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1919

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1920

CONTENTS.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY,

CHAPTER 1.

TRANSITION FROM WAR, TO PEACE.

The League of Nations, [1], The Food Position, [2]. The New Government, [3]. Reception by the Press, [4], The New Opposition, [5]. Demobilisation Grievances, [6]. Demands of the Miners, [7]. Irish Affairs, [7], Various Strikes, [8]. Rioting in Glasgow, [9]. Threatened Strike of Electricians, [10]. End of the Strikes, [11]. Meeting of Parliament, [12]. Debate on the Address, [13]. The Labour Amendment, [14]. The First Division of the House, [15]. Labour Debate in the Lords, [16], New Rules of Procedure, [17]. Air Navigation Bill, [18]. Ministry of Health Bill, [19]. Transport Bill, [19-20]. Financial Affairs, [20]. Secret Service Vote, [21]. Demands of the Miners, [22]. The Coal Commission, [23]. The Triple Alliance, [24]. National Industrial Conference, [25]. Army Estimates, [26], Stages in Army Development, [27]. Civil Service Estimates, [26], Navy Estimates, [29]. Naval, Military, and Air Force Service Bill, [30]. Debate in Parliament, [41], Government Trade Policy, [32]. Air Force Estimates, [33], Rent Restrictions Bill, [34]. Transport Bill, [35]. Local Government (Ireland) Bill, [36]. National Economy, [37]. Debate in the Lords, [38]. Crippenham Motor Depot, [39]. A Select Committee Appointed, [40]. Industrial Discontent, [41]. Report of the Joint Industrial Committee, [42]. Discontent in the Police Force, [43]. Demands of the Railwaymen, [44]. A Settlement Reached, [45]. Reports of the Coal Industry Commission, [46]. Offer to the Miners, [47]. The Offer Accepted, [48].

CHAPTER II.

THE END OF THE WAR.

Debate on the Peace Conference, [48], Irish Debate, [49]. Women's Emancipation Bill, [50]. Ministry of Health Bill (Third Reading), [50]. Military Service Bill, [51], Housing Bill, [52]. Acquisition of Land Bill, [58]. Land Settlement Bill, [54]. Aliens' Restriction Bill, [55]. Mr. Lloyd George on the Peace Conference, [56]. Labour Disturbances in Ireland, [57]. Vote for the Ministry of Labour, [58]. The Budget, [59], Estimated Revenue

and Expenditure, [60]. The Budget Debate, [61]. More Police Discontent, [62]. Vote for the Ministry of Food, [63]. Electricity Supply Bill, [64]. Dogs Protection Bill, [64]. Conditions in Ireland, [65]. Burial of Nurse Cavell, [66]. The State of Egypt, [66]. Vote for the Ministry of Shipping, [67]. Finance Bill (Second Heading), [68]. Army Estimates, [69]. Indian Budget, [69]. Transatlantic Flight, [70]. Concessions to the Police, [71]. Pre-war "Trade Practices," [72]. The Enabling Bill, [73]. Reports of the Coal Commission, [73]. Victory Loan, [74]. Speeches at the Guildhall, [76]. The League of Nations, [76]. Free Trade Campaign, [77]. Scuttling of the German Fleet, [78]. Conference of the Labour Party, [79]. Reassembling of Parliament, [80]. Housing Bill, [81]. Signature of the Peace Treaty, [81]. Message from the King, [82].

CHAPTER III.

LABOUR DISCONTENT.

Proclamation of Peace, [82]. Mr. Lloyd George on the Peace Treaty, [83]. Settlement of the Cotton Strike, [84]. Church Enabling Bill, [84]. Transport Bill, [85]. Women's Emancipation Bill, [87]. Bunal of Captain Fryatt, [88]. Cippenham Motor Depot, [89]. Debate on the Coal Industry, [90]. Defeat of the Government, [91]. Dismissal of Miss Douglas-Pennant, [92]. Peace Celebrations, [93]. Treaty of Peace Bill, [94]. The Situation in Ireland, [95]. Speech by Sir Edward Carson, [96]. Conference of the Miners' Federation, [97]. Yorkshire Miners' Strike, [99]. Police Strike, [99]. Bakers' Strike, [100]. Railwaymen's Demands, [101]. Ministries and Secretaries Bill, [102]. Profiteering Bill, [103]. Its Various Stages, [104]. Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill, [105]. Its Third Reading, [106]. Policy of the Government, [107]. Adjournment of the House of Commons, [108]. Lawlessness in Ireland, [109]. Demand for Economy, [110]. Suppression of Irish Newspapers, [111]. Trades Union Congress, [112]. Nationalisation of the Mines, [113]. The Question of "Direct Action," [114]. Mr. Lloyd George on Social Conditions, [115]. Iron Founders' Strike, [116]. National Railway Strike, [117]. Efforts at Conciliation, [118]. End of the Strike, [119].

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST THREE MONTHS.

Wages of Transport Workers, [119]. Nationalisation of the Mines, [120]. The Church Congress, [121]. Cabinet Committee on Ireland, [122]. League of Nations Campaign, [123]. Speeches by Mr. Lloyd George, [124]. Reassembling of Parliament, [125]. Defeat of the Government, [126]. The Financial Position, [127]. A Peace Cabinet, [128]. Industrial Courts Bill, [129]. Railway Negotiations, [130]. The Church Enabling Bill, [131]. Debates on Russia, [132]. Resignation of General Seely, [133]. Unemployment Donation, [133]. Imports and Exports Regulation Bill, [134]. The Question of Coal Control, [135]. The State of Ireland, [136]. Lord Milner's Mission to Egypt, [136]. Special Trades Union Congress, [137]. The Iron Founders' Strike, [138]. Return of the Prince of Wales, [139]. Premium Bonds, [140]. New Housing Bill, [141]. Government of India Bill, [142]. The Aliens Bill, [143]. Coal Industry (Emergency) Bill, [143]. Electricity Bill, [144]. Consolidated Fund Bill, [145]. Attack on Lord French, [146]. The State of Ireland, [147]. End of the Session, [148]. Survey of the Year, [148].

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.	<i>page</i> [149]

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA	[192]

CHAPTER III.

MUSCOVY — UKRAINIA — SIBERIA — POLAND — FINLAND — MINOR RUSSIAN STATES—CZECHO-SLOVAKIA—HUNGARY—RUMANIA—JUGO-SLAVIA—THE MINOR STATES OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE	[215]

CHAPTER IV.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM — LUXEMBURG—THE NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—SPAIN—PORTUGAL —DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY—DANZIG—SPITSBERGEN	[238]

CHAPTER V.

SOUTHERN ASIA: CYPRUS — THE HEDJAZ — PERSIA — AFGHANISTAN — INDIA	[254]

CHAPTER VI.

THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN	[262]

CHAPTER VII.

AFRICA: THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—RHODESIA—PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA—BRITISH EAST AFRICA—THE BELGIAN CONGO —LIBERIA—KAMERUN AND TOGOLAND—NIGERIA—MOROCCO—EGYPT—SUDAN	[267]

CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES—CANADA — NEWFOUNDLAND—MEXICO — BRAZIL—ARGENTINA—CHILI—PERU—OTHER REPUBLICS OF LATIN AMERICA	[275]

CHAPTER IX.

AUSTRALASIA . AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND	[292]

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS IN 1919	<i>page 1</i>
RETROSPECT OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1919	28
Literature, 28—Science, 45—Art, 54—Drama, 57—Music, 60.	
FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1919.	64
PUBLIC DOCUMENTS	72
Text of the Convention of the League of Nations, 72—Summary of the Treaty with Germany, 80—Summary of the Treaty with Austria, 109—Summary of the Treaty with Bulgaria, 125—Reports of the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry, 132.	
OBITUARY OF EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1919	166
INDEX	222

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Editor of the ANNUAL REGISTER thinks it necessary to state that in no case does he claim to offer original reports of speeches in Parliament or elsewhere, He has much pleasure in acknowledging his indebtedness to *The Times* for the special permission accorded him to make use of its Parliamentary reports and other matter; and he hereby expresses his thanks to that journal for the valuable assistance which he has derived from the facilities thus extended to him.

THE MINISTRY, 1919.

<i>Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury</i>	Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P.*
<i>Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons</i> . .	Rt. Hon. A. Bonar Law, M.P.*
<i>Lord President of the Council.</i>	Rt. Hon. Earl Curzon of Kedleston, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., till October; then Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, O.M., R.R.S., M.P.*
<i>Minister without Portfolio</i> .	lit. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P.*
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Rt. Hon. Lord Birkenhead.*
<i>Home Department:—</i>	
<i>Secretary of State</i>	Rt. Hon. Edwin J. Dwyer, K.C., M.P.*
<i>Under-Secretary of State</i>	Major J. L. Band, M.P.
<i>Foreign Affairs:—</i>	
<i>Secretary of State</i>	Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, O.M., F.R.S., M.P., till October; then lit. Hon. Earl Curzon of Kedleston, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.*
<i>Parliamentary Secretary of State</i>	Cecil Harmsworth, M.P.
<i>Colonies:—</i>	
<i>Secretary of State</i>	Rt. Hon. Viscount Milner, G.O.B., G.C.M.G.*
<i>Parliamentary Secretary of State</i>	Col. L. C. M. S. Amery, M.P.
<i>War Office and Air Ministry:—</i>	
<i>Secretary of State</i>	Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P.*
<i>Under-Secretary of State</i>	Viscount Peel.
<i>Parliamentary and Financial Secretary</i>	Rt. Hon. H. W. Forster, M.P., till December; then Sir Archibald Williamson, Bart., M.P.
<i>Under-Secretary of State for Air</i>	Major-General Rt. Hon. J. E. B. Seely, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P., till November; then Major G. C. Tryon, M.P.
(The Under-Secretary of State for Air was appointed Vice-President of the Air Council, and presided over the Council.)	
<i>India Office:—</i>	
<i>Secretary of State</i>	Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P.*
<i>Under-Secretary of State</i>	Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha.
<i>Admiralty:—</i>	
<i>First Lord</i>	Rt. Hon. Walter Long, M.P.*
<i>Parliamentary and Financial Secretary</i>	Rt. Hon. T. J. Macnamara, LL.D., M.P.
<i>Civil Lord</i>	The Earl of Lytton.
<i>Board of Trade:—</i>	
<i>President</i>	Rt. Hon. Sir Albert Stanley, M.P., till May; then Sir Auckland Geddes.*
<i>Parliamentary Secretary</i>	W. C. Bridgeman, M.P.
<i>Department of Overseas Trade (Development and Intelligence)</i>	Sir Arthur D. Steel-Maitland, Bt., M.P. (Additional Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Additional Parliamentary Secretary, Board of Trade).
<i>Local Government Board:—</i>	
<i>President</i>	Rt. Hon. C. Addison, M.D., M.P.*
<i>Parliamentary Secretary</i>	Major the Hon. Waldorf Astor, M.P.
<i>Board of Agriculture:—</i>	
<i>President</i>	Rt. Hon. Rowland E. Prothero, M.V.O., M.P., till August; then Lord Lee of Fareham, G.B.E., K.C.B.*
<i>Parliamentary Secretary</i>	Col. Sir A. Griffith Boscawen, M.P.

<i>Board of Education —</i>	
President	Bt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.*
Parliamentary Secretary	Rt. Hon. J. Herbert Lewis, M.P.
<i>Ministry of Munitions (to become Ministry of Supply):—</i>	
Minister	Lord Inverforth.
Parliamentary Secretary	F. G. Kellaway, M.P.
Financial Secretary	James F. Hope, M.P.
<i>Ministry of Food .—</i>	
Food Controller	Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	Charles A. McCurdy, M.P.
<i>Ministry of Shipping .—</i>	
Minister	Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Maclay, Bt.
Parliamentary Secretary	Col. Leslie Wilson, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.P.
<i>Ministry of Labour —</i>	
Minister	Sn R. S. Home, M.P.*
Parliamentary Secretary	G. Wardle, M.P.
<i>Ministry of Pensions ;—</i>	
Minister	Sir L. Worthington Evans, Rt., M.P.
<i>Ministry of Health --</i>	
Minister	Rt. Hon. C. Addison, M.D., M.P.
<i>Ministry of Transport —</i>	
Minister	Rt. Hon. Sir Eric Geddes, G.C.B., G.B.E., M.P.*
Parliamentary Secretary	Col. Sir Rhys Williams, Bart., till November; thou Mr. Arthur Neal, M.P.
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	
Rt. Hon. the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.	
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	
Rt. Hon. Sir Alfied Mond, M.P.	
<i>Attorney-General</i>	
Rt. Hon. Sir Gordon Hewart, K.C., M.P.	
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	
Sn Ernest Pollock, K.C.	
<i>Postmaster-General.</i>	
Rt. Hon. A H. Ilhngworfch, M.P.	
<i>Assistant Postmaster-General</i>	
Rt Hon. H. Pike Pease, M.P.	
<i>Paymaster-General . Rt. Hon, Sir J. Compton Rickett, till October; then Sir J. Tudor Walters, M.P.</i>	
<i>Treasury :—</i>	
<i>Chancellor of the EXchequer</i>	
Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M P.	
<i>Joint Parliamaitari) Secre-</i>	
<i>taries</i>	
Rt. Hon. Lord Edmund Talbot, M.V.O., D.S.O.,	
M.P.; Capt. Hon. F. E. Guest, D.S.O., M.P.	
<i>Joint Financial Secretaries</i>	
Sn Hardinan Levern, K.C.B.; Stanley Baldwin,	
M.P.	
<i>Lords Commissioners</i>	
J. F. Hope, M.P., J. W. Piatt, M.P., J. Parker,	
M.P., J. Towyn Jones, M.P. (unpaid).	

SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary.</i>	Rt. Hon. Robert Munro, K.C., M.P.*
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	Rt. Hon. J. A. Clyde, K C, M.P.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	T. B. Morison, K.C, M.P.

IRELAND.

<i>Lord Lieutenant</i>	Field-Marshal Rt. Hon. Viscount French of Ypies, K.P., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G.*
<i>Lord Chancellor'</i>	Rt. Hon. Sir James H. M. Campbell, Bt, K.C.
<i>Chief Secretary</i>	Rt. Hon. J. I. Macpherson, M.P.*
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Rt. Hon. Arthur W. Samuels, K.C, M.P., till July 7, then Mr. Denis S. Henry, K.C
<i>Solicitor--General</i>	Denis S. Henry, K.C, till July 7; then Mr D. M. Wilsop, K.C, M.P.

Cabinet marked thus : *.

ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1919.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE.

THE year 1919 was dominated by two main features, the conclusion of peace and the numerous labour disputes which followed immediately upon the cessation of war. It was in all respects a year of transition. Public attention, which for so long had been fixed upon events passing outside the country, was now suddenly shifted to domestic affairs. At the beginning of the year the prevailing sentiment was still one of satisfaction and relief after the long struggle which had at length come to an end, but it was not long before industrial problems began to arise. On the one hand there existed in the Army a strong demand for quick demobilisation; on the other hand the sudden release of large numbers of soldiers extended the labour difficulties which were already agitating the industrial world.

The institution of a League of Nations was one of the subjects most prominent in public attention at the beginning of the year. On January 2 an important demonstration in support of the immediate establishment of a League was held in the Albert Hall, London. The meeting was the first of a series arranged jointly by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labour Party. Mr. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labour Party, in moving a vote of congratulation to President Wilson, referred to the recent General Election, deprecating an attitude of despondency on behalf of the Labour Party. He pointed out that the Labour candidates had secured nearly 2,500,000 votes

—nearly four times as many as were secured for the Party at the last General Election. He insisted that labour had now become the Parliamentary Opposition in this country. Although there were some expressions of dissent from the views expressed on the platform, the meeting was on the whole one-sided, and expressed a strong desire to see the establishment of the League.

A few days later a pamphlet was published by General Smuts strongly urging the doctrine of a League of Nations, if the future peace of the world was to be maintained. He said that if the League was to last it must become part and parcel of the common international life of States; it must be an ever visible, living, working organ of the polity of civilisation. Europe was being liquidated and the League of Nations must be the heir to this great estate. We wanted an instrument of government which, however much talk is put into it at the one end will grind out decisions at the other end. The League would never be a great success until there was formed as its main support a powerful international public opinion. If the League of Nations refused to function, some other machinery would have to be created to deal with the new problems which transcended all national limits.

The conference of the Allies was opened on January 18 by President Poincare in Paris. In his speech welcoming the delegates, M. Poincare reviewed the origin of the war and the motives which inspired the participation of the Allies in the World War for right. He dwelt on the task of the conference in laying the foundation of a new order for national peace and justice. We shall, however, include our account of the proceedings of the Peace Conference in the chapter dealing with France.

The position as regards food appeared on the whole to be satisfactory. Mr. Hoover announced that 1,400,000 tons of food-stuffs would be required to feed the populations of Europe until the next harvest. He said that the surveys had disclosed that meats, fats, and milk were so short in many regions that the health of the people were greatly impaired. On January 9 it was officially announced that the Associated Governments had decided to establish a Supreme Council, consisting of two representatives of France, Italy, the United States, and Great Britain, to deal with the questions of food, finance, and shipping resources in relation to the revictualling and supply of liberated and enemy territory. The British representatives were Lord Beading and Sir John Beale. The Supreme Council, which held its meetings in Paris, found almost at once that there was a sufficient world-supply of food available to meet the needs of the allied and liberated territories, and that the problem was mainly one of finance and transport.

The constitution of the new Government was announced on the evening of January 10; it was as follows:—

Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury . . .	Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P.
Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons . . .	Rt. Hon. A Bonar Law, M.P.
Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Lords . . .	Rt Hon Earl Ourzon of Kedleston, K.G , CGS.I., G.C.I.E.
Ministers without Portfolio . . .	Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P. Rt Hon Sir Eric Geddes, G.C.B., G.B.E., M.P. Rt Hon. Sir F. E. Smith, Bt., K.C., M.P.
Lord Chancellor . . .	Rt Hon. Edward Shortt, K.C., M.P.
Home Department — Secretary of State . . .	Sir Hamar Greenwood, Bt, M P.
Under-Secretary of State . . .	
Foreign Affairs — Secretary of State . . .	Rt Hon A. J. Balfour, O.M , F.R.S , M.P.
Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State . . .	Cecil Harmsworth, M P
Secretary of State . . .	Rt Hon Viscount Milner, G.C.B , G C M G
Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State . . .	Col L C M S. Amery, M P.
War Office and Air Ministry — Secretary of State * . . .	Rt. Hon Winston S Churchill, M.P
[Aider-Secretary of State Parliamentary and Financial Secretary. . .	Viscount Peel Rt Hon H. W. Forster, M.P.
Under-Secretary of State for Air * . . .	Major General Rt. Hon. J. E B. Seely, C B , C M.G., D.S.O., M.P.
(The Under-Secretary of State for Air was appointed Vice-President of the Air Council, and presided over the Council)	
India Office — Secretary of State . . .	Rt Hon E. S. Montagu, M.P
Under Secretary of State . . .	Rt Hon. Sir S P. Sin ha
Admiralty — First Lord . . .	Rt. Hon Walter Long, M.P.
Parhamentary and Financial Secretary . . .	Rt Hon. T J Macnamara, LL D., M P
Civil Lord . . .	The Earl of Lytton
Board of Trade — President . . .	Rt Hon Sir Albert Stanley, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	W. C Bndgeman, M.P
Department of Overseas Trade (Development and Intelligence) —	Sir Arthur D Steel-Maitland, Bt., M.P. (Additional Under-Secretary oi State for Foreign Affairs and Additional Parliamentary Secretary, .Boaid of Trade),
Local Government Board — President . . .	Rt Hon C Addison, M D., M P.
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	Major the Hon. Waldorf Astor, M P., assisted by Major John Baird, M.P
Board of Agriculture — President . . .	Rt Hon Rowland E Prothero, M.V.O., M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	Col Sir A Griffith Boscawen, M P.
Board of Education — President . . .	Rt. Hon H. A L Fisher, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	Rt Hon J. Herbert Lewis, M.P.
Ministry of Munitions (to become Ministry of Supply) — Minister . . .	Andrew Weir.
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	F G. Kellaway, M. P.
Financial Secretary . . .	James F Hope, M.P.
Ministry of Food — Food Controller . . .	Rt. Hon G. H Roberts, M P.
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	Charles A. McCurdy, M.P.
Ministry of Shipping — Minister . . .	Rt Hon Sir Joseph Maclay, Bt
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	Colonel Leslie Wilson, G.M.C..D.SO., M.P.
Ministry of Labour — Minister . . .	Sir R. S Home, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	G. Wardle, M.P.
Minist, y of Pensions — Minister . . .	Sir L. Worthmston Evans, Bt., M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	Col. Sir James Craig, Bt, M.P.
Ministry of National Service and Reconstruction — Minister . . .	Rt. Hon. Sir Auckland Geddes, K.C.B., M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary . . .	Cecil Beck, M.P

<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.</i>	Rt. Hon. The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i>	Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred Mond, M.P.
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Rt Hon. Sir Gordon Hewart, K.C., M. P.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Sir Ernest Pollock, K.C.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	Rt. Hon. A. H. Illingworth, M.P.
<i>Assistant Postmaster-General</i>	Rt. Hon. H. Pike Pease, M.P.
<i>Paymaster-General</i>	Rt. Hon. Sir J. Compton Rickett.
<i>Treasury. —</i>	
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	Rt. Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P.
<i>Joint Parliamentary Secretaries</i>	Rt. Hon. Lord Edmund Talbot, M V O., D S.O., M.P. ; Capt. Hon. F. E. Guest, D S O., M.P.
<i>Joint Financial Secretaries</i>	Sir Hardman Lever, K.C.B. ; Stanley Baldwin, M.P
<i>Lord Commissioners</i>	J. F. Hope, M.P. , J. W. Pratt, M.P., J. Parker, MA, J Towyn Jones, M.P. (Unpaid).

SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary</i>	Rt Hon. Robert Munro, K.C, M.P.
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	Rt. Hon. J. A. Clyde, K. C, M.P.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	T. B. Monson, K.C, M.P.

IRELAND.

<i>Lord Lieutenant</i>	Field-Marshal Rt Hon. Viscount French of Ypres, K.P., G.C.B., G M., G.C.V O., K.C.M.G.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	Rt. Hon. Sir James H. M. Campbell, Bt, K C
<i>Chief Secretary</i>	Rt. Hon. J. I. Macpherson, M.P.
<i>Attorney-General</i>	Rt. Hon. Arthur W. Samuels, K.C, M.P.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Denis S. Henry, K C

THE HOUSEHOLD.

<i>Lord Steward</i>	Rt. Hon. Viscount Farquhar, G.C V O
<i>Treasurer</i>	Col. R. A. Sanders, M P.
<i>Comptroller and Chairman of National Health Insurance</i>	
<i>Joint Committee</i>	Sir Edwin A. Cornwall, Bt.
<i>Lord Chamberlain</i>	Viscount Sandhurst, G.C.S.T., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.
<i>Vice-Chamberlain</i>	W. Dudley Ward, M.P.
<i>Captain of the Gentlemen-at-Arms</i>	Rt. Hon. Lord Colebrooke, CV.O.
<i>Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard.</i>	Rt. Hon. Lord Hylton.
<i>Master of the Horse</i>	Rt Hon the Earl of Chesterfield, K.G., G.C.V.O
<i>Lords in Waiting</i>	Lord Stanmore, Lord Ranksborough, Viscount Valeutia, the Earl of Jersey.

The reception of these names in the Press was on the whole unsatisfactory. The note running through the comment of journals of the most diverse views was one of disappointment. Of the 77 names all but 10 had been members of the old Government, and most of the 10 new members had either held office before or were recognised in the official world. Considerable criticism was raised by the appointment of Mr. Churchill as Minister of War and the Air; and questions were raised as to the desirability of placing the Army and the Air Force under the same civilian head. One of the most interesting appointments was that of Sir S. P. Sinha as Under-Secretary for India. It was announced at the same time that he was to be made a peer, being thus the first Indian to become a member of the House of Lords. On January 14 the King held a Council at Buckingham Palace for the exchange of seals, which the reconstruction of the Ministry had made necessary. Mr. Andrew Weir was first sworn a member of the Privy Council. The King then de-

livered the Great Seal to Sir F. E. Smith, who thereupon took the oath of office as Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. "With the execution of the remainder of these formalities the new Ministry was virtually complete, though one or two of the smaller appointments named above were not announced until a few days later.

We have observed that labour discontent was one of the most conspicuous features of the transition from war to peace. Mr. Clynes, speaking on January 2 at a farewell dinner given to him by the staff of the Ministry of Food, urged organised labour to accept the verdict of the polls. He deprecated the use of strikes or what he called the "industrial weapon," and said that there was no change in the social order that labour could not obtain on the floor of the House of Commons, if it sent its representatives there in sufficient strength. Labour should keep the Jaw because it might in the future have to make the law.

A few days later the Labour Party took two important decisions. They decided to exercise their undoubted right as the second strongest British combination in the House of Commons to become the official opposition. Their choice of a Parliamentary leader fell upon Mr. William Adamson, with Mr. J. R. Clynes as Vice-Chairman. This decision of the Labour Party was a landmark in our Parliamentary history. For centuries, the old parties, whether Whigs and Tories, Liberals and Conservatives, had had a monopoly of the functions of government and opposition. A third party now appeared which had shown itself sufficiently strong to displace the traditional Opposition which was provided in the previous Parliament by Mr. Asquith and his followers of the Liberal Party. Mr. Adamson, who had been elected Chairman, was a Fife miner who had worked in the pit for twenty-seven years.

The first manifestations of labour grievances had reference to demobilisation. In the first week of the year a demonstration by soldiers which seemed likely to lead to serious consequences, occurred at Folkestone and Dover. Several thousands of men left their rest camps and assembled in the centres of these towns to express their dissatisfaction with certain demobilisation arrangements. The proceedings were quite orderly, but for a time the return of men to France was suspended. It had been arranged that the colours of the Guards were to leave London for Cologne on January 4, but at the last moment their departure had to be postponed owing to the close of Folkestone as a port of embarkation; they were, however, despatched on the following day. The protests against delay in demobilisation soon spread to the administrative services. Men of the Royal Army Service Corps left their camp at Osterley Park and drove to Whitehall to explain their grievances. There was an imposing demonstration at Brighton, and meetings were held at other places, though the proceedings continued to be orderly. The War Office explained that it was impracticable to demobilise

the administrative services as rapidly as the combatant services, but they were making every effort to keep down the numbers of the former by as high a percentage of release as possible. Soon afterwards they effected a revision of their arrangements for demobilisation and conditions of leave. On the 7th two more demonstrations were held in Whitehall of soldiers anxious to be demobilised. One of them, consisting of men from Kempton Park, was addressed by General Feilding who declined to discuss the men's demands until they returned to their units. Further demonstrations continued, however, on a smaller scale and still orderly. They spread from the Army to the Navy, and some trouble occurred at Eosyth among men of the mine-sweeping flotilla owing to complaints of the rates of pay and other grievances. On the 8th, Mr. Lloyd George issued a statement in which he pointed out the need for the maintenance of British strength at a proper standard of safety until a fair settlement had been made with the enemy. He said that a point had been reached where real harm was being done by the demonstrations which were taking place. This statement appeared to have a steadying influence, for no further demonstrations were held in Whitehall, though reports were received of minor outbreaks at a Manchester camp and at an aerodrome in Kent. The process of demobilisation continued to be accelerated. By the middle of January nearly 500,000 men had been released, and the aim of the authorities was to return about 50,000 men a day to civil life.

At the end of the month announcements were made relating to the condition and terms of service of the Armies of Occupation, the pay of the Navy, and maintenance of the Royal Air Force. In all three services immediate substantial increases of payment in the form of bonuses were to come into operation. The estimated cost per annum of these concessions was 36,500,000. The principal conditions which were to govern the selection and service of the men who were to be retained for the Army were as follows: The new Army was to be composed at first only of those who did not enlist before January 1, 1916, who were not over thirty-seven years of age, and who had not more than two wound stripes. This method of selection was expected to yield about 1,300,000 men, and would provide a margin which would permit the release of a certain number, as pivotal men and on compassionate grounds. If more than 900,000 men remained, the age of retention was to be reduced to thirty-six and then to thirty-five. The pay of the Armies of Occupation was to be substantially increased; each man posted to these armies was to draw bonuses ranging from 10s. 6d. a week in the case of a private to two guineas in the case of officers above the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Generous leave was to be granted to men of the Armies of Occupation.

In addition to these demobilisation troubles, the demands of the miners gave some anxiety. After a conference at Southport in the middle of the month they put forward three

demands: (1) Full wages from State funds for miners released from the Army but not absorbed in the mines, and for men displaced from the mines to make room for ex-soldiers. (2) The amendment of the eight hours Act by the substitution of six working hours for eight. (3) A 30 per cent, advance on present earnings other than war wages. The war wages to be continued.

The main importance of these demands consisted in the necessary implication that the price of coal would have to be raised from 3s. to 5s. a ton in order to meet the increase in wages which was demanded. At the same time a short strike occurred which brought almost all the coal mines of Yorkshire to a standstill, and involved about 150,000 men and boys. The dispute had reference to the meal interval for surfacemen, and was settled after negotiation by the representatives of the coal owners and the miners. The Coal Controller agreed to the men's demand and work was forthwith resumed.

In the middle of January the Sinn Fein Congress was held in Dublin. Mr. Charles Burgess was elected. Speaker, and opened the proceedings by calling on Father O'Flanagan for a short inaugural prayer. Approximately thirty members were present, and after a few formal speeches a declaration of independence was read, first in Irish, then in English, and finally in French. It set out that the object of Sinn Fein was constitutional polity based upon the people's will. The Irish Electorate at the recent Election has declared its firm adherence to the Irish Republic, and had elected representatives of the Irish people. They alone had power to make laws binding upon the Irish people, and the Irish people would give the Parliament only their allegiance. Finally the declaration demanded the evacuation of Ireland by the foreign garrison. After this statement had been repeated in French, all the members rose, and, repeating the pledge administered by the President, promised to use every effort to give effect to the declaration of independence.

The Republican Parliament sat again at the Dublin Mansion House on January 22. The sitting was private, but it was understood that a ministry consisting of a Prime Minister, a Minister of Finance, a Minister for Home Affairs, a Minister for Foreign Affairs, and a Minister of Defence was appointed. The sitting then concluded, and the members separated after a group photograph had been taken. A couple of days later two important developments in Irish politics were announced. The first was the formation of an Irish Centre Party with the object of promoting self-government for Ireland within the Empire under a central Parliament for national affairs, and provincial assemblies for provincial affairs. The need of such a Party had been urgently advocated by Captain Stephen Gwynn, who was Chairman of the party's Provincial General Committee. This Committee included some well-known names, and in particular

that of General Sir Hubert Gough, who commanded the 5th Army during the British retreat in March. The other members included several leading barristers, doctors, and men of affairs. The party opened temporary offices in Dublin, and anticipated a large measure of support in the country. The other development of Irish politics was the definite breach which had long been expected in the ranks of the Irish Unionist Alliance, and the formation of a new body known as the Unionist Anti-Partition League

The end of January and the whole of February were marked by unceasing ferment in many departments of the Labour world. One of the most serious was the threat of a strike of police, consequent upon a meeting of the National Union of Police and Prison Officers held in the Albert Hall on January 19. As the result of this meeting the Union addressed a letter to the Home Secretary in which the following demands were put forward —

1. The official recognition of the Union by the police authorities

2. An immediate and substantial increase in the pay of all ranks.

3. An amendment of the Police Pensions Act, 1918, to enable a policeman's widow to receive both the pension under that Act and the gratuity under the Act of 1890

4. The reinstatement by the Midland Railway Company of three policemen alleged to have been victimised, or at least a fresh inquiry into their dismissal

In respect of the last of these demands a time limit was fixed. In reply the Home Office informed the Union that the Government did not recognise the authority of that body to represent the members of the London and provincial police forces. In a further letter the Home Secretary suggested that the reinstatement of the three dismissed policemen was a matter for the General Manager of the Midland Railway Company; and that the correct procedure would be for the men to discuss matters with this official. This was accepted by the Union as a promise to grant the inquiry demanded, and the risk of a strike was for the moment averted.

The danger of other strikes was, however, not so easily disposed of. On January 24 representatives of the Boilermakers', Shipwrights', and Blacksmiths' Societies met the Minister of Labour and asked that the 47-hour week agreement be accompanied by an undertaking that there should be no reduction in the wages of piece-workers. Sir R. Home advised a resumption of work, but the delegates declined to recommend this. At the same time a serious situation arose in Belfast as a result of the municipal employees in the gas and electricity works going on strike in support of the general movement in the shipbuilding and engineering trades for a 44-hour week. The gas and electricity supplies ceased on the 26th. This involved also the stoppage of the tramway services, the electric supply for power

purposes in mills and factories, and the suspension of the operations of the city bakeries, the majority of which relied either on gas or electric power; the whole city was in consequence dislocated.

The strike fever soon spread to Glasgow and London. At Glasgow about 20,000 shipyard and engineering workers stopped work, the organisers aiming at a general strike to secure a 40-hour week. In London 10,000 ship repairers went on strike for an advance of 15s. a week in wages. Smaller strikes occurred also among shipyard men on the North-East coast, dock workers in Manchester and Salford, electrical engineers in Edinburgh, and shipbuilding and engineering workers in Leith. The Manchester dock worker strike was settled almost at once, but the disputes in London, Belfast, and on the Clyde continued to cause much dislocation of trade and public inconvenience. In Belfast industrialize was almost completely at a standstill. On the Clyde the position was not at first quite so serious, as the plans for a general strike to hold up the city miscarried. But events there soon began to develop. On the 29th over 20,000 strikers marched to the tramway electricity station and demanded that the men at work should down tools, but there was no response. The strikers also marched to the City Chambers and sent a deputation to the Lord Provost. They induced him to telegraph to the Prime Minister conveying the request of the strikers that the Government should intervene and compel the employers to concede to their demands. Failing this, the strikers threatened that whereas they had hitherto adopted "constitutional methods," they would henceforth adopt "any other methods which they might consider would be likely to advance their <cause ". After a meeting of the Cabinet had been called to consider the situation, Mr. Bonar Law sent a telegraphic reply to the effect that the Government could not entertain requests for intervention made by local members of Unions in regard to a question which was at present the subject of negotiation between the national representatives of those Unions and the employers. The refusal of the Government to yield to the demands of the strike leaders was announced to a mass meeting in the great square before the City Chambers. Disorder followed, and the Riot Act was read; bottles were thrown by the strikers; and police both on foot and mounted charged the mob. Several persons on both sides were injured; two strike leaders were arrested, but were afterwards allowed to address the crowd, several tramcars were overturned, and there was some smashing of shop windows and looting in various parts of the city. On the last day of the month a meeting in London of London engineers attended by delegates from the Clyde Strike Committee was invited to declare for "an immediate general strike, linking up London with the strikers of the Clyde and other areas with the object of closing every industry in London." The meeting rejected this, but declared a general strike to begin on February 6.

Meanwhile still further extensions of the strike mania were taking place. Electricians in South Wales stopped work at the beginning of February to enforce uniform rates of pay throughout the district. In London a meeting of the tube motor men on February 2 decided upon an immediate strike as a protest against the action of the Government and the Railway Executive Committee in refusing to allow 30 minutes' meal relief to be taken as part of the 8-hour day which had come into force on the 1st. In consequence the tube railway services in London were almost completely suspended on the morning of February 3.

The strike on the Clyde meanwhile showed some signs of coming to an end. Many workmen who were idle through intimidation began to return to work, and there was no recurrence of disorder. The damage to industry had indeed already been considerable. On the 4th it was announced by *The Times* that Messrs. Yarrow & Co., the well-known shipbuilders, had decided gradually to diminish the output from their works on the Clyde and to increase their production on the Pacific coast of North America at Vancouver. In Belfast the position continued unchanged. In London, on the other hand, an extension of the strike to electricians and engineers became imminent. Deputations were sent by these bodies to the Ministry of Labour with the demand that the Government should intervene in the disputes at Glasgow and elsewhere by undertaking immediately to bung forward legislation for a 40-hour week. They got no satisfaction, however, and the District Secretary of the Electrical Trades Union announced that London would be "plunged into darkness," its tramway and other electric transport services be brought to a standstill, and its supply of electrical and motor power for industrial and all other purposes be cut off. The strike of the Electrical Trades Union was fixed to take place on February 6. It was admittedly not due to any grievance on the part of the strikers, but to compel the Government to come to terms with the Unions on the Clyde.

The Government took immediate measures to meet this very grave threat. They promulgated a new regulation under the Defence of the Realm Act, whereby any electrical worker who ceased work without notice, or any person who incited others to do so, should be made liable to six months' imprisonment with or without hard labour, or to a fine of 100*l.*, or both. The Government took the view that light for a community like London was a most important factor in the safety of the people, and that to cut off the supply of electric current was almost tantamount to the creation of a riot, inasmuch as darkness would leave the lives and property of all citizens to a serious extent at the mercy of violent and evil-disposed persons. This action had the desired effect. The threatened stoppage of the Power Stations, which had been originally fixed for February 6, was postponed until a meeting had taken place on the 8th. It was then further postponed indefinitely pending a further

meeting to discuss simultaneous action throughout the country. At the same time the strike on the tubes was brought to an end after prolonged negotiations between the Government, the Railway Executive Committee, and the representatives of the Railwaymen's Unions. It was agreed that the underground train men should be booked on for 8 hours' work. Meal-time would not be included in the eight hours, but in the new conditions of the 8-hour day the Companies would offer all reasonable facilities to meet the ordinary physical needs of the men. The strike thus ended after having continued for a week.

The strike of shipyard workers at Belfast, which had begun on January 25, also began to draw towards a close. In reply to the demand for a 44-hour week the heads of the Belfast shipbuilding firms, led by Lord Pirrie, offered to urge on the federation of engineering and shipbuilding employers the advisability of conceding a shorter week than the 47-hour week then in force. The Belfast strike committee agreed to submit this offer to a ballot of the men. The result of the ballot was announced on the 14th, and gave a majority of over 3,000 against acceptance of the employers' proposal. And so the strike lingered on until February 19 when the men returned to work on the basis of a 47-hour week pending a national settlement of working hours. The strike on the Clyde, which had begun on January 27, was somewhat less protracted. The organisers failed to secure the general stoppage at which they had aimed. The firm attitude of the Government, the failure of attempts to extend the trouble to other areas, and the consequent gradual return to work of the strikers, made the collapse of the venture inevitable, and the strike was officially declared at an end on February 11.

A further demonstration occurred on February 8 by soldiers due to return to the front. About 250 men marched to the Horse Guards Parade to give vent to their grievances. The main body of them were taken to Wellington Barracks where they were lodged and given food, while nine of the ringleaders were arrested. No further trouble ensued. On February 19 Mr. Winston Churchill made a speech at the Mansion House calling upon employers to keep open the places of men retained in the Army of Occupation. He said that the Government were releasing three men out of every four who were serving with the colours on the previous November 11. At least a year would be required to form the voluntary army, but volunteers were now joining at the rate of more than a thousand a day and the rate was rising. He insisted that it was necessary to maintain a large force during the present year in order to make it physically impossible for Germany to begin a war of revenge, and in order to make her pay what was rightful and possible in reparation of the damage she had done. He absolutely denied the truth of the allegation that we were keeping

large forces to fight in Eussia. If Eussia was to be saved she must be saved by Eussia.

The new Parliament met for the first time on February 4, and a variety of circumstances made the occasion unusually interesting. At the first glance at the crowded chamber everything seemed changed with the exception of the Treasury bench. The old Ministry faced a new House in which every other landmark had disappeared. There was not a single Irish Nationalist in his place, and the remnants of Mr. Asquith's old following constituted only a small group. The Coalition occupied the benches not only on the ministerial side of the House but also on the Opposition side and in the side galleries. Sir Donald Maclean, who had been appointed Sessional Chairman of the Liberal group, occupied the seat of the Leader of the Opposition, with a number of non-Coalition Liberals on his left. Mr. Adamson, the Chairman of the Labour Party,; also took his place on the front Opposition bench.

The only business was the election of the Speaker. Colonel Mildmay proposed and Sir Henry Dalziel seconded the re-election of Mr. J. W. Lowther, who, in reply, said that he was prepared to continue in the Chair for a year or eighteen months or possibly two years. After Mr. Lowther had been unanimously elected, he was congratulated by Mr. Bonar Law as Leader of the House, and by Sir Donald Maclean and Mr. Adamson from the Opposition groups.

The formal opening of Parliament took place a week later, when the King, wearing the khaki uniform of a Field-Marshal, read his speech from the throne. His Majesty impressed upon the assembled Lords and Commons that it was their duty to spare no effort in healing the causes of the existing unrest, and earnestly appealed to them to do all that in them lay to revive and foster a happier and more harmonious spirit in our national industrial life.

The address was moved and seconded by two service members, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Ehys Williams and Lieut.-Commander Percy Dean, V.C. Mr. Adamson rose next to express the views of the Labour Party on the subjects mentioned in the King's speech. He described the industrial situation as almost as menacing and dangerous as the war itself, and warned the Government that there were many genuine grievances affecting more particularly wages, hours, unemployment, and the cost of living, which called for speedy removal. He was followed by Sir Donald Maclean in whose speech, however, less interest was shown. Thereupon the Prime Minister arose to make an outspoken speech on the industrial situation, with obvious reference to the new demands of the miners and the railwaymen. He first gave a general survey of the progress of the Peace Conference, assuring the House that the Conference had made progress beyond the most sanguine anticipation in approaching agreement upon most of the questions with which it had to deal.

He especially emphasised the exceedingly satisfactory progress which had been made with the League of Nations. "That experiment," he said, "will be tried, and with the full assent of all the nations great and small." Turning to the subject of labour unrest, Mr. Lloyd George insisted that if it continued the consequences would be serious to the trade and industry of this country. In so far as there were legitimate causes of unrest it was the business of the Government and the House of Commons to remove them. The Government would welcome a general investigation into the whole causes of industrial unrest; one individual trade could not be considered without reference to the rest. A great increase in the cost of some essential ingredients like coal or transport might easily destroy our chances of restarting our great export industry. Anarchy was the object of some of those men who were seeking to destroy not merely Trade Unionism but the State. Every demand which was put forward by any body of workmen would be examined fairly and carefully by the Government with a view to removing any legitimate grievance, but the Government were determined to fight Prussianism in the industrial world, as they had fought it on the Continent of Europe, with the whole might of the nation. Finally, Mr. Lloyd George appealed to the common sense of all sections of the community, in order that the victory won so largely by the heroism and tenacity of this great nation in five years of sacrifice should not be wantonly dissipated in a few weeks of frenzied strife.

The debate on the address was continued next day when Mr. Clynes, who rose from the front Opposition bench, warned the Prime Minister that, although he had secured a far bigger following in the House, he had built up in the country a greater measure of unrest than had existed before the election. "Hundreds of thousands of workers," he asserted, "who had readily voted for the Prime Minister, are ready to strike against his Government now." In Mr. Lloyd George's speech of the previous day Mr. Clynes read a challenge to labour, and he remarked that if labour remained idle on any very large scale for any considerable number of days the Government would be helpless. For his part he insisted on discipline as the need of the time, and expressed the hope that Trade Unionists would recognise the folly of advocating force.

After the debate had continued for some time the Prime Minister intervened with an important speech about the work of the Peace Conference, dealing first with territorial readjustment and declaring that he was very sanguine that a complete agreement would be arrived at with regard to Germany's western boundaries. As for the German colonies, it had been decided unanimously that whoever the mandatory should be they should not be restored to Germany. On the subject of indemnities he insisted that the British Government, far from showing any

slackness, were in advance of any other Government. He regretted the slighting tone of some of the remarks about the League of Nations. The most interesting passage in his speech, however, related to Eussia. He stated categorically that no proposal had ever been put forward to recognise the Bolsheviks. The first fact he wanted to get into the mind of the British public was that unless there was peace in Russia it was no good the Conference separating and saying they had made the peace of the world. One way of dealing with the problem was by downright intervention, but he insisted that there was no sane man in Britain who would advise the Government, after nearly five years of war, to undertake that enterprise. He next submitted the arguments for and against effective support of the non-Bolshevik Governments, and asked if anyone had counted the cost. He told the House frankly that America would send neither men, money, nor material. The Allies had therefore tried the experiment of summoning a Conference to see whether order could not be restored. The Prime Minister declined to go into detail, as the whole question would be under discussion in Paris in the next two or three days.

Later in the evening Captain Wedgwood Benn raised the question of the merging of the Air Ministry and the War Office under one head. Mr. Churchill, in reply, explained that the Prime Minister did not consider a separate Secretaryship of State for Air necessary at the present period in aviation development. He contended that the scope of the Air Force had been enlarged since the present Government had been formed. The manufacturing and production department of the Ministry of Munitions had been handed over to it, and civil aviation had been definitely placed in its sphere. He announced that a Bill would be introduced almost immediately to enable a start to be made with private flying, at first under regulations which at a later date could be greatly relaxed. He gave an explicit assurance that there was not the slightest intention of merging the Air Force into the Army.

On February 13 the Labour Party brought forward their amendment to the address, regretting the absence from the King's speech of any mention of definite proposals for dealing with the present causes of industrial unrest. The debate was opened by Mr. Brace, the leader of the South Wales miners. He urged that much of the responsibility for the existing unrest lay in the failure to give to the Trade Union officials such a settlement by negotiation as they were entitled to receive on behalf of the workmen they represented. He insisted that organised labour stood strongly in favour of the settlement of disputes by conciliation, but refused to look at compulsory arbitration. He asked the House to believe that there would not be this great upheaval unless there was behind it the tremendous driving power of grievances among the individual men. He demanded nationalisation of the land and railways, and contended that an

announcement by the Government that the mines would be nationalised would greatly help the moderate men in the Miners,' Federation to ease the situation.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. He began with the assertion that he was out against Bolsheviks and profiteers alike, and he suggested that the Government should insist in all these disputes on full publicity on both sides. He urged the Government to insist that the Whitley Report should be put into operation immediately. He considered that two of the causes of unrest were the spirit in which concessions were given and the delay in settling disputes. He called upon the Government to deal with the reactionaries as they would with the Bolsheviks, and upon the employers to recognise that the working classes were no longer going to be treated as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. He ended with the warning that the next few months would be our dangerous period.

