.

Links with Austria.

We have received a letter from Herr Ing. Max Hausger, Bau. ober. Kommissär, Liezen, Steiermark, Austria, who is desirous of coming into touch with members of the English League of Nations Union. Will intending correspondents please communicate direct with Herr Hausger?

Children's Lantern Lecture.

A children's lantern lecture on the League of Nations is in course of preparation by the Union and will be ready for hire to Branches by the autumn. The slides will include pictures of Versailles and Geneva, Dr. Nansen's work for refugees in the Near East, the League's fight against epidemics on the Russian-Polish frontier, factory life in different parts of the world, and the work of the International Labour Organisation.

Further particulars can be had on application to the General Secretary.

Wales at Work.

A well-attended meeting of the Executive Committee of the Memorial from the Women of Wales to the Women of America was held at Llandrindod Wells on August 30 under the chairmanship of Miss M. F. Rathbone, of Bangor. Most encouraging reports of the work of organisation in North and in South Wales were given by the organisers of the Memorial, Mrs. Huw Pritchard and Mrs. E. E. Poole. Arrangements are now almost complete for the house-to-house canvass in every town and village throughout Wales and Monmouthshire. Highly successful conferences have been held at Cardiff at which the Lady Mayoress presided; at Swansea, convened by the Mayoress; at Wrexham, also convened by the Mayoress of Wrexham; and at other centres. Full particulars of the Memorial may be obtained on application to the Hon. Director, 6, Cathedral Road, Cardiff.

The response to the request of the Executive Committee of the Union for action to be taken by branches in Wales and Monmouthshire with regard to the situation in the Ruhr has been highly gratifying. Over 300 branches in Wales have been in direct communication with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. Resolutions were also passed by a large number of branches with regard to the Italian-Greek crisis.

Preparations for the winter campaign have been made

and Wales is likely to be very active during the coming months.

Open-air Meetings.

The Guildford Branch recently held a well-attended open-air meeting in the Quarry at which the chair was taken by the Bishop of Guildford, and clergy of five denominations were on the platform, as well as the Mayor and Mayoress.

The Fellowship Branch.

The Fellowship Branch of the L.N.U. is holding three open propaganda meetings in the Guild House, Eccleston Square, in the autumn:—

Thursday, October 18.—Sir George Paish on "The League and Economic Recovery."

Thursday, November 22.—Mr. Frederick Whelen on "The Geneva Assembly, by an Eye-witness."

Friday, January 25, 1924.—Dr. Maxwell Garnett.

Recruiting for the League.

An energetic member of the Union at Blackheath has been highly successful in recruiting members in the firm in which she works. Out of a staff of 14, 11 are members of the Union, including two chiefs. Each new recruit endeavours to act as recruiting sergeant in his or her own circle of friends and acquaintances.

International Garden Fête. Balloon Competition.

The result of the Balloon Competition held in connection with the recent International Garden Fête at Regent's Park was as follows: First prize, £5, G. L. Wardrop, 11, Montpelier Road, Ealing (Mons, Belgium); second prize, £2, P. Le Brun, 5, Parliament Hill Mansions, N.W. (Basecles, Belgium); third prize, £1, Mrs. Salway, 3, Chalcot Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.1 (Ellignics, Belgium).

The Health Week.

We remind our readers that a further account of the Health Work of the League than that contained in Pamphlet 82 is given in Pamphlet 75—"A Survey of Three Years' Work of the League of Nations."

The Unity of Europe.

A course of lectures has been arranged by the League of Nations Union for the autumn and winter months on the unity of Europe and the contribution of the various nations thereto. A complete programme will be given next month. The course will begin on October 4, when Principal Ernest Barker will open the course at King's College, at 5.30 p.m., with a lecture on "The Greek and Roman Tradition in relation to the Unity of Europe." On October 11 Dr. A. J. Carlyle will lecture on "The Mediaeval Tradition in relation to the Unity of Europe" (same place and time). Lectures will be given every Thursday at 5.30 up to and including December 20. Among the other lecturers are Professor A. F. Pollard, G. P. Good, F. S. Marvin, G. N. Clark, and Professor Seton Watson.

A leaflet giving full particulars of this course may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

A Novel Demonstration.