Speeches on the other side were made by Major Tryon and by Mr. Seddon of the National Democratic Party. The latter expressed his belief that much of the unrest was caused by the refusal of the Labour Party to deal with anarchy inside their movement. He condemned the unofficial strike as meaning the destruction of the Trade Union movement. Another new member, Mr. Reiner, strongly recommended a compulsory scheme of profit-sharing as a solution of the problem.

Mr. Bonar Law replied for the Government. He claimed that they had taken an immense step forward by giving an 8-hour day on the railways which they controlled. He stated that agreements as to hours of labour applying to more than 8,500,000 men had already been signed, he suggested that the desire of labour to have a larger share of the good things of this world was at the bottom of the unrest. He admitted that the country was going to have an anxious time, but declared his conviction that "we shall come through." He did not think that if the country kept its head there was a great danger of serious unemployment. There were only two dangers which he saw, one was the lack of that credit which was essential to business on a great scale, the other was that employers, apparently through conditions due to the war, were afraid to engage in any new enterprises through a fear that the present level of prices must collapse. Finally he warned the Labour members that if they wanted to nurture that fear, the way to do it most effectively was to give the impression that there was going to be industrial unrest month after month in this country. Mr. Bonar Law's reply did not satisfy the Labour members, who then challenged the first division of the new Parliament and mustered 59 votes against 311 for the Coalition. The Labour Party were supported by a few non-Coalition Liberals and Irish Nationalists.

This question of industrial unrest was fully discussed in the

House of Lords on February 18 and 19. The Lord Chancellor informed the Peers that the policy of the Government in relation to the threatened strikes of the miners, rail way men, and transport workers consisted of inquiry and publicity, full discussion and complete candour. He called upon the miners to trust the Government and their fellow-countrymen. If they could point to one remediable wrong it should be remedied. If their cause was that others were in receipt of more than their share of the products of the mines, that could be examined at the Conference to which they were invited. He warned the miners that no strike, however formidable, would succeed which did not command the support of the great *silent* majority of the public.

The Lord Chancellor was followed by Lord Lansdowne, who did not think that these industrial problems could be solved until the Government had placed the national finances on a sounder basis. "We have become a debtor nation," he declared, and he asked the Government to tell the country the worst. He only saw one way of salvation, and that was the way of frugality and industry. He suggested that the Trade Unions should form part of the statutory machinery for dealing with labour difficulties, and that their incorporation should be insisted upon.

When the debate was resumed on the following day Lord Leverhulme, in a speech which was remarkably well received, declared that labour unrest was the healthiest sign in the country at the present time, and that there was no reason to be afraid of Labour. After expressing firm belief in the principles of co-partnership he expounded his policy in the form of a question: "Why cannot we put our heads together and say to our workpeople, 'You want more wages and shorter hours, you can only get them by reducing the cost of production, otherwise you will find that though your wages have gone up your purchasing power is reduced?' " He drew a very unfavourable comparison between production in this country and the United States, and contended that one of the causes of such unhealthy unrest as existed was an inflated idea of the size of the profits made during the war.

A pessimistic speech was made by Lord Emmott, who declared that America and Japan had taken a great deal of our trade, that London had lost its place as the centre of the financial world, and altogether that the prospects were "absolutely appalling."

Lord Crawford, replying for the Government, stated that the ideal which they desired to attain was improved production. He promised that every possible concession would be made, but urged that Labour must not shrink from taking its share of the responsibility.

The first constructive business of the House of Commons was to make a number of changes in its rules of procedure, and also to consider a Bill entitled "The Re-election of Ministers

Bill," providing that no member on accepting office should have to submit himself to his constituents for re-election. As this proposal obviously did not meet the views of the House an amendment was moved to the effect that exemption should only apply during the first six months after a General Election. Ultimately Mr. Bonar Law agreed to accept a time limit of nine months from the date of a General Election, and the third reading was carried on February 21.

As regards the amendments proposed by the Government in the Standing Orders relating to business and procedure, Sir Gordon Hewart explained that the object of the proposals was to save the time of the House, to accelerate the progress of business, and to improve the desirable opportunities of criticism and discussion. The Government suggested a general resort to Standing Committees for Bills with the exception of the Finance Bill, the Appropriation Bill, and small Bills of a non-contentious kind. They also proposed, for the present session only, to reduce the number of days for supply from twenty to twelve, and to refer the estimates, with certain exceptions, to Standing Committees, the number of which would be increased from four to six. Sir Donald Maclean described the scheme as a sweeping invasion of some of the most fundamental rights of the people as expressed through the House of Commons, and pointed to a large measure of devolution as the true remedy. He particularly condemned the proposal to refer the estimates to Standing Committees. Mr. Bonar Law energetically defended the proposals of the Government, chiefly on the ground that things had to be done by Parliament and done without undue delay. He warned members that unless the procedure was such as to enable the Government to do the work expected of them they could not undertake the task. Still the House persisted in its criticism. Mr. Adamson declared that the Labour Party viewed the new rules with serious misgiving. He thought that the Government might have proposed to shorten speeches in the House. On behalf of his party he suggested that the House should meet at noon and adjourn at 8 o'clock.

The debate was continued on the following day when Lord Wolmer moved that the new rules for Bills should not be permanent, but should apply only to the present session. Mr. Bonar Law, however, refused to modify this essential part of the Government plan. More serious difficulty arose on a back bench amendment which, as modified and accepted by the Attorney-General, provided that on certain days the House should determine, after questions, on a motion of a Minister, to adjourn in order that the sittings of the Standing Committees might be facilitated. The amendment was withdrawn on the understanding that the Government would reintroduce it later. Mr. Adamson moved a new provision that reports of all debates in the Standing Committees should be published in the same form as debates in the House. This was opposed by the Government

and rejected on a division, as also was an amendment to fix a time limit for speeches.

When the debate was renewed on February 20, Sir Gordon Hewart moved that a Minister might make a motion which should be decided without amendment or debate that the House should adjourn immediately after questions. The opposition of private members to this proposal was vigorously renewed. Mr J. H. Thomas regarded it as a very dangerous innovation. Bearing in mind the serious character of the industrial unrest, he begged members to keep clearly in their minds the imprudence of not permitting opportunities for the discussion of such matters in the House. Mr. Bonar Law explained, however, that it was not their intention to utilise the proposal unless they found that the scheme was in danger of breaking down. It would, in fact, be a power held in reserve. On this understanding the proposal was adopted as a new standing order.

The Government amendments for referring the estimates to Standing Committees were next considered, and there was a good deal of criticism, in reply to which Mr. Bonar Law explained that it was the hope of the Government that their proposals would make the House a more interesting place to members generally. He announced as a concession the restoration of the full twenty days for the discussion of Supply in the full House. After some further debate the new rules were then adopted.

One of the first Bills to be passed through Parliament in February was the Air Navigation Bill, which gave rise at its third reading to a short debate on the development of British civilian flying. Major-General Seely, who was in charge of the Bill, agreed with its critics that the Government ought to give the fullest possible latitude to experiment and to free it completely from State inspection and control. Colonel Moore Brabazon expressed a fear that under the Bill there was a possibility that the Government would control the design of all aircraft in this country. He warned the House that that would mean absolute stagnation in a new industry. He protested against the doctrine that no machine should be built in this country unless it was capable of being promptly turned into a war machine. Major-General Seely agreed to make it clear in the regulations that no Government Department should interfere with designs. He declared that the duty of the Ministry was limited to seeing that aircraft were reasonably safe. He thought that air navigation would become increasingly civil rather than military, and he ended with the statement that the Ministry would do all that was possible to ensure the future of civilian flying so far as the Treasury would permit.

Two Bills of first-class importance were introduced during the month, namely, the Ministry of Health Bill and the Ministry of Ways and Communications Bill, both designed to set up new Ministries which were to take under the control of the State

extensive new departments of the national life. The Ministry of Health Bill proposed to appoint a Minister whose duty would be to secure the effective carrying out of measures conducive to the health of the people, including the prevention and cure of diseases, the treatment of physical and mental defects, the collection and preparation of information, and the training of persons engaged in health services. The second reading of this Bill was moved by Dr. Addison, President of the Local Government Board, on February 26. He recalled that during the past four years we had lost about 700,000 of our race in the war. He reminded the House, too, that in the previous October, November, and December, there had been as high an average mortality from influenza as had previously been due to causes connected with the war. Then we had in the Elementary Schools an army of children physically defective. He pointed out that there were at present a large number of different Departments dealing with Public Health, and that the central idea of the Bill was to fix responsibility. He warned members that the country ran the risk of the introduction on demobilisation of a number of diseases, some of them of a very dangerous kind, from which it had for many years been free.

The debate was, on the whole, favourable to the Bill. Sir Donald Maclean did not understand why the medical side of factory legislation now under the Home Office should not come under the Ministry. Mr J. H. Thomas declared that no piece of legislation was so necessary, but added that the Labour Party only looked on it as a first instalment. He would have liked to see more provision for the taking over of our voluntary hospitals which he contended ought to be national institutions. Sir Edward Carson hoped that the House would insist upon making the Bill applicable to Ireland. Sir Watson Cheyne urged that the only flaw he could find in the Bill was that the Minister would have to be a superman to do all that was required of him. The Bill was read a second time without a division, and an instruction was given to the Standing Committee that it should be made applicable to Ireland.

The other Bill setting up a new Ministry, which was usually referred to as the Transport Bill, was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Shortt on February 26. The main proposals of the Bill were that a Ministry of Ways and Communications should be set up to take control of the railways, light railways, tramways, canals, and inland navigation. It was also proposed that roads, bridges, vehicles, and traffic should be included in the Bill. Finally, it was proposed to take control over the supply of electricity. Mr. Shortt contended that the day for unfettered railway competition had gone, and that the introduction of mechanical traction had made the roads essentially a national question. He made it clear at the start that the Ministry would maintain, for the two years during which the Government guaranteed the receipts of the railways, the control

which they had during the war, and would be given power during that period to consider the whole question and to make such changes as and when they thought desirable. In reply to a question from Sir Edward Carson as to whether the Ministry could nationalise railways, Mr. Shortt replied that they could not do so without the consent of the House.

The Home Secretary admitted that there might be a considerable difference of opinion on the proposal to include the control of electric supply. He suggested, however, that as transport was the greatest customer of electricity, and as it depended entirely for its successful management upon the development of the industries of the country, the House would recognise how important it was that the Ministry should have control of electricity. In reply to further questions he stated that the Manchester Ship Canal would come under the Ministry, and also that the Bill would apply to the United Kingdom as a whole.

Some preliminary criticism was made by Mr. Joynson-Hicks, who declared that Mr. Shortt had sketched the most powerful Ministry ever suggested, and expressed the view that the Minister would be a superman. He announced that with the support of a large number of members he intended to oppose the inclusion of roads in the Bill. As a measure of the gigantic task of the Ministry under this one head, he pointed out that there were 152,000 miles of roads in this country, and that they were now dealt with by over 2,000 authorities. He asserted that the road-users and the great motor interests were gravely suspicious of the placing of roads under railway control. He advocated the revival of the Road Board with representation on the front bench. The Bill was then read a first time.

On February 27 the House was engaged in the discussion of financial matters. A regulation had been issued by the Treasury after the Armistice not only prohibiting the issue and the sale and transfer of all new shares except with Treasury licence, but also having retrospective effect with regard to all transactions within the last four years, with which the Stock Exchange had refused to have any dealings. This regulation gave rise to a debate, in the course of which Mr. Bonar Law announced that the Government intended to make a new order relieving the regulation of its retrospective effect. Mr. Baldwin, Joint Financial Secretary to the Treasury, contended that the regulation was not a serious hardship to the promoters of new issues or to subscribers of them having regard to the repeated warnings that had been given by the Government that issues without Treasury assent were contrary to the national interest. Sir Edward Carson expressed the opinion that the new regulation had caused almost a panic in business circles. Sir H. Dalziel pointed out that in Lancashire many of the cotton mills were carried on by means of loans, and that under the regulations these loans were prohibited.

Mr. Bonar Law subsequently proceeded to explain the position. In order to raise the money necessary for carrying on the war, arrangements were come to with representatives of financial interests that capital issues could not be permitted without Treasury sanction. When hostilities ceased the Government granted greater freedom in allowing issues so as to afford facilities for finding money for the restoration of trade and public utility works. It was then discovered that the new issues without Treasury sanction were being dealt with outside the Stock Exchange, and he thought it would be agreed that this was unfair to members of the Stock Exchange who had so loyally supported the Government during the war. That, he said, was the sole reason for issuing the regulation complained of.

The Leader of the House went on to say that the necessity of money coming into the State was just as great now as it had been during the war, and yet that it was more difficult to obtain, for the war being over people were more inclined to put their money into the investments which seemed best from the ordinary point of view of the investor. Expenditure had not fallen to anything like the extent that had been hoped for when peace actually came. In these circumstances it was not possible to allow freedom in every kind of investment. At the same time the Government greatly desired to get industries restarted. They had therefore come to the conclusion that while a restriction on the issue of capital must continue in the interest of the country, yet the main objections raised to the regulation would be met by depriving it of its retrospective effect.

On the same evening the new House had its first night in Committee of Supply. The most interesting vote was an additional grant of 150,000l. for the Foreign and other Secret Service. Mr. Baldwin explained for the information of new members that the money was issued only on the certificate of a Secretary of State, and that the expenditure was examined by the Comptroller and Auditor-General and reported by him to the Public Accounts Committee. Mr. Shaw, a Labour member, asked whether there was any foundation for the rumours that spies paid for out of this fund were employed in the workshops of large industrial centres. Mr. Baldwin replied that he had no knowledge of the way in which the money was spent, as it was not within his province. He was confident, however, that the employment of spies in the way stated was opposed to the spirit of this country.

Towards the end of the month an outline of the policy of reconstruction in Ireland was given by the Chief Secretary in a speech at Dublin to a deputation from the Municipal Association of Ireland. He said that the fate of Ireland was in the hands of the Irish people. Political and economic disturbances would retard the realisation of its legitimate industrial ambitions. The interim grant of 250,000l. already made was for the immediate

needs of demobilised men and others in need of work. Works of great advantage to the country had been fixed upon. The state of housing in Ireland was appalling. Ireland had secured housing legislation to suit her own requirements, and she would be wise in continuing that policy; here also the proposals of the Government were far advanced. A system of fixing reasonable rents would be carried out by the Local Government Board with the co-operation, if necessary, of Local Authorities. A subsidy might be given to cover the difference between the economic rent and the reasonable rent. The formation of a special housing department was being considered. Ireland was to participate in the benefits of a Ministry of Health and general development schemes; land transit, light railways, afforestation, etc., would be equally applied in Ireland. The principle of proportional representation was to be introduced in Irish local elections.

Labour movements continued, however, to be the most pressing subject of public attention during the latter half of February. The question of the miners was especially prominent. It will be remembered that the Miners' Federation of Great Britain had put forward a demand for an advance of 30 per cent, on present earnings in addition to the war wage of 18s. a week. They had further demanded a 6-hour day instead of the 8-hour day under the Act of 1908; full discharge for demobilised mine workers; full wages for those not able to do a normal day's work, and some other minor points. Finally, they had demanded that the Government should at once nationalise all mines and minerals. The reply of the Government was laid before a national conference of delegates from the coalfields held in Southport on February 12. The reply stated that the Government were prepared to allow at once an addition of 1s. a day to the war wage to meet the increased cost of living since the last advance (June, 1918). They were not prepared to deal with the general claims for higher wages, shorter hours, and nationalisation, until they knew by investigation the probable effect on the industrial position as a whole and on the daily life of the nation. They therefore intended to set up at once a strong representative committee, including nominees of the miners, to inquire into these subjects. The committee would be instructed to present interim reports on hours and wages as soon as possible. The Government declined to give demobilised or unemployed miners preferential treatment as compared with other workers.

The Miners' Conference was recommended by the Executive of the Federation to reject these terms, and after an hour's sitting behind closed doors the recommendation was accepted unanimously. The Executive were instructed to prepare and submit "a proposal as to what action should be the next step in order to press our demands." On the following day the Conference decided to take a ballot of the whole membership of the

Miners' Federation on the question of a strike to enforce their demands. The result of the ballot was to be declared on February 22, and if the voting showed the necessary two-thirds majority in favour of a strike, the stoppage would begin on March 15.

Efforts at conciliation were soon got on foot. On February 20 the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour met the Executive of the Miners' Federation at Downing Street, and made a statement to them of the views of the Government on their demands and the threatened stoppage of the mines. Mr. Lloyd George told the miners that the Government would introduce into the House of Commons immediately a bill for the creation of a Royal Commission to inquire into hours, wages, royalties, profits and other questions raised by the miners' programme, including the question of nationalisation or joint control. He urged the miners to assist in the conduct of the inquiry by nominating representatives who should be members of the Commission, and he undertook that interim reports which would enable the Government to deal with hours and wages should be presented by the end of March. In view of this he appealed to the miners to postpone strike action until these subjects had been dealt with.

Mr. Robert Smillie, President of the Miners' Federation, made a brief statement of the position as the miners saw it, and intimated that though the miners might wait for nationalisation they could not wait for higher wages and shorter hours. A meeting of the Executive of the Federation was held later in the day, and it was decided to call a conference in London for the following week.

The promised Bill for setting up a Commission to inquire into the prospects of and conditions in the coal industry was introduced in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister on February 24. Mr. Lloyd George asked the House to pass the Bill through all its stages at one sitting, but the miners refused to agree to this. Mr. Lloyd George explained why the Government had hesitated to grant the miners' demands. He pointed out that they might throw scores, if not hundreds of thousands of men out of employment and cripple our export trade in coal, iron, steel, and machinery. The cost of steel would go up at least 10 per cent., the price of coal would be raised from 8s. to 10s. a ton, and the coal trade itself would be seriously damaged. As regards the proposed Commission he announced that Mr. Justice Sankey was to be Chairman. He refused to believe that the miners would insist on striking on March 15, only sixteen days before the Commission would be instructed to present its report. A strike would involve the closing down of the majority of the industries of this country. If there were distress it would fall upon every branch of the community.

Mr. Adamson, who was not only the Leader of the Labour Party, **but** a Scottish miner, replied at once, stating that the

result of the strike ballot showed a majority of 507;001 in favour of a strike. He contended that the Government had not done all they could to meet the miners' demands, and urged that they had sufficient data at their disposal for dealing with the question of wages and hours. This speech was reinforced by Mr. Hartshorn, leader of the South Wales miners, who warned the House that the miners' movement had reached a stage when it was uncertain whether it was possible to defer the matter for a fortnight or even for a day. Further speeches were made by miner members, including Mr. Brace, and the Prime Minister then expressed the view that their speeches had convinced him that the case was one for inquiry and not for decision. A hostile amendment which had been moved by the Labour Party to the second reading of the Bill was afterwards defeated by 257 votes to 43.

Next day the House went into Committee on the Bill, and Mr. Brace moved an amendment to ensure that the Commission should make an interim report on the question of hours and wages before March 12 instead of March 31 as originally provided. The Prime Minister now offered the concession of a guarantee that the report should be in the hands of the Government by March 20. This at once eased the situation; the Bill passed through Committee, and the third reading was carried without further discussion. On February 20 the House of Lords passed the Bill through all its stages after a short debate, and the royal assent was given in the course of the evening.

The Conference of delegates from the coalfields called by the Executive of the Miners' Federation after their interview with the Prime Minister the previous week, met in London on February 26 to receive the report of the strike ballot vote and to consider the situation afresh in the light of recent developments. After a sitting of two days, with Mr. Smillie in the chair, it was decided unanimously by the members to take part in the Coal Mines Commission, and to postpone the strike notices from taking effect on March 15 until March 22.

Meanwhile a series of Conferences had been held in London to consider the demands of the National Transport Workers* Federation for an increase of 20 per cent, on the wages of piece-workers, and a 44-hour week without loss of earning power. These negotiations affected the claims of about 250,000 men, but in view of a conciliatory attitude on the part of transport employers the matter was eventually adjourned for a fortnight. The dispute as regards the coal mines was a matter of vital importance to the Transport Workers¹ Federation owing to the existence of what was called the Triple Alliance. This Alliance had its origin in 1913 and was ratified on December 9, 1915, providing for co-operative action by the miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers for the purpose of supporting each others' demands. On February 25 the Triple

Alliance Executives, representing the Miners' Federation, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the Transport Workers' Federation, met at Unity House, Kuston, the headquarters of the railwaymen. A resolution was passed in which it was decided, in view of the very grave consequences involved in a stoppage by any of the three bodies, to adjourn the Conference until each body had had an opportunity for further negotiation. It was decided, moreover, that no member of the Triple Alliance should agree to any action or settlement until the Conference had again been called.

Meanwhile the Government were endeavouring to meet the industrial unrest by a new scheme for conciliation. On February 17 the Ministry of Labour announced that a National Industrial Conference was to be called for February 27, at which members of the Government could have an opportunity of meeting representatives of the industries of the country so that the general situation might be discussed and the views of the representatives of employers and workpeople ascertained. The Conference took place in the Central Hall, Westminster, and was attended by representatives of employers and workmen in all the big industries and many of the small. Sir Robert Home, the Minister of Labour, was in the chair, and in opening the meeting took a careful survey of the industrial problems which confronted the nation as it passed from war to peace. He pointed out that disputes and strikes, if they continued, would be fatal to the restarting of industry and would threaten the very existence of the country. The Government were anxious to get to the root causes of recent and present troubles, and in that task they sought the help of both employers and workmen. The Government wished to direct special attention to certain points. Firstly, the amount of unemployment was large and increasing, but there was no need for disquiet. The Government had considered the future use of national factories, but had decided that State competition with private enterprise would hinder the resumption of normal business. As regards hours of work, the more they could be reduced, consistently with the maintenance of output, the better. The Government had no prejudice against legislation for fixing hours, but in view of varying conditions in different trades and the progress of adjustment by agreement, they were inclined to allow each trade to fix its own hours. In the same way the Government had no prejudice against fixing a national minimum wage, but here again the varying conditions of trades were arguments against such legislation. They looked with great hope to the Whitley scheme for the prevention of strikes. The whole movement of modern life was in favour of the workmen having some share in the control of industry.

On the whole the speech carried the cordial assent of the great majority of the Conference, though most of the Trade Union speakers protested against the sale of the national factories

to private undertakings, and also against a reduction of the unemployment donation after the first thirteen weeks. Mr. J. H. Thomas, speaking on behalf of the Triple Alliance, expressed their discontent with a system of society which treated their labour power as a commodity to be bought and sold and used as though they were merely machine-units in the process of distribution and production of wealth. They claimed to be real partners in industry, sharing in the determination of working conditions and management. Mr. Olynnes suggested the establishment of a Committee to act in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour in much the same way that the Consumers' Council acted in conjunction with the Ministry of Food. Finally, a resolution for the appointment of a Joint Committee was proposed by Mr. A. Henderson, Secretary of the Labour Party, and supported by Mr. Stuart-Bunning, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress.

Mr. Lloyd George had been present throughout nearly the whole of this discussion, and at the end of it he replied to the various points which had been raised. He referred to the "saving note of statesmanship" in the speeches, and went on to analyse the temporary and permanent causes of unrest. He told the Conference that the mere apprehension of industrial trouble was preventing the restarting of industry. The first condition of renewed prosperity was the restoration of confidence among employers and workers. The atmosphere of suspicion must be removed in order that the trader might have something firm and permanent on which to stand, and that the worker might have something to which he also could trust. To employers he appealed that they should take the workmen more into their confidence, and to the workmen he gave a warning that their well-being depended on increased productivity. This speech made a considerable impression on the Conference, and, acting on the Prime Minister's advice, it adopted Mr. Henderson's proposal by a large majority. The Committee thus appointed was empowered to arrange with the Government for the reassembling of the Conference not later than April 5 to receive its report.

The Army estimates were introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Churchill, Secretary of State for War, on March 3. The main burden of his speech was an appeal to the House to support the Government in maintaining a strong Army on the Rhine until it was seen more clearly than had yet been possible how things were going to shape. In that way only, he contended, would the country be able to do its duty and to win the respect which was its due. He put forward two maxims which should always be acted upon in the hour of victory, namely, not to be carried away by success into demanding or taking more than was right or necessary, and not to disband the Army until the terms had been secured. He took the view that the maintenance of a strong armed power was

the cheapest, safest, and surest way to preserve the position which our country had attained. There were five distinct stages of Army development then in progress:—

1. The great armies that won the war, numbering between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 men, which were already largely demobilised.

2. The Armies of Occupation now rapidly forming under a compulsory basis which approximated to 900,000 men subject to such reduction later on in the year as circumstances might permit.

3. The volunteer Regular Army for the immediate garrisoning of the Empire. This was being formed out of trained men who re-engaged for one to three or more years, and was growing at the rate of a thousand a day.

4. The permanent after-war army built up out of new young recruits who had to reach the age of 20 before they could be sent to the East, but who must gradually take the place of war-time soldiers as their voluntary engagements expired.

5. The re-creation of the voluntary formations, training only for a few weeks in each year, which would take the place, either on a new or on the old basis, that was formerly filled by the fourteen territorial divisions. Mr. Churchill said that in these circumstances there had been exceptional difficulties in framing the Army estimates. We were half-way between peace and war, and it was not yet known what arrangements affecting armaments would be embodied in the treaty of peace. The Government could not tell how many men would have to be maintained on the Rhine, or for how long they would have to be kept there. As regards demobilisation, the plan of the Government was to release three men out of four, and to pay the fourth man double to finish the job. This plan had been well received and readily understood by the whole Army, and had been followed by a sensible recovery of discipline and *morale*. Turning to the position of our forces in Russia he said that there was an Allied Army in occupation of considerable regions of North Russia based on the Ports of Murmansk and Archangel. About half of this Army was British, and it would certainly have to stay there until well on into the summer. In the extreme South of Russia, in the Caucasus, we had another Army of moderate size which was holding the railway line from Ratum to Baku. The total net estimate for the year was 287,000,000/.

The discussion which followed was concerned chiefly with grievances arising out of demobilisation and Courts Martial. Mr. Churchill, replying on these points, said that he hoped in the course of a few days to announce the appointment of a Committee to inquire how the procedure of Courts Martial might be improved so as to give greater security to the prisoner without interfering with its method of rough-and-ready justice. The Government were sending the German prisoners

in this country to France and Flanders to help in clearing up the mess and ruin caused by some of their friends there. The vote was then agreed to.

The Civil Service estimates were next taken on March 5. It had been the practice during the war to ask for votes of credit without giving any particulars of the distribution of the money, but the Government now returned to the old system of stating the amount required for the financial year by the Civil Service and Revenue Departments. The total estimated expenditure of the departments for the financial year 1919-20 was 495,634,834/. Of this sum a vote on account of 210,310,000/. was asked for by Mr. Baldwin, Joint Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He mentioned that the amount spent in the current year on the same Services was in round figures 736,000,000/.; there was thus a fall of 240,000,000/. He admitted that the estimated expenditure was still enormous, especially when compared with the 80,000,000/. that was found sufficient in 1914-15, but it afforded evidence that the flood of abnormal expenditure had begun to ebb.

Mr. Baldwin contended that the estimates were prepared by the Departments with immense care, and afterwards most closely examined by the Treasury, but if a Government was -extravagant neither the Treasury nor the Departments could prevent it. He looked to the individual voter in the mass which elected members of Parliament as the ultimate arbiter on expenditure. There would never be that brake put upon the Government which was essential to sound finance until the ordinary man, instead of asking himself what he could get out of the State, asked himself what he could do for the State.

Sir Donald Maclean regarded the estimates as appalling, and as it was impossible for the national resources and credit to stand such expenditure for long, he could only say that we were heading for bankruptcy. He urged that before it was too late a Committee of business and financial men should be appointed to confer with officials of the Departments as to the best ways of effecting retrenchment. In the course of the debate the Labour Party urged that the national factories should be continued by the Government for private trading purposes. This proposal was condemned as a most hazardous experiment by Mr. Kellaway, Joint Parliamentary Secretary and Deputy Minister of Munitions. Mr. Kellaway stated that the total expenditure of his Ministry from its establishment until the Armistice was 1,839,000,000/. Only 5,740 contracts remained out of 33,000 which existed at the end of the war. The stores which the Ministry had for sale had been valued at amounts ranging from 200,000,000/., to 1,000,000,000/., but he was afraid the true estimate was nearer the lower figure.

The question of war indemnities was then raised, and Mr. Bonar Law took the opportunity of saying that there had been no change in our policy, but that we meant to get what we could

towards the relief of the terrible burden which lay upon the country. He entirely agreed as to the need of getting peace quickly. It was not merely the danger of Germany falling into Bolshevism—though he thought that was a real danger—but the greatest necessity of the Government at the present time was to get our own trade and industry started in the most effective way, and so long as the blockade continued, it was obvious that trade could *not get into a normal condition*.

On March 4 the House of Commons took the second reading of the Civil Contingencies Fund Bill, which was carried by a majority of 144. The main interest of the discussion turned on the question of the wheat subsidy. Sir Donald Maclean asked for a reply to statements made by Mr. Runciman in *The Times* that wheat was being brought from the Argentine at 94.9. per 480 lbs. and sold to millers at 81s., the difference being borne by the Treasury, whereas if free imports were allowed the wheat could be landed here at 62s. Mr. Cautley called attention to the effect of the subsidy on home agriculture. He said there was a moral obligation on the Government to see that the farmers got at least the present controlled price of 70s. a quaiter on the 1920 crop of wheat. Unless he got an assurance from the Government on that point he would not be a party to entrusting them with 120,000,000*l.* for importing foreign wheat. He finally moved the rejection of the Bill, the motion being seconded by Captain Fitzroy.

Sir A. Griffith Boscawen said the only guarantee that could be given at present as to 1920 wheat was that provided in the Corn Production Act. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Agriculture further explained that owing to the disappearance of the submarine menace the millers had an excess of foreign wheat in hand, but he was assured the position would soon right itself, and as foreign wheat was worked off a market would be found for the unsold British wheat and the farmers' difficulty would disappear.

The House of Commons took up the Navy estimates on March 12., and Mr. Walter Long made his first statement on the affairs of the Admiralty. He devoted the first part of his speech to a review of the work which the Navy had done during the war. He promised the House that it should soon be placed in possession of a statement on the subject, which the Board of Admiralty were preparing. After claiming that the surrender of the German fleet was a greater naval victory than anything we could have achieved by battle, Mr. Long explained the circumstances in which he was asking for estimates amounting for the full year to 149,200,000*l.* It was impossible, he urged, for the Admiralty to present detailed estimates until the Peace Conference had settled the general scheme of world armaments for the future. In any case, the Admiralty intended to work down from the figures which he was submitting to the House. The figure of 280,000 men in the estimate was a maximum and

it would speedily *go down*. He hoped to present more definite estimates in June or July.

Mr. Long went on to describe the action of the Admiralty in cutting down construction. He produced a long list of ships of all kinds which had been cancelled since November 11. It included three battleships which were being cleared as rapidly as possible for use as merchant ships. There were also on the list light cruisers, mine-layers, destroyers, submarines, and auxiliary vessels of all kinds. In the dockyards, too, the Admiralty were making all the reductions they could without dislocating labour. Turning to the human factor, Mr. Long declared that his naval advisers were anxious that every legitimate opportunity should be given for promotion from the Lower Deck. There must in any case be a considerable advance in the pay both of men and officers.

The debate which ensued turned largely upon the conditions of the Lower Deck. Mr. George Lambert declared from the Front Opposition bench that at the end of last year there was grave unrest in the Navy, and preparations were being made for a very striking act of insubordination. This was not because of war weariness or disloyalty to their officers, but because of accumulated grievances about pay and other things. He asserted that it was only the tact of the officers that averted trouble, and asked whether it was not possible to devise some machinery by which the men might make their grievances known. Viscount Curzon, dealing with the question of pay, described the position of some of the officers as absolutely desperate. "They had to spend their savings," he said, "give up their Life Assurance Policies, borrow money, and have their wives and children living on charity." The vote was subsequently agreed to.

The first combined attack of the Labour Party and the Dissident Liberals upon the Government was made during the second reading of the Naval, Military, and Air Force Service Bill, which was moved by Captain Guest on March 6. The purpose of this Bill was to retain sufficient forces to meet the needs of the immediate military situation in view of the fact that the Military Service Acts now in force expired automatically at the date of the ratification of peace, and therefore that all men voluntarily enlisted before that period, or compulsorily enlisted subsequently to it, were entitled to discharge with all immediate speed. The operation of the new Bill was strictly limited to April 30, 1920.

The Bill was opposed by Mr. Adamson, who asked Ministers what had become of their election pledges that compulsory service would end with the war. He appealed to the Government to withdraw the Bill, and in the alternative promised strenuous opposition from the Labour Party. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. J. H. Thomas, and the reply on behalf of the Government was made by Mr. Churchill. He called upon the House to face the facts. He said that the Government

did not consider themselves entitled to fasten a permanent system of conscription upon the country; on the contrary they were doing everything in their power to make that impossible. Their policy was to create a voluntary Army, and they were making good progress. Mr. Churchill referred to the effort which the British Government were making in Paris for the abolition of conscription throughout Europe, but he did not yet know what success this effort would meet with. He warned members that it was not at all impossible that Japan, France, and Italy with the United States might all have some element of compulsory or national service in their military system. He gave an assurance, however, that the British Government would do their utmost to persuade these nations to a different course, not by precept only but by example. Mr. Churchill denied that the Government wanted the Bill for the purpose of sending large numbers of conscript troops to Russia, and stated that its introduction was due only to absolute necessity. If it were not passed the entire apparatus of our Army system would fly into a myriad pieces on the day on which the Peace Treaty was ratified. Accordingly a vote against the Bill, however honestly intended, would be a very serious step. With reference to Ministers' election pledges, Mr. Churchill confessed that the possibility of this deadlock had never occurred to him. He agreed that if the Government had foreseen the course of events, it would have been better to tell the electors quite plainly to prepare for an Interim Conscription Bill. Mr. Churchill's speech did not abate the opposition, more particularly from the Labour benches. A division was challenged, and the Government carried the Bill by 304 votes to 71, the minority consisting of the solid Labour vote, the Dissident Liberals, half a dozen Irish Nationalists and a few Coalition Liberals.

Opposition was renewed on the Report Stage of the Service Bill which was taken on March 25. Sir Donald Maclean moved the main amendment which raised the issue that voluntary service should have an adequate trial before the Bill with its compulsory powers was brought into operation. He contended that the Government were grossly over-ensuring the risks which this country had to face. In reply Mr. Churchill pointed out that the Government had tried very hard to obtain men under the voluntary system, and agreed that everything possible must be done to re-create our voluntary Army as early as possible. The Government, he said, "had to face very real and terrible emergencies at the present time." He warned members that if they let the Army disappear before getting their terms, with the increasing perplexity of the situation in Europe, they would throw away all the results of the war.

Captain Wedgwood Benn expressed the view that there was a body of opinion in the country which was utterly opposed to the Bill and believed it to be a fraud. He suggested that the unrest in Egypt was not unconnected with four years of

military rule, and declared that the Bill was the strongest ally which the Bolsheviks had had for a long time in this country. After some further discussion the amendment was rejected by 283 votes to 71. A similar fate befell another amendment designed to exclude the retention of men serving in Labour Units, and shortly afterwards the Bill passed into law.

On March 10 Sir Auckland Geddes made an important statement in the House of Commons on the policy of the Government in the matter of import and export restrictions. The subject was raised by Sir Donald Maclean, who declared that the business community was in a state of unrest. Business men, he said, declined to commit themselves to any large extent either by giving orders or by trying to execute them until they knew what policy on imports and exports the Government intended to adopt. He recognised that it was impossible to fling down all the war barriers at once, but urged that the time had come for the removal of some of them.

In the absence through illness of Sir Albert Stanley, the reply for the Government fell to Sir Auckland Geddes. He first announced that the policy of the Board of Trade, in relation to the stocks of raw material which the Government possessed or controlled, was to keep down market prices to a level not higher than the anticipated normal post-war price of the material. Further, where agreements permitted it, the Departments had been instructed to do everything they could in disposing of their surplus stock to help British users. As regards imports, no restrictions would be imposed or continued on goods coming from any part of the Empire without the assent of the War Cabinet, which would not be given unless some unforeseen necessity arose. All raw material required for our industries would henceforth be admitted without restriction. Such semi-manufactured articles as were necessary as raw material for our manufactures would also be admitted without restriction, except so far as they were produced by industries which it was essential to foster in this country, and which required sheltering. Manufactured articles, on the other hand, would be subject to restriction when not essential for consumption in this country, or when produced in this country by industries which required to be shielded from foreign competition while they were being re-established after the disorganisation of the war period, but even in the case of manufactured articles restriction was not to extend beyond September 1, when there would be a further review of the whole situation.

Turning from imports to exports Sir Auckland Geddes said that the Government were trying to get countries to allow exports to a certain extent to flow in at a charge that could be arranged upon the indemnity they would receive. There would be no restrictions on exports except in the case of

1. Goods required for naval and military purposes.
2. Goods required for home consumption or home manufacture.

8. Goods directly or indirectly benefiting from subsidy or purchase by the State.

This statement of Government policy was well received by the House, and the debate did not last long. Mr. A. M. Samuel urged that in order to protect our working classes from unemployment we should at least prevent manufactured goods from coming into the country without licences. Mr France looked forward to a resumption of free trade more or less on the old lines. Mr Acland was afraid that vested interests dependent on Government help were being set up. Mr. Bigland, one of the War Controllers, suggested that after September 1 a schedule of licences of imports should be issued, and that one of the conditions should be the demand of a percentage at the port of entry.

The estimates for the Air Force were taken by the House of Commons on March 18. General Seely, Under-Secretary for Air, took the opportunity to make a general statement of Government policy. The total amount of the estimates was 60,500,000l., of which 68,000,000l. came under the head of Military Aviation. This figure would have been '200,000,000l if the war had gone on. General Seely stated that we had started the war with six squadrons and ended it with about two hundred. When the Armistice was signed we were actually building 4,000 aeroplanes a month, or 50,000 a year. During the war 8,000 enemy machines had been shot down ; 2,800 of our own machines were missing, most of them similarly shot down, involving probably 40,000 or 50,000 desperate combats in the air in all. General Seely announced that the Royal Air Force in peace time would consist of approximately 5,300 officers and 54,000 men. The number of squadrons had been provisionally fixed at 102. Out of the 8,000,000l which had been set aside for civil aviation experiment and research, 500,000l. had been earmarked for the special purposes of General Sykes' department, whose duties were to assist in coming to international agreement at the Conference in Paris, to plan air routes at home and abroad, to examine and give advice on all schemes for commercial aviation, and to superintend the registration and licensing of aircraft and pilots. Finally, General Seely announced that during the last few days success had been achieved, after many years' effort, in getting a wireless telephone by which messages could be sent and received by the same operator.

The speech was well received by the House, but in the debate which followed, Captain Wedgwood Benn suggested that this country could hardly claim the foremost part in civil aviation seeing that for months the United States had been running an aerial postal service.

The great demand for houses throughout the country, and the consequent tendency to profiteering, and increase of rents, occasioned the introduction of a fresh Rent Restrictions Bill, the second reading of which was taken on March 7. Mr. Fisher,

in outlining the provisions of the Bill, explained that the deficiency in the housing accommodation of the working classes had placed house owners in a position in which they were able to demand a high monopoly price. The Government thought it necessary to give to the tenants of small houses some protection against the increase of their rents, but it was clear that any legislation framed to meet a very 'exceptional state of things must be carefully limited and safeguarded if it was not to do more harm than good. He therefore asked the House to consider the position of owners and mortgagees as well as the general interests of the community. Accordingly the Government were prepared to continue the protection afforded by the original Act for a year after the conclusion of peace, and to raise the limit from 35l. to 55l. They further proposed to allow an increase of 10 per cent, in rents with a provision that in special cases County Courts might authorise an increase above that figure. He estimated that the number of fresh houses brought under the operation of the Act would be 450,000 as compared with 15,500,000 originally protected.

The Bill was well received, the only criticism being on points of detail. Mr. James Rowlands contended that the 55l. limit would be insufficient to meet the difficulties of the middle classes, and suggested that it should be raised to 75/. He also thought the period suggested for the duration of the Act too short.

Mr. Lorden, who explained that he was in the building trade, urged that legislation like this would not encourage building. Mr. Rawhnson held that the Bill was thoroughly unsound economically, and defensible only on the ground of emergency. Mr. Clyde, replying *on behalf* of the Government, made it plain that the intention of the Bill was to deal with wage-earners' houses and that it was not a middle-class Bill at all. Further appeals, however, were made on behalf of middle-class tenants. Major Lloyd Graeme insisted that the biggest exploitations were being made in cases where the rateable value was between 50l. and 100l.; in his view the 55l. limit was too low. No division was taken on the second reading.

In deference to these criticisms the Government made considerable concessions to middle-class tenants when the Bill was considered in Committee on March 11. Protection was extended to 70l. houses in London, 60l. in Scotland, and 52l. in the country, and an amendment making the Bill operative from December 25, 1918, was accepted. During the debate which led to the announcement of these concessions, Sir Kingsley Wood declared that some of the most painful cases were those of tenants belonging to the middle and professional classes, who had perhaps suffered more than any other class during the war. Strong support for the middle-class case came from Mr. Clynes, who explained that the Labour Party recognised that there ought to be no very precise class dis-

inction as between manual labourers and those engaged in other useful spheres of service. He specially endorsed what had been said about the very material sacrifices of the middle-classes during the war, since they had not been able to secure the same advances in their salaries as the working classes had got in their wages. The House then accepted the rent limits proposed by the Government which were exactly double those in the original Act. The third reading was carried on March 14. Various amendments were introduced into the Bill in the House of Lords, but all of these were summarily rejected by the Commons on the advice of the Government on March 25, and the Bill subsequently passed into law.

By far the most important Bill which the House of Commons had to consider during March was the Transport Bill, the second reading of which was moved on March 16 by Sir Eric Geddes, who had been designated First Minister of Ways and Communications. He began his speech by painting a gloomy picture of the position of the different classes of undertaking included in the Bill. Rail ways were showing a loss of from 3 to 4 per cent, canals were working at a loss and were heavily subsidised, roads were costing the country '20,000,000l a year. The question therefore arose, " Are these means of transport to be run at the cost of the taxpayer, or are we to try and get them back on a self-supporting basis ?" The reply was that they ought to be got back on a paying basis. He argued that whereas in the past private interest had made for development, it now made for colossal waste, and he thought it would be nothing short of criminal to permit a continuance of the old system of competition between light railways and roads, railways and canals.

Sir Eric Geddes then proceeded to give an indication of the intentions of the Government. They contemplated a first period of two years, at the end of which all temporary powers would lapse. The Government would then have to come back to the House for permanent powers. He could not say yet how the railways would be organised in the future. If, however, as seemed inevitable, there was bound to be a certain amount of unity of control in London, the best way would probably be to set up a Chief Commissioner with possibly other Commissioners, and to divide the country into non-competitive zones with District Commissioners partly elected from the district, partly appointed by the Government, and partly drawn from Labour. As for the docks, he felt very strongly that the Port Authorities in the great ports and Commissioners in the smaller ports should have some central body in London viewing the transport problem as a whole. Canals, he thought, would have similarly to be dealt with by a Commission.

The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who urged that docks and harbours should be struck out on the ground that the management of railways would provide quite

sufficient work for the Ministry during the next three or four years. On the whole, however, the Bill was very favourably received. Mr. J. H. Thomas, speaking for the Labour Party, welcomed it as a step in the right direction. He warned the House not to expect cheaper passenger fares and freight charges from railway nationalisation. The railwaymen were not content to allow themselves to be sweated simply for the benefit of the travelling public.

On the following day the debate continued to be favourable to the case made out by the Government though a considerable opposition expressed itself. Mr. Joynson-Hicks voiced the objections of the road users and authorities to be brought under the new Ministry. He described the Bill as an autocratic measure which gave to the Minister greater powers than had ever been exercised by one man since the Middle Ages. Sir Edward Carson also insisted that the principle of concentration of great interests in one individual had gone stark mad. For the Labour Party Mr. Brace accepted the Bill only as an instalment. They would demand, he explained, the nationalisation not only of the railways and canals but of the mines and the land. Sir William Raeburn asked whether, if the Government had had control of the Clyde, it was conceivable that it would have been the great river and port it had become. Mr. Bonar Law wound up the debate with a defence of the proposals of the Government. He asked the House to understand that by passing the second reading they would be turning their backs entirely upon the past in regard to the whole economic policy of the country. Now for the first time Parliament was being asked to accept the principle that the Government was responsible for initiation in these matters. Finally, he pointed out that no alternative policy had been proposed. The second reading was then accepted without a division.

We have already recorded the statement of the Irish policy of the Government made by the Chief Secretary on February 24. A month later the House of Commons was called upon to consider a Bill in which one at least of the measures mentioned by the Chief Secretary was to be realised. This Bill was The Local Government (Ireland) Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Mr. Arthur Samuels. Its chief object was to provide for the adoption of proportional representation in all local elections in Ireland. The Southern Unionists and Nationalists supported the measure, while the Ulster Unionists resolutely opposed it. Mr. Samuels urged in favour of the Bill the result of the recent experiment in proportional representation at Sligo which he described as a perfect success. Major O'Neill moved its rejection on the ground that it introduced a principle of election in Ireland different from that prevailing in Great Britain. Speakers for the Southern Unionists regretted the hostility which the Ulster men, led by Sir Edward Carson, were showing to the measure. The Ulster leader declared that although he

had listened to discussions on proportional representation for twenty years or more, he had never yet had the faintest idea of what it meant, in the end the second reading was passed by 170 votes to 27.