The Keyworth Branch has discovered an original method of propaganda. At the Willoughby and Widmerpool Horticultural Society, the Keyworth Horse Show, and at the opening of the Cotgrave Bowling Green, a pony and trap bearing four poles, decorated with oats and poppies and flags, was driven about the grounds by Mr. H. D. Neate, who distributed League of Nations Union literature. Later in the proceedings the trap was turned into a literature stall, and decorated with banners.

Garden Parties.

A highly successful Garden Party was recently held at Flixton, at which £100 was raised in support of the Union. In spite of bad weather, over 500 people were present. The garden party was opened by Sir Arthur Haworth.

The Calstock Branch held a garden Party in August, at which the Lord Bishop of Plymouth and I. Foot, M.P., spoke.

North London Demonstration.

The East Islington Branch organised a successful North London Demonstration, held in Victoria Palace. The "Procession of Nations" formed up at Crouch End station and marched to the Palace. One of the chief features was a Children's Pageant entitled "Roll Call of the Nations." Fifty-two nations, divided into seven groups, were represented in national costumes. Speeches were made by Miss Maude Royden, Mr. H. G. Chancellor, Mr. Henry Vivian, the Right Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Dr. Leslie Burgin, Mr. J. W. Molden and others.

Enterprising Junior Branch.

The newly-formed Junior Branch of the Union in King Edward's Grammar School for Girls, Birmingham, recently performed a pageant play written by two of the pupils.

Class on International Problems.

The Principal of the Peckham Literary Evening Institute has arranged for a class on International Problems, to be held at his Institute during this session. The lecturer is Mr. Ernest E. Neale, B.A. (Hons. in Mod. Hist.), Oxon. Those who wish to attend this class should write to the Principal, The Peckham Literature Evening Institute, County Secondary School, Summer Avenue, Peckham, S.E.15.

The Christ of the Andes.

It was stated on p. 419 of our September issue that the original water-colour by Miss Elwes of the "Christ of the Andes" can be seen at the Friends' Bookshop, London. This, however, is no longer the case, the picture having now passed into the hands of Professor Gilbert Murray.

Public Meetings.

During the month of September upwards of 250 meetings were held. Up to the time of going to Press 200 meetings have been arranged for the month of October. Amongst them are:—Chingford (October 2, V. L. McEntee, M.P.), Bournville (October 3, Henry Vivian, Esq., J.P.), Mexborough (October 4, Ben Turner, Esq., M.P.), Sheringham (October 8, E. Leslie Burgin, LL.D.), Croydon (October 10, Mrs. Corbett Ashby), Bromley (Kent) (October 10, Professor Gilbert Murray, LL.D., and Sir Martin Conway, M.P.), Southend-on-Sea (October 11, F. S. Marvin, Esq., M.A.), Harpenden (October 11, Rear-Admiral S. R. Drury Lowe, C.M.G.), Wolverhampton (October 12, Professor Gilbert Murray), Southgate (October 14, Rt. Hon. Lord Phillimore, LL.D., and A. S. Comyns Carr, Esq.), Fulham (October 15, The Rt. Hon. C. A. McCurdy, K.C., M.P.), Norwich (October 16, Mrs. Forbes-Robertson Hale), Ipswich (October 17, The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Bt., G.C.M.G.), Exeter (October 18, The Rt. Hon. Sir C. Hobhouse, Bt.), Louth (October 18, Sir Ellis Hume-Williams, K.C., M.P.), Birmingham (October 18, Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P.), Stockport (October 19, Oswald Mosley, Esq., M.P.), Wimbledon (October 24, The Rev. A. Graham Barton), Newport (Isle of Wight) (October 25, Major-General The Rt. Hon. J. E. B. Seely, C.B., C.M.G.), St. Austell (October 25, Rt. Hon. F. Acland, M.P.), Mile End, London (October 25, Ben Tillett, Esq., M.P.), Halifax (October 26, Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P.), Wandsworth (October 28, Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes), Weybridge (October 29, Lieut.-Colonel D. Borden Turner, O.B.E., M.A.), Shoreditch (October 30, Wilson Harris, Esq.), Winchester (October 31, The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Oxford).

The Fifteenth Esperanto Congress.

The annual Esperanto Congress is certainly one of the pillars of peace-loving internationalism, and the fifteenth of these congresses, held last August at Nuremberg, attended by five thousand Esperantists from forty-three nations, showed itself under very trying circumstances to be working very practically for the cause of international peace.

For the first time, at these congresses, not a single Frenchman or Belgian was present. It was rightly felt, especially by the French comrades, that their presence in a town so near to the Ruhr would be an indelicacy, although they knew that no fellow-Esperantist would wish them ill, and it is creditable to the Germans that, in

(Continued on page 438.)

FREE Literature.

Any ONE of the following books (with particulars of similar publications and copy of the "Literary Guide," monthly 3d.) will be sent FREE to applicants by post. The others will be supplied post-paid at prices quoted:—

- "Dean Inge Answered." By WILLIAM ARCHER. 32 pp.; 5d.
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- "The Religion of the Open Mind." By ADAM GOWANS WHYTE. With Introduction by EDEN PHILLPOTTS. 160 pp.; 8d.
- "The Religion of Kindness." By W. M. GALLICHAH. 128 pp.; 8d.
- "A Plain Man's Plea for Rationalism." By C. T. GORHAM. 94 pp.; 1s. 2d.
- "Selected Prose Works of Shelley." 192 pp.; 1s. 2d.

Address—The R.P.A., Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

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Has not every woman, at some time or other, wished for a quick and ready answer to that oft recurring question "What shall we have to eat?" "What shall we have to eat?" is another way of saying "We want a change from our ordinary fare—we want something really and truly nice."

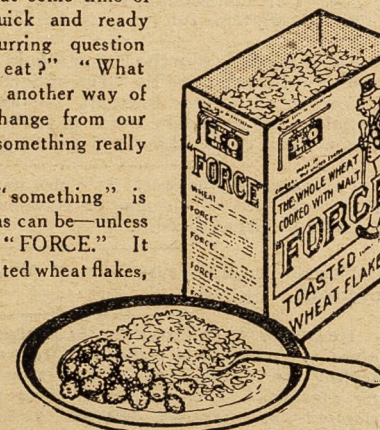
To find that elusive "something" is about as difficult a task as can be—unless you already know about "FORCE." It is "FORCE," toasted malted wheat flakes, that provides something different for every day of the week, and can always be relied upon to be "really and truly nice" in its most exacting sense—the sense in which the decision is left to the fractious youngster.

To a plate of blackberries add "FORCE" (the toasted malted wheat flake); the combination of the two is at once wonderfully palatable and real honest food—eaten with relish and thoroughly appreciated. "FORCE" is always nice with cold or hot milk and sugar to taste.

Your grocer knows all about "FORCE" and "SUNNY JIM" who was raised on it. Ask him for a packet next time you are shopping, or try the free sample packet, which can be obtained, post free, by merely dropping a post-card to

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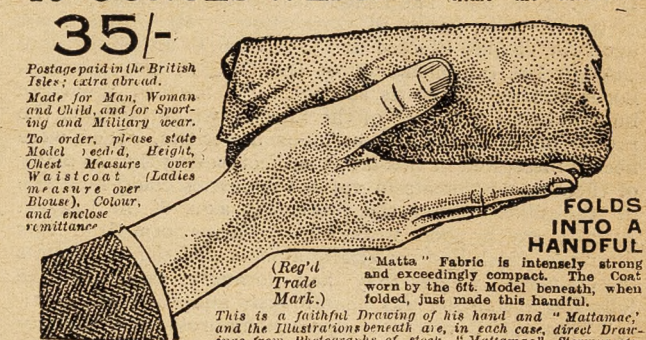
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19-OUNCE Featherweight Stormproof

Don't risk disappointment with an imitation. Get the genuine "Mattamac" Stormproof which is labelled "Mattamac" beneath the coat-hanger. That is your safeguard.

A "Mattamac" is identical in appearance with the usual five-guinea Weatherproof. In utility also, it equals its much more costly Competitor. It wears as long, weighs one-third, and is absolutely Waterproof. Light and compact folding, Wind, Chill and Wet proof, a "Mattamac" is the ideal general utility Coat for Autumn Holiday wear. Take one with you wherever you go, to keep you dry in shower or downpour, and for use as a light Overcoat in the cool evenings.