Debates in both Houses of Parliament took place towards the end of the month on the subject of national economy and expenditure. The first debate in the House of Commons arose on the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill, the debate being opened by Mr. George Lambert from the Front Opposition bench, who alluded to the mania of the Government for establishing new Departments. The great need of the country, he declared, was production, and Government departments did not produce. The Labour Ministry, for example, was paying out something like 1,200,000l. a week in unemployment benefit—"a vast pauperising dole," while on every hand, and especially in agriculture, there was a crying need for labour. Not only, he asserted, was there no room now for loafers and idlers, but even controllers would not be missed—a sentiment which was supported later in the debate by members who themselves had at *one* time been controllers. Sir Frederick Banbury remarked that he did not see any action on the part of any Minister which tended to economy. He laid great stress on the necessity for increased production, and demanded the inculcation of economy in the spending departments and the abolition of Government control and interference. Colonel Pickering complained of the injurious influence of the War Trade Department on the commerce of the country in allowing the Americans to compete with textile and cotton goods in neutral countries in which they had not appeared before. He warned the Government that this was causing a lack of confidence which would shortly lead to much unemployment in the woollen and cotton trades.

After a reference by Sir Donald Maclean to the Cippenham Motor Depot, Mr. Austen Chamberlain replied for the Government. He declined to anticipate his Budget statement or to say how much taxation had to be raised or by what methods he proposed to raise it. "Do not let us exaggerate," he said. The situation was, however, grave enough without any exaggeration. The charges we had to bear were indeed enormous, and there was every reason why every one in the House and outside it should study economy. He assured members that the Government would welcome any suggestions towards this end, but expressed his frank opinion that the House of Commons had never been an instrument of economy. Replying in detail to Colonel Pickering, Mr. Chamberlain stated emphatically that it was the object of the Government to get rid of control as quickly as it was safe to do so. He pointed out that much progress had already been made, but the blockade was kept up for reasons of inter-allied policy; the sooner it was raised the better would the British Government be pleased. They wanted

to get back as fast as they could to the normal course of business.

Having spoken of these burdens which the country had to bear, Mr Chamberlain went on to ask how it could bear the burden of an expenditure which would be greater than our pre-war debt. His answer was, only by increased efficiency, increased production, and a greater export trade. He promised that the Government would do all that they could to help forward these great aims.

Dissatisfaction with Mr. Chamberlain's speech was expressed by Sir Charles Sykes, who himself had been a Controller in the War Office. He warned the Government that unless they tackled the problem of the removal of the restrictions on imports they would bring disaster upon the country. He said that the jute trade in Scotland and the cotton trade in Lancashire were in a deplorable condition, and insisted that unless something was done at once to restore confidence the country would have its industries ruined. A notable contribution to the debate was made by Mr. Clynes, who referred to the delusion in the working class mind that as we could spend so many millions in a few years in the prosecution of the war we had unlimited means for meeting any account on demand. He insisted that the working classes ought, in their own interests, to understand that the war had left an enormous burden of debt and not an enormous collection of wealth. Escape could be found only in a greatly increased volume of production, which was impossible without work and organisation. Mr. Wardle, one of the Labour Ministers, then dealt with the state of unemployment which he described as grave and growing. There were no fewer than 992,000 persons in receipt of unemployment donation. The brightest spot was the position of the demobilised soldiers, of whom 637,000, or 79 per cent, had been placed in employment.

A debate on the financial position of the country also took place in the House of Lords on March 25. Lord Farmgdon having moved a resolution emphasising the need for the strictest economy in all directions, Lord D'Abernon called attention to the fall which had occurred in the standard of value as expressed in money. He explained that the fall in the value of money in the last four years had been equal to that which took place in the 400 years from 1300, and far greater than that between 1700 and 1900. The only time when anything approaching it had been seen was between 1600 and 1640 after the discovery of the great silver mines of Potosi, and at the time of the Napoleonic wars, but on neither occasion had the dislocation reached the dimensions of to-day. Lord Milner replied on behalf of the Government. He made it clear that Ministers were alive to the gravity of the financial position, but urged that exaggeration would not help the country to get over its difficulties. He contended that increased production was the

only means of reducing the burden which the war had brought. As for borrowing, he argued that the Government could no more stop it in a case of this kind than they could demobilise instantly; in fact borrowing might be absolutely essential to the increased productivity which was admitted to be the only way out of the country's difficulties. At the same time he called for the greatest possible economy especially in national energy.

Following upon these debates on public economy great interest was shown in certain Government motor works which had been established at Cippenham, near Slough, where a huge area had been taken over by the Government for a purpose for which it was considered by many extremely unsuitable. It was alleged that this area of 600 acres included some of the very best wheat land in South Bucks, that the works themselves were unnecessary, and that the whole case was an illustration of wanton extravagance by Government departments " Other matters in which the scheme was criticised included the high rate of wages paid to the workmen there. One instance was given of a man of 92 who was receiving 4l. a week, though he had been pensioned at the age of 70 from the Great Western Rail way It was also stated that the Government proposed to make a canal in this district On these grounds Lord Desborough challenged the Government in the House of Lords on March 20 and submitted a motion for an inquiry under three specific heads; the conditions under which the Slough works were being carried out, the cost involved ; and the responsibility for the advice on which the scheme was undertaken. He insisted that the time had come when Parliament should try to put some check on the departmental waste of the Government.

Lord Inverforth, the new Minister of Munitions, replied on behalf of the Government. He stated that a most unsatisfactory situation had existed in May, 1917, regarding the storage and repair of the mechanical transport of the "War Office, lie defended the design of the works, and admitted that it was still proposed to make a canal to the depot He defended the wages paid, without, however, giving any figures He contended that there was no need for an inquiry into the question of the responsibility for the advice on which the scheme was undertaken, as it was admittedly on his advice and on that of the Quartermaster-General. As for the cost of the scheme, he stated that the latest figure given by the War Office was 1,665,000l. This, however, allowed for the omission of certain buildings which had been provisionally discontinued but might ultimately be found to be necessary. Finally, he explained the conditions under which the works were being carried out. He announced that the future use to be made of the site and buildings was at present occupying his careful attention and that of Mr. Churchill, and that until there had been a decision on that question no further expenditure would be authorised other than

such as could be completely justified on the ground of practical necessity

Lord Inverforth's defence, and a subsequent speech by Lord Milner, failed altogether to stem the tide of opposition. Lord Midleton made a strong appeal for a Select Committee, and charged the Government with not practising the economy they preached. Lord Buckmaster asserted that the case for inquiry had been made stronger by the statement of Lord Inverforth. Lord Salisbury insisted that the House was determined to have an investigation, and the Government must stand by the case they had made. Lord Milner admitted later that, at the time when the War Office had been directly responsible for the work, it had not made as rapid progress as it ought to have done. Still, he asked the House to believe that the undertaking would result in the saving of millions of public money. Notwithstanding this defence, the feeling of the House ran very strongly against the Government, and the motion for an inquiry was agreed to.

Next day the same subject was debated in the House of Commons. The attack upon the Government was opened by Sir Donald Maclean, who contended that there was not a single piece of material in the Slough works which could not be used for the urgent problem of housing, and so far as he could see it was all being thrown away on a scheme which had no policy behind it. Sir Charles Sykes, on the other hand, defended Lord Inverforth who, he declared, had saved the country a sum approaching 1,000,000/. He regarded the motor depot as a good business proposition. This view was controverted by Colonel Du Pre, who explained that he was the owner of part of the land which had been taken for the depot. The general impression left on his mind was the immense magnitude of these works; in fact they gave him the idea that they could not be intended for the temporary purpose of repairing army lorries, but must be designed for some permanent use which had not been disclosed. Ministers received more support from the Back benches than had been the case in the House of Lords, and the debate continued in a somewhat less one-sided manner.

The defence of the Government fell to Mr. Churchill, who explained that their policy was to continue the works with all practicable speed and economy. They intended to complete the Motor Vehicle Reception Depot, to afford the necessary facilities for maintenance and repairs, not only for the military but for Government mechanical vehicles, and to provide storage accommodation for spare parts and accessories. He expressed a doubt whether the attack on the Government was altogether spontaneous, or whether it had not been affected by sedulously nourished propaganda. He announced, however, that the Government would agree to setting up a Select Committee to investigate the whole matter, and he asked members to

indicate their opinion on the merits of the case in the Division Lobby, promising to withdraw the Government Whips. This course, however, did not recommend itself to the House and no division was taken. The Select Committee which received evidence throughout the month of May made its report in July, as will be recorded in due course.

The latter half of March was notable for one of the most serious crises that had yet occurred in the world of labour. Strikes of a most serious character were threatened by the police, the railwaymen, the transport workers, and the miners, and one or two of these were very narrowly averted at the eleventh hour. Discontent was also apparent in parts of the Army. Early in the month a serious riot began in the Canadian camp at Kinmel Park owing to delay in the despatch of drafts to Canada, and to complaints as to the priority in which men were to be returned. In this riot five men were killed and twenty-three injured, including two subalterns. Canteens were sacked and some tendency was exhibited towards Bolshevism. It was believed that a prominent part in this riot was played by a foreign element among the troops. At all events the disturbance was quelled after a couple of days by the arrest of the ringleaders. On March 9 another disturbance broke out near a station of the American Y.M.C.A. in Aldwyck. A series of encounters took place between the civil police on the one hand, and American soldiers and sailors and men of the over-sea troops on the other hand. A dozen persons, including police, soldiers, and civilians received injuries, and a large number of arrests were made. The climax of the rioting was reached when an attempt was made by the sympathisers with the military party to rescue their friends from custody in How Street Police Court. It appeared that the disturbance arose out of a very small and insignificant incident.

The Provisional Joint Industrial Committee which, as already related, had been set up by the Joint Industrial Conference, held its first meeting on March 4, representatives both of employers and of Trade Unions being included in its personnel. Sir Robert Home, Minister of Labour, presided, and the proceedings were opened by a speech from Mr. Lloyd George, who referred to the Committee as a "Peace Congress," and said that its work had an important bearing on the future of the country. He suggested that since Russia had gone to pieces, and Germany showed symptoms of going to pieces also, it might fall upon this country—not for the first time—to save civilisation. This could only be done if there was a sense of confidence in the minds of all classes that they were getting what was right and just from the community. Britain could not save civilisation by the triumph of any one class. Employers must take the long view. They might get temporary advantages which would ruin them. Workers profited least by anarchy as was shown by the events in Russia and Germany;

what was needed was prosperity in which all should have a share. It was necessary to find the legitimate boundary between wages and hours on the one side and adequate production on the other. Unemployment bore more hardly on the workers than on the employers. Industries and the State must find a means of making distress impossible in the homes of honest people. The huge war debt must be met by saving or by increasing productivity. Employers and workers should come to an understanding by some sort of "dead level of talk." 11 they all came together openly and candidly and established mutual confidence there was an era of great prosperity before the country.

The business of the Committee at this first meeting was to divide itself into three Sub-Committees which should make recommendations on various of the subjects of inquiry. The report of the Sub-Committees was published on March 27. The main recommendations unanimously arrived at were —

1. The legislative establishment of a maximum normal week of 48 hours for all workpeople
2. The establishment by law of minimum time rates of wages of universal application in all trades.
3. The continuance for a further six months from May till of The Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918, which stabilised war wages until that date
4. Various measures for stabilising employment and promoting industrial development
5. The creation of a permanent National Industrial Council of 400 members elected in equal numbers by organised employers and workpeople to advise the Government on industrial questions, and a Standing Committee of 50 members to carry out the objects of the Council.

The National Industrial Conference reassembled at the Central Hall, Westminster, on April 4 to receive the above report from its Committee. Sir Robert Home, who was in the chair, read to the delegates a letter from the Prime Minister stating that if the recommendations of the Committee received the approval of the Conference the Government would give them their immediate and sympathetic consideration. A resolution was thereupon moved by Mr. Arthur Henderson on behalf of the Trade Union representatives, and seconded by Sir Allan Smith on behalf of the representatives of employers' organisations, to the effect that the Conference welcomed the report of the Provisional Joint Committee, and agreed to submit it for the acceptance of its constituent organisations immediately the Government officially declared their readiness to proceed at once with the legislative and other steps necessary to carry the report into effect. This resolution was unanimously adopted, and it was further decided that the Provisional Joint Committee should remain in being until the National Industrial Council and the Standing Committee had been brought into operation.

Early in March, General Sir Nevil Macready, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, came into conflict with the Executive Committee of the Metropolitan Representative Board on the question of the interpretation of his reply to a resolution submitted by the Committee in the previous December. The Home Secretary on March 7 received a deputation from the Representative Board to discuss certain proposed changes in its constitution. The deputation sought to reopen the question in dispute with the Commissioner, but the Home Secretary refused to go into that matter. The root of the trouble seemed to spring from the fact that the unrecognised Union had captured the machinery of the recognised Representative Board. The Police Unions were still incensed at the refusal of the Government to give them recognition, and their leaders were ready to take any opportunity of friction with the Commissioner.

As a result of this deputation a new scheme for the constitution and election of Representative Boards for the Metropolitan Police was sanctioned by the Government. The object of this scheme was to provide machinery for bringing to the notice of the Commissioner matters affecting the conditions of service and the welfare of the various ranks, other than questions of discipline. The Police and Prison Officer* Union was not recognised by the Government, and the Commissioner stated that there could be no question of basing proposals for the welfare of the Force on recognition of the Union.

A second deputation from the Representative Board was received by the Home Secretary on March 12, and complaint was then made of the Commissioner's refusal to discuss questions which had been brought before him. Mr. Shortt pointed out that the Commissioner had not refused to see any deputation, but had merely declined to receive individual members of the Committee who had been party to the drafting of a resolution of an insulting character. Following upon this deputation the Police Union instructed their members to refrain from taking part in the election of the new Representative Boards, mainly in order to emphasise their demands that the Executive Committee should have a determining voice in disciplinary matters. This, however, the Government were determined not to concede.

On March 13 the Cabinet considered the situation, and decided that the recognition of the National Union of Police and Prison Officers would be incompatible with the maintenance of the Force as a disciplined body. An official announcement of this decision was made to the Metropolitan Police on March 17. The refusal to recognise the Union was regarded as a serious grievance by the men, but since they were obviously opposed by an authority greater than their own, the situation soon afterwards quieted down.

Far more critical were the disputes which arose between the Government on the one hand, and the railways, the miners, and the transport workers on the other hand during the latter half

of March. For some time past negotiations had been in progress between the Railway Executive Committee and the railwaymen's representatives on the national programme of wages, hours, and conditions of service. Several meetings had been held between the parties, and certain counter-proposals had been put before the leaders of the two Railwaymen's Unions by the Committee. On March 14 a meeting of delegates of the National Union of Railwaymen was held in London for the purpose of considering the offer of the Railway Companies on the proposals which had been submitted to them. The delegate meeting not only rejected the offer of the Companies, but at the same time intimated their refusal to compromise on the national programme, and instructed the Executive Committee of the Union to take the necessary steps to inform the Government of their decision. The position became so acute that Mr Thomas, the chief leader of the railwaymen, flew from London to Paris by aeroplane to discuss the position with Mr. Lloyd George who was then engaged at the Peace Conference. It was believed that this visit was instrumental in just averting a general railway strike ; at all events it resulted in a new offer being made on behalf of the Government to the railwaymen—an offer which was estimated by Mr. Bonar Law to involve an approximate additional expenditure of over 10,000,000*l.* per annum. The gist of this offer was that the standard week's work was to consist of forty-eight hours, and the standard week's wages, exclusive of overtime, etc., was to be guaranteed to all employees who were available for duty throughout the week. All time-work on weekdays in excess of the standard hours was to be paid for at the rate of time and a quarter, each day standing by itself. Sunday duty was to be paid for at the rate of time and a half, and a special payment of *1s* (*hi.* per night was to be made to men on night duty. One week's holiday with pay was to be allowed to all men after twelve months' service. Finally, the negotiating Committees of the two Unions were to be recognised as the medium for dealing with all questions affecting rates of pay and conditions of service during the continuance of the negotiations. It was announced later that the Government agreed also to stabilise existing wages till December 31, 1919, and to waive any reduction of the war wage under the agreement of November, 1918.

The Executive Committee of the Union, after discussing the offer of the Government, determined to reject it. They conveyed that decision to the Government, and at the same time referred the dispute for consideration by the Triple Alliance. That body met the same evening and instructed its Sub-Committee, in conjunction with the Negotiating Committee of the railwaymen, to approach the Government with a view to removing the deadlock. In the meantime it requested the members of the Railwaymen's Union to remain at work during the negotiations and pending a further decision of the Triple Alliance. Prolonged negotiations

followed between the Government and the railwaymen, and although the proceedings were kept secret it was understood that they were conducted in an amicable spirit with a keen desire on both sides to arrive at a solution. Such a solution was indeed reached in a few days. It did not differ greatly from the terms offered by the Government, as reported above, but rejected by the railwaymen. Certain minor points were more clearly defined, but the main features held good. The standard week's work was to consist of forty-eight hours; the standard week's wages were to be guaranteed to all employees who were available for duty throughout the week, overtime was to be paid for at the rate of time and a quarter, and Sunday duty and also night duty to be paid for at the rate of time and a half; one week's holiday with pay was to be allowed after twelve months' service, and existing wages were to be stabilised up to December 31. Negotiations were to be continued for fixing new standard rates of wages, so as to ensure that all men throughout the country should receive the same payment for the same work under the same conditions. At the end of the year the whole situation was to be again reviewed. At a special meeting of the National Union of "Railwaymen on March 27, it was decided to accept the terms offered by the Government in settlement of the main claims of the Union's national programme, and to rescind the resolution passed the previous week for the declaration of a national strike.

The two other members of the Triple Alliance were likewise engaged in negotiation with the Government on their own account. The transport workers succeeded in obtaining their demands with comparatively little difficulty. A forty-eight-hour week for tramway employees throughout the country was agreed upon, without any reduction in wages. The negotiations were somewhat different from those of the railwaymen and the miners, in that the transport workers had to deal with private employers and not with the Government, but it is probable that they were largely indebted for the favourable issue of their demands to the active intervention and close supervision of the Ministry of Labour at each stage of the negotiations. One of the first results of the agreement was a request from the tramway undertakings for permission to raise further their fares to recoup themselves for the extra cost entailed by the concession of a forty-eight hour week.

Negotiations with the miners, who were the remaining partner of the Triple Alliance, did not run nearly so smoothly. As already stated, a kind of truce had been agreed upon pending the interim report of the Royal Commission which had been set up under the Coal Industry Commission Act. The Commission was under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Sankey, and included representatives both of mine-owners and miners as well as a few individuals from outside, such as Mr. Sidney Webb. According to the instructions of the Government this Commission issued

its interim report on March 20. It consisted of three separate documents :—

1. A report by the Chairman and three independent members of the Commission ,
2. A report on behalf of the coal-owners, and
3. A report from members who had been nominated either by the Miners' Federation or by the Government to represent workmen's interests.

The recommendations made by the Chairman and independent members proposed an increase of 2s. a day in wages. A seven-hour day was to be substituted for an eight-hour day until July, 1921, when a six-hour day was to be brought into force if the economic condition of the industry then appeared able to stand the extra charge. No opinion was expressed on the subject of nationalisation. As regards the housing of miners, it was proposed that one penny per ton should be allocated for effecting improvements in each colliery district. The hope was expressed that the deficit resulting from the increase in wages and reduction in hours would be made up by more regular attendance of the miners at the pits, improved methods of production, and economy in transit and distribution.

The report of the mine-owning section of the Commission varied in several important details. They proposed an advance of 1s. 6d a day in wages instead of 2s. They agreed to a seven-hour day instead of an eight-hour day, but did not extend their agreement so far as to suggest the ultimate adoption of a six-hour day. They excluded the question of nationalisation from their report, as had also been done in the report of the Chairman.

The section of the Commission representing the miners went beyond either of the two other reports. They proposed an advance of 30 per cent on present earnings apart from the war wage. They wished to institute at once a six-hour day instead of an eight-hour day. They demanded that the principle of nationalisation should be immediately conceded, and denounced the existing organisation of the industry.

No sooner were these reports received than they were considered by a meeting of the Cabinet, and forthwith the Government determined upon its proposals, which were put before the House of Commons the very same evening of March 20. Mr. Bonar Law, to whom it fell to make the statement in the House, began by giving a summary of the three reports of the Commission. He pointed out that the Chairman's report did not recommend nationalisation, and in fact that it had not been possible in so short a time to deal with a question so vital to the life of the whole community. He had, however, received a pledge from Mr. Justice Sankey that, if the Commission were allowed to continue its work, a report on the principle of nationalisation should be issued by May 20. Turning to the report of the miners' section of the Commission, Mr. Bonar Law asked

whether the miners' leaders were prepared to wait for this period of time, which must appear remarkably short, or whether they would insist on an immediate decision which clearly could only be taken by those who had prejudged the issue. At length Mr. Bonar Law announced that the Government were prepared to adopt the Sankey Report in the spirit as well as in the letter, and to take all necessary steps to carry out its recommendations without delay. The offer of the Government consisted, therefore, of an increase in wages of 2s. a day, a day's work to consist of seven hours until 1921, and then of six hours a penny a ton to be set aside for the improvement of housing, this amounting to 1,000,000l. a year, progressive reorganisation of the industry, and an effective voice for miners in the direction of mines.

Referring to the question of a strike, Mr Bonar Law asked the House to recognise that it did not now depend upon the Government. It was inevitable that if strikes took place the Commission would come to an end. He was convinced that the miners' leaders would never again have so good an opportunity of having all their problems, including nationalisation, considered. "If they reject it," he said, "it will be the greatest mistake which has ever been made by the leaders of a great industry." He contended that the Government had shown a desire to go to the utmost limits and take the greatest risks in order to meet the demands of the men, but if a strike came it would not be an ordinary strike of wage earners against their employers, it would be a strike against the community. The Government would then have no alternative but to use all the resources of the State without the smallest hesitation. Such a strike could have only one end, unless there was to be a suppression of Government in this country.

On the following day, miners' delegates, to the number of nearly two hundred, met in conference at Westminster to discuss the report of the Coal Commission, and the question whether the strike notices timed to expire on that day should take effect. It was agreed to advise the workmen to continue working from day to day, and that in the meantime negotiations should be opened up with the Government to secure modifications in the Sankey Report. The modifications desired were that the six-hour day should be established in July, 1920, instead of 1921, and should not be contingent on the economic condition of the industry; that the surface workers should have a 46½-hour week instead of 48 as awarded in the report; that the advance in wages should be 2s.6d. a day instead of 2s., and a few other minor points. In reply to these proposals Mr. Bonar Law expressed the view of the Government that they could not go beyond the recommendations made in the report; but some readjustments were made in the minor points. Thereupon the conference of miners' delegates decided to take a ballot of the members of the Miners' Federation on the question of accepting the Government terms, and to urge the members to vote for

acceptance. The result of the ballot was announced on April 16 and showed a very large majority in favour of acceptance. With this vote the crisis of the previous few weeks in the labour world passed temporarily away.

CHAPTER II.

THE END OF THE WAR.

THE months of April and May were marked by considerable Parliamentary activity. It was generally agreed that the Housing Bill was the most urgent measure of the session, and the second reading debate had been fixed for April 1. It was, however, postponed at the last moment, and the House went into Committee on the money resolution of the Transport Bill. An amendment was considered providing that no new transport undertaking should be established by the Ministry until an estimate of capital expenditure required to complete it had been approved by the Treasury. Exception was also taken to the apparently unlimited scope of the money resolution. Mr Bonar Law himself said that he was not surprised that the House wished to get some greater certainty than it now had that there would be proper control over the expenditure of the Transport Ministry. He admitted that the Bill was one which no Government in ordinary times would be justified in asking the House to pass. He undertook, however, that a Treasury official should be placed in the Transport Department to watch every phase of its finance, and a further provision was contemplated under which, before a scheme involving as much as 1,000,000*l.* was undertaken, it should first be submitted to the House of Commons. The hostile amendment was ultimately withdrawn and the money resolution agreed to.

On April 2 Colonel Claude Lowther obtained leave to move the adjournment of the House to call attention to the proceedings of the Peace Conference, and more especially to the question of indemnities. In submitting his case he recalled that a large majority of members were pledged to their constituents to do everything in their power to exact from Germany the uttermost farthing she was able to pay. He insisted that the enemy countries would be able to pay the whole of the Allies' war bill, on condition that time was given to them to recuperate, that an International Commission was set up in Germany to collect the money, and that meanwhile Germany, or her strategic points, were occupied by an inter-allied Army of Occupation. Sir Edward Nicholl, who followed, stated that he had assured his electors that he was being returned to support the Prime Minister in his demand that Germany should pay the bill, and if the Prime Minister failed to exact the full amount he would feel obliged to resign. Mr. Kennedy Jones also expressed doubt

as to the line which was being followed by the Peace Conference in Paris. He urged that the whole Bill should be presented to Germany, and warned the Government that we could only be moderate in our treatment of Germany at the expense of this country and of her Allies. Mr. MacMaster, on the same side, suggested that Germany should make her payments in instalments spread over the next fifty years. Mr. A. L. Samuel insisted, however, that to carry on an economic war for fifty years would be the way to ruin. War was a bad bargain and we must cut the loss.

Eepling for the Government Mr. Bonar Law declared that there had been no sort of change in their attitude. The intention still was to obtain whatever could be got from Germany in part payment of her debt, but there were differences as to what that amount might be. A Commission had been appointed to consider the matter but had not yet reached a decision. They had spent some weeks trying to find out what Germany could pay, and he could say no more but that he hoped the amount would be well worth having. As regards the Treaty of Peace he could not tell whether it would satisfy the country, but he knew that the Government were acting in what they believed was its best interests. The motion was ultimately "talked out."

The first Irish debate of the new House of Commons was held on April 3, and arose out of the vote for the salary of the Chief Secretary. The appearance of the House was very different from that which had been customary on such occasions in previous years. The solid Nationalist phalanx had vanished away, while the Ulstermen were present in full strength and constituted the largest Irish Party in attendance at Westminster. The debate was opened by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who declared that there was running in Ireland a stronger anti-Engsh feeling than he had ever before known. He laid the chief responsibility for this state of things on the British Government whom he charged with destroying the constitutional movement by their actions since the Easter rebellion. Sir Donald Maclean called upon the Government to define their Irish policy. Sir Edward Carson then expressed the view that the question of reconstruction in Ireland—education, health, housing and kindred matters—was at the present time of far more importance than the raising of old controversies under the Home Rule Act. Mr. Devlin insisted that the only solution was in the disappearance of the whole of the present system of Government and the substitution of a better system which should have the support of the people.

Mr. Macpherson then rose to make his first speech since his appointment to the office of Chief Secretary. He admitted that the housing conditions in Ireland were a disgrace to civilisation, and, turning to the general question of the government of Ireland, expressed the view that, so long as the condition of

Ireland was what it was, no decision could be taken to alter the present system of Government. A large force of military had to be kept in Ireland because the political unrest continued unabated, and outrages of the most cruel and unpardonable kind continued to darken Irish life. Mr. Macpherson gave an emphatic assurance of his determination to preserve the rights and liberties of all law-abiding citizens, and to see that those who desired to carry on their daily work on farm or in factory could do so without fear of the terrorist or assassin. He considered that Ireland was one of the most prosperous countries in the world at the present time.

A Women's Emancipation Bill was brought forward by the Labour Party on April 4, when Mr. Adamson, in moving the second reading, explained that it was designed to enable women to hold any civil or judicial office, to have the vote on the same terms as men, and to sit and vote in the House of Lords. Mr. Dunn, another miner member, reminded the House of the Coalition election manifesto in which the Government undertook to remove all existing inequalities between men and women. The attitude of the Government was, after further-debate, defined by Dr Addison, who explained that they could not undertake to make an extension of the franchise to women between twenty-one and thirty years of age so soon after the passing of the Reform Act. Incidentally such a change would lead to a dissolution of Parliament, and the Government had no present intention of holding a General Election. He made it clear that the Government could not support the clause making women eligible for any civil or judicial office unless occupations were thrown open to women all round whether in professions or trades. The closure was then carried by 119 votes to 32, and the Bill was read a second time without a division.

The third reading of the Ministry of Health Bill took place on April 9. During the Report Stage Government amendments had been inserted to provide that the general powers of the Minister should include the initiation and direction of research, and also to transfer to the Minister forthwith the responsibility for the medical inspection and treatment of school children. In the third reading debate Mr. J. H. Thomas reminded the Government that Trade Unions and Friendly Societies had only been brought to consider the Bill by the definite promise of the Prune Minister that effect would be given to the reform of the Poor Law. Dr. Addison gave an assurance that the Government intended to stand by its pledge, and the third reading was then carried without a division.

The Military Service Bill also passed into Law during this month. Captain Guest, who moved the third reading, claimed that no alternative proposal had been put forward. Mr. George Thorne moved the rejection of the Bill on the ground that proper efforts had not been made to secure an efficient army

by voluntary enlistment. This attitude was condemned by Sir Edward Carson, who expressed the view that the people were fast losing sight of the broader interests of the country and degenerating into the less important interests of politics. Mr. Clynes, after declaring that no section had been so badly treated as our soldiers, urged that it was not too late yet to try to secure an army by offering attractive conditions. Mr. Churchill replied on behalf of the Government. He explained that the net cost of the Army of Occupation would be 183,000,000*l* as compared with 1,500,000,000*l*. net expenditure on the Army, Navy, and Ministry of Munitions in the last twelve months of the war. He denied that we were going to keep an army on the Rhine, merely as a debt-collecting agency, but he could not understand how anyone could grudge the British Government the possession of moderate military forces to exact compliance with the terms of peace. He contended that whatever they did they could not get all the men required by voluntary means. The debate was only ended by the action of Mr. Bonar Law in moving the closure. The third reading was then carried by 282 votes against 04.

In the House of Lords the second reading of this measure was taken on April 8, when its rejection was moved by Lord Buckmaster. Lord Haldane accepted the Bill as absolutely necessary, and Lord Curzon justified it by pointing to the demand for British troops in almost every corner of Europe where difficulties occurred. He attributed this demand to the fact that British troops were to be trusted. They had no interest to serve, no territory to seize, and they knew how to behave. The Bill was read a second time without a division.

The most important Bill of the session, however, was the Housing and Town Planning Bill, which was shortly known as the Housing Bill. It compelled Local Authorities within three months after its passing to submit to the Local Government Board a scheme for the exercise of its powers for the provision of new houses. When a scheme was submitted, of whatever extent, it would become binding on the Authority to carry it out. The Local Government Board was authorised to prepare schemes, or to provide houses, in default of action by any Local Authority. Financial assistance was authorised with an extension of the period of repayment from thirty to eighty years. The Bill also provided that schemes should be prepared for dealing with unsatisfactory houses and the slum question, and power was given to the Local Government Board to act in default of action by the Local Authority. Attention was also given to the urgent question of middle-class houses. Financial assistance was to be given by the Government to Public Utility Societies. Tenants were enabled to purchase their own houses by a system of weekly payments where they were provided by Local Authorities.

The second reading of this Bill was moved by Dr. Addison

on April 7. He said that there were arrears amounting to about 350,000 working-class houses which would have been built but for the war. In addition the latest return showed that of the existing houses 70,000 were quite unfit for habitation, and a further 800,000 were seriously defective. The net result was that about three million people, of whom 758,000 were in the London County area, were living in an overcrowded condition. He quoted one case where 788 people occupied 29 houses divided into 108 different lettings. As regards the proposals for building new houses on open ground, the Minister explained that schemes for the acquisition of sites for 100,000 houses had already been submitted. Turning to the financial basis of the scheme, he said that machinery would have to be set up to ensure that a fair rent was charged. He contended that an economic rent should be aimed at at the end of the provisional period of seven years, as otherwise private enterprise would be killed. Although this was one of the objects aimed at by the Labour Party, Dr. Addison pointed out that nineteen out of every twenty working-class houses had been built by private enterprise. He hoped that some arrangement would be made with the building trade to avoid any limitation of output.

The views of the Labour Party were then expressed by Mr. Davison, who declared that 1,000,000 new houses should be provided, and that unless the people were housed in decency and comfort they would use all the means at their disposal to obtain a reversal of the verdict of the election last December. He warned "the Government that the Labour Party did not intend to tolerate the perpetuation of the housing conditions of the last fifty years. Another Labour member, Major Watts Morgan, a South Wales miner, stated that the housing difficulty was the chief cause of the present industrial unrest in his district. Mr. Gilbert, speaking as a member of the London County Council, attributed the existence of slum areas and derelict property largely to the leasehold system. Mr. Pretyman insisted that private enterprise in the building trade had been driven out of existence by the legislation of ten years previously.

The debate was resumed next day by Colonel Royds, who criticised the Government on the ground that they were relying for the provision of houses on the authorities who had failed to provide them in the past. Sir Tudor Walters insisted on the need of the right kind of housing and planning. He said that he could never understand why women were content to do so much unnecessary work in their homes, and added that if men had to do it they would soon strike. After a further speech by Sir Martin Conway, Major Astor in his reply pointed out that very little criticism had been levelled at the proposals of the Government. He admitted that the scheme would be expensive, but the cost would be low as compared with the cost of Bolshevism and revolution. The Bill was then read a second time.

The importance of the housing problem was emphasised by a reception given by the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace on April 11 to representatives of the Local Authorities and Societies which would have the task of supplying the necessary accommodation. The King, in addressing his visitors, pointed out that the housing problem was an old problem which had been aggravated by five years of war, and which had in consequence become so acute as to constitute a grave national danger if it were not promptly and energetically attacked. "There is no question," he said, "of greater social importance than the housing of the working classes." The new houses should also be homes. The sites of the houses should be carefully chosen and laid out, and the houses themselves properly planned and equipped with special reference to the convenience of the women who would live in them. Although the undertaking would be costly the money would be well spent, and a sure return might be anticipated in a healthier and more contented people. Dr. Addison, who was present, briefly thanked His Majesty for his encouraging words.

Another Bill which was discussed in the middle of April was the Acquisition of Land Bill, which constituted the first instalment of the Government's land programme. The object of the Bill was to amend the law on the assessment of compensation for land acquired compulsorily for public purposes. Plans of reconstruction involved the acquisition of land on a considerable scale, and it was necessary to provide machinery for fixing prices that were fair and right. Sir Gordon Hewart, who moved the second reading, pointed out that the sole purpose of the Bill was to secure fairness, and that it conferred no additional powers for the acquisition of land. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. Leslie Scott, who considered that it falsified the hopes held out at the General Election of a great scheme of land reform, and failed to provide a simple, cheap, and expeditious procedure for the granting of compulsory powers to acquire land. The debate turned chiefly on the measure of value fixed by the Bill, "the amount which the land if sold in the open market by a willing seller might be expected to realise." Sir Richard Winfrey informed the House that in the best agricultural districts land had gone up 50, 70, and in some cases 100 per cent. He asked whether it was proposed that land should be purchased for settlement purposes at these war prices. He believed that if the Government spent millions of the nation's money in this way they would have exhausted their funds before they had found housing and land accommodation for 25,000 men. Mr. Royce stated that the Labour Party would support the Bill if the Government would insert amendments to bring down the price to be paid to a reasonable level. Another Labour member, Mr. W. R. Smith, declared that his party wanted to make profiteering in land impossible. Sir Donald Maclean asked why the whole community should have a war tax of this sort put upon it.

Notwithstanding this somewhat severe criticism, the second reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 161, only seventeen members being found to vote against it.

Much criticism was also levelled against the Land Settlement Bill, of which the second reading was moved by Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, who explained that it had been brought in to redeem the pledge that soldiers and sailors should be given a chance of settling on the land. Replying to the charge of delay, he admitted that only 20,000 acres had been bought up to the present, and pleaded the need of care in first seeing that land was suitable. He added that the Board of Agriculture had been buying for their Farm Colonies scheme. Since practically all good land was now well occupied it was impossible to acquire a sufficient amount of good land without some dispossession of existing tenants. As regards cost, he admitted that the Government could not have embarked upon land settlement at a more expensive moment, but they were obliged to keep their pledge. The policy of the Board was to buy land now in possession of the War Office and the Air Ministry, and to use the badly cultivated farms of which Agricultural Executive Committees had taken possession. Among the different types of small holdings which would be set up under the Bill, special hopes were entertained of a class ranging from half an acre to three acres with an untied cottage and common pasturage. He insisted that it was desirable to encourage allotments in every way. The number had increased during the war from 1,000,000 to 1,800,000.

Sir Donald Maclean welcomed this further instalment of the Government policy for dealing with the land question. He submitted, however, that what was lacking in the scheme was a definite statement of policy. On the question of cost, he contended that the country was not prepared to give inflated war values for the land to be acquired. Colonel Weigall inquired what the Government intended to do in order to place the agricultural industry on an economic basis. He expressed the view that it would be a crime to ask soldiers and sailors to stake their whole future in an industry from which, in its present condition, there was grave danger that they could not derive a livelihood. Sir Richard Winfrey, a former Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, expressed his regret that the Bill had not been produced two years ago, and Mr. Seddon of the National Democratic Party expressed bitter disappointment with it. After Sir Ernest Pollock had defended the proposals of the Government the Bill was read a second time without a division.

Much more feeling, however, was raised by the Aliens' Restriction Bill, the second reading of which was moved on April 15. Mr. Shortt, in explaining the provisions of the measure, declared that the two most important things to consider were, firstly our own safety, and secondly the avoidance as far as possible

of the infliction of unnecessary hardship unjust followed in the Bill was to continue by Order next two years the war powers of the Government, and to increase them where necessary. One of the permanent provisions of the Bill dealt with aliens who came to this country for the deliberate purpose of stirring up disaffection or unrest. The Government had actually no power at present for dealing with men of that description. The Bill provided that strangers who came here for a mischievous purpose should be punished as they deserved. Mr. Shortt gave an assurance that no alien who was a member of a Trade Union *bona fide* engaged in any industry would suffer in any way by taking part in a strike.

Sir Donald Maclean followed with a plea for the maintenance of the right of asylum for refugees from oppression. The rejection of the Bill was then moved by Mr. Bottomley who insisted that this country had been the dumping-ground of refugees far too long. He submitted that at the present moment every alien was undesirable unless there was strong proof to the contrary. He pointed out that under the Bill aliens might come in by millions, and there was no obligation on the Home Secretary or on any Government Department to take any step whatever. Sir K. Wild promised the Government that he would do everything he could to fulfil his election pledge by turning out enemy aliens. The Labour members in general held aloof from the discussion, though Mr. Ben Tillett contended that aliens had been introduced into this country to supply cheap labour. He asked that honest British labour should be protected.

Sir Hamar Greenwood, replying for the Government, stated that there was no substance in the suggestion that there was any danger under the Bill of a flood of alien labour. He announced that large numbers of alien labourers who had been brought over at the critical times of the war had been sent back to their respective countries, and he promised that every one to the last man should be sent back. He fixed the total alien population now in the country at 200,000, of whom 92,000 were Russians. Finally, Mr. Shortt met his critics by a concession. He undertook to reduce the period of waiting from two years to one, whereupon the motion for the rejection was withdrawn and the Bill was read a second time without a division.

Meanwhile the Peace Conference in Paris had been carried on with a secrecy which had caused much annoyance in various quarters. It had, indeed, been rumoured that the British Delegation were assenting to terms of peace of a milder character than were demanded by the country, and a joint telegram had been addressed to Mr. Lloyd George by 370 members of Parliament, urging him to stand firm, especially in the demand for indemnities from the enemy. Exceptional interest, therefore, was shown when at length the Prime Minister returned from Paris to make a statement on the subject to the House. He began by reminding members of the difficulties with which the Peace

Conference had had to grapple, and of the dangers which it might still have to face. He stated that there had never been any question of the recognition of the Bolshevik Government. At the same time he held strongly that military intervention would be an act of great stupidity. He shared the horror of all the Bolshevik teachings, but he declared he would rather leave Russia Bolshevik until she saw her way out of it than see Britain bankrupt, because that was the surest road to Bolshevism in Britain. The Allies would, of course, stand by their friends, and they were supplying the necessary equipment to set up a real barrier from the Baltic to the Black Sea against an armed Baltic invasion.

Passing to the question of the general terms of peace, the Prime Minister denied that the Conference had wasted a single hour. The representatives of the Great Powers had arrived at a complete understanding, and had formulated their demands which he hoped would be presented in a few days. He emphatically denied that America and Europe had been at hopeless variance. He condemned the talk about secrecy on the ground that the terms of peace must be disclosed to the enemy before they were published. No peace terms could satisfy everybody, and nobody but the enemy would benefit by premature publication. He was prepared to say that every pledge he had ever given would be incorporated in the demands which would be put forward by the Allies. He insisted that the peace must be just but not vindictive. Above all, the future must be protected against a repetition of the horrors of the war by the punishment of an individual who was responsible. He expressed the hope that he would go back to meet the emissaries of the enemy with the fullest confidence of Parliament behind him. He then referred to the telegram of members of Parliament about indemnities from Germany, declaring that he had no objection to the telegram but only to the information on which it was based. Colonel Lowther gave his assurance that the telegram was sent with only one object, that of strengthening the hands of the British representatives at the Peace Conference. Mr. Lloyd George ended his speech with an attack upon *The Times* and other newspapers.

The question of secrecy at the Peace Conference was then taken up by Lord Robert Cecil, who was the mandatory of the Government in connexion with the League of Nations. He stated that the League of Nations* Commission had gained greatly by publicity, and in fact that they had published the draft of the Covenant with the object of securing consideration and criticism of the proposals *in detail*. The result had fully justified the course taken. He assured the House that the League of Nations was not to be merely a League of Allies. Spain had already sent a definite statement that she was prepared to join the League as soon as she was permitted to do so, and he hoped that the Covenant would contain a provision

by which all neutrals would be invited to join the League immediately after it had been signed.

Criticism of Mr. Lloyd George's statement ran much on the question of secrecy at the Conference. Mr. Clynes, on behalf of the Labour Party, insisted that the House and the country were entitled to know more of the main lines which the Paris negotiations were taking, and asked what had become of all the promises of open diplomacy. Mr. Adamson likewise expressed the view that the absence of detailed information had strained the patience of all sections of the people, and had given rise to misgivings as to whether proper steps were being taken to safeguard the interests of the country. After some further discussion, especially as regards participating in the Russian operations, the debate came to an end by a count-out of the House.

Some Labour disturbances occurred in Ireland in the latter half of April. On the 20th a strike began of the employees in the Dublin hotels in consequence of the employers' refusal to accept demands which they had made as regards payment and hours of work. In consequence hotels and restaurants had to be closed. The Labour Party in Ireland had furthermore been much incensed by the action of the Military Authorities in proclaiming a military area in Limerick. This was regarded as an attack upon Trade Unionism, to consider which a special meeting of the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Unions Congress was held in Dublin on April 18. A strike had indeed already been proclaimed in Limerick, and as a result of this meeting a letter was addressed to the local Strike Committee stating that the Executive would give the Committee every support in their fight "against aggressive militarism." On April 24, as a result of a conference between the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and the local Strike Committee, a proclamation was issued calling upon all workers to resume work on the ground that the question had become a national issue. This proclamation expressly excluded those workers whose occupation required them to have military permits; they were called upon to continue in their refusal to accept "this sign of subjugation and slavery" pending the decision of a special Irish Trades Union Congress to be called immediately. The proclamation ended with a request for funds "to continue this struggle against military tyranny." In consequence of the proclamation the majority of the Limerick workers returned to work on the morning of April 25 after a strike lasting eleven days. By many the proclamation was regarded as an admission of defeat, and some of the transport workers tore up copies of it when they were circulated in the streets.

Parliament reassembled on April 29 after an Easter recess of twelve days. The first business was the vote for the Ministry of Labour, in the course of which Sir Robert Home defended the policy and conduct of his Department, especially in regard

to the out-of-work donation. He contended that the abuses of the scheme had been exaggerated, but he also announced that the Government proposed to set up a Committee of Inquiry into the administration of the benefit. This Committee was to consist of four representatives of the House of Commons, one drawn from the Labour Party, and two representatives each of the Treasury and the Labour Department with a Peer as chairman. The total vote amounted to 38,000,000Z., of which 25,000,000l. represented the cost of the unemployment grant. The Minister justified this outlay on the ground that it was demoralising to keep munition workers employed in making shells when they knew the work was useless. It was impracticable to discriminate in the distribution of benefit between war workers and ordinary civil workers. The donation had been instituted hurriedly in the previous November. By February it had become plain that the amount was such as to induce some people to remain idle rather than to look with great assiduity for work. The amount had therefore been reduced from 29s. to 20s. in the case of men, and from 25s. to 15s. in the case of women. Out of the million recipients of donations, 350,000 were ex-members of the Forces; more than 100,000 had served the country in the engineering trades, and about 100,000 were cotton operatives who were idle because the blockade was maintained. Few definite cases of alleged abuse had been notified to the Department. Employers had not sufficiently helped the Exchanges either by replying to necessary inquiries or by notifying vacancies, and in general the wages offered were not reasonable.

Sir Robert Home expressed the opinion that the difficulty of obtaining domestic servants was largely responsible for the criticism of the unemployment donation. He admitted that the problem was difficult and far from solution; it had been a cause of anxiety even before the war. The Ministry of Labour had done what they could in the matter; they had suspended 22,000 girls from the donation for refusal to take domestic service, and their decision had been upheld by the referees in 17,000 of these cases. On the general question of unemployment, he pointed out that out of a total of 4,000,000 Service men or civilian workers who had been demobilised, 3,000,000 had been re-absorbed in industry since the Armistice.

A rejection of the vote was moved by Mr. Gretton as a protest against the torrent of public money which was being poured out in unemployment doles, and the failure of the Government to check the flow or to produce an economic policy which would enable industry to resettle itself. Mr. Clynes, stating the view of the Labour Party, deprecated an indefinite continuance of the unemployment dole. The workers' first claim, he said, was to work, and if the Government had consulted labour more they would probably not have been faced with the present heavy charge. He suggested that they should continue to run the national factories during peace, even if they had to be run at a

loss. Mr. George Lambert criticised the proposed withdrawal of labour from agriculture, complaining that while nearly 350,000 ex-soldiers and sailors were in receipt of out-of-work donation, the Secretary of State for War was going to withdraw 10,000 men who were now earning their living in the production of food. Mr. Churchill thereupon undertook to see whether the recall of a portion of the men engaged in agriculture could be delayed in order to mitigate the inconvenience.