19 OUNCES WEIGHT Three ounces heavier than an umbrella.



Thrown over the arm, the 19-oz. "Mattamac" is almost weightless. It can be carried easily over the arm, or put into your pocket when the Sun shines. In the Holiday Suit Case it takes up very little room.

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made and reserved exclusively for "Mattamac" Stormproofs, is a light-weight, closely-woven, intensely-strong and compact-folding material. It is tough, "clean" wearing and absolutely waterproof—so waterproof that even wind-driven rain cannot penetrate a "Mattamac."

6 SHADES & 40 SIZES.

The unbelted "Mattamac" is made for Adults at 35/- (no extra charge for large sizes), and for Children at size prices.

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Each "Mattamac" has wind-strapped adjustable cuffs, perpendicular pockets, lined shoulders, is conscientiously finished in all details, and is guaranteed to be made entirely from the genuine all-weather-proof "Matta" (Reg'd.) Fabric. You can pay twice the price without getting such sure protection.

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"MATTAMAC" ART BOOKLET, POST FREE.

Send a postcard for the "Mattamac" Booklet "142 G" and six Colour Patterns of "Matta" Fabric. This Booklet illustrates Town and Country Unbelted Models (35/-), Belted Models for Adults (39/6), Military Models (from 35/-), the wide-skirted Equestrian "Mattamac" (Unbelted, 49/6, Belted, 54/-), and grown-up-style Models for Children of all ages at size prices. (Postage extra abroad.) "Mattamac" Stormproofs can only be obtained from the London and Birmingham Showrooms, from certain accredited Provincial Agents, and through the Post from the Conduit St. Headquarters. If unable personally to inspect Models, send order with remittance, or write for "Mattamac" Booklet "142 G," to Pearson Bros., the Sole Makers.



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45, CONDUIT ST., LONDON, W.1.

"MATTAMAC" City Branch—20, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.4 (Ten doors west of St. Paul's.)



Drawn from actual Photographs of ordinary stock "Mattamac" Stormproofs. Belted Models (2 1/2 oz.), 39/6; Unbelted (19 oz.), 35/-.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION NOTES & NEWS
(Continued from page 436.)

spite of their privations and sufferings, not a word was uttered on the subject.

An Esperanto congress offers a unique opportunity for hearing what the man in the street from another land is thinking, and in this case it was specially instructive to find after half an hour's conversation in Esperanto with a stranger, perhaps bitterly complaining that he could get no butter or that a newspaper cost 7,000 marks, that the indignant grumbler was not a German, but an Australian or a Brazilian, unless it turned out that he was an Englishman or a Scotchman!

Jewish Preachers Support the League.

In July a Conference was held of Anglo-Jewish Preachers in London, at which the Chief Rabbi presided. On the first day a paper was read by the Rev. Michael Adler, D.S.O., B.A., on "The League of Nations and the Position of the Jews in Lands of Oppression." Mr. Adler dwelt upon the change effected in the problem of universal peace through the establishment of the League, and the high hopes entertained of its success. He touched upon the humanitarian activities of the League, which included the protection of racial and religious minorities. Jews were keenly interested in this latter subject, seeing that so many of their co-religionists in various countries could now live in tranquillity under the protecting ægis of the League. Already much good work had been performed in this direction which had materially ameliorated the lot of Jews in countries where they had formerly suffered. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That this Conference expresses its profound sympathy with the aims and ideals of the League of Nations in striving to secure the peace of the world, and the just treatment of the members of all creeds and races, and pledges itself to promote the work of the League by every means in its power."

The World To-morrow.

The World To-morrow is an American journal which is endeavouring to assist its readers to investigate the varied problems of to-day—educational, industrial, political, international—in order to build a future better than the present. The magazine is unique in that it devotes each issue to a particular problem. Last March, for example, the monthly topic was "Shall the Church Bless War?" Next December it will be "Pacifism and Police." For November the monthly topic will be "China and the Industrial Problem."

Subscriptions (6s. a year) should be sent to the British Business Manager, 36, Enfield Buildings, Aske Street, London, N.1.

Portrait of Professor Einstein.

The Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte, Kurfürstenstrasse 125, Berlin, W.62, inform us that they have for sale a portrait of Professor Einstein by Herr Fritz von Kardorp. The size of the picture (unframed) is 79 cm. x 63 cm. The Society, which is working for the entry of Germany into the League, is anxious to sell the portrait, framed, for at least £100, and appeals through our columns to English readers. The proceeds would go towards the cost of League of Nations propaganda in Germany.

To Branch Secretaries.

An account of the Græco-Italian dispute and of the League's part in settling it is being prepared and will be ready early in October. Copies for gratuitous distribution to the Union's members will be sent to all those Branch Secretaries who will arrange for the distribution of the pamphlet to members and who will notify the Union's office by October 8 how many copies they will require.

If news of your Branch sent to HEADWAY fails to obtain publication, do not imagine that the work you do is not appreciated at Headquarters. So great is the activity of Branches throughout the country that to publish all that is sent to us would easily fill the whole of HEADWAY each month. The Editor has no choice but to make a selection and endeavour in the course of the year to distribute publicity as fairly as possible.

Do you Want "Headway"?

Many of the members of the Union whose subscriptions entitle them to receive HEADWAY belong to the same family at the same address. In such cases it may happen that one copy of HEADWAY may be found sufficient for a family, even though every member may, in virtue of the amount of his subscription, be entitled to receive a copy. If those recipients—who, though entitled to receive HEADWAY, prefer to dispense with their copy—would kindly inform Headquarters accordingly, there would be a saving in labour and expense.

Renew Your Subscriptions.

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

Enquiries.

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

COMPULSORY JURISDICTION OF THE PERMANENT COURT.

Owing to a printer's error in our last number, it was announced in the leading article, "Outlawing War," that thirty-five States had signed the Compulsory Jurisdiction Clause of the Protocol of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Twenty nations have signed or accepted the clause, and, of these, fifteen have ratified the clause.

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

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

Please forward your copy of HEADWAY to your friends overseas.

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

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**The International Service of
the Society of Friends.**

**A BLACK AUTUMN
AND A
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No Food, no Clothing, no Coal.

The situation in Germany is becoming more critical every day and the outlook for the coming winter is extremely dark. One of our workers in Frankfurt writes, "The need here is pathetic . . . Dr. S. told us that the middle-classes were in an awful state of destitution and for many there was nothing but starvation ahead."

The Friends' centres in Berlin, Frankfurt, Nurnberg, Elberfeld and the Ruhr are carrying out, under the Friends' Council for International Service, a wide scheme of relief to the middle-classes, students, children and the aged.

The Council is also engaged in relief work in Austria.

YOUR PROMPT HELP IS PRESSINGLY URGED.

Money, which may be earmarked for special purposes if desired, should be sent to The Friends' Council for International Service (Room 5), Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Clothes for Germany or Austria may be sent to the Friends' Warehouse, 5, New Street Hill, London, E.C.4.

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

REAL SHETLAND HOSIERY.—Jumpers in White, Grey, Dark Brown, Fawn and Moorit, 20s. to 30s.; Skirts, 25s. 6d.; Dresses, £3; Cardigan Coats, 25s. 6d.; Knitting Yarn per Head (about 8 ozs.) in 2-ply White, Grey, Dark Brown, 7s.; Fawn and Moorit, 8s.; Fair Isle Knitting Yarn in 2-ply Yellow, Green, Blue and Red, 1s. 3d. per ounce; Jumpers with Fair Isle Border, 30s. to 45s.; Scarves with Fair Isle Border, 17s. 6d. to 27s. 6d.; All-over Fair Isle Jumpers, £3 to £5 10s. Postage extra.—A. A. FAIRCLOTH, STROMNESS, Orkney.

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A COMMON CHARGE

The child is mankind's common responsibility. There are approximately 300,000 orphans in Poland crowded into insanity buildings and under the care of illiterate peasant women. Four or more children sleep in one bed; there is no attempt to segregate the unhealthy from the healthy. Fifty per cent. of these children are land-owners.

**A SMALL MODEL
ORPHANAGE**

and Agricultural School is being established by the Friends' Relief Committee and special contributions are urgently needed.

The Relief Committee is also working in Russia.

Gifts of Money, which may be earmarked for either country, should be sent to the FRIENDS' RELIEF COMMITTEE (Room 10), 10, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.4.

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ON

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