The Budget, which was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the last day of April, was chiefly notable for its reintroduction of the principle of Imperial preference. Mr. Chamberlain began by stating that people who, during the war, had striven their utmost to save and place their savings at the disposal of the Government, were less willing to make sacrifices now, and if they did save were less willing to give the State the first call upon their savings. He went on to insist upon the urgent need for national and individual economy. Nothing but a united effort of all classes could enable the country to face the years of difficulty which must follow on the conclusion of so great a struggle. As regards an indemnity from the enemy, its value as well as the date of its redemption was uncertain. The estimated expenditure was 1,434,910,000l., and the estimated revenue on the existing basis of taxation 1,159,650,000l. He announced that the duties on land values in their present form had proved unworkable, and that a Select Committee of the House was to be appointed to discover some acceptable course of action in regard to them. Coming to Imperial preference, which he regarded as the important feature of the Budget, he proposed to apply it by reducing the existing duties on manufactured articles and consumable commodities from the overseas Dominions rather than by a surcharge on similar imports from foreign countries.

The main alterations of taxation proposed by Mr. Chamberlain were as follows: Duties on spirits were to be increased from 30s. to 50s. the proof gallon, so that a bottle of whisky would cost 10s. 6d. The beer duty was raised from 50s. to 70s. the standard barrel, beer prices remaining as at present. The excess profits duty was reduced from 80 per cent, to 40 per cent. The death duties on estates exceeding 15,000Z. were increased on a sliding scale; the rates of income tax were left unchanged; the motor-spirit licence duty was abolished; benzol was exempted from taxation, and the project of a luxury tax was abandoned. Imperial preference on existing duties was to be effected by a reduction of one-sixth on tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, dried fruits, tobacco, and motor-spirit, and a reduction of one-third on cinema films, clocks and watches, motor cars and cycles, and musical instruments. Mr. Chamberlain uncompromisingly repudiated any levy or tax on capital as the greatest possible discouragement of industry and enterprise that the mind of man or Parliament could devise.

The following table shows the estimated revenue for 1919-20:—

ESTIMATED REVENUE, 1919-20.

Customs.	£117,650,000
Proposed net addition.	1,360,000
	<u>£119,000,000</u>
Excise.	£80,900,000
Proposed net addition.	37,600,000
	<u>118,500,000</u>
	<u>£237,500,000</u>
Estate, etc., Duties.	£31,000,000
Proposed net addition.	2,500,000
	<u>£33,500,000</u>
Stamps.	12,000,000
Land Tax.	600,000
House Duty.	1,900,000
Income Tax (including super-tax).	354,000,000
Excess Profits Duty, etc.	300,000,000
Land Value Duties.	500,000
	<u>£702,500,000</u>
Total Receipts from Taxes.	<u>£940,000,000</u>
Postal Service.	£30,000,000
Telegraph Service.	4,000,000
Telephone Service.	7,000,000
	<u>£41,000,000</u>
•Crown Lands.	650,000
Receipts from Sundry Loans, etc.	9,750,000
Miscellaneous.	209,700,000
Total Receipts from Non-Tax Revenue	<u>£261,100,000</u>
Total Revenue.	<u>£1,201,100,000</u>

The following table shows the estimated expenditure for 1919-20:—

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE, 1919-20.

Consolidated Fund services.

National Debt Services :—	
Inside the Fixed Debt Charge.	£29,800,000
Outside the Fixed Debt Charge.	330,200,000
	<u>£360,000,000</u>
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts, etc.	9,763,000
Land Settlement.	5,000,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services.	1,832,000
Total Consolidated Fund Services	<u>£376,595,000</u>

Supply Services,

Army.	£287,000,000
Navy.	149,200,000
Air Force	66,500,000
Civil Services.	£445,804,000
Add, Supplementary Estimates to be presented	60,000,000
	<u>505,804,000</u>
-Customs and Excise, and Inland Revenue Departments	8,587,000
Post Office Services.	41,274,000
Total Supply Services.	<u>£1,058,315,000</u>
Total Expenditure.	<u>£1,434,910,000</u>

The final Balance Sheet was as follows:—

FINAL BALANCE SHEET.		
1919-20 (Estimate).		
Expenditure.		£1,434,910,000
Revenue.		.1,201,100,000
Deficit.		£233,810,000
		<i>mmmmmsssmmSSm</i>
1918-19 (Actual).		
Expenditure.		£2,579,301,000
Revenue		889,021,000
Deficit.		<u>£1,690,280,000</u>

The general discussion on the Budget was opened on May 1 by Sir Donald Maclean, who regarded it as the first stage in a movement to smash Free Trade and establish Tariff Reform. He invited the Liberals in the Coalition to come out and declare themselves on this question of principle. He said that Liberals regretted having to fight this question on party lines while the country was still under the shadow of war, but they felt they must. Lieut.-Colonel Amery, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, contended, on the other hand, that no direct issue was raised between Free Trade and Protection. The policy was simply this: that if duties were imposed on imports for the raising of revenue they should be lower on the products of the Dominions than on the products of foreign countries. A new suggestion was then made by Mr. Bottomley, who suggested that a considerable new source of revenue was available to the State in dormant balances and unclaimed securities that were lying in the banks to the extent of millions. He suggested, also, a tax on posters and newspaper advertisements, which had brought in an enormous revenue in France; a stamp on every share; the taxing of bets on horse-racing and a stamp on every receipt. Another source of revenue was suggested by Sir T. Whittaker, who advocated an income tax on the wages of the working classes. He represented the working man as a profiteer who had done well out of the war. He suggested, further, that in the interests of economy the Government should at once clear out the whole lot of officials appointed since the war. Unless stringent action was taken he was certain that they would remain a charge upon the nation for the rest of their lives. A levy on capital was advocated by Mr. Sydney Arnold, who calculated that the National Debt would amount to 8,000,000,000l. sterling, and suggested that 6,000,000,000l. of it should be swept away by direct levy on capital, thus saving 345,000,000l. a year in interest.

At the end of the debate the question of Ireland was raised and the Irish policy of the Government denounced by Mr. Devlin, who denied the moral right of Parliament to tax Ireland. The Constitution had been suspended and Martial Law prevailed in that country; yet, he said, Ireland, except for political

trouble, was the most peaceable country in the world. Eepling to the debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer repudiated the doctrine laid down by Sir Donald Maclean in his attack on Imperial preference that it would be a legitimate cause of offence to foreign powers if the British Customs Tariff was more favourable to countries within the British Empire than to themselves.

On the same day that this discussion took place the Labour Party met to consider their attitude towards the Budget. It was clear from this meeting that the Party intended to throw its influence as a whole against acceptance of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. They decided to move amendments to secure a levy on capital, and to oppose the reduction in the excess profits duty, and also the introduction of Imperial preference. They further decided to move that the limit of exemption from income tax be raised from 1301. to 2501.

The principle of Imperial preference was adopted in the House by large majorities. As regards tea, the proposed duty was 10*d.* per lb. upon tea grown in British possessions and *s.* per lb. upon all other teas, the amount of the preference being thus 2*d.* per lb. When the report of this resolution was made to the House, Mr. T. Shaw, on behalf of the Labour Party, moved an amendment with the view of abolishing this preference and giving to all teas the benefit of the reduced duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer held, however, that whatever the Government chose to do within the British Empire was the concern only of the British Empire, and the Labour amendment was defeated by 262 votes against 63. Another Labour amendment to reduce from 10*d.* to 3*d.* the duty on British-grown tea was rejected by 285 votes to 63.

In the first week of May there was a slight recrudescence of the police trouble which had been in existence during April. A crowded meeting was held in Trafalgar Square, under the auspices of the Police Union, to protest against the dismissal of a constable from the Metropolitan Police Force for an alleged breach of discipline, and to demand the recognition of the Union by the Home Office and the Police Authorities. A number of speeches were made including one by Mr. J. Marston, the President of the Union, who threatened drastic action if the authorities refused to discuss matters with them. The trouble in the Police Force gave rise to a short debate in the House of Commons on the second reading of the City of London Police Bill, which proposed to empower the City Corporation to raise from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 1*d.* the limit on the rate to defray the expenses of the Force. The Home Secretary took the opportunity to explain the attitude of the Home Office. He said that recognition of the Police Union was impossible. His personal opinion was that the pay of the Force and its position were not as good as they ought to be, and he had endeavoured to provide that **they should** have no economic grievance, but it was impossible

to admit that police had the same right to form a Trade Union as miners or engineers. The powers they possessed would be a grave danger to the public if they were not exercised by a properly disciplined Force and under official control.

The food situation of the country appeared by this time to have so greatly improved that it was anticipated that the Ministry of Food would very shortly come to an end. This expectation was borne out by an announcement of Mr. George Roberts, the Food Controller, when the House was in Committee of Supply for the Ministry of Food vote. He then expressed the opinion that the Ministry would come to an end by the middle of November or beginning of December. Controlled supplies and prices would, however, be over a month or so earlier. The rationing system had already been abolished and very many other relaxations would follow in the next two or three months. At the end of the summer he thought that there would not remain sufficient work to require a Ministry with a full-time Minister at its head, and the demobilisation of the Ministry was proceeding as rapidly as was consistent with the interests of consumers. Dealing with the future, Mr. Roberts said that there were certain measures of control which the general community would wish to have made permanent and transferred to other departments. These were: (1) The control of milk to secure a larger production and an improved quality; (2) legislation to provide for standards of quality in certain foods, and regulation of prices; (3) the preparation and publication of statistical returns; (4) the establishment and maintenance of National Kitchens by Local Authorities. The amount of the vote to defray the salaries and expenses of the Department was 1,451,600/. In 1918-19 the turnover of the Department had been 550,000,000l. sterling which was brought up to 900,000,000Z. sterling by the inclusion of the wheat and sugar Commissions. The debate brought out strongly the popularity which had been acquired by the Department since the period when Lord Rhondda took office. The anticipations of Mr. Roberts for its early disappearance were, however, not destined to be realised.

On the following day plans for the development of agriculture were announced in the House of Lords by the President of the Board of Agriculture, who said that it was intended to reorganise the Board by adding a considerable number of branches, including one for technical instruction and another for commercial purposes. The main proposals were to help the scientific side of agriculture, to start additional agricultural colleges and institutions, to prepare schemes for the reclamation of derelict areas, to embark upon new experimental crops, to introduce an improved system of market intelligence, and to establish motor services and a trench railway scheme, which it was hoped would be found extremely valuable for transport purposes.

An important Bill, of which the second reading was carried in the middle of May, was the Electricity Supply Bill, the object of which was to re-organise the supply of electricity for industrial purposes. Mr. Shortt, who was in charge of the measure, anticipated that electricity, would play a great part in the future running of the industries of the country. The Bill was part of their programme for social and industrial reform. It sought to improve the electric supply, and to ensure developments in order to provide the motive power for railways, tramways, industrial and agricultural machinery, lighting, heating, and cooking. There were 600 electricity works in the country whose systems were so varied that they were incapable of being co-ordinated for the purposes of common action. The Bill proposed to appoint Electricity Commissioners to control the electricity supply. It was well received by the House as a whole, although its rejection was moved by Major Barnes on the ground that it proposed to transfer the control of a great public utility service from popularly elected Local Authorities to Boards created, not by popular election, but by nomination. The second reading was carried, however, without a division.

A Bill which was of special interest to men of science was under discussion in the House of Commons during May; this was the Dogs' Protection Bill, the object of which was to prevent the vivisection of dogs, and to make it unlawful to perform any experiment likely to give pain or disease to a dog with or without anaesthetics. The second reading succeeded in passing through the House of Commons without serious opposition. It was only later that men of science discovered that a law was likely to be passed which might seriously interfere with physiological experiments. On May 29 a deputation, consisting of about twenty doctors and surgeons, was received at the Home Office, and emphasised the unique suitability of the dog for purposes of research, urging that a disastrous blow^T would be dealt to science if the Bill became law. Sir Hamar Greenwood, on behalf of the Home Office, expressed the sympathy of the Government with the views of the deputation, and undertook to move an amendment which would limit the operation of the Bill. This amendment was moved on the report stage on May 23. It permitted experiments to be performed on dogs in cases where no other animal would be equally suitably. The Bill was opposed by Mr. Eawlinson and by Captain Elliot and supported by Sir F. Banbury, the chief promoter of the Bill, and by Colonel Burn. A speech was made by Sir Auckland Geddes emphasising the extreme importance of experiments on dogs for the good of humanity. Sir Hamar Greenwood, in moving his amendment, mentioned that by reason of the great discouragement of experiments on animals in the past we had run short of Pasteur Lymph for the cure of rabies, and that the French could spare no more of

it at present. The amendment was carried by a majority of 78 and the Bill thus reached the stage of third reading, when, however, as we shall record later, it was rejected.

Ireland continued to be in an unsettled condition, and early in the month Irish-American envoys arrived in Dublin "to confer with President De Valera upon the question of securing international recognition of the Irish Republic at the Peace Conference." These envoys were to have met Mr. Lloyd George before proceeding to Ireland, but the meeting had to be put off owing to pressure on the Prime Minister's time. The envoys on reaching Ireland made a tour through the country and were enthusiastically received. On the 9th they were present at a special session of the Sinn Fein Parliament from whom they received a formal expression of welcome. On the 12th they left Ireland for London and Paris, having undoubtedly done much to fan republican hopes. It was seriously believed in many parts of Ireland that the delegation was an official measure on the part of the United States Government for inducing the British Government to adopt the republican solution. This belief was enforced by the fact that the delegates held British passports, which they used for the purpose of giving an official air to their visit. Owing to the nature of the speeches delivered by the delegates in Ireland Mr. Lloyd George withdrew his offer to receive them.

On May 14 a debate in the House of Commons was raised by the Labour Party on the conditions in Ireland. Mr. Hartsorn, who opened it, declared that the organised workers were being slowly but surely forced to the conclusion that Parliamentary Government was a fraud. He insisted that the treatment of Ireland established the fact that real power did not rest with the Government but with an organised gang of military men and reactionaries by whom the Government were being swayed. Lord Hugh Cecil suggested that four Provincial Assemblies should be set up in Ireland with power to sit together and to formulate in a Bill the system of Government they wanted, which Bill would then be considered by the House of Commons. Mr. Macpherson, the Chief Secretary, in reply, declared that the Government had treated the Irish-American delegates with "enormous patience," that policemen were being murdered wholesale, and that no civilian's life was safe who came forward to help the Government. The motion was ultimately talked out.

Parliament was occupied with Scottish as well as Irish affairs during this month. A Bill was introduced to carry on the policy of devolution which had been initiated by the Government of Ireland Act. It provided for the establishment of a Single Chamber Parliament in Scotland subordinate to the Imperial Parliament. The representation of Scotland in the Parliament of the United Kingdom was to continue as at present, until separate provision was made for devolution in England

and Wales. Sir Henry Cowan had not proceeded far in his speech moving the second reading of the Bill, before it was discovered that there was not a quorum present, and accordingly the House was adjourned and the Bill lost.

The Allies' terms of peace were presented to the German delegates at Versailles on May 7 and published in England the following morning. They were, on the whole, well received, and discussion of them overshadowed for a few days all other political interests. No debate took place at once in the House of Commons, though some additional information was given by Mr. Bonar Law in reply to questions. He explained that the 5,000,000,000*l.* to be paid by the enemy was merely an amount on account and in no way prejudicial to the total claims. He deprecated any immediate discussion of the peace terms, but undertook that there should be an opportunity for such a discussion as soon as it could be permitted without harm being done. At the same time great public interest was shown in the transference of the body of Nurse Cavell from Brussels to England where it was to find its final resting-place. An immense crowd witnessed its departure from Belgium, and on arrival at Dover the procession travelled through the streets, every available pavement space being thronged. Early on the morning of May 15 the coffin was brought from Dover to London and conveyed on a gun-carriage in procession from Victoria Station to Westminster Abbey, where the first part of the Funeral Service was held. The coffin was then placed in a special train and taken to Norwich where the second part of the Service was held in the Cathedral, the Bishop performing the last rites at the graveside in the cemetery there. Both in London and at Norwich large crowds lined the streets through which the funeral procession passed.

Egypt was the subject of discussion in both Houses of Parliament on May 15. In the House of Lords, Lord Curzon, who had been acting as Foreign Secretary, said there had been an improvement in the situation during the last six weeks, though it was not yet quite satisfactory. In the provinces order was generally restored, but in some of the towns, especially in Cairo, there had been sporadic disturbances which had to be quelled by force. The Government had no intention of ignoring or abandoning the obligations or responsibility involved in the British Protectorate over Egypt, which was included in the peace treaties submitted for signature to the enemy powers. We had never had the least wish to repress Egyptian individuality. On the contrary we accepted the principle that Egyptians should participate to a continually increasing degree in the government of their country. It was announced that the Government proposed to send out a special Mission to Egypt, over which Lord Milner would preside. The objects of the Mission were to inquire into the causes of the late disorder and to report upon the existing situation and the form of constitution best calculated to promote the peace and prosperity of Egypt.

The subject was raised in the House of Commons by Captain Wedgwood Benn. Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that the Egyptian leaders who had precipitated the crisis had taken on themselves an immense responsibility. They knew that there was no possibility of oppression under the British flag, and they should have paid attention to the great benefits conferred by British rule on the mass of their countrymen.

Another measure introduced into the House of Commons by members of the Labour Party was The Local Authorities (Enabling) Bill, which proposed to empower the Council of every County Borough and Urban District having a population of 20,000 and over to carry on any business or undertaking within their area for the purposes of commerce, art, science, recreation, charity, or any other object open to a Company. The Local Authority was further to be empowered to borrow money to defray the cost. The second reading was moved by Mr. Neil McLean, who mentioned banking and a number of other undertakings as suitable for municipal action. The profits were to go into a common fund, out of which no payment was to be made for the purpose of avoiding or reducing rates. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. S. Samuel, who contended that it was diametrically opposed to the welfare of the people, and that its sole object was to enable a political party to offer bribes to those who put them in power. The Bill was also opposed by the Government, on behalf of whom Mr. Bridgeman pointed out that it would give Local Authorities preferential treatment as against private enterprise in business undertakings. They were to have the guarantee of the rates behind them. If there was a loss the ratepayers would have to bear it, and if there was a profit they would get nothing. The Bill was then thrown out by a majority of 132.

Financial matters were much before the House during the latter half of the month. The estimates of the Ministry of Shipping were introduced on the 19th, and Colonel Leslie Wilson took the opportunity to give a number of statistics showing the position of British tonnage before and after the war. At the outbreak of the war the world's tonnage in steamships of over 500 tons gross was, approximately, 40,000,000, of which the British-owned tonnage was 18,000,000. At the beginning of the current year the world's tonnage was 36,500,000, the British-owned portion being 15,500,000. In the meantime the United States had increased its pre-war tonnage from 1,700,000 to a present tonnage of 6,400,000. Dealing with the present construction, Colonel Leslie Wilson said that it amounted in 1918 to 1,500,000 tons, and that during the first four months of the current year construction had been at the rate of about 1,000,000 tons for the whole year. He ascribed this unsatisfactory condition mainly to the large number of ships that were undergoing repair, and also to labour troubles in the yards.

The construction in August, 1917, of three national shipyards in the Bristol Channel was essentially a war emergency measure for which the Admiralty were responsible. When the Government decided to sell these yards they were anxious that Labour should acquire Chepstow, or take a share in its management, either by co-operation or co-partnership. The working capital had been practically guaranteed from private sources, but he understood that the proposal had been rejected by the Federation of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades.

The scheme of the national shipyards came in for some criticism on the ground of extravagance. Sir Eric Geddes replied to these criticisms, pointing out that in 1917 the estimate of the yearly loss of world shipping was between eight and nine million tons, of which the British share was between five and six million tons, and that the capacity for construction at the time was only 1,000,000 tons yearly. It was on these figures that the Cabinet had decided that they must endeavour to make provision for an additional yearly construction of 3,100,000 tons of shipping. It was out of this decision that the national shipyards had come into existence.

The second reading of the Finance Bill was taken on May 20, when the Independent Liberals moved an amendment in favour of a capital levy as a means of reducing the War Debt. Sir Donald Maclean suggested that the question should be referred for report to the Royal Commission which was inquiring into the incidence of the Income Tax. He thought that it was not a question of principle at all, but of expediency and practicability. The amendment was moved by Mr. Acland, who thought that the capitalist was confronted by a greater danger in a permanent high rate of income tax than in a capital levy. It was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who doubted whether its advocates meant to use the levy only for paying off the National Debt as they contended. He also opposed the inquiry suggested by Sir Donald Maclean. The task of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, he said, would be rendered more difficult even than it was, if inquiries were to be started which, by causing a feeling of uncertainty and insecurity, would disturb the minds of men to whom he must appeal for help to put the finance of the country in a sound condition. He hoped that before the end of the next year the Allies would be able to shoulder the burden of their debt towards us, and that a part would be paid of that contribution which was owing to us by our late enemies. Referring to the policy of preference, he said that the present instalment was merely part of a larger scheme, and that preference was not to be confined to Customs Duties alone. Mr. Clynes then spoke in favour of a capital levy and against preference. He said that there was great discontent among the working classes on account of the continued curtailment of their liberties, and that they would no longer submit to restrictions when Peace was proclaimed. Ultimately

the proposal for a capital levy was rejected by a majority of 245.

The proposal to increase the revenue by appropriating dormant balances and unclaimed securities in the hands of bankers in the United Kingdom for six years and more, was embodied in a Bill introduced by Mr. Bottomley, who estimated the amount to be at least 100,000,000*l*. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seriously questioned this estimate, but no objection was raised to the Bill, which was read a second time and referred to a Select Committee of the House.

The Army estimates were taken on May 29, when Mr. Churchill took the opportunity to describe the situation in Russia. He said that the military weakness of Bolshevism had become very apparent, and that at Archangel the strong force of volunteers which had left this country were in high spirits, and had everywhere repulsed the attacks of the enemy. An undertaking had been obtained from the Anti-Bolshevist Governments in Russia that their victory would be immediately followed by the summoning of a Constitutional Assembly on a democratic franchise. Mr. Churchill also announced that as soon as Peace was signed the 1914 men would be sent home and that they would be quickly followed by the 1915 men.

A discussion of the Indian Budget was initiated by Mr. Montagu on May 22. The Secretary for India dealt first with Afghanistan, attributing the outbreak there to the unrest throughout the Mohammedan world owing to the defeat of Turkey and to emissaries of Bolshevism. He declared that the loyalty of India was unmistakably established by the events of the revolution. The country districts were quiet, the trouble was confined to certain towns, and the riots were due to economic and political causes, including the ravages of influenza and discontent at the delay in carrying out reforms. The vital point was the transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people. He summed up his policy as consisting, firstly, in the maintenance of order, secondly, unceasing effort to investigate and remove causes of discontent, and finally, a determination to convert India into a Union of great self-governing countries who would be partners in the British Commonwealth. Mr. Montagu stated that the Bill for the reform of the Government of India was to be introduced in June, and that it would carry out in substance the proposals contained in the report which he had drawn up with Lord Chelmsford.

It was, however, no political interest that chiefly struck the popular imagination in the month of May. Throughout the greater part of April, and nearly the whole of May, public attention had been directed to the attempts which were about to be made to fly across the Atlantic in an aeroplane, and a number of entries had been made of different aeroplanes, which desired to attempt this flight. For several weeks the weather

remained unfavourable, but at length, on May 16, three United States aeroplanes started from Newfoundland for England, intending to break their journey at the Azores and on the Portuguese coast. Only one of these succeeded in reaching the Azores without mishap. Two days later a British Sopwith machine flown by Mr. Harry Hawker and Commander Mackenzie Grieve, as navigator, started from Newfoundland in an attempt to reach the coast of Ireland without a stop, the distance being 1,880 miles. The attempt was undertaken partly in order to gain for the British Empire the honour of the first crossing of the Atlantic by air, and partly to win a prize of 10,000l. offered by the *Daily Mail* for the feat. For a week nothing was heard of the enterprising airmen, and it began to be generally assumed that they must have perished in their attempt. The *Daily Mail* announced that the prize of 10,000/. would be distributed among the relatives of the airmen. When hope had been almost entirely abandoned it was announced on the morning of the 26th that the missing airmen had been picked up in the Atlantic by a small Danish steamer, whence, after being transferred in mid-ocean to H.M.S. *Bevenge*, they were landed at Thurso. Popular enthusiasm at the announcement of their safety was very great, and the incident was described by *The Times* as "the best news that we have had since the Armistice." The *Daily Mail* decided to award them a consolation prize of 5,000l., so that the 10,000l. prize still remained to be won. -It appeared that the airmen had struck very heavy weather in mid-Atlantic, and were ultimately obliged to abandon their flight owing to a small accident which reduced the efficiency of the radiator. Mr. Hawker and Commander Grieve arrived in London on the evening of May 27, being received with great demonstrations not only in the capital but at the railway stations on their route. On the 28th they were received by the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace, and each was decorated by the King with the Air Force Cross. They were subsequently entertained by the Directors of the *Daily Mail* at luncheon at the Savoy Hotel. On the same day news arrived that the aeroplane in which the flight was made had been salvaged in mid-ocean by an American steamer and brought into Falmouth.

We have referred to the debate on the future of the three national shipyards. Early in the month negotiations were opened between the Government and the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades with a view to the Unions taking a lease of the shipyards for several years on favourable terms, or else of acquiring them outright. On May 13 Colonel Leslie Wilson announced that a definite offer had been made of the national shipyards at Chepstow to the Federation. This body met in annual conference at Cardiff on the 15th, and, after discussing at length the offer of the Government to sell the shipyards, finally declined to proceed with the negotiations, expressing the opinion that the Govern-

ment should continue possession and develop public ownership and control of other national resources.

Towards the end of the month the threat of a police strike became more imminent. The Triple Alliance, which was in general support of the Police Union, determined to take a vote as to the action to be taken to secure its recognition. The Government, however, remained firm in its refusal to recognise the Union. In every other respect they made large concessions to the demands of the Force. "Without waiting for the recommendations of a Committee which had been appointed to investigate the matter, they decided, on May 30, that the starting pay of a constable in the Metropolitan Force was to be not less than 3*l.* 10*s.* a week, this being 2*l.* a week more than the starting pay before the war. Mr. Shortt, announcing this decision to the House of Commons, said that although they had not yet received the report of the Committee on police pay and conditions they had been assured that the Committee would recommend a rate of not less than 5*l.* 10*s.* a week to start with. At the same time he gave notice that any member of the Police Force who went on strike should be dismissed permanently, and forfeit whatever he had gained in the way of pension time. Nevertheless a ballot of the Union resulted in a majority of more than ten to one in favour of a strike. The warning of Mr. Shortt took effect, however, and the Union decided, in spite of this vote, to defer a strike until they should have an opportunity of meeting the Prime Minister who was at the time in Paris. The subject was again referred to by Mr. Shortt in the House of Commons on June 6. He said that the officials of the Police Union were in close touch with the extremists of the *Daily Herald* whose object was social revolution. He described the nature and methods of a proposed new body which was to take the place of the existing Representative Boards for the redress of grievances. Every policeman would have a voice in the election of the delegates, and in this way it was hoped to have a body amongst the police which really represented them on a thoroughly sound democratic basis. The firm stand taken by the Government caused a considerable number of withdrawals from the Police Union of members of the Force, and for some weeks more the trouble again died down.

Discontent due to unemployment following on demobilisation manifested itself at the end of May when a large crowd of discharged and demobilised soldiers, who had failed to find employment, attempted to force a way into the House of Commons. A demonstration, organised by the National Federation of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers, was held in Hyde Park, as a result of which a crowd set out to march to Buckingham Palace and the House of Commons. The demonstrators swept away a line of mounted police who had been drawn up in Parliament Square to bar their way, missiles were thrown,

many persons were injured, and it appeared that an entry to the House would be effected, when a second line of police which had been held in reserve charged the crowd and scattered it. The incident gave rise to a debate in the House on May 28, when Sir E. Horne, Minister of Labour, described the Government plans for ameliorating the condition of the met}. He said that in a short time the Government would be providing work to a greater extent than any Government in the country had ever done before. Under the housing schemes 100,000 houses would be completed in the first twelve months, and 200,000 in the second. Sites for 76,000 houses had already been approved, and it rested with the Local Authorities to get on with the building. The Road Board had made grants of 7,500,000*l.* for the repair of roads, while Gas Works and Water Works costing 2,500,000*l.* were in course of construction. Sir E. Home' added that the number of unemployed was now less than it had been at any time during the previous ten weeks; it was under 1,000,000, and he believed it would gradually decline, so that by the end of the summer we should be in a much improved situation.

At the beginning of June the Bill agreed to between the Government, employers, and Trade Unions for the restoration of pre-war "trade practices" was submitted for second reading by the Minister of Labour. Mr. Clynes took the opportunity of urging the vital need of increasing the volume and value of production by the joint energies of employers and employed. The position of women workers under the Bill was raised by Major Wood, who argued that it would put a bar upon 340,000 women who were not in competition with men. In reply Sir E. Home stated that the Bill did not exclude any woman from any position which she filled before the war. Various members nevertheless expressed the opinion that amendments should be introduced to make the Bill fairer to women. It was then read a second time.

The question of Federal Devolution was also raised by Major Wood on June 8 in a motion asking the Government to appoint a Parliamentary body to consider and report upon the matter. The proposal was to set up subsidiary legislative assemblies for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales to enable the Imperial Parliament to devote more attention to the general interests of the United Kingdom and also to the Empire. Mr. Long, First Lord of the Admiralty, announced the intention of the Government to leave the decision freely and absolutely to the House. He declared himself a supporter of Federal Devolution, and after a debate continuing over two days, a majority of 153 was secured in favour of the motion.

A controversial Bill that was of considerable importance to the Church was introduced early in June under the title of "The National Assembly of the Church of England (Powers) Bill," more generally known as "The Enabling Bill." It provided

that the National Assembly was to consist of three Houses of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity. The two former were already in existence as the Houses of Convocation of Canterbury and York. The House of Laity was to consist of representatives of the laity elected-for five years. The Assembly was to be free to discuss any proposal concerning the Church of England and to make provision in respect thereof, and to debate and formulate its judgment by resolution upon any matter concerning the Church of England or otherwise, of religious or public interest, provided that no statement should be issued purporting to define the doctrine of the Church on any question of theology. The Bill was introduced in the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury on June 3, and was opposed by Lord Haldane on the ground that it would exclude the greater part of the people from effective influence in the affairs of the National Church, and further that it would enable members of that Church to pass laws that might wholly change its character without adequate supervision by Parliament. Lord Haldane said that the object of the Bill was to widen the power and authority of the Episcopacy. The Church would pass from a democratic to an aristocratic basis if the Bill became law. This contention was denied by Lord Parmoor, who affirmed that the real object was to give greater power and authority to the lay members of the Church. The debate on the Bill was then adjourned till after the Whitsun recess.

It was about this time that the House of Commons began to be seriously alarmed concerning the position as regards coal. Sir Auckland Geddes, President of the Board of Trade, gave an estimate as to the result of the shortening of the working day, according to which production would be reduced by about 70,000,000 tons a year. The deficiency on the working of the industry, after providing for the guaranteed profits to owners at the rate of 1s. 2d. a ton, would be about 46,600,000l., which meant either an increase of price to the consumer of about 4s. 6d. per ton, or else the payment of the deficiency by the taxpayer. A week later it was announced by the Controller of Coal-mines that it would be necessary to continue the rationing of coal, gas, and electricity for household purposes for a further period. The existing order was, however, modified to the extent that consumers of less than five tons of coal in the year should not be subject to assessment, although they had still to be registered with their coal merchants for the supply of coal.

The final reports of the Sankey Commission on the organisation and control of the coal industry were issued on June 21. There were in all four reports, one signed only by the chairman in favour of the immediate acquisition of coal royalties by the State, one by Mr. Eobert Smillie and the miner members expressing substantial agreement with the chairman, but taking exception to certain points of detail, a third by the mine-owners' representatives, who were opposed to nationalisation in any form,

and a fourth signed by Sir Arthur Duckharn alone, in favour of State ownership of mineral rights, but against the national ownership of mines. These four reports all agreed that coal should be nationalised, and there was a majority of 10 to 3 on the Commission in support of the payment of fair compensation to the dispossessed royalty owners. The chairman and half the members of the Commission—a majority, that is, of 7 to 6—recommended the nationalisation of the collieries in 1922 and the reorganisation of the control of the industry centrally, by districts, and locally, in the meantime. The first three reports gave a prominent place to the question of output. The chairman pointed out that coal was our principal asset and a wasting one. He had been convinced by the alarming fall in output that every one had not been doing his best, and he relied on the honour of the men's leaders, and of the men and all others concerned, to maintain an output of 250,000,000 tons a year at least. These reports were based upon a large quantity of evidence from a great variety of persons who had been examined by the Commission. For the previous two months the Commission had generally sat four days a week. In all 116 witnesses were called and over 28,000 questions asked.

Although the war had come to an end the rate of public expenditure still continued largely to exceed the revenue, and the Government found it necessary at the beginning of June to ask the authority of Parliament to issue a new loan up to 250,000,000/. Mr. Chamberlain, in moving the necessary resolution in the House, stated that the financial position of the country was unrivalled among the belligerents who had been in the war from the beginning. He believed it would be an encouragement to the people to make another effort to carry the country forward along the paths of reconstruction and peace, financial stability, and security.

The proposal was well received by the House. Sir Donald Maclean expressed the belief that the country would respond patriotically and generously, but he thought the response would be better if the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to give an assurance that departmental extravagance should be terminated. Mr. Clynes, speaking for the Labour Party, hoped that this was the last that would be heard of loans. He trusted that there would be a whole-hearted response to the Government appeal, but he would have preferred to see the money obtained by the taxation of those who made large profits out of the war. The terms of the new loan were published after the Whitsun adjournment of Parliament. The loan was divided into two, namely, (1) 4 per cent. Victory Bonds issued at 85 redeemable at par by a cumulative Sinking Fund operated by means of annual drawings at par commencing on September 1, 1920; (2) a 4 per cent, funding loan (1960-90) issued at 80 redeemable within seventy-one years in the ordinary way by means of a Sinking Fund. In the case of each form of loan

there was a Bank of England issue and also a Post Office issue, the latter being for subscriptions in smaller amounts beginning at 5l.

The reception of these terms was nearly everywhere favourable, and an enthusiastic send-off was given to the "Victory Loan" at a great meeting at the Guildhall on June 16 at which the Lord Mayor presided. The Prime Minister was not present owing to his detention at the Peace Conference in Paris, but he sent a message calling on the people to confirm the victory which they had won by generous subscriptions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made the chief speech, stating that the money was required in order to pay the cost of the war which had been fought to victory. The large loans raised during the war had not been sufficient, and much money had to be borrowed on short-dated securities. It had been advanced in many cases by business men who now hoped to receive it back in order that they might use it in their businesses for the development of the industry and trade of the country. It had therefore become necessary to place the great load of floating debt in longer-dated securities with the real investor. The loan was not required, except in very small degree, for new expenditure. It offered the best security in the world on terms never again likely to be realised. He admitted that the terms were generous, but thought it worth while to give good terms in order to secure a really good result. Of all the nations which entered the war at the beginning, this country stood in a position of unrivalled credit and unrivalled financial stability and order. He invited the people to crown their part in the war by one more great success so as to establish on a firm basis the credit of the State, on which our prosperity depended.

Mr. Chamberlain was followed by Mr. Bonar Law, who pointed out that the need for money, although not so evident, was just as great as during the war. The security of our credit was the one thing which more than anything else would enable us to return quickly to the fruitful paths of peace. He said that although the rate of interest on the loan was attractive, the Chancellor was making his appeal on the ground of patriotism, and to enable us to reap the peace of victory which had been so dearly won.

A campaign in favour of the Victory Loan was forthwith started in the country, and elicited everywhere the utmost enthusiasm. In Trafalgar Square, in three days alone, subscriptions were received to the amount of 39,436,280l., which was over 4,000,000l. more than was recorded in the previous great effort of London in 1917. The result of the Loan was not announced until July.

The motion for the Whitsun adjournment of the House of Commons on June 6 gave rise to a general debate on the Peace Treaty, the blockade, and the situation in Russia. Mr. Churchill, in the absence of Mr. Bonar Law, stated that the

negotiations at the Peace Conference were approaching their climax, and it was the sole intention of those who were representing us to obtain a lasting peace which would secure to the country the great position it had obtained in the war. The position regarding the blockade was explained by Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He said that food imports into Germany were only limited by her capacity to pay. The revictualling of the country was largely in the hands of the Supreme Economic Council in Paris. Commander Kenworthy urged that we should come to terms with the Bolsheviks, stating that the Lenin Government had offered definite peace terms. After a miscellaneous discussion on police, food control, and other matters the House was counted out after an adjournment had been agreed upon until June 24.

On June 12 Admiral of the Fleet Sir David Beatty, and Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig were invested by the King with the Order of Merit, and were subsequently admitted as Freemen of the City of London. In reply to the honour accorded to them Sir David Beatty made no reference to naval policy, but chiefly confined himself to tributes to the officers and men of the Royal Navy. Sir Douglas Haig, on the other hand, urged the necessity of setting up a strong citizen army on territorial lines. He expressed the view that peace could only be guaranteed by adequate preparation for war. He urged every one to do all that they could to open the gates of civil employment to the many young men who were now seeking it.

On the following day a great meeting in support of the League of Nations was held in the Albert Hall, the chief speakers being Lord Grey, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Clynes, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lord Grey pointed out that the League could not be made a living fact without the co-operation of the United States. Governments had given form to the League, but the people alone could give it life. The choice before us was whether we were to have a League of Nations, or to leave the people in the rut in which they were before the war. It was a question of life or death for the world, for the same causes that had brought about wars in the past were at work again.

Lord Robert Cecil expressed the hope that the draft Covenant of the League would shortly be part of the public law of the world. The Covenant was not intended to be a finished product, but would grow and adapt itself to the requirements of its functions. Some interruption came from the audience when he went on to affirm that if the League of Nations was to be a reality Germany, no less than Russia, must sooner or later be admitted into it. We had a right to ask that the new Germany should pass through a certain novitiate; for his own part the shorter that novitiate could be made the better he would be pleased. He pointed out that the League of Nations

would confer great advantages upon its members, but would also impose upon them considerable obligations, the chief of which was that each member would be required to live peaceably among his fellows.

The preferential proposals of the Budget gave rise to a brief campaign in the country in favour of Free Trade, On June 19 Mr. Asquith visited Leeds to speak at a Free Trade Demonstration, and was also present at the Annual Meeting of the Yorks Liberal Federation. He said that their gathering was evidence of the revival not only of the spirit of liberalism but of the specific activity of the Liberal Party. They must recover their freedom, for, until that was done, the position of the majority of Liberals in Parliament was little better than that of hewers of wood and drawers of water for an all-powerful Tory majority. In evidence of the financial ascendancy which we had built up under Free Trade, he cited a passage from the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in launching the Victory Loan, to which we have already referred. The hall in which the meeting was held was packed with people, and Mr. Asquith had a very enthusiastic reception.

The Irish-American delegates, whose visit to Ireland we have already recorded, issued a report in the middle of June stating the result of their investigations. They affirmed that Ireland was under military occupation. Wherever they went they found soldiers. The Army of Occupation numbered considerably over 100,000 men, and the troops were amply equipped with engines of war. The report went on to affirm that, within the last few months, at least ten citizens had been killed by soldiers and constables under circumstances which would have constituted wilful murder in England. Hundreds of men and women had been confined for months in the vilest prisons without any charges being preferred against them. At least five men had died as a result of atrocities perpetrated upon them. Many details were given as to the shocking nature of their imprisonment. Indeed, so luridly were these details painted as in themselves to excite grave suspicion as to their truth. They did not continue long without denial however. Mr. Macpherson, the Chief Secretary, issued an official reply in which he described the report as "an outrageous and wanton travesty of the facts," and showed that the charges generally were either without foundation or grossly exaggerated.

We have described the attempt made by Mr. Hawker and Commander Grieve to fly across the Atlantic. In the middle of June this feat was actually accomplished by Captain J. Alcock, P.S.C., and Lieutenant Whitten Brown, R.A.F., flying a Vickers-Vimy machine. They left the coast of Newfoundland at 4.28 P.M. on June 14, and arrived at Clifden at 8.40 A.M. on the 15th, the total time taken being therefore sixteen hours twelve minutes. Among the first of the numerous congratulations which flowed in upon the successful airmen was a message conveying the

warmest appreciation of the King. They arrived in London on June 17, being cheered all the way by enthusiastic crowds and receiving a wonderful reception at Euston. On the 20th they were entertained at a luncheon at the Savoy Hotel, where Mr. Churchill presented them with the *Daily Mail* prize of 10,000l. for the direct transatlantic flight, at the same time announcing that the King had given his assent to the immediate award of Knighthoods of the British Empire to the two victors. Next day they were received by the King at Windsor Castle, who conferred upon them in person their well-earned Knighthoods.

On June 23 the country was startled by the announcement that all the German battleships and battle cruisers interned at Scapa Flow, with the exception of the battleship *Baden* and five light cruisers, had been sunk and abandoned by their crews. Other German vessels, including three light cruisers, had been beached. It was admitted by Rear-Admiral Von Keuter that the vessels were sunk by his order. He stated that he believed that the Armistice had been terminated, and that he gave the order in pursuance of instructions given early in the war that no German man-of-war was to be surrendered. The matter was immediately taken up by the Conference at Versailles, and it was understood that Rear-Admiral Von Keuter would be tried by naval court-martial. At the same time it was announced that the Germans had sunk the remainder of their warships in German harbours.

In the latter half of the month a serious dispute arose in the cotton trade over a demand of the operatives for a reduction of working hours from fifty-five and a half to forty-six and a half, and a readjustment of the rates of pay to enable them to earn the same wages in the shorter hours. After some negotiation they put forward an alternative proposal for either a forty-eight-hour week and a 30 per cent, increase in wages, or a forty-six-hour week and a 25 per cent, increase in wages. In reply the employers offered a forty-eight-hour week with an advance of 25 per cent, in wages, but this offer was not accepted by the operatives, and accordingly a strike began on June 21. A meeting was held a few days later of the United Textile Factory Workers Association, as a result of which prospects of an early settlement were anticipated. The strike, however, continued into July when we shall again refer to it.

On June 25 a Conference of the Labour Party was opened at Southport. Mr. J. McGurk presided, and there were nearly 1,000 delegates present from Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Local Labour Parties, and Socialist Societies, claiming a total membership of over three million. The chief subject of discussion on the opening day was on the policy of initiating a general strike for political objects, namely, to compel the Government to withdraw British troops from Russia, raise the blockade, repeal the Military Service Act and release conscientious objectors.

Mr. McGrurk declared that the adoption of industrial action to enforce political demands would be an innovation which few responsible leaders would welcome. He pointed out that if they believed in the efficacy of the political weapon, which, indeed, was the reason for the existence of a Labour Party, then it was both unwise and undemocratic to start upon industrial action of this kind because they had failed to get a majority at the polls.

The policy of strikes for political ends had originally been initiated by the miners and adopted by the Triple Alliance, and came to be known as the policy of "direct action." It was defended at the Conference by Mr. Smillie, the miners' leader, who commented on the unhappy plight of the miners, "starved, kicked, and kept in miserable houses for generations." He insisted that the battle of labour was being left to the Triple Alliance who were not being adequately supported by the rest of the movement. Mr. Henderson, on the other hand, suggested that the leaders of the Triple Alliance had been premature in bringing up this motion, pointing out that there were later resolutions on the Agenda on which the question could be more pertinently raised.

The second day of the Conference was marked by the attendance of M. Eenaudel, of the French Socialist Party, of Mrs. Annie Besant, on behalf of Home Eule for India, and of Signor d'Arragona, Secretary of the Italian Federation of Labour. M. Eenaudel spoke of revolution as a thing which assumed different forms in different countries, and did not anticipate that either France or Great Britain would produce a revolution of the Russian kind. The Italian representative, on the other hand, referred to revolution as though it were something inevitable, and forecasted revolution and bloodshed in Italy before any long period had elapsed. The question of peace was raised by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who moved a resolution calling for the speedy admission of Germany to the League of Nations, and the immediate revision by the League of the harsh provisions of the Treaty of Peace. Mr. Clynes agreed that the Treaty had deficiencies from the democratic standpoint, but reminded the Conference that the Labour Party would have had an active share in the moulding of the Treaty if it had not disregarded his advice and severed itself from the Coalition before the Peace Conference assembled. Mr. Smillie again seized an opportunity of hinting that the miners were quite ready, if necessary, to resort to direct action to secure nationalisation of the mines. He foreshadowed a big fight and asked for the assistance of other Trade Unionists.

It was not till the third day that the question of direct action was formally discussed. The leading speakers for the proposal were Mr. Neil McLean, M.P., and Mr. Frank Hodges. The opposition speakers were Mr. Ben Tillett, M.P., and Mr. J. E. Clynes, M.P. Mr. McLean asserted **that the war in**

Russia was due to the fact that millions of British capital were invested in Russia. He preferred the Bolshevik regime to the Czarist regime, and was determined to resist the action of the Allies by any means, constitutional or unconstitutional. Mr. Tillett declared that the Conference had no right to commit the Trade Unions to industrial action on "a political question on which they had not been consulted. He thought that the Triple Alliance were endeavouring to play too prominent a part. Mr. Clynes expressed approval of unrestricted use of the strike weapon for industrial purposes, but thought it entirely misapplied if used for political purposes. He said that it was necessary either to stand by Parliamentary government or else to reject it entirely; it would not do to accept the results when they succeeded and to reject them when they failed. Supposing that Labour were in power, would they say that any class was entitled to the right which they were now claiming if it rejected any of their actions? Would any class which had the power have also the right to terronse the Labour Government? Direct action for political purposes would be a blow at democracy. Shortly afterwards the debate was closed and the vote taken. A resolution was passed by a majority of two to one on a total vote of over 2,800,000, calling for the immediate cessation of Allied operations in Russia and the removal of the censorship, and instructing the National Executive of the Party "to consult the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress with a view to effective action being taken to force these demands by the unreserved use of their political and industrial power."

Both Houses of Parliament reassembled on June 24 after the Whitsurl recess. Mr. Kellaway, Deputy-Minister of Munitions, described some of the achievements of his Ministry during the war. He said that our armies were so badly equipped when trench warfare began that grenades had to be improvised from bully beef tins and jam tins, and in place of mortars catapults were used. Germany had had every advantage at the start, but long before the war ended she had been not only overtaken but beaten in almost every branch of the industrial, scientific, and commercial side of warfare. The charge to the country for the equipment of the armies by the Ministry of Munitions amounted to nearly 2,000,000,000/. sterling. The British Army had suffered terrible losses of material on the Western Front in the German offensive of April, 1918. They had lost 1,000 guns, 70,000 tons of munitions, 4,000 machine-guns, 200,000 rifles, 250,000,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, 700 trench mortars, and 200 tanks. Within a fortnight every gun lost had been replaced. Then in August came the victorious British offensive. On September 20, when the British Army broke the Hindenburg Line they fired 943,837 shells, costing 3,800,000l. and weighing 40,000 tons. This was a greater number of shells than was fired during the whole of the South

African War. The pre-war output of shells—50,000 per annum—was fired on that day from our guns every eighty minutes.

On June 26 the Lord Chancellor moved in the House of Lords the second reading of the Housing Bill. He said that if the Government could have relied on private enterprise they would readily have done so, but he was sure that anyone must agree that the need was too great to be met by private building. Lord Downham insisted that there should be a return to private building as soon as possible if we were to avoid national disaster. He gave particulars of the building scheme adopted by the London County Council, of which he was chairman. Ten thousand houses were to be built within the next two years, and 20,000 within the next five years if the Government extended their offer of financial assistance to that period. The cost of house building had doubled. The estimate of the London County Council for the building of the first lot of four-roomed cottages was 856l. each, which was brought up to 1,050l. by the addition of 200l. for land, roads, and sewers. That being so, the provision of 500,000 houses meant the raising of 500,000,000l. Ultimately the Bill was read a second time.

In the House of Commons some amendments were made on the report stage of the Land Compensation Bill. One of these provided that the official valuer in awarding compensation should take no account of the fact that the land was required by the Government or a Local Authority. The reason of this amendment was that the entry of the Government or a Local Authority into the market to buy land had the effect of raising the price.

On the same day the money resolution of the Electricity Bill was agreed to. The resolution proposed to authorise the Treasury to advance 20,000,000l. for the carrying out of the scheme. An amendment was moved by Colonel Gretton to limit the sum to 5,000,000l. Mr. Shortt, in replying, said that the Government had every reason to believe, on the best advice they could get, that the scheme would be financially reproductive, and the amendment was then rejected by 136 votes against 26.

The only remaining event of importance during this month in the House of Commons was the rejection of the Dogs' Bill on its third reading. The rejection was moved by Sir W. Cheyne on the ground that the measure would impose an unnecessary and vexatious obstacle to medical research. The amendment was seconded by Sir Philip Magnus, and although resisted by Sir F. Banbury it was clear that the House repented of having passed the second reading. The Bill was thrown out by 101 votes against 62, a majority of 39.

On June 28 the Peace Treaty was signed, as recorded elsewhere, in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles. The German delegates issued at the same time a statement to the Press declaring that they had signed the Treaty without any reservation

whatever, and in the honest intention of carrying out its provisions to the best of their ability. They hoped, however, that the Entente might in time modify some of the conditions.

News of the signing of the Peace Treaty was received throughout Great Britain with great rejoicings. A notable demonstration was made outside Buckingham Palace by large crowds. The King and Queen, their three sons, and Princess Mary appeared for some time on the balcony and were enthusiastically greeted. On the same day the King issued a message for publication as follows :—

" The signing of the Treaty of Peace will be received with deep thankfulness throughout the British Empire. This formal act brings to its concluding stages the terrible war which has devastated Europe and distracted the world. It manifests the victory of the ideals of freedom and liberty for which we have made untold sacrifices. I share my people's joy and thanksgiving, and earnestly pray that the coming years of peace may bring to them ever-increasing happiness and prosperity."

CHAPTER III.

LABOUR DISCONTENT.

THE formal Proclamation of Peace took place on July 2 at St. James's Palace and in the City of London according to tradition. The King's Proclamation was first read from the balcony of St. James's Palace, a Guard of Honour being formed by the Welsh Guards. The procession moved thence to Charing Cross where the Proclamation occupied only a few minutes. A somewhat longer ceremony took place at Temple Bar, the entrance to the City of London, where the Lord Mayor with many members of the Corporation was waiting to give the heralds of peace permission to pass the confines of the City. The Proclamation was read, trumpets sounded, the people cheered, and the procession resumed its way into the heart of the City. The Proclamation was again read at the end of Wood Street where the Cross formerly stood in Cheapside, and afterwards, for the fifth and last time, it was read from the steps of the Royal Exchange.

On July 3 the Prime Minister made a statement in the House on the Peace Treaty and introduced two Bills, one for carrying the Treaty into effect, and another, called the Anglo-French Treaty (Defence of France) Bill, for approving a Treaty between His Majesty and the President of the French Republic. Mr. Lloyd George had a great reception when he entered the House. In the course of his speech he admitted that the terms were in many respects terrible, but affirmed also that they were just. All the territorial adjustments were restorations. As regards the claim for reparation, justice and wisdom were

limited only by the ability of Germany to pay. He denied that there was anything unjust in scattering the German Army and making it incapable of repeating the injury which it had inflicted on the world. It would have been folly to have widened the area of injustice by giving renewed opportunities to Germany for further possible mischief by restoring her Colonies. Those who were responsible for plotting and planning the war should be held personally responsible, as also those who had been guilty of offences against the laws of war: these persons must be tried. The policy of the Government had not been actuated by a spirit of revenge. It was intended to discourage crime seeing that such risks could not again be taken by the world. Replying to the criticism that we were punishing Germany for the crime of her rulers, he pointed out that the nation had approved and applauded the rulers. Supposing the German Chancellor had returned from the Conference with a Germanic peace, the German people would have received the terms with delirious joy. He had no hesitation in challenging anyone to point to a single clause in the Treaty which was not in accordance with the stern and highest demands of justice and fair play.

Turning to the guarantees for the execution of the Treaty, Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals made it impossible for her to embark upon another war of aggression. The United States and Great Britain had given guarantees in the event of a wanton and unprovoked attack being made upon France. This arrangement was to be entered into with the approval of the League of Nations. It was clearly and definitely stated in the document that it only engaged us if there was wanton provocation on the part of Germany. There was another guarantee in the Army of Occupation. He said that France did not desire to keep an army in Germany merely to occupy German cities, and if Germany showed her goodwill and gave the necessary guarantees for the execution of the Treaty then France was quite prepared to reconsider the question of occupation. The final and greatest guarantee of all was the League of Nations, which was warmly defended by the Prime Minister, who, however, pointed out that it would be of no value unless it had the sanction behind it of strong nations prepared at a moment's notice to stop aggression. Dealing with the question whether Germany should be admitted to the League at once, he argued that her admission at the present time would open a field for intrigue and dissension. When Germany came in depended on herself, and the time would be accelerated if she showed that she had really broken with the past. Finally Mr. Lloyd George appealed to the country not to waste its strength prematurely by internal dissension. He believed there was too great a tendency to assume that everything would come right without any effort, but we were faced by diminishing output and increased cost of production, which was exactly the opposite

course to that which led to prosperity. He begged the Nation to think, act, and work together and not to demobilise the spirit of patriotism too soon.

Two announcements of new decisions were also made. The first was that the Allied powers had decided unanimously that the Tribunal before which the Kaiser would be tried should be an inter-Allied one and should sit in London. The second was that an understanding had been reached with France, providing that after Germany had carried out her undertaking with regard to disarmament the cost of the Army of Occupation should not exceed 240,000,000 marks a year.

Short speeches were made by Mr. Adamson, Chairman of the Labour Party, and by Sir Edward Carson, who both paid tribute to the energy with which the Prime Minister had devoted himself to the making of the Peace settlement. Mr. Adamson indicated certain points on which the Labour Party disagreed with the terms, but discussion on these details was reserved to a later date.

We have already referred to the causes leading to a cotton strike during the month of June. At the beginning of July negotiations had very nearly issued in a reconciliation when this hope was destroyed by the action of the spinners in refusing to accept the terms of settlement. The negotiations had been conducted by the United Textile Workers' Association, and the dispute tended to assume the form rather of a split in the ranks of this body than of direct hostilities between employers and employed. At length it was determined that the Legislative Council of the Association was no longer to be the negotiating body, but that in future negotiations should be conducted by the Joint Executives of all the Trade Unions concerned. The effect of this arrangement was to give the spinners a much larger voice in the final decision in the Legislative Council of the Textile Workers' Association to whom there were affiliated in all nine Unions.

The Association had already agreed with the employers upon a forty-eight-hour week and a 30 per cent. increase in the piece rate of wages, on the understanding that the agreement must last eighteen months. The chief cause of dissension on the part of the spinners had reference to the term during which the agreement was to last; and after the reconstitution of the Association fresh negotiations were quickly set on foot and a settlement arrived at, in which nine months was substituted for eighteen months. The Operative Spinners' Amalgamation, the Weavers' Amalgamation, and the other affiliated societies accepted the settlement, and work was resumed on July 14.

At the beginning of the month the House of Lords spent two days in a debate on the second reading of the Church Enabling Bill which was moved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and opposed by Lord Haldane. Lord Crewe, with a view to securing Parliamentary control, suggested the insertion in the

Bill of a provision that no measure passed by the National Church should take effect until it had been approved by a resolution carried in both Houses. After a speech in opposition to the Bill by the Bishop of Manchester, and one in favour of it by the Bishop of Ely, Lord Salisbury protested against the insinuation that there was a conspiracy on the part of Bishops and High Churchmen to obtain through the National Assembly control of the Church. He said that the sole object was to stop the paralysis of the Church due to the difficulty of getting measures of reform carried through Parliament. The Lord Chancellor stated that the Government, after careful consideration, had decided that they were unable to support the Bill in its present shape, and that they proposed to take up a neutral attitude for the time being. The second reading was then carried by a majority of 97.

Great interest was shown by the House of Commons in the report stage of the Transport Bill, when several amendments were moved. The two main points of controversy which had arisen out of the measure had reference to the powers and duties conferred on the Minister in regard to docks and harbours and also to roads. Before the report stage was reached an agreement had been arrived at between the group of members who opposed these clauses and the Government, and amendments were agreed upon which deprived the Minister of the right to take possession of docks and harbours but gave him power to require improvements to be made in docks for the purpose of improving transport, subject to an appeal by the Dock Authorities to an arbitrator. With regard to roads, for the purpose of giving advice and assistance to the Minister a special Boads Advisory Committee was to be constituted composed of ten members to be nominated by the Minister, five as representatives of Highway Authorities, and five as representatives of users of road traffic. These announcements were received with hostile manifestations from the Labour Party, but Mr. Bonar Law assured them that the amendments implied no departure from the object which the Government had always had in view. No question of private enterprise was at issue; the Bill had been introduced solely for the purpose of helping to re-establish the industry of the country after the war by means of the best and most comprehensive system of transport.

The Government nevertheless was attacked by various Labour members for having "capitulated to private enterprise." Mr. Wignall said the Labour Party could not help being suspicious when they found members who had previously stated their intention of wrecking the Bill suddenly change their attitude as the result of an interview with the Prime Minister. Mr. Sexton added that in the Standing Committee the Labour vote had time after time saved the Government. The new clause was, however, agreed to by a majority of 281. The other new clause constituting the Roads Advisory Committee was

likewise opposed by the Labour members, but carried by a majority of 200.

The second day of the discussion was devoted principally to the question of nationalisation. Mr. Leslie Scott moved an amendment for the purpose of obtaining from the Government a definite statement that it was not their intention, during the temporary period of two years in which the State control of railways was to continue, to do anything which might lead to nationalisation being forced upon the House or the* country. Mr. Brace, speaking for the Labour Party, called attention to what he called the preparation of an atmosphere against nationalisation by the opponents of nationalisation. He declared that the emergencies of the war had made the nationalisation of railways, mines, and key industries inevitable. Mr. Shortt, the Home Secretary, then pointed out that the question of nationalisation was not raised by the Bill, and he did not intend to offer an opinion upon it, nor did he think that the Government were called upon to give an assurance, as demanded by the amendment, which would suggest that they were capable of behaving in a dishonourable and dishonest manner. Mr. Joynson-Hicks then warned the Government that a vast body of their supporters were gravely concerned about the socialistic tendencies of the Bill. Lord Robert Cecil declared that he had an open mind on nationalisation, but at the same time pressed for a statement from the Government that whatever action they might subsequently take nothing would be done under the Bill to advance nationalisation. Mr. Shortt thereupon gave the assurance which was asked for, saying that the Government would not dream of doing anything of the kind. Sir Eric Geddes added that so far as he knew neither the Government nor individual members had made up their minds in regard to the matter. Mr. Leslie Scott thereupon withdrew his amendment, remarking that the discussion had shown that there was a wide divergence of opinion in the House upon the matter.

On the motion for the third reading on July 10, Sir Eric Geddes explained what was proposed to be done to carry out the object of the Bill if it was passed. He estimated the present loss to the State on the working of the railways at 60,000,000*l.* which included the guarantee of the net receipts of 19*s.* 3*d.* to the shareholders amounting to between 45,000,000*l.* and 50,000,000*l.* He stated that the surest way to national bankruptcy was for the State to go on subsidising public services, and he added that it was inevitable that freight rates should go up, at any rate for a time. He mentioned that the coastal traffic, which used to be 70,000,000 tons a year, was practically dead because traders got their goods conveyed more cheaply by the subsidised railways. Railway traffic and cartage had become colossal. Sir Eric Geddes again dealt with the question of nationalisation, saying that he had no policy on the matter, but he believed that the Bill offered the only alternative to nationalisa-

tion, which the Government did not wish at present to go in for. The rejection was moved by Sir E. Cooper, who denounced it as nothing less than industrial revolution, and seconded by General Page Croft, but when a division was taken these two members found no supporters at all, and the third reading was carried by 245 votes to 0.

In the House of Lords the Government were successful in maintaining the Transport Bill intact. An amendment was moved by Lord Salisbury, leader of the Unionist Opposition, and supported by Lord Crewe, leader of the Liberal Opposition, for the purpose of dividing the Bill into two separate measures of which one, embodying the less controversial provisions dealing with railways and inland waterways, was to be proceeded with at once, while the other, relating to roads, harbours, and docks, was to be adjourned for further consideration. Lord Salisbury, while disclaiming any desire that the Bill should be rejected, expressed deep misgivings as to its effects. He said it would bring into existence a host of officials which threatened almost to strangle the life out of commerce and industry. What was worse, it called up a dim vista of nationalisation, and might be a preliminary to national bankruptcy. Lord Lytton, in declining to accept the amendment, warned the House that if it were carried a constitutional crisis would be precipitated between the two Houses of Parliament at a time when they should present a united front to the revolutionaries. He declared that if the amendment was carried the principle of nationalisation would become inevitable. Lord Crewe remonstrated against the action of the Government in calling upon the House to deal at the end of the session with a measure of the widest scope that had been laid before Parliament in the last twenty years. In the ensuing division the Government obtained a majority of 51.

On July 4 the Government suffered their first defeat in the new House of Commons. The vote occurred on the Women's Emancipation Bill which had been introduced by the Labour Party, providing that women might hold any civil or judicial office; that they should exercise the franchise on the same terms as men; and that they might sit and vote in the House of Lords. The Bill had passed its second reading in the House of Commons, and also gone through the Standing Committee without amendment. On the debate for the third reading it was opposed by the Government on the ground that it altered the franchise, but largely owing to a defection of the young Unionist group the third reading was carried by 100 votes to 85, and the Bill was sent to the House of Lords. In the course of the debate, Major Astor, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, said the Government had come to the conclusion that it was better to bring in a Bill of their own dealing with the subject in a different way, but at the same time removing the inequalities imposed on women. To this, however, there would be certain

limitations. The Government desired power to exclude women from certain branches of the Civil Service, and expressed the opinion that it would be unwise to allow women into the Indian Civil Service on the same footing as men. Nor could the Government agree to the provision in the Labour Bill which entitled women to the franchise at the age of 21 instead of 30. The result of such a provision would be that women would outnumber men on the register and a General Election would have to be held almost at once.

The Government anticipated the second reading of the measure in the House of Lords by bringing in their own measure which was discussed and read a second time on July 22. It provided that no person should be disqualified by sex from the exercise of any public function, or from being appointed to any civil or judicial office or post, or from entering or resuming any profession or vocation. Women, however, were to be excluded from the Civil Service in any of His Majesty's possessions or in any foreign country. The Bill further provided that women should be liable to serve as jurors, though the power of discretion was conferred upon the judge to release a woman from service where certain kinds of evidence were to be given. The debate showed a general agreement that the time had gone by when it was possible to justify the exclusion of women from the various fields of activity opened to them by the Bill, but there was some difference of opinion as to the admittance of women to the House of Lords. The Government proposal was that the King might, on the advice of his responsible Ministers, include in the Letters Patent for the creation of any new Peerage a provision to the effect that where the holder of the Peerage was a woman she should be entitled to a seat in the House of Lords.

Two days later Lord Kimberley moved the second reading of the other Bill which had slipped through the House of Commons: it was, however, rejected, and the position of the Government was thus saved.

The body of Captain Fryatt was brought from Belgium to Dover on July 7 in order to receive its final burial in England. It will be remembered that Captain Fryatt had been sentenced to death on July 27, 1916, and that half an hour after the execution had been carried out a telegram arrived from Berlin ordering the sentence to be postponed. The coffin was brought on July 8 from Dover to London, where it was covered with a Union flag, placed on a gun-carriage, and pulled by bluejackets through streets lined with bare-headed and silent people to St. Paul's Cathedral. An impressive Memorial Service was conducted, and the funeral procession afterwards passed through the City to Liverpool Street station, from whence the remains of the gallant seaman were taken to Dovercourt for burial in an English grave.

At the end of the first week in July the report of the Select Committee of the Lords and Commons, appointed to inquire

into the conditions under which the Government Works at Cippenham were being carried out, was published. The Committee expressed the opinion that the decision to continue the works after the Armistice had not been justified by the evidence given before them. Since, however, it appeared that the works as they stood could be sold at a profit the Committee had considered the question of what should be done with them in the future. They had arrived at the opinion that it was essential to repair a certain number of surplus vehicles before sale, and that it would be economical to continue these repairs so long as they were not executed at a loss. The work of repair would, however, only occupy the Cippenham Depot for a comparatively short time, probably for not more than three years. The Committee could not accept Lord Inverforth's figures tending to show that the Depot would pay, or nearly pay for itself in that time. They felt that the provision of this large central Depot, however, might prove to be a national necessity and a national asset, and that Lord Inverforth's action in disregarding the ordinary departmental limitations might justify itself. They expressed the opinion that at the end of two or three years, when a decision had to be taken as to the future of the Cippenham Depot, the Government as a whole should carefully re-examine the question. The report concluded with a statement of Lord Inverforth's personal responsibility in the matter.

A matter which far more immediately interested the public at this time, however, was the announcement of an immediate rise of 6s. a ton in the price of coal. The announcement was made by Sir Auckland Geddes, who explained that it was due to the increased wages awarded to miners on the report of the Coal Commission, the forthcoming reduction in the miners' hours of work, and the already diminished output per man shift. He admitted that an increased cost of fuel would seriously affect our manufactures for export and must affect employment. "It is impossible," he added, "that the price of coal should remain the same when the wages of the miners are rising." In reply to a question from Mr. Richards, representing the Welsh miners, Sir Auckland said that the rise had nothing whatever to do with the profits of coal owners. It was put on to meet the increase in the cost of coal production which had arisen after profits had been limited to 1s. 2d. per ton. Mr. Hartshorn stated that the Miners' Federation 'were anxious that there should be an investigation into the causes of the decline in output and asked for a day for a debate on the situation. Mr. Bonar Law agreed to this request, adding that it was impossible to subsidise an industry like coal out of the taxpayers' pockets. There was no alternative but to make the price assimilate to the cost of production. A White Paper was issued by the Board of Trade before this debate came on, showing that the estimated deficiency on the working of the coal industry for a period of twelve months from July 16, 1919, was 46,600,000l., or 4s. 3d. a ton. At the

same time it was regarded as a significant coincidence that the day before the debate a memorial against nationalisation had been sent to the Prime Minister signed by nearly 300 members.

In order to furnish opportunity for the discussion the Government put down for July 14 a vote for the Board of Trade. Sir Auckland Geddes, who opened the debate, insisted that we could not get back to the position we occupied industrially before the war unless the work of the country was done, and he went on to add that it was not now being done. There was being preached that most pernicious doctrine that if a man did less work more work would be available for others, whereas the truth was that the more work a man did the more would there be for others to do. After a long review of the figures relating to output and cost, Sir Auckland Geddes declared that even in increasing the price by 6s. a ton they were taking a very considerable risk of under-estimating the amount they should put on. No section of the community should imagine that its interests were separate from the interests of the whole. After a call for patriotism he said that production was the most urgent need of the hour. The workers in the mines could do much to help the country to get ahead by seeing that the maximum amount of coal, the principal source of our power, was produced.

The case for the miners was opened by Mr. Brace of South Wales, who agreed that if we were to be saved as a first-class industrial and commercial country there must be an increase in the production of coal. The main object of his speech was to show that the fall in output was due, not to any unwillingness on the part of the miners to give the nation what it required, but to defects in the organisation of the industry which prevented them from producing to their utmost capacity. He made two proposals to the Government on behalf of the mine workers: (1) to postpone the increase of 6s. a ton until coal owners and mine workers had had the opportunity of looking into the matter together so as to increase the output without delay; (2) to carry out the recommendations of the Coal Commission and introduce forthwith legislation for nationalising the mines.

As against this, Lord Robert Cecil contended that nationalisation would not give wage earners the freedom they desired, nor would it increase production, for workers would do no more for the Government than they did for private employers. Mr. Adamson, on the other hand, expressed the* opinion that the coal trade would never be on a sound footing until it had been nationalised.

The reply of the Government came from Mr. Bonar Law, who said that things would never come right with the coal industry unless the public knew that they had to subsidise it, and further that the miners must realise that there was not an inexhaustible revenue from coal, and that the share of the proceeds which fell to them would be in proportion to the work they did. He then made an announcement which surprised the House. He

offered on his own responsibility a suspension of the rise for three months provided that he got an engagement from the Labour Party across the floor of the House that during that period there would be no strikes or stoppages and that the miners would put their backs into increasing the production. Mr. Brace replied that the miners' representatives were not in a position to accept the offer then and there, but they were prepared to lay it before the Miners' Conference, and for his own part he would recommend its adoption. When the proposal of the Government was submitted to the Conference on July 17 it was rejected by an overwhelming majority, and the increase in price came into force a few days later.

On July 10 the Government suffered a defeat in Standing Committee on the Aliens Restriction Bill by the insertion of a new clause restricting the amount of alien labour that could be employed. The clause provided that no person, firm, or company carrying on business in this country should employ aliens in greater proportion than 10 per cent, of the total employees, except where the number of persons employed did not exceed ten. The insertion of the clause was resisted by Sir Hamar Greenwood, but was nevertheless carried by 15 votes against 12.

The first report of the Committee on the Police Service appointed by the Home Secretary on March 1 was issued in the middle of July. The most important of the conclusions and recommendations were an eight-hour day and 70s. starting pay. The general police system was to be maintained on the present lines, but a greater degree of standardisation was called for as regards pay and conditions of service generally.

Anticipations of the early disappearance of the Ministry of Food were not destined to be realised. On July 15 Mr. G. H. Roberts, the Food Controller, met a number of representatives of the Press and made a speech on the whole position of the food supply. He pointed out that there was now a unanimous call from the whole country not only for the continuance of food control but for its reimposition on those commodities from which it had been lifted. In these circumstances the Government had decided that the Ministry of Food should continue for the time being with full powers. He was accordingly making arrangements to regulate, during the coming winter, supplies, prices, and distribution of essential food-stuffs, either by statutory order or by arrangement with the trades concerned. As regarded consumption he hoped that it would not be necessary to enforce restrictions by a revival of the coupon system, but registration would certainly have to be continued in the case of meat, sugar, and butter.

On July 17 the Postmaster-General made his annual statement to the House of Commons on the work of the Post Office, in the course of which he paid special attention to the telephone service which had latterly been very widely criticised. He announced measures for the improvement of the service,

which, however, would involve an increase of the charges. He ascribed the deficiencies of the London service to a large increase in the average number of daily calls since the Armistice. He believed that owing to the endeavours towards improvement the service would gradually reach a higher state of efficiency. This assurance, however, did not give satisfaction to members associated with trade and commerce. Lieutenant-Commander Astbury considered that the state of the telephone service was another illustration of the fact that when a public service passed from private enterprise to the control of a municipality or the State it became inefficient and costly.

Other debates of special interest to the business community arose on July 28 on the Patents and Designs Bill and the Trade Marks Bill, both of which passed their second reading on that date. Sir Auckland Geddes explained that the main object of the first Bill was to prevent the abuse of monopoly rights, and at the same time to improve the position of inventors with due regard to the interests of the community. The poor inventor would no longer be obliged by lack of capital to part with his invention and his rights in it at much less than its real value. The Bill also proposed to increase the term in which the inventor enjoyed the rights in a patent from fourteen to sixteen years. This involved the extension of existing licences by two years. As to the abuse of monopoly rights, Sir Auckland Geddes stated that powers were taken to secure that foreign patent licences in this country were not used as they had been for some time past to stimulate trade in the country of their origin and restrict it here, but were worked on a commercial scale in the United Kingdom without undue delay.

The dismissal of Miss Violet Douglas-Pennant from the office of Commandant of the Women's Royal Air Force was a subject continually cropping up during the summer months. At the end of July the House of Lords carried, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government, a motion for an inquiry into the matter. The House had already, on a previous occasion, voted by a majority of 3 to 1 in favour of a judicial investigation being held, but Mr. Bonar Law had subsequently announced in the House of Commons that the Government declined to take upon themselves the responsibility of setting up a judicial tribunal. Lord Stanhope, who now moved the motion in the House of Lords, took the line, therefore, not of asking the Government to grant the judicial inquiry, but of inviting the House to appoint a Select Committee with power to call witnesses and take evidence on oath. Two arguments were urged by Lord Stanhope in support of his motion; one was that as Miss Douglas-Pennant was summarily dismissed it was supposed that some stigma must attach to her name, and in consequence that all sorts of stories in regard to her had spread abroad. The other argument was that the real reason why the inquiry was refused was that the Government feared the scandals it would

bring to light, and he went into some detail as to the nature of these scandals.

Lord Weir replied to Lord Stanhope that the sole reason why he had decided to get rid of Miss Douglas-Pennant was that though she was a capable and efficient woman she was not suited for the special task that was required. He had acted solely on his own responsibility for the good of the Air Service, and was convinced he had done the right thing. The motion was supported by Lord Sheffield, who expressed surprise that Lord Weir had made no reference to the charges of immorality in the Air Service advanced by Lord Stanhope. After a number of other speeches Lord Salisbury expressed the opinion that the Government were bound to support an inquiry, as the charges of pecuniary corruption and immorality that had been advanced could not be passed over in silence. Ultimately the motion was carried by a majority of 27, the numbers being 09 for and 42 against it.

The day fixed for the celebration of Peace was July 19, though the official commencement of the celebrations more properly took place on the 17th, when a representative fleet assembled off South-end. On the 18th Marshal Foch arrived in London in order to ride at the head of the French contingent in the Peace Pageant. The chief feature of the celebration was a procession or victory march of the Empire's armed forces and the representatives of the Allies through London. On the 18th the Prince of Wales greeted the United States troops in London, and General Pershing received the freedom of the city. Speeches on the future tasks of the English-speaking nations were afterwards delivered at the Mansion House by Mr. Churchill, General Pershing, and the American Ambassador. At the same time the King sent a message to Lieutenants of Counties throughout the country desiring them to express his admiration of the courage and endurance displayed by sailors, soldiers, and airmen during the past five years of war. He rejoiced at the restoration of peace, which he trusted would bring to us all unity, contentment, and prosperity. The King also sent a message of greeting to the sick and wounded who were unable to take an active part in the national rejoicings.

The streets were crowded long before the start of the procession, which was led by General Pershing with the American contingent. The Belgians and one or two other Allies followed, and then Marshal Foch and his staff and the other French commanders with their staffs. The Greek contingent was led by Major Venizelos, and special enthusiasm was evoked by the Serbians who followed. The forces of the British Empire were led by Sir David Beatty, who was on foot preceded by his flag as Admiral of the Fleet. The Navy was followed by the Army with Sir Douglas Haig at its head. Every branch of the Military Forces was represented, and the enthusiasm of the crowd never abated.

On July 21 the Treaty of Peace Bill was debated by the House of Commons. The debate was opened by Sir Donald Maclean, who feared that the terms imposed upon Germany would by their severity render her incapable of paying some of the indemnity at an early date. He supported the proposal to bring the ex-Kaiser to justice, but was against a trial taking place in London. He thought that the one shining hope in the Treaty was the creation of the League of Nations.

Mr. Clynes, stating the views of the Labour Party, said they were disposed to regard the Treaty with disfavour unless their suspicions were allayed on two points, conscription and munitions. The working classes had accepted conscription as "a dire necessity" and on the clear understanding that it was not to be made a permanent part of our military system but was to end with the war. As to munitions, what disquieted the working classes was the fact that their manufacture was very profitable to those engaged in it. The working classes, therefore, insisted that munitions should be made, not by private individuals, but under the responsibility, control, and ownership of the Government. Mr. Barnes, referring to the desire of the working classes that the gates of the League of Nations should be opened to Germany, said he was glad to notice that the German people were beginning to show a good spirit, and if that mood were to develop they would be allowed to join the family circle of nations as soon as possible. He announced that Germany was to be admitted into the Commission appointed under the Treaty for improving by international arrangements the pay and condition of labour even before she was invited to become a member of the League. Mr. Barnes expressed conviction that if all classes would only pull together to make good the ravages of war, there was no wrong in this country, whether social or political, that could not be redressed.

Lord Eobert Cecil agreed that Germany should be made to pay to the uttermost farthing of which she was capable, but he had doubts as to the wisdom of leaving the amount of the indemnity indeterminate. As to the ex-Kaiser, he had been condemned by the public opinion of the world, and it was not clear that we should add to the certainty of that condemnation by bringing him formally to trial. Mr. Devlin then brought the subject of Ireland into the discussion. He affirmed that the one difficulty in the way of a settlement was Ulster. He admitted that the case of Ireland was not easy to settle, but problems no less difficult had been settled at the Peace Conference. He deprecated racial hatred, and declared that he should never preach enmity to England.

Mr. Lloyd George replied to the debate, saying that this country would, if our hopes were realised, receive very considerable amounts in compensation for ships sunk, for lives lost **and** injuries sustained through submarines and aeroplanes, and also in respect of the pensions and allowances to which we had

become liable. Germany had admitted by signing the Treaty her obligation for all the costs of the war. These amounted to a sum of thirty thousand millions sterling, which meant that Germany would have to find one thousand eight hundred millions sterling a year for its payment—a quite impossible task. Dealing with conscription, the Prime Minister said that the maintenance of a large army after hostilities had ceased was necessary in order to impose the Peace Treaty on Germany. That having been done and the effort to raise an army by voluntary means being so far successful, the Government hoped by the end of the year, or at any rate by the beginning of next year, to be in a position to say that they had secured the forces necessary to sustain the power and prestige of the Empire. Turning to the subject of Ireland, he said that he had already tried to apply the principle of self-determination by means of the Irish Convention with the result that the Nationalists were divided into three different sections, and the Unionists into three or four. Until Irishmen agreed amongst themselves, he despaired of any settlement of the Irish difficulty.

The Orangemen of Ulster celebrated the 229th anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne on July 12, and the celebrations were marked by a fiery oration which Sir Edward Carson delivered to an immense gathering at Ballymenoch, near Belfast. The Ulster leader demanded the repeal of the Home Rule Act, denounced in an uncompromising tone any attempt to change the status of Ulstermen, threatened to "call out the Ulster volunteers" if such an attempt were made, attacked the American mission which had come to Ireland, declared "Dominion Home Rule" to be a mere blind for an Irish Republic, and finally criticised Sir Horace Plunkett, saying that he was hated and distrusted by both sides. This speech caused considerable resentment on account of its aggressive language, and gave rise to debates in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Lords the subject was raised by Lord MacDonnell, who introduced a motion calling upon the Government to declare their Irish policy forthwith. He reminded the House that the Irish Convention had come to an agreement on the main question referred to it—the necessity of creating a constitution for Ireland within the British Empire. Opinion was divided only as regards a single Parliament for a united Ireland and a control of Customs and Excise. He urged that the Prime Minister's promises should at once be carried out. He did not share the opinion that it would be dangerous in the present state of Ireland to create an Irish Parliament of the kind agreed to by the Convention. Lord Shandon, late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, also pressed for immediate action on the part of the Government. He said that things were going steadily from bad to worse, and if a remedy was not at once applied no one could say how they would end.

The Lord Chancellor said that the question of Ireland must

necessarily be soon decided by the Cabinet. He insisted that the Government had made it plain that it would never be a part of their policy to sacrifice the people of Ulster, who had always been the friends of England, to those who took a pride in publicly declaring themselves the enemies of England. He referred to the pledge that Ulster would not be brought under a Home Rule Parliament without her consent; the pledge had been given by Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister of the first Coalition Government, repeated by Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister of the second Coalition Government, and endorsed by the joint manifesto issued by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law to the electors at the General Election. He made it plain that the Government had no sympathy with the recalcitrant policy of Sir Edward Carson, and expressed surprise that the present moment should have been deemed opportune for menacing declarations of the course to be pursued in a contingency which could not arise.

In the House of Commons the subject was raised by Mr. Clynes, in reply to whom Mr. Bonar Law said he had been advised by the law officers that there was no ground on which the Government could take action in regard to Sir Edward Carson's speech. The Labour Party, however, forced a debate on a special motion for the adjournment of the House, and Mr. Clynes then pointed out that the law could not be respected unless it were applied alike to the rich and poor, to the weak and strong, to the high and low. He described Sir Edward Carson as "the great arch-apostle of direct action," adding that numbers of men now in prison for incitements to illegality in the industrial sphere quoted from Sir Edward Carson at their trials in justification of their action. Lieutenant-Colonel Aubrey Herbert also criticised the form in which Ulster was opposing Home Rule, while Lord Hugh Cecil expressed the opinion that Sir Edward Carson's speech on the present situation was indefensible.

The Attorney-General, Sir Gordon Hewart, defending the advice he gave the Government which he said was concurred in by the Solicitor-General, argued that the two passages in the speech relating to the calling out of the Ulster volunteers and the summoning of the Provisional Government were rhetorical, hypothetical, and contingent, and therefore far from constituting a criminal offence. There was nothing in Sir Edward Carson's speech upon which it was possible to found legal proceedings. Mr. Bonar Law, winding up the debate, declared that nothing could be more disagreeable to him than to take action against Sir Edward Carson, on account of their political comradeship in the past, but he recognised that there must be equality before the law, and if the Government had been advised that the law had been broken he would have directed a prosecution or resigned. The motion for the adjournment of the House was then defeated by 217 votes against 73. •

The annual Conference of the Miners' Federation was opened at Keswick on July 15. Mr. Robert Smillie, in his presidential address, assumed that the Government intended to carry out the recommendations in the second report signed by the chairman of the Coal Commission. He called to mind that the first report was adopted by the Government without loss of time when the miners had resolved to strike, and he raised a question as to why there should now be delay in pledging the Government to the policy of nationalisation recommended in the second report, adding that if the Government were afraid of the opposition of capitalists he could assure them of the utmost support of the Miners' Federation which would bring out the miners on strike and thus bring the industrial weapon to the assistance of the Government. A great part of Mr. Smillie's speech was devoted to a repudiation on behalf of the miners of their responsibility for the decline in output. He endeavoured to show that the true causes were beyond the control of the miners, even hinting that one of the causes was the deliberate hampering of production by the mine-owners.

On the second day of the Conference a motion was brought forward to give the Executive Committee power to call a strike on a question of national importance or any other question already agreed to by national conference. The intention of the proposer was to remove the period of delay interposed between the breakdown of negotiations and the resort to strikes. The resolution, however, was heavily defeated, the miners deciding not to abandon their right to be consulted in a time of crisis before the Executive Committee declared a strike.

A debate on the income tax was initiated by Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, who desired to raise the exemption limit from 130l to 250l. He insisted that in this matter miners were not acting wholly or principally in their own interests, for the benefits of the change would be shared by 4,000,000 people.

The chronic unrest afflicting the South Wales coal trade gave rise in the latter half of July to another unauthorised strike in which the surface workers were mainly concerned. Their demands were for shorter hours corresponding with those who worked in the mines, and extra pay for week-end work. At the same time a strike was in progress in the Yorkshire mines. On July 15 150,000 men had downed tools to enforce a demand in connexion with the readjustment of piece rates to compensate for the reduction of working hours, and on the following day it was decided that unless a settlement were arrived at by the 19th the rest of the members of the Association who were keeping the pits in working order would be withdrawn. The Conference of the Miners' Federation at Keswick requested all miners to return to work pending negotiations between their Executive Committee and the Government on the question in dispute, but notwithstanding this request the Yorkshire Miners' Council called out the rest of the men working in or about the

Yorkshire mines, including the pumpmen whose work it was to keep the mines clear of water. As a result three pits were completely Hooded by the 21st. In a short statement to the House of Commons on that day Mr. Lloyd George said that pumping had entirely stopped at eighty-five mines. The Yorkshire coal-field produced 35,000,000 tons a year and many industries were dependent on it. In view of this fact the Government had been compelled to send men from the fleet to aid in pumping the mines, and they had asked Sir Eric Geddes to go at once to Yorkshire to co-ordinate the efforts of the community to prevent the destruction of the mines. By the following day six collieries were flooded and several others were in immediate danger. The use of gas, electricity, and water was curtailed, train services were reduced, many industrial works were closed, and numbers of people thrown out of employment. A spread of the strike also took place in Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, and Monmouthshire.

On July 24 Conferences were held between the Government and the Executive of the Miners' Federation. The question of the adjustment of piece rates under the new seven-hour day system was discussed, and a formula was submitted by the Prime Minister to the Federation. After some further discussion this formula was accepted. In it the Government undertook that piece workers should not suffer any loss of earnings owing to the recent changes. Piece rates would be increased by an amount which, on the average, would be that necessary to correspond with a 10 per cent, reduction in output as provided for in Mr. Justice Sankey's interim report. The Yorkshire strikers, however, refused to accept this agreement, preferring to await a formal invitation to a Conference with the owners. This invitation was at length forthcoming, and a joint meeting was held at Leeds on July 29 to discuss the questions in dispute. The Miners' Federation did all they could to induce their recalcitrant members to return to work, but the Yorkshire miners definitely refused to accept the formula which had been agreed with the Government, and the negotiations at Leeds broke down, the strike thus entering on a new stage after it had been in progress for a fortnight. Negotiations lingered on without any result being achieved until the middle of August, when it became apparent that the miners would have to give in, owing to the absence of support by the Miners' Federation and the opposition of the Coal Controller. On August 12 the Council of the Yorkshire Miners' Association accordingly decided to advise the men to resume work. A number of branch meetings were held, and the decision to return to work was formally adopted on the 14th and took effect on the 18th. The decision was arrived at by a Conference at Sheffield between representatives of the South Yorkshire owners and the delegates of the Yorkshire Miners' Association.

The question of direct action was brought forward **from time to time, and at the end of July the Parliamentary Labour Party**

held a, special meeting at the House of Commons, in the course of which no member was found to defend that policy. The subject was again discussed at a Conference held by the Triple Alliance on August 12. It was from the Triple Alliance that the idea of direct action had originated, and it was intended to be applied especially for compelling the Government to discontinue conscription and abandon military intervention in Russia. By this time, however, a general feeling appeared to have arisen in opposition to the policy of direct action, and at the Conference on the 12th the application of the doctrine was indefinitely postponed.

Another strike which assumed serious dimensions during August was that of the police, among whom, as already mentioned, discontent had been simmering for many months past. The main point now at issue was to compel the Government to recognise the National Union of Police and Prison Officers. This Union issued a long manifesto declaring that the time had now come to act, and after a mass meeting had been held a strike was called on August 1. It met, however, with little response, and on the first day only 854 policemen came out from among 20,000 in the Metropolitan Police Force. The strikers were all dismissed; 600 of the Liverpool Police left work at the same time, but other efforts to extend the movement to the provinces failed.

On August 1 the House of Commons passed the final stages of a Police Bill, which provided for the establishment of a Police Federation acting through local and central representative bodies, prohibited policemen from becoming or remaining members of any Trade Union, rendered punishable all attempts to create disaffection in the Force, and increased police pay and allowances. Mr. Clynes moved to omit the provision that every branch of the Police Federation should be entirely independent of and unassociated with any outside body or person. If the loyalty of the Force and its goodwill *in* the public service were to be preserved he contended that the men must be allowed more freedom of individual action. Mr. Clynes advised the Home Secretary to drop the Bill, as the loyalty of the Force had been tested and proved by the events of the strike, and to endeavour by mediation and negotiation to come to an understanding with the Police Union.

The Home Secretary, on the other hand, considered that the strike strongly established the necessity for the Bill. He said that the measure did not affect in the slightest degree the liberty of any individual policeman. It was open to each and every member of the Force to join any outside body he pleased if it were not a body that claimed to control him in the exercise of his duty. Mr. Shortt also stated that there was nothing in the Bill to prevent any individual policeman with a grievance from laying the grievance before the Labour Party and asking them to take it up in the House of Commons. The amendment was

rejected by 117 votes against 28 and the Bill was then read a third time.

On August 2 and 3 extensive rioting took place in Liverpool owing to the police strike, and considerable damage was done to property. About 930 policemen in Liverpool were on strike, while 1,200 remained on duty, and during these days over 200 arrests were made for looting. The military were called out and bayonet charges were made, as a result of which the outbreak of anarchy was brought under control. Further disorganisation was caused by the action of the tramway men in going on strike, while a similar course was considered by the dockers and railwaymen who referred the question to their Executives. In London the strike was a failure from the start, although a number of drivers on the London and South-Western Railway came out as a mark of sympathy with the dismissed London police. On August 4 the Home Secretary made another statement on the position in the House of Commons. He described the strike as a definite act of mutiny by men who had broken their oaths, set aside their duty to their fellow-citizens, and were attempting to defy the authority of Parliament. He declared that there could be no question of compromise or of reinstating the constables who had been dismissed. In London the number of police on strike was only 1,056 out of 19,000. In Liverpool it was 932 out of 2,100, and in Birmingham 118 out of 1,256. Mr. Clynes suggested that the strike had been precipitated by the passage of the Police Bill, to which Mr. Shortliff replied that this was true only to the extent that the officials of the Police Union, knowing that the Bill would bring the Union to an end, had used every endeavour by misstatement to persuade the men to be false to their duty and to their oath. He again affirmed that there could be no question of reinstatement of the constables who had been dismissed.

The unauthorised strike of a few railwaymen in sympathy with the police spread to the City and South London Tube Railway, but attained quite small dimensions and gave no considerable inconvenience. On August 7 the City of London police passed a resolution repudiating the strike and condemning the attitude, actions, and methods of certain members of the Police Union. The number of Metropolitan policemen who had gone on strike and been dismissed now amounted to 1,081, while in the City police there were only 58. They held a demonstration in Hyde Park on August 10, but neither in London nor in Liverpool had they any chance of securing a victory, and little more was heard of the matter.

Another strike which occurred independently at the same time was that of bakers, who demanded a forty-four-hour week, a minimum wage of 4*l.*, and the cessation of night baking. At the end of the first week in August there were from 5,000 to 6,000 bakers on strike in London, and 20,000 throughout the country. The position was especially acute at Liverpool where the strike

was more complete than in other places. On August 6 a seven-hour conference was held between the Ministry of Labour, representatives of the employers' and the men's delegates, but it did not succeed in reaching a settlement, and the Union leaders declared their intention of continuing the strike. Further meetings, however, were held, and finally, on August 10 the men decided at a meeting to resume work on the following day. The terms of the settlement included the reference to arbitration of the demands for a 4*l.* minimum wage and a forty-four-hour week. The question of night work was left undecided, but it was understood that a Bill was to be introduced into Parliament to deal with the matter.

All through the year it was obvious that grave discontent existed on the railways, and from time to time the danger of a general strike appeared to be imminent. One of these crises occurred during the latter half of August while negotiations were in progress between the Railway Unions and the Board of Trade on the subject of standard rates of pay. The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen threatened a strike unless the Government took immediate steps to meet their demands, which were for a standard wage of 12*s.* to 16*s.* per day for drivers and motor men, 9*s.* 6*d.* to 11*s.* 6*d.* for firemen, and 8*s.* to 8*s.* 6*d.* for cleaners. In response to this threat the Government made a new offer which conceded these demands except that they were less than what the men asked for by from 1*s.* to 2*s.* a day. As a result of further discussion the Government improved their offer still further, so that for some rates it came fully up to the demands of the men, whereas for the remainder it was very little less. By August 22 all danger of immediate trouble was removed. Both the Railwaymen's Unions ratified the agreement with the Board of Trade; and the railway clerks, who had also been threatening to strike, received such concessions that their representatives decided to recommend acceptance to the members. The peace thus reached was, however, not destined to last for long.

Much satisfaction was caused by an announcement that the Government had decided to adopt the increases in the war pensions of officers and men and their dependants and widows recommended by a Select Committee. Sir L. Worthington Evans, who made the announcement in the House of Commons, stated that the grand total of pensioners was 2,340,081 equivalent to three times the population of Liverpool. The cost to the State was about 96,000,000*l.* which was more than double the estimated expenditure for the year ended April, 1919, and four times the actual sum paid out in the year ended April, 1918.

The second reading of the Ministries and Secretaries Bill came on in the House of Commons on August 5. The main purpose of this measure was to increase from 2,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* a year the salaries of the President of the Board of Education, the President of the Board of Agriculture, the Minister of

Labour and the Food Controller. It further proposed to raise the Secretary for Scotland, who had a salary of 2,000l a year, to the status of a Secretary of State, which carried a salary* of 5,000l. Sir Donald Maclean asked the House to refuse the Bill a second reading until the Government had declared its policy in regard to the reduction of Government departments to a scale conducive to national efficiency and economy. Mr. Bonar Law admitted that it was an inopportune time to raise the salaries of Ministers. He asked the House to believe, however, that the Government did not wish for this measure in the interest of Ministers, but solely in the interest of the State. The rise in prices and fall in the value of money made it wrong to ask men in these important positions to be content with the same salary as they were paid before the war. Mr. Bonar Law also pointed out that whereas formerly Ministers were men of private means the position in that respect had been for some time reversed. Mr. Thomas inquired whether "direct action" was threatened by Ministers if their salaries were not increased. The Bill was condemned by members of all parties. It was said that 2,000l. a year was enough for anyone to live on, and that if Ministers were to resign there would be plenty of applicants for their posts. The second reading, however, was carried by a majority of 93.

Some similar opposition was expressed when the House of Commons on the following day was asked to make various grants of money to the war leaders. The Prime Minister who introduced the subject, began by moving a special vote of thanks to Marshal Foch, to whose genius he attributed the early ending of the war. He then referred to the hardships of soldiers on the battlefield and of the sailors of the Mercantile Marine, of whom 15,000 had fallen victims to the submarine campaign. Finally, he referred to "the multitude of silent people" who had quietly borne the racking strain of anxiety and too often of bereavement. All classes had borne their share in the fight, and the lustre of glory was dimmed only by the shadow of a common grief. The votes of thanks were put to the House and agreed amid loud acclamations. The House then went into Committee of Supply to consider the Prime Minister's motion that a sum of 585,000l. be voted for the money grants to the naval and military commanders. Mr. Lloyd George said it was an honoured tradition of this country to reward liberally those who rendered it conspicuous and distinguished services in time of peril, and he urged the House to maintain the tradition by conferring exceptional rewards on those who had borne exceptional responsibilities. The reduction of the vote by 385,000l., leaving 200,000l. to be divided, was moved by Mr. Adamson. He said the Labour Party fully realised the value of the services rendered by the Admirals and Generals, but thought those services should not be measured by money payments, which, moreover, were out of all proportion when compared with the

monetary rewards given to the rank and file. This amendment, however, was rejected by a majority of 222. Discussion still proceeded on the main motion, and Mr. John Jones, the Labour member for Silvertown, expressed the view that the Admirals and Generals would be more honoured by the thanks of Parliament and the gratitude of the nation than by sums of money voted to them. The Prime Minister, in reply, pointed out that the common soldiers and sailors were drawing a hundred millions a year in pensions by comparison with which a single sum of 585,000*l.* did not appear excessive. Ultimately the grants were endorsed by 272 votes against 64, a majority of 208.

The scarcity of many necessary articles had caused great inflation of prices in many branches of trade, and for some time past a loud outcry had been carried on against what was called profiteering. To meet this evil the Government decided to bring in a Bill to make profiteering illegal. Local tribunals were to be established to deal with complaints of profiteering and to recommend a line of action to the Board of Trade. A County Appeal Tribunal was to be set up to safeguard the retailer. A person guilty of undue profit-making could be fined 20*z.* If he were a confirmed malicious profiteer he would be referred to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, which would have the power of fining him 200*z.* or imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both. This Bill, the second reading of which was moved in the House of Commons on August 11 by Sir Auckland Geddes, appeared to find very little favour among members. He said that the Government had decided to take action on account of the economic and social evils arising out of profiteering and especially the resultant limitation on exports. Another deplorable result was that profiteering increased the imports into this country. Further, it caused unrest in all classes and had an adverse effect on output. He contended that the prevalent high prices were in the main not due to profiteering, and the Bill would thus have the effect of alleviating unnecessary discontent.

The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. Kennedy Jones on the ground that it would seriously injure the delicate machinery of trade and do nothing to stop illegitimate profit-making. Mr. J. H. Thomas stated that the Labour members did not feel justified in refusing to give the Bill a second reading, but would seek drastically to amend it with a view to breaking up trusts and combinations. Sir E. Home, the Labour Minister, announced that the Bill instead of being sent to one of the Standing Committees would be retained in Committee of the whole House, and thereupon the second reading was passed by 251 votes to 8. When the Committee stage came on nearly 200 amendments had been put down, and the Government began the proceedings by suspending the 11 o'clock rule. Sir Auckland Geddes described the machinery which it was proposed to set up under the Board of Trade, which would constitute a central tribunal with a lawyer as chairman. In addition to

the central tribunal there would be local bodies to which aggrieved individuals could apply for redress. These local bodies would have discretion, within reasonable limits, to prosecute. An amendment moved by Mr. Trevelyan Thompson, giving power to the Board of Trade to fix maximum prices, was accepted by Sir Auckland Geddes but denounced by Lord Robert Cecil. Sir Francis Lowe predicted that if prices were fixed stocks would be held up and people would be unable to get the things they wanted. Mr. Bonar Law explained that the Government had considered and rejected the idea of fixing maximum prices which they believed would simply result in stopping supplies. If the amendment was carried it would therefore not mean that there would be any widespread attempt to fix maximum prices. The vote was left to the free action of members, and the amendment was carried by 132 votes to 95. Another amendment was moved by Mr. G. E. Thorne, to provide that all the investigations should be held publicly. This was opposed by Sir Auckland Geddes who insisted that the investigations by the central tribunal would be inconclusive if they were not to be regarded as confidential. The amendment was rejected by 212 votes to 51. The Attorney-General moved an amendment providing that the punishment of a seller convicted of making an unreasonable profit should be a fine not exceeding 200*l.* or imprisonment not exceeding three months. The amendment was supported by Sir Donald Maclean and Mr. Acland and was subsequently adopted.

As little progress had been made with the list of amendments during the evening, and as Mr. Bonar Law expressed the opinion that the Bill was urgently needed by the country, the House had an all-night sitting in order that the Committee stage and third reading might be concluded without delay. Sir Auckland Geddes said that the Government would take such steps as were possible for breaking up Trusts and Combinations under the powers given by the Bill and within the six months to which the life of the Bill was limited. Special and permanent legislation against the operations of Trusts would, however, be proposed in the course of the autumn sitting. This discussion arose on a new clause moved by Mr. Tyson Wilson on behalf of the Labour Party. It proposed that the Board of Trade should obtain from all available resources information as to the nature, extent, and development of Trusts which had for their purpose the regulation of prices or output of commodities, and moreover should have power to suspend a business altogether. The President of the Board of Trade expressed the opinion, however, that the power which the clause sought to confer on the Board was unprecedented and impossible. Commander Kenworthy argued that it was only through the international action of the Supreme Economic Council of the League of Nations that democracy could ever hope effectively to grapple with Trusts in food and war materials. Lord Robert Cecil pointed out, however, that

the League could not come into existence for some weeks. He declared that the evil of Trusts was far greater and more dangerous than casual profiteering by small traders. Sir Auckland Geddes finally accepted the new clause after the deletion of the proposals for giving power to the Board of Trade to suspend a business altogether. Two other amendments were made in the Bill—the provision that, where a Company was convicted of profiteering every director and officer of the Company should be held guilty, was limited to the Chairman, Managing Director, and officers concerned in the management. It was also declared that nothing in the Act should apply to the sale of any article for export.

In the debate on the motion for the third reading Lord Winterton contended that the series of very important amendments made in the Bill disproved the complaint which had become very common, that private members never exercised their influence in the House or pressed their views on the Government. Mr. Wignall related that he had seen in Cornwall three cargoes of mackerel thrown into the sea because, as he alleged, the merchants or middlemen were not satisfied with the profit they calculated to make from the sale of the fish if they had bought them. Lieutenant-Colonel Archer-Shee declared that he had been an uncompromising opponent of the Bill from the beginning and still remained so. He believed that it had been rushed through solely for the purpose of deceiving the people into thinking that prices would be reduced in the way proposed. He contended that the evil could have been cured by the simple method, "which the Government rejected, of controlling prices of necessities without any interference with trade, until a normal position had been reached. Ultimately the third reading was carried without a division.

In the House of Lords the second reading of the Profiteering Bill was moved by Lord Milner on August 15. He insisted that it must not be expected that the Bill would bring about a fall in prices. The existing high prices were beyond all human control. The principal reason for high prices was that the supplies were short of the demand, and the most effective way of finding a remedy was greatly to increase the production of articles of use and necessity to the bulk of the people. Lord Milner anticipated a regular rebellion against high prices in this country unless the people were shown that there was a good reason for them, or at least that an attempt was being made to reduce them. The Bill would help to make the situation clear and would have a powerful deterrent effect on profiteering. After a short debate the second reading was carried without a division, and on August 19 the Bill passed into law. The Central Committee set up under the Board of Trade was under the Chairmanship of Mr. C. A. McCurdy, K.C., M.P.

An important debate on the financial position of the kingdom arose on the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 2)

Bill on August 7. It was opened by Major Tryon who appealed to the Government, now that peace had come, to abandon administration by means of Controllers, Orders in Council, and Royal Commissions, and work steadily back to the old and historical constitutional ways of responsible Cabinet government. He contended that the methods of government and administration now in vogue only strengthened the hands of the extremists and revolutionaries such as the Triple Alliance who aimed at over-riding the authority of Parliament and coercing the community by the weapon of the general strike. The most urgent matter at the present time was to establish the fact that a redress of grievances must come from Parliament. Major Tryon's speech was received with great enthusiasm by the House.

In his reply Mr. Chamberlain declared that the threats of the Triple Alliance amounted to treason, not only against the House of Commons, but against the country itself. The path which they pursued would lead to anarchy and disaster, and the Government would take any steps that were required to defend the power and authority of Parliament. Passing to the financial position he admitted that the favourable anticipations he had formed when making his budget statement were not being realised. The financial position was worse than he had foreseen, expenditure was exceeding his estimate, and the yield of taxation was falling below it. He insisted that the goodwill and active assistance of every class of the community were needed to save the situation. If expenditure continued at the same rate, and production did not increase the end would be national bankruptcy, and in order that we might be saved both these things must be done. As regards the general policy of nationalisation he said that the gravity of the financial position was a sufficient guarantee against the Government taking on liabilities of a doubtful or speculative kind. Mr. Chamberlain assured the House that the Government were giving very serious and earnest attention to the financial position and had set their minds to find a remedy. He said that there was nothing in the situation beyond our control if we tackled it as a nation with the same resolution and unity with which we had faced and overcome the difficulties of the war. In the course of the debate Mr. Lloyd George promised that before the recess he would announce the policy of the Government as to the coal mines, and also present to the House a picture of the present industrial position of the country, and indicate the line which in his opinion ought to be taken.

A further debate arose on the third reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill on August 12. Mr. Winston Churchill, the War Minister, took the opportunity of expounding the work and policy of his department in relation to finance, and made several interesting and important announcements. He said that arrangements had been made with France that by

the end of October our Army on the Rhine should be reduced to a strong brigade (four or five thousand men) and our Air Force to a single squadron. More than 400,000 German and Turkish prisoners were still on our hands, requiring more than 100,000 British soldiers to look after and feed them. We had more than 100,000 men in Mesopotamia; in Egypt and Palestine there were 90,000 men. In Ireland, we had 60,000 men, or double the number that was there before the war, and the Irish Executive offered the strongest opposition to any reduction in that force. In addition to the army in India it was also necessary to keep 100,000 men in France and Flanders on salvage work. These commitments, Mr. Churchill contended, showed that expenditure had not yet returned within the controlling domain of policy. The only item of actual economy which he was able to announce was the discontinuance of the weekly review of the foreign press. It was to a reduction in the size of the Army that Mr. Churchill looked for real and substantial savings, but he warned the House against getting rid of the men too quickly. He added that by next year only two great nations of the world would be free of conscription—England and Germany. All the other great powers, he said, intended to continue compulsory military service, and the United States proposed to embody it for the first time in its army system.

Towards the end of the debate Mr. J. H. Thomas urged that it was important for the Government to prosecute if they had knowledge of a Bolshevik plot in this country. Mr. Bonar Law said that the Government were anxious to put a stop to the pernicious literature which was being circulated, but must have clear ground for any action they took based on something that could be proved to be treasonable.

On August 18 Mr. Lloyd George moved the autumn adjournment of the House, and took the opportunity of stating the policy of the Government as regards some of the difficulties confronting the country in its industrial and financial position. These proposals, he said, were put forward on the eve of the rising of Parliament in order that members might be enabled to consult their constituencies in regard to them. He asked for a fair and impartial consideration of the plans of the Government since the future of the country depended on the way in which Parliament attempted to grapple with its present problems. Mr. Lloyd George said that the cardinal fact of the situation was that we were not paying our way and should never do so until we had immensely increased production. We should inevitably either have to increase production or reduce lower than ever our standard of life. As regards coal mines, he announced that the Government had rejected the principle of nationalisation. He added, however, that Bills were being prepared to provide for the purchase of mineral rights by the State, the raising of a fund for the improvement of the housing and social conditions of mining villages, the amalgamation of

mines in defined areas, and the appointment by the workers of representatives on the Committees which were to direct and control the group mines in these areas. The Government would retain power to overlook the working of these mines in the interests of the general community.

Passing to trade policy the Prime Minister said that the policy of restricting imports was to terminate definitely on September 1. Restrictions could only result in putting up prices artificially, and prices were already too high. Still the Government would submit proposals to prevent the dumping of goods at prices lower than the prices at which they were sold in the countries of their origin. The Government further proposed to give power to the Board of Trade to safeguard key industries by prohibiting the imports of competing manufactures except on licences. A sum of 26,000,000*l.* was to be allocated as a banking trade account to give credits to such countries as Serbia, Roumania, and Poland, so as to enable them to resume trade relations with this country. As regards hours and wages of labour, two Bills were to be brought before Parliament establishing a forty-eight-hour week for all industries, and providing a living wage for those engaged in them. These Bills, in fact, were presented by the Labour Minister on the same day.

Finally, Mr. Lloyd George replied to the question as to what the Government proposed to do in the way of reducing expenditure. Certain items afforded no opportunity for economy. The interest on the debt, amounting to 400,000,000*l.*, had to be paid; pensions could not be reduced, nor could the grants for education be cut down. There was, in short, only one way in which considerable reductions could be effected, and that was in armaments. The conditions were favourable, for the great menace of war in Europe had gone, but he warned the House that a reduction in armaments would not mean a reduction in the cost of the Army as compared with the situation before the war, for pay was three times greater and the expense of material had doubled. He declared that the great nations which had promoted the League of Nations should show their confidence in it. If those who had promoted it went on increasing their armaments the League of Nations would be a sham—a mere scrap of paper. "Those who believe in it most, must trust it most. That is the first and fundamental condition of economy in armaments." The House adjourned on August 19.

The state of Ireland continued to be very unsatisfactory. In the middle of August an official memorandum was issued from the Chief Secretary's office at Dublin Castle, stating that "owing to the recent increase and character of the crimes committed by Sinn Feiners in Co. Clare, the Government have decided to suppress the organisation and kindred bodies in the country as unlawful associations." This state of lawlessness in

Co. Clare had developed since the year 1917. Incitements to violence had been made at public meetings, and there had been drilling by parties of Irish volunteers in open violation of the law. In the beginning of 1919 there had been a recrudescence of crime manifesting itself in overt acts of violence against the police. There had been nine attacks on the police since the beginning of the year. On August 3 the police barrack at Broadford, occupied by a sergeant and four constables, was attacked by a party of armed men. Over two hundred shots were fired at the barrack, and much damage was done to the building. On August 4 two constables were held up and fired at by armed men and both of them were killed. On August 5 another police barrack was entered by six or seven armed and disguised men who bound the police with ropes and seized a quantity of arms and ammunition. On August 8 another police hut was attacked by thirty armed men for over an hour. On August 15, following a Lady Day procession, a riot broke out in Londonderry. Volleys of stones were thrown and baton charges made. The troops were called out and much damage to property was done. In most parts of Ireland the situation remained very strained throughout the year. Sinn Fein had succeeded in rousing fierce antagonism to the British Government, and the belief was largely entertained that the action of the military authorities was directed rather to stamping out the national ideal than to stamping out violation of the law.

Parliament had no sooner adjourned than a campaign for economy was instituted in the country and in the newspapers. Mr. Lloyd George addressed a letter in strong terms to all the spending departments of the State, pointing out the urgent need for effecting all possible economies and for bringing the established strength back to the normal. Sir Auckland Geddes, speaking at Basingstoke on August 25, said that the Government were doing all they could to cut down expenditure, adding that a Finance Committee had been formed, of which the Prime Minister was chairman, with the object of exercising economy. At the same time the Treasury was reorganised with a view to more strict control of expenditure. Sir Warren Fisher was appointed permanent Secretary in place of Sir John Bradbury who went to Paris as chief British Representative on the Reparation Commission, and three new departments were set up at the Treasury with a Controller at the head of each. Government Dockyard Authorities and shipbuilders engaged on naval construction were instructed to cease work on all warships except those approaching completion or about to be launched. Measures were put in hand for a "ruthless reduction" at the War Office and the Admiralty. On the 28th Mr. Clynes, speaking at Widnes, denounced the Government's extravagance and waste, and the newspapers maintained a vigorous campaign for economy.

In view of this outcry in the country the Prime Minister at

the end of August called for a preliminary report from all the Government Departments of the reductions which had been made, or were contemplated, in the staffs, and the net reduction in national expenditure which would result from the economies which it was proposed to effect. He also made it clear that some of the expensive buildings in which the Departments had been housed would have to be surrendered. At the same time the Air Ministry announced a curtailment of its airship programme. The preliminary reports on staff reductions were forwarded to the Prime Minister early in September, but it did not appear that any great savings would be effected thereby, as reductions to the pre-war level were not likely to result in the expenditure being curtailed by more than 15,000,000*l.* a year. Several Ministries, including the Admiralty and the War Office, pointed out that before any drastic reductions could be made it was necessary to have some idea of the policy of the Government affecting their Departments. The question of reducing national expenditure was undertaken by the Finance Committee of the Cabinet with the Prime Minister as chairman, and although the reduction of staffs was an important item in their programme it was understood that the Committee had chiefly under consideration the economies which might be attained by alteration in the policies of the Departments.

Disturbances continued to be reported from Ireland during September. On the 2nd of the month a daring outrage was perpetrated in Co. Tipperary, as a result of which one police sergeant lost his life. On the 7th disorder broke out at Fermoy when a party of soldiers was fired at, one being killed, and on the following day a party of troops appeared in the streets armed with hammers and pieces of iron which they used for smashing windows and looting shops. The troops taking part numbered about two hundred, and it was estimated that damage to the amount of 3,000*l.* was done to the property of shopkeepers. On the 10th proclamations were issued by the Lord-Lieutenant suppressing the organisations of Sinn Fein within the County Borough of Cork and the County of Cork. These proclamations also applied to the South Riding of Co. Tipperary, the County of Limerick, the County of Clare, the North Riding of Co. Tipperary, and the County Borough of Dublin. On the 12th a further proclamation was published prohibiting and suppressing the Sinn Fein Parliament which was described as a "dangerous Association." It applied to the thirty-two Counties and six County Boroughs of Ireland. On the 12th a police constable was shot dead in one of the busiest streets of Dublin, and on the same day the authorities commenced a systematic search for arms and seditious papers in many parts of the country. Raids on Sinn Fein headquarters were carried out by the police assisted by the military who were armed, and in Dublin two Sinn Fein M.P.'s were arrested. On the 17th bodies of armed military and police raided the offices of the *Cork Examiner*, and

dismantled such portions of the machinery as effectively to prevent the production of any of the newspapers issued from the offices. No explanation was given for the action taken, though the *Examiner* had a few days before published the prospectus of a Sinn Fein loan. The title of this loan was then changed to "The Irish National Loan," its advertisements stating that it was required for development of Irish industry and commerce "and generally for national purposes as directed by the elected representatives of the Irish people." A fresh proclamation was then issued prohibiting the holding of meetings, assemblies, or processions in public places in the North and South Ridings of the Co. Tipperary and in other parts of Southern Ireland. The ban on the publication of the *Cork Examiner* and allied newspapers was removed on September 21, and they began appearing again on the 23rd. Nevertheless the Irish Executive continued to suppress or suspend newspapers which published the prospectus of the Sinn Fein loan. Three such newspapers were suppressed in Limerick on the 23rd. On the 25th the whole situation was reviewed at a long meeting of the Cabinet, at which Lord French was present, and it was understood that the Government had decided to make an attempt to secure a settlement of the question of the future government of Ireland. The view was taken that while it was absolutely necessary to show the Sinn Fein leaders that physical force could not prevail, affairs in Ireland could not be allowed to remain in their present position, but must be met by constructive proposals.

The announcement of Mr. Lloyd George that the Government refused to accept the principle of nationalisation for the coal mines led to a meeting of the Executive of the Miners' Federation on September 2, at which they decided to recommend to the full Delegate Conference a condemnation of the policy of the Government in the matter, but to abstain from committing themselves to direct action until after the Trades Union Congress had considered the question. This recommendation was unanimously accepted by the delegate conference on the following day. Resolutions were passed rejecting the proposals of the Government for the reorganisation of the coal-mining industry, insisting on nationalisation and requesting the Trades Union Congress to take the "fullest and most effective" action by the whole Trade Union movement to secure nationalisation of the mines. /

The policy of "direct action" was further discussed at a full Delegate Conference of miners, railwaymen, and transport workers on September 4. A report was received from the Joint Executive Committee of the Triple Alliance on the postponement of the ballot which a previous Conference had decided should be taken on the question of "direct action" to secure the abolition of conscription and the discontinuance of military intervention in Russia and in Trade Union disputes at home.

The Conference then agreed to postpone the questions involved until after the meeting of the Trades Union Congress the following week. Mr. Arthur Henderson, speaking at Walworth the same evening, welcomed this decision, and declared that a Labour Government, such as there might soon be in this country, would not allow an opposition minority to defeat its programme by unconstitutional methods.

At the same time a crisis arose among the transport workers owing to a demand which they had put forward for an advance of 12s. a week to tramway workers throughout the country. Both employers and men Agreed to arbitration, but the employers stipulated that the arbitration should be by district, while the Federation insisted on a national arbitration. Sir Robert Home, Minister of Labour, intimated that this question should be settled by the Interim Court of Arbitration set up under the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, and this contention was ultimately accepted.

The Trades Union Congress was formally opened at Glasgow on September 8 by its president, Mr. G. H. Stuart-Bunning. In the course of his address, which constituted the main business of the day, the President stated that we were involved in a war with Russia which was thoroughly unpopular with the working classes of this country who had illustrated their feelings in many ways. He said that the action of the Parliamentary Committee on the important question of "direct action" had been misunderstood and misrepresented. To have called a special Congress to consider a strike ballot would have identified the Committee with the policy of a national strike on political matters. Had such a Congress rejected the proposal it would have stereotyped the very policies it would desire to condemn. Had it passed the resolution on, and the members rejected it at the ballot, the result would have been a miserable and tragic fiasco. The Government were certain to fight a national strike and that would mean revolution. The project of "direct action" therefore resolved itself into a desperate gamble with the lives of men, women, and children. Mr. Stuart-Bunning expressed his disbelief in industrial strikes on political matters. He said that he did not despair of constitutional methods. The suggestions of "direct action" were due largely to the conduct of Ministers themselves and their failure to carry out their pledges. He insisted that there must be an increase of productivity which could only be obtained by the co-operation of both employers and employed. Referring to the vast amalgamation of labour forces, he said that they had grievous faults in that the discipline of the movement was deficient and there were unofficial strikes and repudiation of agreements. The reputation of Trade Unions for keeping their bargains must be upheld. Finally, he said that they might confidently look forward in a short time -to a Labour Government. No Government could exist which did not enjoy the confidence of the people, and that could only be

obtained, and retained by a well-founded belief in the integrity of the party which provided the Government.

On the second day of the Conference the question of "direct action" was incidentally raised. The discussion turned upon the action of the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress in having failed to accede to a request made them by the Triple Alliance in April to convene a special National Conference of the Trade Union movement to consider the question of "direct action." Mr. Robert Smillie, President of the Miners' Federation, now moved that this decision should be referred back to the Committee, a motion which was tantamount to a vote of censure on them. He declared that the Committee had lost the confidence of the Trade Union movement, and that they must be taught that they were its servants and not its masters. He did not wish at present to raise the actual question of "direct action" but confined himself to the question whether the Committee were justified in having refused to give the movement an opportunity of expressing its feelings through a special Conference. Mr. Frank Hodges, the Miners' secretary, took the same line. The President gave an assurance that there would be another opportunity to determine the general question, but warned the delegates that if they accepted Mr. Smillie's motion it would be taken as a vote in favour of "direct action." In spite of this the Congress referred the question back by a majority of 710,000, the majority consisting mainly of the transport workers, railwaymen, engineers, and some of the smaller Trade Unions.

The third day of the meetings of the Trades Union Congress was devoted chiefly to a discussion of the question of nationalisation of mines. The subject was raised by Mr. Smillie who moved a resolution to the following effect:—

1. To condemn the proposals of the Government for the future organisation of the mining industry.
2. To pledge the Congress to help the miners in coercing the Government to accept nationalisation.
3. For this purpose to instruct the Parliamentary Committee to see the Prime Minister and insist on compliance by the Government.
4. To demand a special Congress to decide "the form of action to be taken to compel the Government."

Mr. Smillie, in his speech, referred to the toll of life and limb exacted by coal mining for private profit, and claimed that the miners had a right to control an undertaking in which their lives were invested. He protested that the miners were anxious that the nation should have an abundant supply of cheap coal, and suggested that this would not be obtained so long as the industry remained in private hands. He declared that nationalisation was wanted, not only in the interest of the miners but for the good of the community.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., who seconded the resolution, was chiefly concerned to counteract any prejudices against State

management of big industries or services, which might arise from the high level of railway fares and the dearness of coal under the present regime of State control. He expressed the view that the Government would be unlikely to yield. Ultimately the resolution was carried by a majority of 4,401,000. The only speaker on the other side was Mr. Havelock Wilson, and less than 100,000 votes were cast in his favour.

On the next day the issue of direct action was raised in the plainest possible form by a resolution moved by Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., of the weavers, which ran as follows: "This Congress declares against the principle of industrial action in purely political matters." The speech in which this declaration was submitted was addressed largely to the two foremost champions of direct action, Mr. Robert Smillie and Mr. Robert Williams. They were challenged to deny that their ambition was to evoke a revolution and establish the Soviet system in the United Kingdom. Neither of these gentlemen, however, took any part in the discussion, and the defence of direct action fell to Mr. Frank Hodges, who said that the resolution was academic and settled nothing, though he begged the Congress to reject it and retain their freedom. He denied that the adherents of direct action had any desire to overthrow the present constitution or establish Soviets, but he expressed confidence that the workers would use their power "to rid society of an institution which thwarts the working classes." He argued that the present Parliament and Government had obtained their authority by false pretences; that the workers, whose political consciousness had only been half awake the previous November, were now thoroughly aroused and pulsating with fresh aspirations; that there was no constitutional channel by which they could exercise their influence and achieve their aims, and that they were consequently driven to accept "the philosophy and the concept of direct action." Mr. Hodges concluded with an expression of his belief that the antagonism between political and direct action would grow. He said that it would reach its pinnacle when the industrial classes challenged the existence of the capitalist system, and he warned his audience, in preparation for that day, which might be near, not to create a new tradition which would effectively prevent them from action at the great historical moment.

No decision of the matter was come to by the Congress, however, for the President accepted a motion for the "previous question" which was carried by a majority of 169,000.

The issue was again raised in an indirect form on the following day in a resolution moved by Mr. J. H. Thomas, which called for the repeal of the Conscription Acts and the immediate withdrawal of troops from Russia, and required, failing compliance by the Government with these demands, that a special Congress should be called "to decide what action shall be taken." Mr. Thomas devoted most of his speech to Russia, criticising

the supposed attempt to shift responsibility to General Rawlinson and bestowing high praise on Colonel Kelly, but his chief object was to secure a public investigation into all the facts of the situation. Mr. Smillie thereupon made a speech with more special reference to direct action, in the course of which he denied the allegations that he wanted to bring about a revolution. This, he said, was a mean and contemptible charge, for the revolution which he wanted was not (as the charge implied) an armed and bloody one. He stated that the miners had voted against the motion on the previous day in order to secure a straight vote. Mr. Tom Shaw, M.P., then expressed himself in favour of the resolution though an opponent of direct action.

The latter policy was then attacked by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., who accepted the assurances of the supporters of direct action that they did not desire riot and bloodshed, but warned them that these nevertheless would be the immediate results of their policy. Labour, he argued, had political power enough to capture the political machine if they were only sufficiently united and sufficiently active, but labour would destroy its hopes of accession to the seat of Government if it took a course which weakened the Labour Party in Parliament, confused labour in the country, and made enemies of all the other classes not included in labour. He laid stress on the great lesson of history, that permanent and sure progress was slow progress, and that civilisation could not be rebuilt in a day or in a generation. He insisted that they could not convert their friends by threats but must lead them and persuade them. Ultimately the resolution was carried almost unanimously.

While this decision was being taken voting by ballot was proceeding for the election of the Parliamentary Committee for the ensuing twelve months. The result was the re-election of thirteen out of sixteen members of the old Committee, including a majority of men known to be opposed to direct action, and the rejection of both the nominees of the Miners* Federation which had held two seats* on the old Committee. The new Parliamentary Committee unanimously elected Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., as chairman. At the close of the session on September 13 a resolution was carried expressing alarm at the grave situation in Ireland and the sympathy of the Congress with the Irish people "in their hour of repression," and its belief that the only solution of the Irish problem was the substitution of self-determination for military rule.

Mr. Lloyd George made his first public speech after the rising of Parliament, at the City Temple on September 17 before the International Brotherhood Congress. The Prime Minister said that he was anxious to avoid political controversy, feeling that this was a time for co-operation rather than controversy. He appealed for brotherhood between nations and brotherhood between classes. He said that he had sketched in broad outline the fundamental changes which he wished to see in the political,

social, and industrial conditions of the United Kingdom; and rather than accept the position of Leading Counsel for the old order of things he would throw up his brief. He referred to the great upheaval and the fundamental changes in Europe which had resulted from the war, and also to the changes at home in the hours of labour and the national attitude towards unemployment. Many more changes would have to come. Slums would have to go, and he hoped that the great armaments would disappear, as also the wretched misunderstandings between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom. He looked forward to seeing waste in every shape and form disappear and a new Britain spring up "freed from ignorance, insobriety, penury, poverty, squalor, and the tyranny of mankind over man," but these changes could only be effected by steady patient work. The spirit in which these tasks should be faced was the spirit of war, namely, comradeship of classes, a passionate desire to see justice done to all classes, deep sympathy with the wronged, and readiness among all ranks to make every necessary sacrifice to achieve right. Mr. Lloyd George called, therefore, for co-operation in the making of a new world. He upheld the League of Nations, not as a perfect thing, but as an organised attempt to substitute fair play for force. He pleaded also for fair play between employers and workpeople. If workmen merely considered how much they could extort from employers at the cost, perhaps, of the community, or if employers only asked at how low a price they could buy off labour, the result would be disastrous. He appealed for a national brotherhood in the building of a new Britain which should be a monument to the heroism of the immortal dead.

In the latter half of September a dispute arose which led to a strike in the Iron Foundry trade. A Conference was held at Manchester on the 19th to review the position in regard to the application for an advance of wages, and after long consideration it was decided that there was no alternative but to authorise the whole of the members of the Unions concerned, numbering 50,000, to come out on strike on the following day. The employers had intimated that they could consider no application for an advance in wages, and the Ministry of Labour had refused to make any attempt to bring representatives of the employers and workmen together to discuss the matter. The advance demanded was 15s. per week for men and 7s. 6d. per week for apprentices. Accordingly the strike began on September 20, causing serious apprehensions in the whole engineering industry. The Ministry of Labour at the same time issued a statement defending its action on the ground that the men were already bound by an agreement under which they were not at present entitled to make any further claim for an alteration in wages. **The** strike continued to the end of the year, and we shall again allude to it.

For the moment, however, it was eclipsed by a far more

formidable strike which took place on the railways. Unrest among railwaymen had been rife throughout the year, and we have had occasion to allude to it on several occasions, but the climax was reached in the last week of September when Mr. J. H. Thomas gave notice to the public that affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis in connexion with the question of standardisation which had been the subject of negotiation for six months past. The Government forthwith invited the railwaymen's Executive to meet them on September 25, to discuss the matter in dispute, and a statement was issued by the Ministry of Transport pointing out that the concessions already granted meant a permanent annual increase of 65,000,000l. in the Railway Wage Bill. To meet this charge all passenger fares would have to bear the 50 per cent. increase already imposed on ordinary bookings, and goods rates would have to be raised by more than 50 per cent. The discussion led to no agreement, and a national railway strike began at midnight of September 26. Almost immediately a number of war regulations were revived. Drastic restrictions were imposed on the use of light and fuel. Strict economy was called for in the consumption of food, and emergency rationing was ordered. A Cabinet meeting was held which was attended by Field-Marshal Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces, and Major-General Feilding, Commanding the London District. On the first day or two of the strike the stoppage of the train services was nearly complete throughout the country. Offers of service poured in from all quarters and large numbers of volunteers were taken on to fill the places of the strikers. The chief anxiety of the public at first concerned the milk supply, but this was greatly relieved by the decision to use Hyde Park as a depot to supply the capital with milk. Mr. Lloyd George, who was due to speak at Carnarvon on September 22, sent a telegram regretting his inability to fulfil the engagement, in the course of which he said that he could recall no strike entered into so lightly, with so little justification, and with such entire disregard for the public interest. He pointed out that the State was running the railways at a loss due mainly to the enormous increase made in the wages of the railway workers since the beginning of the war. He regarded the offer of the Government as generous since it at least doubled the pre-war wages of railway workers, and gave the lowest grade among them a minimum wage of 40s. a week, irrespective of the cost of living. The precipitancy of the action of the railwaymen gave him the impression of a deliberate and matured intention on the part of some individuals to seek a quarrel at any cost, and convinced him that it was not a strike for wages or better conditions. The Government believed that it had been engineered for some time by a small but active body of men who worked to exploit the labour organisations of the country for subversive ends. Finally, he expressed the intention of the Government to meet

the blow at the public welfare with all the resources at the disposal of the State.

The call for volunteers met with a large and immediate response and the situation gradually began to improve. By degrees strikers returned to work, and nearly every day there was an increase in the number of trains which the Railway Companies were able to run. Some minor acts of sabotage took place, but on the whole order was preserved. On October 1 prospects of a settlement seemed more hopeful. The Executive of the National Union of Railwaymen went to Downing Street to see the Prime Minister on the question of the resumption of negotiations, but Mr. Lloyd George made it clear that there could be no resumption of negotiations on the issues in dispute until the strikers had returned to work. The reason which he gave for this was that Ministers had their time fully occupied in providing for the necessities of the public, and were not in a position to devote time to further discussions with the railwaymen until they were relieved of these more important duties. Conferences continued at Downing Street through October 2, but the Government persistently refused to change its attitude, and in the evening it was announced that the negotiations had broken down.

Efforts were being made to induce other Trade Unions to come to the support of the railwaymen, but before taking any decision in this direction these Unions determined to make every effort towards mediation between the Government and the men. The Government made an offer of arbitration and also a proposal for a seven days' truce, but both these offers were rejected by the National Union of Railwaymen. At length the efforts of the mediators began to bear fruit. On October 1 the Transport Workers' Federation had convened a Conference attended by delegates from other organisations involved, or likely to be involved, and a Conciliation Committee was appointed of which Mr. Harry Gosling was the chairman. After the first unsuccessful attempt at mediation the Committee again met the Executive of the National Union of Railwaymen, and afterwards proceeded to Downing Street where they arranged that the railwaymen should once more visit Mr. Lloyd George on October 5. Representatives of the Transport Workers and Associated Unions accompanied the railwaymen at this interview, and at length a settlement was reached on the following basis: Work was to be resumed forthwith. On the full resumption of work, negotiations were to be continued with the understanding that they would be completed before December 31. Wages were to be stabilised in the United Kingdom at their present level up to September 20, 1920. Any time after August 1, 1920, it would be permissible to review them in the light of the circumstances then existing. No group of railwaymen in Great Britain was to receive less than 51s. so long as the cost of living was not less than 110 per cent, above pre-war

level. The strikers returning to work were to work harmoniously with the railway servants who had not struck, and no man was to be prejudiced in any way as the result of the strike. The arrears of wages which had been withheld in consequence of breach of contract were to be paid after the resumption of work.

The only point in which this agreement differed from the previous offer of the Government was in the stabilisation of wages at their existing level until September 30, 1920, instead of to the end of 1919. This concession, however, was a matter of form rather than of substance, for it was certain that prices would not fall before September, 1920, to a point at which a reduction of wages would have become operative under previous arrangements. The settlement was received with great satisfaction by the country and the firmness of the Government did something towards enhancing their prestige. In the evening a mass gathering of the members of the National Union of Railwaymen met at the Albert Hall to hear the terms of the settlement from their leaders. Mr. Cramp, the President of the Union, in opening the meeting claimed that the agreement was a victory for the strikers. The meeting, however, scarcely received it in that spirit. Nevertheless, the only clause to which they showed special hostility was that in which the railwaymen were required to work harmoniously with the men who had remained at, or returned to, work. But Mr. Thomas succeeded in securing the acquiescence of the men, pointing out that if there was victimisation it might be applied on both sides. Although the meeting clearly did not regard the terms in the light of a victory, their reception on the whole was good, and there was a general feeling that they were better than might have been expected.

With comparatively few local exceptions the railwaymen who had been on strike returned to work on October 6. The train services were greatly improved on nearly every line, and most of the Companies succeeded in running normal services on the following day. The parcel post service, which had been suspended, was resumed, and the general disorganisation quickly passed away. With the satisfactory settlement of this great and threatening strike the labour world passed for a time into a period of comparative quiescence.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST THREE MONTHS.

ALTHOUGH no great strikes disturbed the country during the end of the year questions of labour and rates of pay were never for very long in abeyance. We have already referred to the demand of the National Transport Workers' Federation for an increase of 12s. per week for tramway and omnibus workers all over the

country. The application was referred to a Court of Arbitration, the decision of which was announced on October 9. They awarded an increase in the War Bonus now being paid to transport workers of As. a week in the case of those of eighteen and over, and 2s. in the case of those under eighteen. The award took effect from the beginning of the first pay period following October 1 and was accepted as a solution of the difficulty.

It will be remembered that the Trades Union Congress had instructed its newly constituted Parliamentary Committee to interview the Prime Minister and insist on the adoption by the Government of the majority report of the Coal Industry Commission. Accordingly, on October 10, a joint deputation from the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, waited on the Prime Minister in Downing Street to demand the nationalisation of the coal industry. Mr. Smillie, in stating the case of the deputation, referred to the questions of the safety of miners and the unnecessary limitations imposed on production by the private ownership of mines and minerals. Furthermore, he insisted on the eagerness of the miners to promote not only their own interests but the interests of the general community.

In his reply the Prime Minister declared emphatically that on an economic and political question of this magnitude the whole nation, and not any section of the nation, must decide. The Government, he said, had never committed themselves to a blindfold acceptance of whatever the Sankey Commission might recommend. He thought that there never had been a more inopportune moment for pressing the claim for nationalisation than that time when the most dangerous labour dispute which had ever occurred had just been settled, and it had been a dispute between labour and the community. Mr. Lloyd George defended the proposals of the Government for the unification of the industry by districts on the ground that this would achieve all that was claimed for nationalisation including the establishment for the workpeople of a real share in the control of their industry. "The Government," he declared, "have definitely decided that we cannot undertake the State management of the mines." They had looked at the problem from every side and had reached their conclusions after the most mature reflection. The Government could only state clearly what their view was, and if this view was not acceptable to the nation there were means by which the nation could not only carry out nationalisation, but carry out the Government too. Finally, Mr. Lloyd George stated that a Bill would be introduced into Parliament in the autumn session in order to provide for a deduction from the amount which was payable to the mining royalty owners for their rights, and that that sum of money should be expended upon improving the conditions and amenities in the mining villages.

The strike of Iron Founders, which had begun in September,

still continued through October. In the middle of the month a ballot was taken as to the acceptance of terms of settlement, but resulted in a very large majority against acceptance. At the end of the month the stride was still in full force.

The Church Congress met at Leicester on October 14 for the first time since the outbreak of the war. The Bishop of Peterborough was in the chair, and in his opening address urged that it must not be laid to the blame of religion that war had not been averted. He said that the war unveiled the hideousness of the civilisation not based on religious principles, and he admitted that the Church, in common with the rest of Christendom, had failed to guide public opinion in such a way as to make war impossible. Turning to a critical examination of the influence of the Church of England on the national life, he emphatically declared that the need of the Church and the need of the nation was a living theology. The whole organisation of their worship should be lifted out of the slough of controversy. On the same day the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered a sermon calling for unity, not only among the Nonconformist Churches of England, but also the Church of Rome, and the Orthodox Churches of the East. He reminded his congregation that with the exception of the inauguration of the Christian Era the present time was the most important in the history of mankind, and if the regeneration of the world was to be won it was by the ever closer union of the Churches.

On the following day the Church doctrine of the future life was examined and its basis broadened. Dr. Inge frankly admitted that dogmatism was out of place, and that they could not go back to the very crude eschatology of the past. He said that we could no longer believe in a localised heaven and hell, and he could not pretend that the belief in the resuscitation of our bodies stood where it did. The Catholic doctrine was that the immortality of the soul might be demonstrated by philosophy apart from a revelation, but the proof left us without any definition of the self which was immortal. In the course of discussion the Rev. J. A. V. Magee denounced spiritualism as a grave peril to spiritual life, and the Archbishop of Canterbury stated that at the London Conference of Bishops in 1920 that subject would be considered in the light of careful inquiry which was then in preparation.

Another section of the Congress debated the questions of Christian ideals of education in the elementary school, the training colleges, and the continuation school. A very definite demand ran through the various addresses for a more religious atmosphere in the educational world. Later on the Christian ideals of citizenship and service were discussed. Mrs. S. A. Barnet appealed to the Church to face its responsibilities with regard to the provision of proper homes for the people, and urged that at a time when housing operations on a large scale were so necessary the Church should take the lead in securing

that the houses to be built should be of a character which would provide real homes for the people.

The chief subject of discussion on October 16 was the financial resources of the Church and the need for their reorganisation. The Rev. Dr. Headlam suggested the amalgamation of small livings and the formation of strong Diocesan Finance Committees to deal with all Church endowments within the diocese, all parochial property being managed by an agent responsible to the Committee. There should also be a rational arrangement of the dioceses of the country, a survey of the incomes of Deans and Chapters, and the proper endowment of Faculties of Theology in different Universities. The money for these reforms could be obtained from a more adequate and intelligent use of sums at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and by a Church Sustentation Fund. The Dean of York urged the need of legislation without which he thought that little could be done, and Canon Lacey put forward as the one great remedy the pooling of Church endowments.

Dealing with the self-government of the Church, the Rev. H. D. A. Major said that their relation with Parliament had some disadvantages, but they were slight compared with the advantages it gave of comprehensiveness and freedom in the Church. At the conclusion of the meetings the President commented on the astonishing unity of the Congress, and comparing it with Congresses of the past said that he saw in it much ground for encouragement.

The Government were much occupied with the problem of Ireland in the course of October, and a Cabinet Committee was appointed in order to make recommendations for the future government of that unfortunate country. The Committee consisted of ten Ministers, of whom Mr. Walter Long was chairman. The other members were, the Lord Chancellor (Lord Birkenhead); Mr. Shortt, the Home Secretary; Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education; Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Minister of Pensions; Sir Auckland Geddes, President of the Board of Trade; Sir Robert Home, Minister of Labour; Mr. Kellaway, Deputy-Minister of Munitions; Lord French, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Macpherson, the Chief Secretary for Ireland. On October 12 the Irish Government issued an official return of outrages which it attributed to the Sinn Fein movement between May 1, 1916, and September 30, 1919. The number of outrages so attributed was 1,293, of which 110 were in Ulster, 377 in Leinster, 182 in Connaught, and 624 in Munster. The list included 14 murders of military and police officials and 2 murders of civilians.

The Cabinet Committee named above held their first meeting on October 14, and decided to preserve strict secrecy about their proceedings and intentions. The urgency of reaching some solution was indeed emphasised almost daily. On October 19 another policeman was murdered in Dublin. He was on duty

in High Street when he saw three men standing together, and approached them in order to question them, whereupon they opened fire upon him with a revolver and he was killed. As in the case of other similar outrages the assailants succeeded in making good their escape.

The League of Nations Union opened its autumn campaign on October 13 by a meeting at the Mansion House, at which the Lord Mayor presided. A message was received from the King stating that it was not enough to have won the war, but that it was a supreme duty to take every measure to secure a lasting peace, for which nothing was more essential than a strong and enduring League of Nations. The success of the Covenant of Paris must depend upon the earnestness and sincerity of popular support, and he commended the cause to all the citizens of the Empire.

The chief speakers were Mr. Asquith and Lord Robert Cecil, who drew a picture of the dangers which at this moment threatened the League and its highest ideals. We had now the opportunity to reduce the chances of war to the lowest possible human limit, and if we allowed that opportunity to slip the penalty would certainly have to be paid. If we did not make the League a barrier against war we should have to fall back upon great and constantly growing armaments and upon the balance of power. Mr. Clynes, who also spoke, declared that the great masses of men still looked upon the League as of only secondary importance. Millions of working men, he said, considered that questions of wages and labour should take the first place. In this, however, they were wrong, and he pointed out that peace was the supreme interest of labour even more truly than it was the supreme interest of other sections of the community, because the material burden of war must bear hardest upon those who had the fewest resources when it began. Lord Robert Cecil also insisted on the need for economy, pointing out that there was nothing so expensive as war and the preparations for war. If the League could lighten that burden we should be able to face others much more readily.

The general problems before the nation were defined in two speeches by Mr. Lloyd George on October 16 and 17. In the first speech, delivered at Sheffield, he said that it was necessary to work more productively than we had ever done before. Our burdens were heavier than before the war and our needs were greater. The National Debt had risen from 635,000,000*l.* to nearly 8,000,000,000*l.* The first condition of prosperity was peace both at home and abroad. Capital must have confidence that its enterprise would be fairly rewarded, and labour must have confidence that it was not going to be thrown back into the quagmire out of which five years of war had extricated it at the cost of millions of lives. What was needed was a good understanding between labour and capital, and he expressed confidence that this could be achieved. He criticised the

competitive system in railway management on the ground that it led to inevitable waste which, he said, it was essential should be prevented. As regards the development of power, he commented on the fact that we had not approached the American standard in the use made of machinery in the course of production. The need of the country was as great as ever and it must be met by patriotism.

In his speech on the following day Mr. Lloyd George paid special attention to the question of economy and national expenditure. He pointed out that production and economy were not rival issues but supplementary to each other. Economy was necessary not only in public expenditure but for the whole nation for some years. He dismissed the idea that there could be a return to the times when there was a 1s. 2d. income tax. Temporary expenditure was in the main due to the Army and Navy, but there were also subsidies. Of these the bread subsidy would have to disappear very soon, and the coal subsidy had already gone. The railway subsidy was a question partly of distributing it among the rates, and these rates were being considered. He said that we had to keep the Army until peace was signed. There was only one Treaty of any importance still unsigned and that was the Turkish Treaty, delay in the settlement of which involved expense. He insisted that to cut down reproductive expenditure was false economy and would impoverish rather than enrich the country. Finally, he appealed for the help of the country in the difficult task which confronted him.

On October 21 the Prime Minister made another speech in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, to fulfil a promise which he had made that he would announce the agricultural policy of the Government. He said that agriculture was the greatest industry in the land, and that it should be the primary concern of every Government to promote it. He hoped that in this respect we should begin a new era. The land had been deserted in favour of the towns and oversea countries, and England had nearly suffered a great catastrophe in the war because of her neglect of the land. Germany, on the other hand, who had adopted a -different policy, had been able to hold out for over four years. He cited the experience of Denmark as showing what could be done by a real partnership between the State and the farming industry. He pointed out that owing to the adverse balance of trade the exchange was against this country, and said that the only remedy was greater production, and that agriculture must have the greatest share in the increase. Exports must be increased, imports must be diminished. The Corn Production Act had given to the farmer a certain measure of security so that home-grown wheat was now three-fifths of the total instead of two-fifths as before the war. The first condition of a settled policy was security to the cultivator from the violent fluctuations of foreign agriculture. A guarantee must be given to the

farmer covering a sufficient period of years. The Government proposed, therefore, that the farmer should be secured in his tenancy unless the land was sold for public purposes, or he was a bad cultivator. Increases of rent were to be fixed by agreement or arbitration. The farmer on his side must guarantee to secure the maximum production. The agricultural labourer would have a guarantee of a minimum wage and better hours. When once the industry had been placed on a firmer foundation it would be easier for the cultivator to negotiate credit facilities for development. Mr. Lloyd George called upon the banks to provide help in this respect, and finally urged that strong and bold steps should be taken to lure the population back to the land, emphasising especially the need for cottages with land and a revival of rural industries.

The campaign in the country was not limited purely to Government speakers. On the same day that Mr. Lloyd George was describing his agricultural policy Mr. Asquith addressed a meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, in which he dealt chiefly with the financial situation. He expressed the opinion that it would be necessary to choose between an indefinite increase of the income tax or some form of charge on realised or realisable wealth. Large accumulations of wealth had been made during the war which ought in justice and in equity to be made contributory to our most pressing burden, the debt created by the war. Mr. Asquith stated that he had himself urged the Government during the war to institute an inquiry into the policy and practicability of a capital levy, and said that he still regarded such an inquiry as an absolute necessity. As regards what was called "nationalisation," he was not prepared without better evidence to submit the daily details of the working of a great industry to a set of Government officials. He insisted that the primary and supreme duty of Liberals was to rescue the country from a morass, and that the first means to this end was to develop and employ all the resources of an organised opposition.

Parliament reassembled on October 22 after the recess, and the first business to be taken was the report stage of the Aliens Bill. A new clause was moved providing that no firm in the United Kingdom should employ aliens to a greater number than 25 per cent, of the total of persons employed. The amendment was resisted by Mr. Shortt, who said that it was intended rather to provide work for British subjects than to keep out undesirable aliens. This clause, which had already been rejected in a somewhat different form in the Standing Committee, was again defeated by 205 votes to 130.

The debate on this Bill was continued to the following day when the Government suffered a decided defeat. The Standing Committee had amended the Bill to provide that no alien should hold a pilotage certificate for any port in the United Kingdom. Mr. Shortt explained that this would conflict with the terms of

a convention agreed between the French and British Governments and embodied in the Pilotage Act of 1913; he therefore moved an addition to the clause suspending its operation in cases which came under the terms of that convention. The point itself was not important, but there appeared to be some feeling antagonistic to the Government, and when the matter had been pressed to a division Mr. Short's amendment secured only 113 votes against 185, the majority against the Government thus being 72. The House thereupon adjourned on a motion by Mr. Bonar Law.

The Government, after considering what steps they should take, decided that they could not accept this verdict of the House of Commons. Accordingly, when the Bill came up again on October 27, Mr. Bonar Law moved an amendment, whose effect was very much the same as that of the previous amendment, providing that nothing in the Act should prevent the renewal and issue of certificates entitling a pilot of French nationality to navigate ships into the ports of Newhaven and Grimsby. He explained that when the Pilotage Act was passed in 1913 the matter under discussion had been pressed with great strength by the President of the French Republic, and that agreement had only been reached after a long series of negotiations. He attributed the defeat in the previous week to a desire of the House to support its Standing Committee which had dealt with the Bill; and after some debate the House at length agreed to go back on its previous decision and accept the amendment which was carried without a division.

Towards the end of October financial questions were discussed in both Houses of Parliament. In the House of Lords the subject was raised by Lord Buckmaster who moved a resolution to the effect that in the opinion of the House it was essential that further taxation should be immediately imposed. Lord Buckmaster calculated that the annual provision for the National Debt amounted to 400,000,000l., and urged that the only alternative to increased taxation was national bankruptcy. He urged that a very high income tax would be necessary with generous deductions on the lower scale, and he thought also that a War Profits Tax would have to be applied. Lord Milner, who replied on behalf of the Government, criticised the figures which had been given by Lord Buckmaster. He preferred a confiscation of profits due to the war rather than a general tax on capital, though he doubted whether either could be carried through without grave injustice. He stated that the yield of the income tax was steadily going up, but it appeared that neither speaker thought that economies would be sufficient to meet the situation on the existing basis of taxation. The debate was continued on October 29 and the motion was subsequently lost by a majority of 39.

In the House of Commons the subject arose on a motion by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which the House was

committed to a support of the Government in all reasonable proposals, however drastic, for the reduction of expenditure and the diminution of debt. Mr. Chamberlain admitted that the position was grave, but he stated that it was distinctly better than he had feared it would be in August last. The revenue was coming in exceedingly well. Customs and excise would bring in 38,500,000*l.* more than the Budget estimate. Tea would yield an additional 4,000,000*l.* and tobacco an additional 14,000,000*l.* He then announced that in view of this improved situation he did not think that any new taxation would be needed next year to balance incomings and outgoings. The actual increase of expenditure over the Budget estimate was 183,000,000*l.* He said that for years the Treasury had been under-staffed and hampered in the proper exercise of control over expenditure, but it had now been reorganised and its hands strengthened. As regards the subsidies which were being paid, that on coal was practically at an end. In the case of the railways it would end with the coming revision of rates. The out-of-work donation would cease on November 21, and the Government looked forward to terminating the bread subsidy as soon as possible. The Army and Navy also were being rapidly reduced in numbers.

As to the debt, he had already reduced the total floating debt by 126,000,000*l.* and the ways and means advances by 212,000,000*l.*, but unless a new loan were issued he would have to expect an increase in Treasury Bills during the current year. He said that there was no present need for a second Budget or for the immediate imposition of taxation. He expressed himself as still opposed to the idea of a general capital levy, but he would not dispute the equity of a special levy on wealth accumulated by reason of or during the war. The Inland Revenue Department had already been instructed to report on it, and he proposed that it should be inquired into by a Select Committee. In conclusion Mr. Chamberlain declared that our future safety must lie in greater production, but on the position as now disclosed no additional taxation would be required to balance future Budgets, nor any further borrowings on Revenue Account after this year.

Sir Donald Maclean commented on the change of attitude which the Chancellor had adopted since the previous August, and Mr. Adamson likewise expressed disappointment with the Chancellor's speech. In the country generally it was understood as a new and urgent call to economy.

On the following day Mr. Clynes expressed the views of the Labour Party, and suggested that 1*s.* a week on wages to the poor would be more economical than the bread subsidy, and that Government provision of employment would be better than an unemployment dole. Arguing in favour of a capital levy, he said that the poor in this war had already paid as much as the rich man could. Four times as much would be paid in interest on the war debts as would be paid on the war pensions.

to the victims of the war. The distribution of the burdens was unequal between rich and poor; money should not have more reverence than life and limb. He declared in favour of greater production, but insisted that the workman must have a share in the rewards of higher production, and also a guarantee that his increased exertion would not lead to the unemployment of others. Mr. Lloyd George, who then replied, pointed out that there were some economies, as for instance in education, which we could not afford. He said that economy was not mere cutting down but wise expenditure. He insisted on the continued need for patriotism now that the war had ceased. Finally, the Government's motion was carried by a majority of

The only remaining Bill of importance introduced during October was the War Emergency Laws (Continuation) Bill, the second reading of which was carried on October 28. The purpose of the Bill was to prolong the validity of certain statutes passed for the duration of the war, and also certain regulations made under the Defence of the Realm Act. This latter provision excited considerable hostility among members, and Mr. Bonar Law admitted that the Government disliked the Defence of the Realm Act, though he affirmed that parts of it were still necessary. The second reading was finally carried by a majority of 170.

At the end of October the Government reverted once again to a Peace Cabinet. The announcement was made in reply to a question in the House of Commons on October 27, when the personnel of the Peace Cabinet was given as follows:—

Lord Privy Seal	Mr. Bonar Law.
Lord President of the Council	Mr. Balfour.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Chamberlain.
The Member for the Gorbals Division of Glasgow - -	Mr. Barnes.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland or the Chief Secretary - -	Lord French or Mr. Macpherson.
Lord Chancellor	Lord Birkenhead.
Secretary of State for the Home Department - -	Mr. Shortt.
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs	Lord Curzon.
Secretary of State for the Colonies	Lord Milner.
Secretary of State for War and Air	Mr. Churchill.
Secretary of State for India - - - - -	Mr. Montagu.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Mr. Long.
Secretary for Scotland	Mr. Munro.
President of the Board of Trade	Sir Auckland Geddes
Minister of Health	Dr. Addison.
President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries -	Lord Lee of Fareham.
President of the Board of Education -	Mr. Fisher.
Minister of Labour	Sir Robert Home.
Minister of Transport	Sir Eric Geddes.

This Cabinet consisted of eleven Unionists, eight Liberals, and one Labour member, and it was noteworthy for the inclusion of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which was a sign of the importance which the Government attached to Irish questions. The decision had been made in response to an increasing desire

that Parliamentary Government should return to the normal working, and it had even been pressed upon the Prime Minister privately that the time had come for him to resume regular attendance at the House of Commons. He then promised that he would be in his place to answer questions at least once a week which he hoped would later on develop to twice a week.

At the beginning of November a new Bill was introduced for dealing with strikes, entitled the Industrial Courts Bill. Its main object was to establish on a permanent basis an Industrial Court to take the place of the Interim Court of Arbitration created under the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act for the purpose of voluntary arbitration in trade disputes. The Court was to consist of persons appointed by the Minister of Labour. Either party to a dispute might under the Bill report the matter to the Minister of Labour who, with the consent of both parties, might refer it for settlement either to the Court or to arbitration by a special arbitrator, or to any other suitable machinery which might exist. The Bill gave power to the Minister of Labour to appoint Courts of Inquiry to investigate the causes and circumstances of disputes and to make reports for submission to Parliament. These Courts were authorised to require the production of documents and the appearance of witnesses and to take evidence on oath. The second reading of this Bill was moved on December 6, when Sir Robert Home gave a history of the circumstances under which it had been evolved, but pointed out that it was disastrous for the State to go on interfering with wages indefinitely, while on the other hand instability had drawbacks which were even worse. He proposed, therefore, to stabilise wages until the end of September next by extending the Wages Regulation Act, and in the meantime to set up a Court of Arbitration and Courts of Inquiry so as to ensure the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes on principles of equity. The Court would be appointed by the Minister of Labour and would consist of representatives of employers and workmen, and of independent persons. As originally drafted the Bill had contained an element of compulsion, but this had been abandoned, and its operation would depend upon the goodwill of the disputants.

The Bill was criticised by Mr. Clynes who disliked political interference in trade disputes, and the rejection was moved and seconded by Mr. Remer and Sir Frederick Banbury, but the second reading was ultimately carried without a division.

On the report of the financial resolution for the Industrial Courts Bill, Sir Frederick Banbury moved an amendment to limit the expenditure on the new Industrial Court, but this was defeated and the resolution agreed to without a division. On the report stage Mr. Clynes moved that the Bill should be divided into two, one dealing with the establishment of an Industrial Court and Courts of Inquiry in connexion with trade disputes, and the other to continue for a limited period

certain of the provisions of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, 1918. He said that the Labour members were as anxious as any other section of the House to devise conciliatory methods of composing or preventing differences. The acceptance of Mr. dynes' amendment was urged by Mr. Thomas but resisted by Sir R. Home, and was rejected by a majority of 158. On November 12 an amendment was moved on behalf of the Labour Party for the purpose of definitely continuing until the end of September, 1920, the provisions of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, but this amendment was also negatived. The main exceptions taken by the Labour Party to the Bill were in respect of the two clauses which rendered it optional on the part of employers to refer disputes to arbitration and to carry out awards given as the result of such procedure. It was contended that in both cases the Bill should be made compulsory. Nevertheless they agreed to support the third reading which accordingly was carried in the latter half of November.

On the conclusion of the great strike on the railways negotiations were quickly resumed between the Executive of the National Union of Railwaymen and the Prime Minister on the new standard rates of wages and the position of railwaymen in relation to the control of railways. An offer was made by the Government to set up machinery as follows: three Union representatives to join the Railway Executive with co-equal powers to the General Managers; a Joint Board composed of five General Managers and five representatives of the Unions to deal with conditions of service; and a body to which questions might be referred on which the Joint Board failed to agree. This body was to consist of twelve persons, four being representatives of the men, four of the Railway Companies, and four of the public, with an independent chairman. Finally, bodies were to be set up locally with an equal number of both management and men to deal with grievances. Mr. J. H. Thomas, in commending this offer to a meeting of railwaymen at Bristol on November 16, expressed the opinion that while it could not render strikes impossible yet it would do much to ensure smooth working on the railways of the country. He hoped that the railwaymen would accept the scheme, not as a final goal, but as a stepping-stone on the road to equal power and equal authority with the management.

The Aliens Bill was again before the House of Commons at the beginning of November, and on the report stage Sir Auckland Geddes moved an amendment providing that no alien should be employed in a British ship at a rate of pay less than the standard rate of pay for the time being ruling in British ships for his rating. The amendment was supported by Mr. Havelock Wilson and carried by 221 votes to 53. On the following day much time was devoted to the consideration of a clause which required every enemy alien to be deported forthwith unless he had been granted a special licence to remain.

The rejection of this clause was moved by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Guinness, who thought it most unfair that the cases of these aliens should be gone into again in view of the fact that they had already been heard and decided upon during the war. Opinion seemed to be much divided as to the justice of this clause, and the Government decided to leave the voting to the discretion of the House. The clause was then carried by 110 votes, and shortly afterwards the House passed the third read-

The second reading of the Enabling Bill was moved by Sir E. Beauchamp on November 7 in the House of Commons. He stated that the Bill proposed to devolve the duty of legislating for the Church on an elective assembly of Church members. He said that within the last thirty years 217 Church Bills had been introduced into the House of Commons, of which thirty-three had been passed, one had been rejected, and 183 had not been heard of again. He pointed out that the Bill did not affect the fundamental constitution or character of the National Church, and he denied that Parliament would lose effective control over Church legislation. Moreover, under the present system, gross abuses continued year after year, such as the sale of advowsons and the irremovability of incumbents who were unfit for their calling. The Bill provided that reforms should be drafted by the assembly, referred to an Ecclesiastical Committee of the Privy Council, and then lie on the table of the House of Commons. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. Broad, who thought that the aims of the Church would best be realised by disestablishment and disendowment. He insisted that if the Bill passed, Parliamentary supervision over the Church practically ceased and the Anglican Church would be independent of Parliament. The only way the Church could obtain freedom was by disestablishment, which would terminate a great injustice by which one section of the people were favoured. The rejection was seconded by Major Barnes and the Bill was then defended by Lord Robert Cecil, who denied that it took away any rights or privileges from anyone. All that the Bill proposed to do, he said, was to facilitate legislation affecting the Church by allowing it to pass through Parliament without the encumbrance of existing forms. The case for the Bill was that there were very urgent abuses in the Church which required to be dealt with. Ultimately the second reading was carried by a majority of 288.

On November 5 the House went into Committee of Supply on the further vote on account of 118,000,000*l.* for army services. The debate turned chiefly upon affairs in Russia. Mr. Churchill said that the Bolsheviks had robbed Russia both of peace and victory. With a little more patience she would have had both. He added that the Government overthrown by the Bolsheviks was not the Government of the Czar but an entirely democratic Government. A notable speech was made by Colonel Ward,

who argued that the Russians were much like other people, and that the Russian revolution was following much the same course as other revolutions, and that the cruelties on either side were neither worse nor better than usual at such times.

A day or two later the Prime Minister spoke on the situation in Russia, and announced the intentions of the Government. He stated that the Supreme Council of the Allies early in the year had made an offer to organise peace among the warring sections and afford the Russian people an opportunity of deciding for themselves by peaceable means in what way they desired to be governed. He added that unfortunately no section of Russia was ready; all were bent on conquest, but he hoped that the time was not distant when the Powers would be able to renew that attempt with a better prospect of success. On November 13 a number of questions were put to Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons asking for a further announcement as to the Government policy in Russia. He said that with regard to the so-called peace advances from the Soviet Republic the Allied Governments had always declined to take any action on communications which purported to come from the Governments of hostile countries through irresponsible agencies. No person had on his behalf interviewed representatives of the Bolsheviks to ascertain whether it would be possible to begin peace negotiations. He said that there had been no departure from the former policy of the Government in the matter. He had repeatedly made it clear that with the crushing financial burden already cast upon the country by the war the Government could not contemplate the resumption of new obligations of this nature. He pointed out that there had been no provision made for any additional expenditure on Russia. On the other hand, the Government had an overwhelming sense of the importance of bringing peace to Russia, and for that reason they had always been ready to take any reasonable opportunity to effect a settlement on terms which would really bring peace and good order to Russia and would be acceptable to the Russians themselves.

The subject was again raised in the House of Commons on November 17 when Sir Donald Maclean insisted that the Government had no settled policy with regard to our relations with Russia. He alleged that there was a difference of opinion between the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War, who held that Bolshevism was an evil thing which ought to be repressed by force of arms. Mr. Lloyd George again took the opportunity of speaking, saying that every one agreed as to the horror of both the principles and the practice of the Bolshevik regime in Russia, but admitting that it was not easy to deal with the situation. He instituted an elaborate parallel between the Bolsheviks and the Jacobins of the French Revolution. Lord Robert Cecil, like other speakers, denounced Bolshevism, but pressed the conclusion that active intervention was useless.

He said that you could not destroy the evil- thing by force, and alleged that the chief feeling in Russia at the present time was the desire for peace. The policy of the Labour Party was expounded by Mr. Henderson, and traversed by Colonel Ward, who insisted that as we had gone to Russia for our own war purposes we had acquired solemn responsibilities to the loyalists which we could not repudiate when they had served our purpose and danger no longer threatened us.

The inquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Lords into the dismissal of Miss Violet Douglas-Pennant from the Women's Royal Air Force was ended on November 11. In the course of the inquiry Miss Douglas-Pennant had made a number of charges which the Committee thought advisable to deal with at once. Accordingly, as soon as the inquiry was ended the chairman, Lord Wrenbury, said that the Committee would take the unusual course of announcing some of their conclusions. Grave accusations had been hanging for months over the heads of several persons, and the Committee found that these accusations were untrue. An accusation of general immorality at Hurst Park Camp was entirely unsupported by any evidence, and a number of persons who had been definitely named by Miss Douglas-Pennant were explicitly exonerated by the Committee whose findings on this matter were unanimous. The report of the Committee on Miss Douglas-Pennant's dismissal was not issued till later.

On November 12 Major-General Seely, Under-Secretary of State for Air, announced his resignation of that office and made a speech in the House of Commons giving his reasons. He expressed the opinion that the arrangement by which Mr. Churchill was both War Minister and Air Minister could not be made to work. Each of these separate departments required a Minister to itself. Another reason which he gave for dissatisfaction with the present system was that the Admiralty was left out. He asked how the First Lord of the Admiralty could appeal to the Air Ministry for a proper allocation of funds and of energy when he was really addressing the Secretary of State for War. The Air Ministry was virtually a subordinate office, an annexe of the War Office, and he considered the results inimical to the good of the country. General Seely's speech was followed by a few words from Mr. Bonar Law, who expressed regret for his resignation, and said that it was entirely due to difference of opinion between General Seely and the Government,

The continuance of the unemployment donation was the subject of a debate on November 19. Sir Robert Home proposed to continue unemployment pay to soldiers till next March but to stop it for all others. He said that the rate of unemployment was very low, about 24 per cent. The unemployment donation had been begun as an insurance premium against wholesale distress, but that argument no longer held as it was now about half the average for some fifteen years before

the war. Mr. Clynes insisted that the Government, in beginning the donation, had admitted the duty of finding work for the unemployed, and Sir Edward Carson commented on the small economy that was achieved by cutting off the dole from those who had not been soldiers. Sir Donald Maclean suggested that out-of-work payment should be continued for a few weeks until the Government had produced its scheme for dealing with unemployment by insurance or in some other way. The great majority of the speakers were opposed to the Government, who defended their proposals purely on the ground of economy. However, in view of the debate, Mr. Bonar Law said the House should itself be the judge of the matter, and the Government Whips were taken off. Sir Robert Home's proposals were then carried by 217 to 123.

Much interest was raised by the introduction in the House of Commons on November 19 of the Imports and Exports Regulation Bill, which was described by *The Times* as a typical product of bureaucracy. It gave power to the Board of Trade to prohibit by order the importation of goods at prices below the selling prices in the country of manufacture. The embargo was to be withdrawn on payment of the difference between the two prices. It also gave power to the Board of Trade to prohibit by order the importation of fifteen specified classes of goods including dyes, optical glass, and magnetos. The importation of goods which would compete unfairly with the products of home industries affected by a depreciation of foreign currency might also be prohibited. As regards exports the Board of Trade were empowered to prohibit the exportation for three years from the end of the war of eleven specified articles, including gold and silver coin, fuel, meat, wheat, sugar, opium, and cocaine. It was clear from the start that this Bill would unite the forces of the Opposition groups against it, and an amendment for the rejection of the Bill on its second reading was immediately tabled, the main exception taken to it being its reversal of the traditional policy of Free Trade.

Some discussion was raised on the report stage of the Electricity Bill, in the course of which Sir Auckland Geddes explained that its chief motive was to spread industries more evenly over the country, and to limit the further growth of already overgrown cities. In opposition to the Bill it was urged that it constituted a breach of the agreement made in Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's Act of 1888 securing a term of forty-two years for the activities of Electricity Companies. On the whole, however, the Bill had the approval of the House and the third reading was passed on November 26.

The question of coal control was much to the fore during November. On the 4th of the month a debate took place in the House of Commons, in the course of which Mr. Brace, on behalf of the miners, demanded the immediate appointment of a Select Committee to investigate and report upon the following matters:—

1. The suitability or otherwise of Mr. A. E. Duncan who had recently been appointed Coal Controller. •

2. The working of the Coal Control Department as a branch of the Board of Trade.

3. The imposition of 6s. a ton upon coal prices, and whether it should be continued, reduced, or cancelled.

4. The methods adopted by the Coal Controller's Department for compensating capital invested in the coal industry.

5. The amount of money which the Government had received through the Excess Profits Tax on the coal industry.

6. The cause of the decline in output and the remedy for it.

The Government were so far impressed with the views of the Labour Party that they invited the leaders of the miners to a Conference to settle the terms of reference of the Committee of Inquiry which they had promised to set up, and the invitation was accepted. On November 24 Sir Auckland Geddes announced the policy of the Government in the House of Commons. He said that they proposed gradually to transform the machinery of coal control until it consisted of three parts only: (1) A limitation on the amount of coal allowed to be exported; (2) a limitation on the owners' profits; (3) a special limitation on the price of coal supplied for domestic purposes. But the part of his announcement which excited by far the most interest was that there was to be an immediate reduction of 10s. in the price of domestic and household coal. He pointed out that owing to the strike in America the prices ruling for export coal were unprecedentedly high, and he thought that the British consumers should participate in the profits which were consequently being made. The announcement was received with much surprise; for it was only during the summer that the price had been increased by 6s. a ton as already recorded, but that decision had not foreseen that American coal would temporarily be put out of the market by a great strike. Both Houses of Parliament discussed the new situation at the end of November. In the House of Lords Lord Gainford put the point of view of the colliery owners. In the House of Commons Mr. Brace moved a resolution on behalf of the Labour Party to the effect that a Select Committee should be appointed on the lines referred to above. The Government, however, were unwilling to extend the area of the Committee's inquiries as widely as the Labour Party wished, and they treated Mr. Brace's motion as a vote of censure. The Labour Party, during the debate, expressed dissatisfaction with the working of the coal control, preferring that it should be managed by methods that were not open to the charge of bureaucracy. Nearly all the Labour speakers called for greater efficiency. Mr. Brace said that he was all for co-operation, but contended that the Government would not let them co-operate. Since the Government had treated Mr. Brace's motion as a vote of censure, the result of the division was a foregone conclusion, and the motion was defeated by 195 votes.

Towards the end of November the position in Ireland became even more acute than it had been before. On the 21st a notice was issued from Dublin Castle to the effect that no ameliorations of prison treatment would be given in the case of prisoners who had been convicted of offences which in themselves were criminal even though the motive might have been political. A few days later a proclamation was issued suppressing the Sinn Fein and kindred organisations throughout Ireland. Some weeks previously these bodies had already been proclaimed in the City and County of Dublin, the City of Cork, and the Counties of Clare and Tipperary, but the new proclamation extended the suppression of Sinn Fein to the remainder of Ireland. These measures, however, had no effect in discouraging lawlessness or even in driving it under the surface. Crimes of violence continued to increase in number and audacity, and the Irish Correspondent of *The Times* wrote that he had never known the state of Ireland to be more disquieting than it was now. The accuracy of this opinion was quickly confirmed, as will be seen when we come to deal with the month of December.

While great anxiety was caused by the continued unsettled state of Ireland, Egypt was also another source of grave misgiving. On November 25 a question was asked in the House of Lords as to the state of Egypt, and also whether any information was available as to the scope of the mission which had proceeded to that country under Lord Milner. Lord Curzon took the opportunity to make an important speech upon the whole situation. He pointed out that Egypt had not been annexed in 1914 but had become a British Protectorate. The word Protectorate had no precise legal significance, but covered the whole range from a very high to a very low political status; from Lord Dufferin's mission forty years previously down to the mission of Lord Milner, our policy in Egypt had been one of progressive development of self-governing institutions. It was not to be thought that a race like the Egyptians, with their long history and high culture, should be merely subordinate. On the contrary, the object of the mission was to devise means for raising the political status of Egypt. The departure of Lord Milner's mission had been delayed by the failure to conclude the Turkish Treaty of Peace, which would embody a recognition of the British Protectorate. Lord Curzon said that Egypt could not stand alone, but her safety and welfare was a British interest of capital importance. The Treaty could not affect the present situation; Egypt must cease once and for all to look to Turkey, and must fix her hopes on the Power that had done so much for her welfare in the past.

For a considerable time an agitation had been on foot among the miners as to the question of a strike against income tax being charged on incomes below 250l. a year. A ballot was taken of the South Wales Miners' Federation in order to deter-

mine the question, and on December 1, a Delegate Conference met at Cardiff to consider the result. The figures then announced showed a very small majority in favour of the strike, the numbers being 73,307 for, and 72,837 against, a majority of 470. In the discussion which ensued at the Conference it was urged that it was not only impolitic but dangerous to embark on a strike which might prove both futile and disastrous, and that the majority was too narrow to justify the Conference in calling out the men. On the other hand, the advocates of a strike maintained that they would be technically correct in insisting on a stoppage. After a long debate it was decided to defer action pending a Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain at which a request would be made that the National Federation should take a ballot of the miners throughout the whole country on the subject.

A special Trades Union Congress was held in London on December 9 and 10, to consider resolutions submitted by the Parliamentary Committee. These resolutions dealt with a variety of subjects. As regards the nationalisation of mines the Congress was asked to defer its decision as to action to compel the Government until a further Congress early in 1920. As regards the cost of living profiteering was denounced, and effective Government control of raw materials was demanded together with national ownership of land, mines, minerals, railways, and other means of transport. It was also proposed to revise the constitution of the Congress so as to provide for a central co-ordinating body to deal with questions of national importance. Moreover, the Parliamentary Committee was to make arrangements in conjunction with the Labour Party and the co-operative movement for research, legal advice, and publicity. Mr. J. H. Thomas, who was in the chair, opened the proceedings by saying that the Glasgow Congress had decided in an unmistakable manner that the mines of the country should not only be State owned but State controlled. The Government, however, had refused to accept the proposals of the Congress and it now fell to them to decide what further steps they should take. A motion was then brought forward by Mr. Thome on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee proposing to defer the decision to an adjourned Congress which should be held after the reassembling of Parliament in February, 1920. Mr. Smillie gave a warning to the Government against testing the patience of miners and organised labour too much. He did not think they would convert the House of Commons to their view as it was at present constituted. He accused the Government of having gone back on their word with regard to the Sankey Report because of the power of the coal-mining industry. He supported, however, with regret, the motion for postponement, and it was carried unanimously.

A motion was then brought forward attributing to excessive profits the main cause of industrial unrest, and demanding that

the Government should take immediate steps to secure effective control of raw materials required for the manufacture of vital commodities, and reaffirming the previous resolution that complete national ownership and control of land, mines, minerals, railways, shipping, and other means of transport, was the only effective method of securing for the community adequate protection against monopoly and profiteering interests. An addendum to this resolution was made calling upon the Government to accept the remedial measures as to food, clothing, coal, raw material, transport, housing, finance, and Commissions of Inquiry, contained in a memorandum for the reduced cost of living which had been submitted to the Congress by the Miners' Federation. This resolution was also carried unanimously.

At the meeting of the Congress on December 10, a report was given of an interview which the Parliamentary Committee had had with the Prime Minister. Mr. Thomas, Chairman of the Committee, said that the deputation had demanded that the Government should provide work since it had now abolished unemployment donations. In reply the Prime Minister had stated that the Government would introduce a Bill before Christmas for a comprehensive national scheme of unemployment insurance. Mr. Thomas said that the deputation had also demanded absolute and immediate withdrawal of all direct and indirect support to the Anti-Soviet parties in Russia. In reply to this the Prime Minister had stated that the policy outlined was the policy of the Government, and that there was no disagreement between them. Finally, the deputation had demanded the immediate repeal of the Military Service Acts, and Mr. Lloyd George, while insisting on the danger of an attempt by Germany to evade the Peace Treaty, had expressed his hope that the last conscript would be out of the Army by January.

The Congress thereupon passed resolutions reaffirming the demands of the deputation with regard to unemployment and intervention in Russia. The latter resolution went farther than any previous declaration of the Congress. It called on the Government (1) to consider the peace overtures of the Soviet Government, (2) to raise the blockade and permit Russia to trade, and (3) to give passports to a delegation from the Congress to make an independent inquiry into conditions in Russia. The Parliamentary Committee were instructed to approach the Government again with these demands and to report to another special Congress in the following February.

Another topic which occupied the Congress was the Iron-moulders' strike which had now been continuing since September 20. Various efforts had been made without success to reach a settlement. On December 5 a Conference of shipbuilding and Engineering Trade Union delegates appointed a Committee of three to get into touch with the Iron Founders' Executive for the purpose of offering their services with a view to securing a settlement of the dispute. At length, on December 12, the

Executives of the three unions concerned in the strike met in Manchester and decided to accept the employers' offer of a Conference. On December 17 negotiations took place between representatives of the Engineering Employers' Federation and the Executives of the three Trade Unions. The employers placed before the workers certain new proposals which were considered by the workers' representatives and met by counter-proposals. Little came of these negotiations, however, and at the end of the year the strike was still in progress and was causing grave anxiety throughout all branches of the engineering and ship-building industries. The points in dispute had indeed become considerably narrowed, and prospects of a settlement began to appear more probable as the necessity became more urgent. The original demand of the moulders had been for an advance of 15s. a week for men and 7s. 6d. for boys, but later they expressed their willingness to accept an advance of 5s. which had been awarded them, under certain conditions, which, however, the employers would not accede to. On the last day of the year determined efforts were made to remove the obstacles to a settlement of the dispute. Sir Robert Home, Minister of Labour, came from Scotland to London to confer with Sir Allan Smith, M.P., Chairman of the Engineering Employers' Federation, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., President of the Iron Founders' Society; and prospects appeared more hopeful than at any previous period of the strike.

Much enthusiasm was caused by the return of the Prince of Wales from his tour in Canada and the United States. He arrived at Portsmouth in H.M.S. *Renown* on December 1, and both at the port and on his arrival in London he was given an enthusiastic reception by large crowds which gathered in the streets in spite of very unfavourable weather. In the evening a dinner was given at Buckingham Palace in honour of the Prince's return. The King, in proposing his son's health, said he was sure that the Prince had forged a strong new link between Canada and the Mother-country, and referred with pleasure to the affectionate welcome which had been given him in the United States. He said he was entirely satisfied with the way in which the Prince had carried out the two very important missions entrusted to him. The Prince, in his reply, spoke of the great pleasure which his tour had given him. It had, he said, intensified his wish to see more of the Empire, and he was looking forward keenly to visiting Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India in the near future.

On December 18 the Prince of Wales received an address of welcome from the Corporation of the City of London, in reply to which he delivered a speech which attracted wide attention. He said that he had been filled with admiration for what three or four generations had achieved in shaping the great Dominion of Canada. His journey had been an inspiring education which would influence the whole of his life, and he had come back with

a much clearer idea of what was meant by the British Empire, or, as it was often more appropriately called, the British Commonwealth. The Empire implied a partnership of free nations, and the united action of the British Empire in the war had been one of the factors least expected by the enemy and most effective in securing liberty. He said that the loyalty of the Dominions was in a very special sense loyalty to the Crown. For his own part he meant to travel through the Empire as much as he possibly could. The war had entirely put an end to the idea which used to prevail that Great Britain was played out. Our duty now was to show the world that we could work out our social, economic, and industrial problems with a general fairness and sympathy, striving whole-heartedly towards the goal of happier conditions of life. Finally, he said that the world was feeling lost at the present time, and it was up to the British nation to show the way. He felt sure that we would show the way and that we could.

The meeting of the House of Commons on December 1 was notable as being the first occasion in the history of the country when a lady had sat as a member of the House. Lady Astor had won a bye-election for the Sutton division of Plymouth, the vacancy being due to her husband's accession to the peerage. She was introduced into the House of Commons by the Prime Minister and Mr. Balfour.

The business of the day was the discussion of a motion by Mr. Bottomley, who moved a resolution to the effect that the Government should make an issue of investment and premium bonds, tax free, and redeemable at a fixed period with compound interest, a certain number of such bonds being drawn at intervals and paid off with a premium or prize attached. The proposal was to issue bonds at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, with the equivalent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, in prizes. Mr. Bottomley urged that such an issue would not be a lottery, the essence of which was that the purchaser lost his capital if he did not get a prize, but was really only a development of the principle adopted by the Government in its last issue of Victory bonds. He said the leading bankers were in its favour as well as many Church dignitaries. The proposal was seconded by Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke, but was opposed by Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Hugh Cecil, and Sir Frederick Banbury. The vote was left by the Government to the free choice of the House, and the resolution was ultimately defeated by a majority of 192.

On December 4 a speech was made by Mr. Bonar Law at Glasgow, and on December 6 one by Mr. Lloyd George, both insisting on the necessity for the maintenance of the present Coalition. Mr. Lloyd George devoted himself specially to meeting the views of the Liberal section of the Coalition. He urged the continuance of unity on the ground of the state of affairs still existing in Europe, the watchful enemy across the Rhine, the task of establishing the general peace, our own domestic

problems, and the fearful menace of Bolshevism. He said that the alternative to the Coalition was confusion. With regard to the Irish question in particular, he despaired of ever reaching a settlement if he had the support of only one party behind him. He expressed his belief in the policies both of Home Rule and of Free Trade.

An announcement was made by Sir Eric Geddes on December 8 as to the progress of the negotiations with the Railwaymen's Unions. On the question of wages he said that no public statement could yet be made. On the question of control, however, he announced that an arrangement had been reached to the effect that during the present control of railways under the Ministry of Transport Act, questions of wages and conditions of service should be dealt with by a Central Board consisting of five railway managers and five representatives of the Trade Unions. Failing agreement by this Central Board, matters in dispute would be referred to a National Wages Board consisting of four railway managers, four railway workers, and four users of railways, with an independent chairman appointed by the Government. He said that it had been agreed by the Unions concerned that no strike should take place on account of a dispute arising on these matters until one month after the question in dispute had been referred to the National Wages Board. Finally, he said that the Railway Executive Committee, as such, would cease to exist, and that its place would be taken by an Advisory Committee consisting of twelve general managers and four representatives of the workers.

The dearth of houses still continued to give great and increasing cause for anxiety, and on December 3 the Government introduced the Housing (Additional Powers) Bill, the main provisions of which were :—

1. To give statutory effect to the decision of the Government to pay a subsidy to private builders up to a maximum of 150l. a house.

2. To authorise Local Authorities to finance their housing schemes by the issue of local bonds on the lines of the interim report of the Treasury Committee on housing finance.

3. To arrest purely luxury building.

4. To amend the main Act passed earlier in the year in particulars where it had been found wanting.

The most novel provision in the Bill was the financial scheme, as regards which the Government accepted the chief recommendations of the Treasury Committee on Housing Finance, of which Mr. W. H. N. Goschen had been the Chairman. Its most important recommendation was that Local Authorities should be empowered to issue 5½ per cent, local bonds for five, ten, and twenty years, the interest to be free of income tax in the case of holders of less than 500l. of the bonds.

The second reading of this Bill was moved in the House of

Commons by Dr. Addison, who described its main features. Its rejection was moved by Mr. T. Thomson on the ground that it embodied the policy of taking advantage of public necessity as an opportunity for subsidising private interests. The rejection was seconded by Major Barnes. In the course of the debate it was pointed out that the Government subsidy was a subsidy to dearness. One of the main obstacles to building was the scarcity of labour, for it was estimated that there were 600,000 men available for building operations whereas 1,250,000 men were required. The total amount of the subsidy to be given under the Bill was not to exceed 15,000,000l. A powerful speech against the Bill was made by Sir Tudor Walters, who said that there had never been so much profiteering in the building trade as now existed under the schemes of the Local Authorities. He expressed the opinion that any builder could in the ordinary way build houses for at least 300l. less than the amount for which they were actually being built. Notwithstanding these criticisms the Housing Bill passed rapidly through its various stages and was read a third time on December 12.

One of the most important Bills passed during December was the Government of India Bill, in which the Government proposed to realise the reforms advocated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The Committee stage was taken on December 3, and many hostile amendments were dealt with. Clause I enabled provision to be made by rules for the classification of subjects in relation to the functions of government as central and provincial subjects; an amendment in opposition to it was moved by Colonel Yate and supported by various members. On the second day of the Committee stage time was chiefly devoted to the question of women's enfranchisement in India and the extension of the male franchise. On women's franchise Mr. Montagu argued that its extension would best be left to the provincial legislatures. The Bill passed through the Committee stage, however, without any amendment, and its third reading was taken on December 5. Mr. Montagu took the opportunity of expounding the ideals of British rule in India. It was a trusteeship or mandate, he said, and the ultimate justification of our rule would be in the power of the Indian peoples to govern themselves. He described the Bill as a step in the discharge of our trusteeship, and expressed his pleasure at the interest which had been shown by the Labour Party in the measure. No division was taken on the third reading and the Bill received the royal assent on December 23. On that date the King addressed an impressive proclamation to the Princes and peoples of India on the inauguration of the new era which was begun by the Government of India Bill. He stated that the Prince of Wales would visit India next year when the new constitution came into force.

An important change was made in the Aliens Bill during its

passage through the House of Lords. An amendment by Lord Newton was carried without a division, the effect of which was that whereas under the Bill enemy aliens must leave the country unless they belonged to certain specified categories, under the amendment they were able to stay unless reason, satisfactory to the Advisory Committee, was adduced why they ought to leave. The clause referred only to enemy aliens who had been in the country during the war and had not been interned, and there was a general feeling that grave injustice would be inflicted if these people were now compulsorily deported. The amendment was considered by the House of Commons on December 19, and on the motion of Sir Gordon Hewart was accepted. The Bill in its modified form then passed into law.

On December 10 revised Navy estimates were introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Long, First Lord of the Admiralty. He insisted that the Board could not at the present moment be asked to produce a definite policy in view of the extreme uncertainty about the future. He stated that a new Committee had been set up which was considering the question of the scientific equipment of the services and the prevention of overlapping. A plea was made by Sir John Davidson for an Imperial joint general staff for Army, Air, and Navy. He took the view that this would not necessitate a single Ministry of Defence, but he thought that our Imperial responsibilities should first be defined and then the three great defence departments brought together to decide on the best and most efficient way of spending. After some further discussion the vote was agreed to.

A few days later the Air estimates were also before the House. General Seely again raised the question of the War Office and Air Ministry being united under one Minister, insisting that air work was so important that it must have a whole-time Minister to itself. Mr. Bonar Law, on the other hand, expressed his opinion of the advantages which arose from having the two Ministries in the same hands. Mr. Churchill, the Minister concerned, insisted upon the independence of the Air Force. He said that this independence must be so organised as to fit, in peace or war, into a tripartite organisation for defence.

Before the end of the session the Government introduced a Bill into the House of Commons based on the provisions of the Sankey Report, entitled the Coal Industry (Emergency) Bill. The second reading was moved by Sir Auckland Geddes on December 11, who justified it as an emergency measure, saying that it followed almost automatically on the acceptance of the Report by the Government. A limitation was set on the profits of coal owners in the following way: the output of the industry as a whole in tons multiplied by 1s. 2d. would give a figure which was the amount of the fund to be distributed in profits on the undertakings which were solely concerned with coal getting. The fund would be divided up between the various

undertakings in proportion to the real standard of profit of the coal-getting undertaking which was affected. Sir Auckland said that the Government regarded the measure as purely of an emergency character which embodied no principle of general application. It was limited to the period of the financial year, and did not set any precedent as regards methods of dealing with industry. Mr. Leslie Scott, who followed, again pointed out that the Bill would cease to be operative on March 31 next, but the debate showed considerable antagonism to the Government. Mr. Adamson said that the Labour Party did not recognise the Bill as the fulfilment of the Government's pledge. Mr. Hartshorn took the same line, inquiring why its operation was to be for so short a period. He prophesied chaos after March 31, and criticised one of the clauses in the Bill which tended to remove control without putting anything in its place. Mr. Bonar Law, on hearing from the Labour members that they did not regard the Bill as a fulfilment of the pledge given by the Government, moved the adjournment of the debate, and this was agreed to by the House, the Bill thus being abandoned.

In the middle of December attention was attracted to a demand of the National Transport Workers' Federation for a general revision of the wages of dock and waterside workers with a view to the establishment of a national minimum standard of 16s. a day. On the 18th a meeting was held between representatives of the Dock and Port Authorities and the transport workers. Both parties to the negotiations pledged themselves to secrecy, but it was understood that the employers' representatives submitted certain proposals to the representatives of the Federation, which were referred by the latter to their Executive. It transpired later that these proposals were to the effect that the claim of the workers should form the subject of an inquiry under the Industrial Courts Act. The Executive of the Transport Workers' Federation referred the proposal to a general council meeting of the Federation which was attended by delegates from the thirty-five Trade Unions affiliated to the Federation. They agreed to accept the principle of an impartial inquiry into the facts and circumstances of the application made for an increase of wages for all dock and waterside workers, and the tension of the position at the end of the year was thus greatly relieved.

Fundamental changes were made in the Electricity Supply Bill before it finally passed into law. The Government had experienced great difficulty in carrying the second reading in the House of Lords, and much criticism was raised against it on the ground of the expenditure which it involved, so that the only hope of passing it during the current session appeared to lie in transforming it from a scheme of compulsory acquisition into one of voluntary association. Accordingly, on the motion of the Government, eleven out of its forty-nine clauses were altogether omitted and most of the remainder were amended. One of the most important particulars in which the Bill was

altered was in the abandonment of the proposal for District Boards, which were to have had compulsory powers for the acquisition of Generating Stations and main transmission lines. The compulsory purchase clauses were also struck out. In place of the District Boards the Electricity Commissioners were to carry out their operations through the agency of voluntary Joint Electricity Authorities under schemes to be approved by them. The Ministry of Transport was to retain the right, before the creation of a Joint Electricity Authority, to build super-generating stations in any area in which they were urgently needed. The Department was to have power to spend a sum not exceeding 20,000,000*l.* on such construction. Another clause abandoned was that under which the Electricity Commissioners would have had power to make advances up to 25,000,000*l.* in the aggregate to District Boards. In this greatly modified form the Bill was successfully carried by the Government.

The second reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill was taken on December 17, and gave rise to debates on the inflation of the currency, war graves, and unemployment. On the first point Mr. Chamberlain expressed the opinion that currency inflation was a result of the inflation of credit, that sudden and violent deflation of credit would produce disaster, and that a very small shortage in production would account for a very big rise in prices. He urged that the proper course was to cease borrowing to meet the expenditure of the year, and to begin repaying old debts by the conversion of short-date into long-date securities.

The debate on war graves turned upon complaints made by Lord Robert Cecil against the administration of the War Graves Commission. He said that many graves were neglected, that there was unnecessary removal of bodies and memorials, and he criticised also the enforcement of the rule that tombstones should all be of one pattern.

As regards unemployment, Sir Robert Home stated that it had been decided to use the assets of the National Relief Fund for the benefit of those who were unemployed as a result of the war.

Among the Bills rushed through at the end of the session was a new Old Age Pension Bill, under which these pensions were increased by half a crown a week. The cost to the country of this increase in Old Age Pensions amounted to 10,000,000*l.* a year, but the Bill passed through all its stages in the House of Commons on December 19.

The state of Ireland throughout December was worse than it had been at any previous time in the year. At the end of November another policeman was murdered in the City of Dublin in a busy thoroughfare within sight of the central police station and in the presence of many people. (This was the fourteenth policeman murdered in Ireland during the year, and as usual the murderer succeeded in making good his escape.

On December 11 further strong action was taken by the Irish Government against Sinn Fein. Leading members of that party were arrested and deported, and the police and military in force visited the Dublin Mansion House. The raids by the military and police were carried out in the small hours of the morning and a thorough search was made of many houses. Four days later a raid was made upon the offices of the *Freeman's Journal* in Dublin, and publication of that newspaper was stopped by the removal of vital parts of the machinery. At the same time it was reported that yet another policeman had been murdered in County Cork. He was shot within twenty yards of a police barrack and his assailants succeeded in escaping.

The suppression of the *Freeman's Journal* was the subject of a question in the House of Commons by Captain Wedgwood Benn on December 16, and Mr. Macpherson then announced that the matter was being taken into the Courts. He explained that Lord French had appealed for a citizen volunteer force to assist the police, and that this appeal had been criticised by the newspaper.

On December 17 a raid was made on the Cork and Bandon railway station near Cork by a body of men estimated at between 150 and 200. They entered the station fully armed and held up every official on the premises. The signalmen were ordered from their boxes, the shunters were removed from their posts, the clerks from their offices, the firemen and engine drivers from the footplates, and the porters from their duty. A thorough search was then made by the raiders of the offices, stores, and tool sheds.

The climax of disorder arose, however, in an attempt which was made on December 19 on the life of Lord French. The Lord-Lieutenant had arrived by train at Ashdown railway station on the outskirts of Dublin, and was proceeding in his motor car to the Viceregal Lodge when a volley of shots rang out from behind some high walls and hedges at the side of the road. The first shot was fired at the car close to the station, and the firing continued for some distance along the road as far as the gate into Phoenix Park; a number of bombs were also thrown. Lord French was fortunately uninjured, but by the time his car arrived in security it had upon it many bullet marks. Only one of the assailants was killed by the firing of the escort. Two days later a body of armed men entered the offices of the *Irish Independent*, thoroughly searched the building, and demolished all the printing apparatus. They presented a notice to the editor stating that the reason for this action against him was that in his account of the attack on the Lord-Lieutenant he had described the assailant, who had been killed by soldiers, as a would-be assassin, whereas, they said, he had risked and given his life to rid Ireland of the chief representative of **British tyranny**.

On Christmas Eve a fight took place at Killarney between a party of soldiers and some civilians; the police were called

out, and while they were trying to restore order four shots were fired, as a result of which yet another policeman was killed.

On December 28 another affair occurred in Phoenix Park involving loss of life. Early in the morning the Guard at the Viceregal Lodge heard shots in the Park, and the Officer of the Guard, Lieutenant Boast, accompanied by two soldiers, left the precincts of the Viceregal Lodge to investigate the occurrence. It appeared that they met and challenged a civilian, and it was at first believed that this civilian had attacked Mr. Boast, for both he and the civilian were killed. An inquest held on the following day, however, found that the Lieutenant had been accidentally killed by a shot fired by one of his own party while on patrol. Their verdict in the case of the civilian was that he "was killed on his way home by a military patrol, and we consider that the military acted in the most heartless manner." In short, it appeared that a serious mistake had been made. Three men who had been arrested in Phoenix Park were subsequently released, and no explanation was forthcoming of the shots which had been heard in the Viceregal grounds. The whole incident was illustrative of the state of nervous tension which existed in Ireland at the end of the year.

Just before "the close of the session Mr. Lloyd George introduced his Bill for the reform of the Government of Ireland. He began by a reference to the outburst of crime in that country, saying that the object of these murder societies was to make reconciliation impossible. He laid down what he called three basic facts. The first was that three-fourths of the Irish population were bitterly hostile and rebels at heart. Ireland was the one country in Europe besides Russia where the classes, ordinarily on the side of law and order, were completely out of sympathy with the Government. He then went on to speak of North-East Ulster, alien in race, sympathy, and tradition to the rest of Ireland, and said it would be an outrage for us to place this part of Ulster under the rule of the remainder of Ireland. His third basic fact was that severance from the United Kingdom would be fatal to the interests of Ireland and Great Britain alike. He illustrated this principle from the history of the war, and declared that any attempt at secession would be fought as the United States fought her own war of union. Coming to the Government proposals, he said that the Bill would establish two self-governing Parliaments in Ireland, one at Dublin, the other at Belfast to include six counties and parts of three other counties, where these could be united without destroying the homogeneity of the Ulster province. Between these two Parliaments there was to be a Federal Council for all Ireland, consisting of forty members elected in equal parts by the two Provincial Legislatures. The two Legislatures were to have full legislative powers over all subjects not expressly referred to the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. In that Imperial Parliament there were to be forty-two Irish representatives.

No attempt was to be made from Great Britain to unite the two Irish Legislatures; if that was done it must be *by* their own act and deed. He thought that if they began by being separate they would in" the end unite, but if they began by uniting they would quarrel and separate. The financial proposals of the Bill were considerably more liberal to Iceland than in the Act of 1914.

Sir Donald Maclean met the Bill with criticism which was not unfriendly. Mr. Henderson disliked compromise, and agreed with Sir Donald Maclean that a successful Home Rule Act in Ireland would have to be something more downright. Sir Edward Carson was critical towards the Bill, and refused to give it his support until he was convinced that the Prime-Minister meant to go through with it to the end. Criticism of the Bill in the British Press was, on the whole, favourable, but no further progress was made with it since the session came to an end on December 23. Among the Bills which received royal assent on that day were The Government of India Bill, The Church Enabling Bill, The Sex Disqualification Removal Bill, the Profiteering (Continuance) Bill, the Electricity Bill, The Housing Bill, the Aliens Bill, the Old Age Pensions Bill, and many others.

Thus the year ended more peaceably than had at various times seemed at all probable. It was a year specially characterised by the movements of Labour to secure more favourable conditions of employment; and it marked the rapidly increasing dominance in British politics of the problems of labour. At times the attitude of the workers had been menacing, and fears of revolution had been freely expressed; but the general good sense of the people had prevailed, and at the end of the year the position was quieter than it had been for some time past. Only one great strike was in progress, that of the ironmoulders, and even here the prospects of a settlement appeared very hopeful. It is true that the quiescence was clearly only of a temporary nature, and that the New Year would certainly bring about fresh adjustments and disturbances in the industrial world. The moving sentiments of Labour were too deep to disappear in a day or even in a year. Nevertheless, the experience of 1919 seemed to indicate that these problems should not be incapable of solution by peaceable methods.

The blackest cloud on the horizon was the state of Ireland, which showed few of the ups and downs that characterised Labour movements, but appeared to go progressively from bad to worse. This ominous symptom was the chief cause of anxiety to the Government at the end of the year. The Government, itself, suffered much decline of popularity "during the year. The verdicts of the bye-elections were unmistakable, though they had been almost universally foreseen. The prospect of a future Labour Government did not appear by any means impossible; and this prospect exercised perhaps a steadying influence on the Labour movement as a whole, by setting up a predisposition towards constitutional methods.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

FRANCE.

THE close of the war left the French Republic in a position of pre-eminence on the continent of Europe. Although France was still far surpassed in population by both Russia and Germany, her position was nevertheless incomparably superior to that of either of the two larger nations. Russia had relapsed into a state of astonishing and horrible barbarism. And Germany, which five years earlier had undoubtedly been the most powerful single nation in the world, now lay conquered at the feet of the great hostile coalition, decimated, ruined, half-starved, and with great provinces torn from her realm. France, moreover, had always been the heart of the Entente; her valorous services were fully recognised by the English-speaking world, and on all hands it was deemed appropriate when it was announced that the British and American Governments had agreed that the epoch-making Peace Conference should be held in the French capital. More than to any other single man, France owed her fortunate position to her veteran Prime Minister, M. Georges Clemenceau; and it was with almost universal enthusiasm that that famous statesman was appointed President of the Peace Conference.

The fact that the Peace Conference was to be held in France naturally had the effect of overshadowing all the issues of French domestic politics, and, indeed, during the earlier part of the year little attention was given to such questions. All eyes were turned towards the Conference.

It is a truism to state that the problems which confronted the delegates to the Peace Conference were more complex and more difficult than any which had taxed human statesmanship since the Congress of Vienna. Indeed, in many respects, though not in all, the task before the assembled statesmen in Paris presented even greater difficulties than were inherent in the settlement after the Napoleonic War. The Twentieth Century statesmen were, in a sense, more ambitious than their predecessors; but it must be remembered that the extraordinary

development of the means of intercommunication in the previous hundred years—the shrinkage of the world—and also other factors, had rendered it practicable for them to entertain their larger ambitions, and had facilitated the solution of problems which were beset with far greater difficulties, often insuperable obstacles, a century earlier. The problems before the Peace Conference were in many respects entirely novel; they were vast, they were extremely complex, and they were exceedingly difficult. But it was probably only the conceit of contemporaries which averred that the difficulties surrounding those problems were unprecedented in degree.

Having regard to the magnitude of the Congress, it must be admitted that the statesmen commenced and carried on their deliberations with remarkable expedition. The Paris Conference was opened in January. It will be remembered that the President of the United States, Dr. Woodrow Wilson, had arrived in Europe in the previous month; and the American representatives being present in Paris, no time was lost in making the arrangements for the Conference. Dr. Wilson was accompanied by Mr. Robert Lansing (Secretary of State), and by Colonel E. M. House, Mr. Henry White, and General T. H. Bliss. The last-named delegate had previously been the American representative on the Supreme War Council at Versailles, and hence he was, of course, well known in Paris. The British Empire, owing to its unique multiple character, possessed a very large representation. Great Britain herself was represented by Mr. Lloyd George (Premier), Mr. Arthur J. Balfour (Foreign Secretary), Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Barnes, formerly a Labour Leader, but now a member of the British Coalition Government. Canada was represented by Sir Robert Laird Borden (Premier), Sir George E. Foster, and Mr. C. J. Doherty, all members of the Conservative Party. Mr. William Morris Hughes (Premier) and Sir Joseph Cook were the delegates from Australia; General Louis Botha (Premier) and General Jan Smuts represented South Africa; Mr. William Ferguson Massey (Premier) and Sir Joseph George Ward represented New Zealand, and Newfoundland had one representative in the person of her Prime Minister, Sir William Frederick Lloyd. The Indian Empire was particularly well represented, the delegates including Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu (Secretary of State), Major-General H. H. Maharajah Sir Ganga Singh Bahurdur of Bikaner, Lord Sinha (Sir Satyendra Prassano Sinha, the famous Indian who had recently become Under-Secretary of State and a member of the British House of Lords), and Sir Alfred Hamilton Grant.

In addition to M. Clemenceau, the French delegates included M. Stephen Pichon (Foreign Minister), M. Louis Lucien Klotz (Finance Minister), M. Andre Tardieu and M. Jules Cambon (formerly Ambassador in Berlin). M. Leon Bourgeois was appointed to represent France on the Committee formed to investigate the problem of the League of Nations, It should be;

explained that M. Tardieu held the appointment of official Commissioner for the control of Franco-American affairs.

Italy was represented by her two most influential statesmen in the persons of Signor Vittorio Emanuele Orlando (Premier) and Baron Sidney Sonnino (Foreign Minister). The Italian delegates also included Signor A. Salandra, who had been Premier when Italy entered the war, General Count Mario di Robilant, who had represented Italy on the Supreme War Council at Versailles, the Marquess Salvago-Kuggi, and Signor Salvatore Barzilai. The Japanese delegation included the Marquess Saionji (the principal delegate), Baron Makino, Viscount Chinda, Mr. Matsui, and Mr. Ijuin. Among the Minor States M. Hymans (Foreign Minister), M. Vandervelde (the famous Socialist), and M. Van DenHeuvel represented Belgium, M. Bratiano (Premier) led the Eumanian delegation, and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was represented by M. Pashitch, M. Trumbitch (the Jugo-Slav propagandist), M. Zholgers, and Dr. Vesnitch, who had long been Serbian Minister in Paris. MM. Venizelos and Politis represented Greece, Dr. Kramarzh appeared for Czecho-Slovakia, and M. Roman Dmowski, formerly head of the so-called Polish National Committee in Paris, was the chief Polish delegate. Portugal was represented by Dr. Egas Moniz (Foreign Minister), and Senhor Epitacio Pessoa was the head of the Brazilian delegation.

The proceedings began very informally when Signor Orlando and Baron Sonnino arrived in Paris on January 9 and conferred with the assembled French and American statesmen. Dr. Wilson and Signor Orlando had a long interview on January 9. On the evening of January 11 Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, Sir B. Borden, Mr. Hughes, General Botha, Mr. Massey, and the Maharajah of Bikaner, and other Britannic delegates arrived in Paris. Mr. Lloyd George took up his abode in a flat in the Rue Nitot, which had formerly belonged to Lord Michelham, and the British Premier also had a private office in the Hotel Astoria. On Sunday, January 12, a preliminary session was held at the Quai d'Orsay which included the chief French, American, British, and Italian delegates and which was, in reality, merely the Supreme War Council, with the addition of President Wilson. A discussion took place in regard to the procedure of the Conference. The French Government proposed that only the representatives of the Five Great Powers (the fifth being Japan), should attend all the meetings of the Conference, and that the Minor States should be represented only when questions more immediately affecting them were to be discussed. It was also proposed that the amount of representation on the Conference should be decided, not of course on a basis of population, nor on any criterion of the inherent importance of a State, but on a consideration of military power and, particularly, of the part played by the different States in the war. The chief title to consideration in Paris was, not unnaturally, the amount of force exerted

by a claimant in the defeat of Germany. Thus it was proposed that in the ordinary sessions the Five Great Powers should have five representatives each, that the smaller States, such as Belgium and Serbia, which had been fully involved in the war, should have three representatives, and that the new States which were only then in process of formation, of which the two most important were of course Poland and Czechoslovakia, should have two spokesmen only. Certain anomalies thus arose. For instance, the French proposed that Portugal should have a greater representation than Poland, notwithstanding that the latter was, of course, much the larger and more important country. States which had been merely technically at war with Central Europe were to be allotted one seat only. The only important exception in the application of the principle that war service was the criterion of the amount of representation, was that of Japan, which, though a Great Power, had in practice played relatively—and indeed, even actually—a very small part in the war. Japan had as many representatives as France herself.

After considerable discussion, certain modifications in the French scheme were adopted and were announced on January 15. It was decided that Brazil should have three delegates, but that Belgium,¹ Serbia,¹ Rumania, Greece, Portugal, China, Poland, and Czechoslovakia should all alike be allotted two representatives. The very small States, such as Siam, Liberia, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama were to have one delegate each. Apart from this, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India were allowed two delegates each, and New Zealand was given one seat. The two following general principles were also adopted:—

1. Each delegation being a unit, the number of delegates forming it can have no influence upon its status at the conference.

2. In the selection of its delegation each nation may avail itself of the panel system. This will enable each State at its discretion to entrust its interests to such persons as it may designate. The adoption of the panel system will in particular enable the British Empire to admit among its five delegates representatives of the Dominions (including Newfoundland which has no separate representation) and of India.

The first full meeting of the Conference was opened by President Poincaré at 3 p.m. on Saturday, January 18. This date was chosen by the French Government as being the 48th anniversary, to the day, of the formal proclamation of the Hohenzollern German Empire at Versailles. The meeting was held in the so-called Clock Room on the ground-floor of the Foreign Office, Quai d'Orsay. The room was crowded with the representatives of the Allied and Associated nations, and over

¹ Subsequently increased to three.

200 journalists were permitted to watch the proceedings from the ante-chamber. M. Poincare arrived punctually at 3 o'clock and was duly conducted to the presidential chair. The American delegates sat immediately on the right of the President and the British delegates on his left, Mr. Lloyd George, by an unfortunate mischance, arriving 15 minutes late. M. Poincare's inaugural address occupied less than half an hour; it was duly translated into English by the chief interpreter to the Conference, Professor Mantoux, of London University. M. Poincare briefly referred to the successive entry into the war of all the Allied and Associated nations, and expatiated upon the motives which had actuated the different peoples, particularly the Americans. He said that in all cases the aims had been those of justice. He then declared the Conference opened. After his speech the French President shook hands with all the delegates present. M. Clemenceau thereupon took the chair as Provisional President of the Conference. Dr. Wilson moved that M. Clemenceau should be elected Permanent President of the Conference, and this motion was seconded by Mr. Lloyd George and Baron Sonnmo (Signor Orlando being absent in Italy owing to a Cabinet crisis). The motion was carried unanimously. M. Clemenceau then made his opening speech. He said that success in the labours of the Conference was only possible if they (the delegates) remained united in spirit. "We have come here as friends and we must go through the gate of peace as brothers. That is the first thought which I wish to express. Everything must be subordinated to the closer union between the peoples who have taken part in this great war. You assembled here are a League of Nations. It is for you to make it a living body, and, as I told President Wilson, we are prepared to make any sacrifice to achieve it. The programme of this Conference has been laid down by President Wilson. There is no question of territorial or of continental peace. The peace we have to make is a peace of peoples. No mere words are required. That programme stands upon its own feet. Let us work quickly and well."

The Conference then appointed the chief representatives of the Great Powers as Vice-Presidents. M. Clemenceau, having asked the delegations who might wish to do so to send in memoranda regarding the responsibility for the war and regarding international Labour regulations, declared that the question of the League of Nations would be placed at the head of the agenda for the second sitting. The first sitting then closed.

A decision of some historic interest was taken by the Supreme War Council (which was now, in effect, an Executive Committee of the Peace Conference) on January 22. The decision related to Russia. It was decided, at the suggestion of President Wilson, that an invitation should be sent to "every organised group that is now exercising or attempting to exercise political authority or military control anywhere in Siberia, or within the boundaries of

European Russia as they stood before the war just concluded (except in Finland), to send representatives, not exceeding three representatives for each group, to Princes Islands, Sea of Marmora, where they will be met by representatives of the Associated Powers, provided in the meantime there is a truce of arms amongst the parties invited, and that all armed forces anywhere sent or directed against any people or territory outside the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war, or against Finland, or against any people or territory whose autonomous action is in contemplation in the fourteen articles, upon which the present peace negotiations are based, shall be meanwhile withdrawn and aggressive military action cease." It was hoped by the Supreme War Council that by these means an accord might be arranged between all the warring factions in Russia. The quasi-Governments were asked to send representatives promptly to Princes Islands, where such representatives were invited to appear not later than February 15. Prinkipo being the most important island of the group, this suggestion came to be known as the "Prinkipo Proposal." It will be noted that the wording of the proposal was somewhat ambiguous. The official communique spoke of all the parties "within the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war, excepting Finland;" and yet it is clear from other contemporary events that the proposal cannot have been intended to apply to Poland, and presumably Lithuania and the Baltic provinces were also excluded. All these territories had by this time become quite foreign to Russia.

The policy thus adopted by the Associated Governments did not pass without considerable criticism, more particularly in France. It was urged that the Prinkipo Proposal involved some degree of recognition of the Bolsheviks as a legitimate party, whereas they ought to have been classed, so it was averred, as the outcasts of civilisation. In the event, the whole proposal was abortive. The mutual hostility between the Russian factions was so deep and so bitter that it proved quite impossible to induce them to agree to meet one another.

On January 22 the Supreme War Council also decided to send a mission to Poland to investigate the conditions in that country, the mission to consist of two delegates, one civil and the other military, of the United States, the British Empire, France, and Italy.

The second full meeting of the Conference was held on January 25. Possibly no meeting during the entire Conference was so important as this one, because it was on this occasion that the Congress passed unanimously the resolution establishing a League of Nations. This momentous resolution was moved by President Wilson, and read as follows:—

"The Conference, having considered proposals for the creation of a League of Nations, resolved that:—

" (a) It is essential to the maintenance of the world-settlement

which the Associated Nations are now met to establish that a League of Nations be created to promote international co-operation, to ensure the fulfilment of accepted international obligations, and to provide safeguards against war.

"(b) This League should be treated as an integral part of the general treaty of peace, and should be open to every civilised nation which can be relied on to promote its objects.

"(c) The members of the League should periodically meet in international Conference, and should have a permanent organisation and secretariat to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between the Conference. The Conference, therefore, appoints a committee representative of the Associated Governments to work out the details of the constitution and functions of the League."

In his speech proposing the resolution the American President said that a League of Nations was an urgent necessity, if only to settle the problems arising out of the war. Many of these problems, he said, could not be settled immediately; the decisions arrived at must, moreover, be reviewed and amended in the future. Some permanent machinery of international control must be set up if the work of the Conference was to be secured. The idea of the League of Nations was, said the President, the very centre of the American programme; the United States had not entered the war on any distinctively European issue, and would, accordingly, be disappointed if only a European settlement came out of the peace. Mr. Lloyd George seconded the resolution, and stated that a recent visit which he had paid to the devastated district of France had impressed him more than ever with the necessity of finding a more rational method than war for the settlement of international disputes. Signor Orlando and M. Bourgeois also spoke in support of the resolution.

A few other statesmen spoke in favour of the project of a League of Nations, and then M. Hymans opened a debate on another point, in regard to which feeling proved to be far from unanimous. The Belgian Foreign Minister protested that the whole work of the Conference was in reality being carried out by the Great Powers, and he demanded that Belgium should be represented on the League of Nations Committee and on the other Committees. Similar protests were immediately made by Senhor Kalogeras, Sir Robert Borden, Dr. Trumbitch, M. Venizelos, Senhor Garcia, M. Benes, and M. Dmowski, on behalf of Brazil, Canada, Jugo-Slavia, Greece, Portugal, Czechs-Slovakia, and Poland respectively. M. Clemenceau replied for the Great Powers. He pointed out with almost brutal candour that the Great Powers, if they had so chosen, could have made the peace without any reference to the smaller States. They had, however, elected to call the smaller States into consultation; but the Conference would proceed more expeditiously with *its* work if the arrangements and methods of procedure were left in the

hands of the representatives of the Great Powers. It was pointed out that the opinions of every small nation could be fully heard on any question which immediately concerned it.

After further debate, resolutions were passed dealing with reparation, breaches of the laws of war, international labour legislation, and international communications. The first of these resolutions read as follows:—

" That a Commission be appointed, with not more than three representatives apiece from each of the five Great Powers and not more than two representatives apiece from Belgium, Greece, Poland, Rumania, and Serbia, to examine and report:—

" 1. On the amount for reparation which the enemy countries ought to pay.

" 2. On what they are capable of paying.

" 3. On the method, form, and time within which payment should be made.

" 4. On the guarantees that should be given for execution."

The second resolution read as follows:—

" That a Commission composed of two representatives apiece from the Five Great Powers and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers be appointed to inquire and report upon the following:—

" 1. The responsibility of the authors of the war.

" 2. The facts as to breaches of the laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and their allies on land and sea and in the air during the present war.

" 3. The degree of responsibility for these offences attaching to particular members of the enemy forces, including members of the General Staffs and other individuals, however highly placed.

" 4. The constitution and procedure of a tribunal appropriate to the trial of these offences.

" 5. Any other matters cognate or ancillary to the above which may arise in the course of the inquiry and which the Commission finds it useful and relevant to take into consideration."

The resolution relating to international labour legislation read as follows:—

" That a Commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five Great Powers and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers represented at the Peace Conference, be appointed to inquire into the conditions of employment from the international aspect, and to consider the international means necessary to secure common action on matters affecting conditions of employment, and to recommend the form of a permanent agency to continue such inquiry and consideration in co-operation with and under the direction of the League of Nations."

The fourth resolution, dealing with ports, waterways, and railways was as follows:—

" That a Commission composed of two representatives apiece

from the five Great Powers and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers be appointed to inquire and report upon the international regime of ports, waterways, and railways."

The representatives of the Great Powers held a consultation on the morning of January 27, at which the question of the overseas possessions of Germany was debated. The suggestion which had been made, semi-officially, as to the fate of the various possessions did not disclose any serious divergencies of view. Indeed, in regard to the African colonies opinion was practically united. It was common ground that the South African Union should have the reversion of South-West Africa, and all were agreed that Great Britain should take over G.E.A. as the mandatory of the League of Nations. It was also recognised that France and Great Britain would naturally arrange the partition of Kamerun and Togoland. The question of the Pacific colonies was somewhat less easy of solution. The temporary arrangement had given Japan possession of the islands north of the Equator, namely, the Marshal and Caroline Islands,, and the British point of view was that these islands must remain Japanese, but that all the other colonies, farther south, should be given to Australia and New Zealand with full rights of ownership. The Australasians, however, viewed with some misgiving this comparatively near approach of Japan to their shores. The Americans were stated to have proposed that Great Britain should take over all the Pacific colonies as the mandatory of the League of Nations.

The discussion on the colonial problem was continued on the following day, and on this occasion the representatives of the Britannic Dominions were present. On January 29 the debate was continued, and during this discussion in the Conference the Americans seem to have developed a new proposition that all the Pacific colonies should be taken over by the Australasian States as mandatories of the League. Generals Botha and Smuts urged strongly that the Union should be given absolute possession of South-West Africa and not merely a mandate for that region. The official communique issued in Paris on January 30 stated that the colonial problem had again been discussed and that "in the afternoon satisfactory provisional arrangements were reached for dealing with the German colonies and the occupied territory in Turkey in Asia." The details of this provisional arrangement were not made known, but it was believed that it had been agreed to apply the system of mandates in the widest possible manner.

At the end of January various problems relating to East-Central Europe also came up for discussion. As already stated, it had been decided that an Allied Mission should be sent to Poland. The British members of this mission were General Botha and Sir Esme Howard. Promiscuous fighting had broken out between the Poles and Czecho-Slovaks in the district of Teschen, in Austrian Silesia; and it was decided to send Allied

delegates to Silesia to investigate matters on the spot. The Czecho-Slovaks appear to have been the aggressors in these conflicts. The rival claims of the Serbs and Rumanians to the Banat of Temesvar were also examined. In this connexion a most important point arose for consideration. Before Rumania entered the war, namely, in the summer of 1916, a treaty was concluded between that kingdom on the one hand and Russia, France, Great Britain, and Italy on the other hand, prescribing the territorial acquisitions which Rumania should be allowed in the event of victory. M. Bratiano took his stand upon this treaty. Now the treaty gave the whole of the Banat to Rumania, so that the south-western limits of Rumania would have been the Theiss, the Maros, and the Danube. But the Jugoslavs are admittedly the most numerous single nationality in the western part of the Banat. And hence the Serbian delegates claimed that the western districts should be given to the Serb-Croat-Slovene kingdom, more particularly as the Serbian Government had not been a party to the treaty and had not even been informed of its terms. Now there was little question that according to the principles of Dr. Wilson's Fourteen Points, which had been accepted by all the Allied and Associated Powers (with slight reservations which had no bearing on the controversy under discussion), the western districts of the Banat ought to be assigned to the Jugo-Slavs. There was therefore a direct conflict between the accepted general principles and the earlier secret treaty. No final decision was announced, but it became known that the Conference would adhere to the general principles and abrogate the secret treaty.

On February 3 M. Venizelos laid the claims of Greece before the Conference. These claims did not suffer from undue modesty. The Hellenic Government desired to annex nearly the whole of the vilayet of Aidin (the Sanjak of Denizeli was not included), the Sanjak of Balikesri, Imbros, Tenedos, the Dodecanese, Cyprus, and the whole of Bulgarian and Turkish Thrace up to the* Black Sea coast.

On February 3 also, the Committee on the League of Nations met for the first time, and thereafter it proceeded with its labours with remarkable energy and expedition.

During the next week the energies of the Conference were mainly directed towards modifying the terms of the armistice with Germany, which fell to be renewed on February 17, and in completing the draft scheme for a League of Nations. The work proceeded rapidly, and on February 14 President Wilson laid the historic "League of Nations Covenant" before the Conference.¹ Dr. Wilson read the full text of the Covenant, and made comments upon the clauses as he proceeded. He stated that the report laid before the Conference and recommending this Covenant was agreed to unanimously by the repre-

¹ The full text of the Covenant will be found under "Public Documents."

sentatives of fourteen nations, namely, America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia.

In regard to Article 15, Dr. Wilson said that active measures would only be contemplated in the event of deliberate refusal to accept the recommendations of the Executive Council.

In reference to Article 19, dealing with the ex-German colonies and Turkey, Dr. Wilson emphasised the point that all the five Great Powers were in full agreement on this subject.

After reading the Covenant, Dr. Wilson informed the gathering that the discussions of the League of Nations Committee had been characterised by a striking unanimity of aim, and that such differences of opinion as had existed had been only differences in regard to method. The President then explained that the assembly to be known as the Body of Delegates would afford each nation an opportunity for a variety of representation; the governance of the League would not necessarily be exclusively in the hands of officials. "This document," said Dr. Wilson, "is the condemnation of war, and although the scheme is general in its terms, it is a definite guarantee of peace." Moreover, the League would not only preserve peace, but would provide for the closer co-operation of nations in industrial matters. "This document is practical. It may be supplemented and improved. It is not the discovery of a new principle, but its practical application. Force is vanquished. The peoples can now live in friendship like members of one family, and soon as brothers."

Lord Robert Cecil then made a speech on the draft covenant, in which he laid great stress on the point that the scheme not merely forbade war but provided for international co-operation in various matters, including labour conditions; and he thought that the application of this principle might be extended, notably to such subjects as the suppression of the White Slave traffic and of the opium trade. The speaker also said that he attached much importance to the provision requiring unanimity before the League could act. "We have laid down—and this is the great principle in all action, whether of the Executive Council or of the body of delegates, except in very special cases and for very special reasons, which are set out in the Covenant—that all action must be unanimously agreed to in accordance with the general rule that governs international relations. That that will, to some extent, in appearance, at any rate, militate against the rapidity of action of the organs of the League is undoubted, but, in my judgment, that defect is far more than compensated by the confidence that it will inspire that no nation, whether small or great, need fear oppression from the organs of the League." In conclusion, Lord Robert Cecil urged that the League should be accepted as a practical and genuine attempt to achieve the main objects in view.

Signor Orlando spoke next, and he said that the practicability of the scheme was proved by the existence of the League

of Nations Committee—which had been not unlike a Committee of the League of Nations.

M. Bourgeois then spoke, and he laid stress upon somewhat different points. After referring to other matters, he said: "All the States who consent to go before international justice, at the same time take a definite pledge to grant to each other the integrity of their territories as established by the settlement of the present Peace Treaty, and also to guarantee their political independence against any future aggression." The speaker also pointed out, naturally thinking of his own country, that some States might be more exposed to the possibility of violent aggressions than others, and that hence, in any scheme of disarmament, such States would need to maintain more than their strict proportion of armaments. M. Bourgeois also thought that the League should have its plans for resisting aggression fully worked out, and should not wait to consider problems of strategy until danger had arisen. It was clear that M. Bourgeois's mind was chiefly occupied by his fear of a revival of German power.

Baron Makino, Mr. Barnes, M. Venizelos, Mr. Wellington Koo (of China), and Rustem Haida (Hedjaz) also spoke.

M. Clemenceau then explained (in answer to Mr. Hughes) that the report of the League of Nations Committee was now on the table of the Conference for purposes of examination and discussion by all the Powers concerned. This ended the proceedings on February 14.

The draft of the League of Nations Covenant having been drawn up, there was a pause in the proceedings of the Conference. President Wilson departed for a short visit to America; and on February 19 a French Anarchist named Emile Cottin made an attempt on M. Clemenceau's life, which came perilously near success. The would-be assassin lay in wait for the Premier as he was leaving his house in the Rue Franklin to proceed to the Ministry. M. Clemenceau was driving in an automobile and Cottin fired several shots with an automatic pistol. One bullet struck the statesman in the shoulder, wounding him seriously, though not dangerously. The Anarchist was immediately seized by the police. The French Premier was naturally confined to his room for some time, and the composure with which he bore the pain and annoyance evoked universal admiration.

The armistice was duly renewed on February 16, the revised conditions involving the evacuation by the Germans of the greater part of the province of Posen.

In the middle of February the Jugo-Slav delegation took an important step in regard to their dispute with Italy over the Adriatic question. The Jugo-Slavs proposed that the entire territorial dispute should be submitted to President Wilson for arbitration. The Italian Government rejected this proposal, and stated that they considered that it was the duty of the Conference as a whole to decide all such territorial problems.

During the first half of March, the statesmen who remained in Paris and the Armistice Commission, which sat at Spa, were mainly occupied in devising the means for the temporary and permanent disarmament of Germany. Mr. Lloyd George paid a short visit to England, but he returned to Paris early in the month, and took the lead in these discussions. It was finally decided that it should be laid down that in future the German Army should be limited to 100,000 men, including 4,000 officers. The men were to be enlisted on a voluntary basis, for a period of not less than twelve years.

In the meantime the food situation in Germany was becoming rapidly more acute. Moreover, the Germans at Spa, urged to resist by the sufferings of their people at home, flatly refused to hand over their mercantile marine (which the Allies had demanded) unless the Allied Powers undertook to supply Germany with 2,500,000 tons of food-stuffs before the next harvest. The statesmen at the Conference were at first inclined to turn a deaf ear to the German appeals. But on March 8 Mr. Lloyd George received a strongly worded telegram from General Plumer, commanding the British troops on the Rhine, urging that the privation in Germany was really acute, that this tended to encourage the spirit of Bolshevism and despair, and adding that a bad effect was being produced on the discipline of the British soldiers by the spectacle of the sufferings of German women and children. Mr. Lloyd George read this telegram to the Conference, and remarked that it could hardly be said that General Plumer was a "pro-German."

After this incident the question of supplying Germany with food was taken up in earnest. The negotiations at Spa, which had been broken off, owing to the obduracy of the Germans in the matter of their mercantile marine, were renewed at Brussels on March 13, Sir Rosslyn Wemyss acting as the chairman, of the Allied Commission. The Allied terms were transmitted to the Germans; the enemy were ordered to hand over the merchant fleet, but at the same time they were promised a supply of 300,000 tons of cereals and 70,000 tons of fats per month. These terms were accepted immediately. The Germans were to pay for these food-stuffs by means of the freight of their ships, used for Allied purposes, by credits in neutral countries, and by the exportation of certain authorised articles. The Germans, were also required to deposit, as a guarantee of payment, 18,000,000Z. in the National Bank of Belgium. It may be added that the remaining part of the German merchant fleet aggregated 3,500,000 tons. At the same time measures were also taken to send food supplies to the States into which the Austro-Hungarian monarchy had broken up, particularly Austria proper and Czecho-Slovakia, these countries also being in a condition of acute privation, amounting in many localities to actual starvation.

President Wilson arrived in France, on his return from

America, on March 13. During his absence there had been constant complaints in France and elsewhere in regard to what was thought to be the undue delay in the conclusion of a preliminary peace, and it was averred that the proceedings could be expedited by separating the League of Nations scheme from the actual Treaty of Peace. Dr. Wilson, however, adhered to his view that the Covenant should form an integral part of the Peace Treaty. In a statement to the Press, too, Lord Robert Cecil pointed out that the Treaty and the Covenant were inextricably bound up together, the decision to apply a mandatory system to the ex-German Colonies, for instance, necessarily presupposing the existence of the League.

Decisions of the Conference on individual problems, territorial and otherwise, were made known almost every day. On March 18 it was announced that it was proposed to internationalise the Rhine. A new Rhine Commission was proposed for the regulation of traffic on the river, and it was suggested that this Commission should consist of five representatives of France, four of the German Rhine States, and two each of Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Switzerland. One of the French representatives, it was suggested, should be chairman of the Commission.

On March 20 and 21 a Committee of the Conference, including M. Bourgeois and Lord Robert Cecil, discussed the draft Covenant of the League with representatives of neutral States who had assembled in Paris for the purpose. All the more important neutral countries were represented at this meeting. It was reported that the neutrals had made various suggestions connected with the mode of representing States on the governing bodies of the League.

The French Press continued to criticise what it regarded as the dilatory methods of the Conference. Partly, perhaps, on account of these criticisms an important alteration was made in the methods of procedure. Hitherto the central Committee of the Conference—in reality its governing body—had been a "Council of Ten," namely, two representatives of each of the five Great Powers. On March 25 this Council of Ten was reduced to a Council of Four, namely, President Wilson and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy. It was hoped that in this manner the details of the forthcoming Treaty would be filled in more rapidly. Having regard, however, to the vast magnitude and extreme complexity of the problems which had been confronting the Council of Ten, the complaints of dilatoriness made by the French Press were neither just nor well informed.

It was not, however, only in the Press that the Conference was accused of dilatory methods. An important debate took place in the Chamber of Deputies on March 25, and a strong attack was made upon M. Clemenceau and the Government generally by M. Franklin-Bouillon, the President of the

Chamber Committee on Foreign Affairs. M. Franklin-Bouillon said that the secrecy with which the Conference was being •conducted was in no way justified by the results which had been achieved, and he said that the personnel of the French delegation had been selected on the ground that it was likely to follow the Prime Minister in a docile manner. The chairman of the Committee went on to say that at the time of the armistice two questions had been dominant in the minds of the French people. The first of these was the problem of the French Eastern frontier and the future security of France as against the peril of a renewed attack by Germany. And the second question, which was almost as important as the first, was that of financial reparation from Germany, which it was essential to decide if the economic life of France was to be restored. Apart from these two urgent questions there was the problem of international reorganisation and the scheme for a League of Nations. The method of procedure adopted by the Conference had been, said the speaker, entirely wrong. The question of a League of Nations, a problem which was much more distant, much less urgent, than the two others which he had named, was considered first, and the two urgent questions had been neglected by the statesmen assembled in Paris. The consequence of the adoption of this method of procedure was that five months after the conclusion of the armistice no point of any importance had been settled. M. Franklin-Bouillon then averred that M. Clemenceau must bear the responsibility for this prolonged delay. In regard to the financial question, it was surprising that no decision to grant reparation to France had yet been reached. In regard to the question of the French Eastern frontier, the speaker declared that the Foreign Affairs Committee held strongly to the opinion that it was impossible to leave the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine in continued dependence on Prussia. To do so would leave Prussia with a base from which to organise a new attack upon France. It was therefore essential that the settlement should provide safeguards against any such peril. In the conclusion of his speech M. Franklin-Bouillon referred to the question of Palestine and Syria. He recalled the fact that France and Great Britain had concluded a definite treaty relating to this region. And the Treaty in question had defined quite clearly the British and French spheres in that part of the world. The speaker said that the French Government ought to have stood by the terms of the Treaty, and that they had made a fundamental mistake when they agreed to submit the whole question of Syria to the Conference and to the League of Nations. Finally, he said that the delegation of the Hedjaz ought never to have been admitted to the Conference, for the principality of the Hedjaz could not be regarded as an independent State, since the present head of the Hedjaz •delegation was in receipt of a salary from one of the Allied

Powers (the Allied Power in question was of course Great Britain).

The importance of this speech in the Chamber resided in the fact that it was the first notable evidence of any opposition to M. Clemenceau's foreign policy, apart of course from that of the extreme Socialists, who attacked the Government from a different point of view.

On the following day M. Pichon defended the policy of the Government, particularly in regard to the war now being waged against Russian Bolshevism. The Foreign Minister said that war had not been declared against Eussia ; but France and all the other Allies had come into conflict with Bolshevism, which, he said, was a plague not only for Russia but for all humanity. The speaker then went on to give interesting details in regard to the forces then operating in Russia. He said that the Army based upon Archangel consisted of 13,100 English, 11,770 Russians, 4,820 Americans, 2,349 French, 1,340 Italians, and 1,280 Serbians. The statistics of the Allied forces operating in Siberia were also given, the Army in this region being of course considerably larger than that at Archangel. The Allied Army of Siberia was made up of 55,000 Czechoslovaks, 12,000 Poles, 28,000 Japanese, 7,500 Americans, 4,000 Canadians, 1,600 British, and 760 French, together with about 10,000 Italians, Rumanians, and Serbians. Whilst the French had, therefore, a very small number of troops in Siberia, in the South-Eastern theatre of war a large French Army had been maintained and consisted at this date of 140,000 men, whilst the British "Army of the Black Sea" was of about equal strength. The Foreign Minister then went on to say that the question of intervention in Russia was intimately bound up with the self-determination of the new Eastern States, for instance, Ukraina, Lithuania, Poland, and the Baltic Provinces. And finally, M. Pichon reminded the Chamber that if the Allies adopted a policy of non-intervention in Russia it would only have the effect of leaving that great country open to German penetration.

It was announced on March 25 that the League of Nations Commission had been working rapidly on the draft of the League Covenant and that it had already reached Article 16. Most of the amendments which had been proposed in the course of the meetings of the Commission had related to comparatively minor points, but the Japanese delegates had raised one question of fundamental importance. The Japanese demanded that a clause should be inserted in the Covenant expounding the principle of the equality of the citizens of all States belonging to the League. It was clear, of course, that the adoption of this principle of equality would raise very difficult emigration questions for the United States and for the British Overseas Dominions. It was interesting to note that the representatives of the British Dominions assumed an attitude of determined hostility to this Japanese proposal.

At the end of March the Conference was much occupied with the danger of a Bolshevik invasion of Poland. It was proposed to relieve this situation by transporting General Haller's Polish Corps (which had fought in France) to Poland via Danzig. The German Government at first refused to give facilities for the transport of this Corps through Danzig on the ground that although the terms of the armistice had provided for the passage of Allied troops to Poland through that port, the term Allied troops could not be applied to a Polish corps. And the German Government stated that they feared that the passage of Polish troops through that part of Germany would cause conflicts to break out between local Germans and Poles. After considerable discussion, however, the Germans consented to allow General Haller's Corps to pass through Danzig, the Allied Governments giving guarantees that no disturbances in West Prussia should break out.

As already stated the urgency of the food question in Central Europe was recognised in Paris before the end of March. Hence it was decided not only to allow definite quantities of food to pass into Germany itself, but to take more extensive measures for the alleviation of distress in the other countries of Central Europe; and it was announced on April 1 that the blockade was to be raised as regards Poland, Esthonia, German-Austria, Turkey, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, and the new territories occupied by the Rumanians and Serbians. Even in regard to German-Austria the raising of the blockade was complete, save only in the matter of the importation of goods which might be used for military purposes. An Allied Commission was formed, however, to sit in Vienna in order to prevent re-exportation to Germany. At the beginning of April it was also announced that the Council of Four had come to a decision on the vexed question of the French Eastern frontier. The difficulty was, of course, to meet the French anxiety touching the possibility of a new attack by the Germans, and at the same time to avoid turning over a large German population to French administration, which would necessarily have created difficulties for the future and would have been contrary to the principles propounded by the Allied Governments throughout the war. It was made known that the solution of the dilemma had been found in a proposal to forbid Germany not only to fortify the country on the left bank of the Rhine, but also to maintain any garrisons in a belt of territory 30 miles wide on the right bank of the river. There was, however, to be no question of a French annexation of the large German territory west of the Rhine. France was merely to be given the right to exploit the coal-fields in the Valley of the Saar, and this small territory was to be brought under international Government for a period of fifteen years, after which it was to be allowed to decide its own destinies by the means of a plebiscite.

On March 27 President Wilson published a note in reply to

the criticisms that the Commission on the League of Nations was responsible for delaying the final formulation of peace terms. He said that it was surprising that such an impression should exist. The conclusions of the League of Nations Commission had been the first to be laid before the plenary Conference and had been reported in full as early as February 14. The revision of the Covenant was now almost complete, and the meetings of the Commission had, moreover, always been held at times which would not prevent the members from attending the Committees dealing with the other complicated problems which were before the Peace Conference.

At the end of March the composition of the delegation, which the German Government had been instructed to send to Versailles to receive the peace terms, was made known. There were six principal delegates, of whom the Chairman was Count von Brockdorff-Eantzau, the Foreign Minister, the others being Herr David (a member of the German Cabinet), Herr Giesberts (the Minister of Posts), Herr Adolf Muller (the Minister to Switzerland), Professor Schucking (a well-known international lawyer), and Herr Melchior (a successful Hamburg business man). In addition to the principal delegates there were several dozen expert advisers, some of whom were to come to Versailles, whilst others were to remain in Berlin. These minor delegates do not appear to have been chosen with any reference to their politics, and they varied from Herr Benkenberg, a notoriously reactionary industrial magnate, to Herr Edouard Bernstein, the Socialist Pacifist.

At the end of March an important difference of opinion appears to have arisen in the Conference between the British delegates and the delegates of the other Great Powers in regard to the settlement of the Eastern frontiers of Germany. One of the more important Commissions established by the Conference was a Committee instructed to examine and report upon the frontiers of Poland. This Polish Commission, after an examination of the details, sent in a report advising that not only should the greater part of Posen be ceded by Prussia to the Polish Republic, but that the great port of Danzig and the greater part of West Prussia should also be ceded. The Commissioners held that the cession of this territory to Poland was essential if the resuscitated State was to possess a really independent life political and commercial. The proposals of the Polish Commission appear to have been accepted by Continental statesmen, but the British delegation dissented. It will be remembered that West Prussia had been annexed by Prussia at an earlier date than Posen, and it was well known that the majority of the population of the former district, more particularly in the immediate vicinity of Danzig itself, was German, both in language and sympathies. The British delegates therefore averred that it was contrary to the principle of self-determination to turn over this territory to Poland, and that the most the

Poles could expect was the establishment of an international regime in the Danzig district, and the right to use the port and the lower reaches of the Vistula for commercial purposes. The result of the opposition to the Commission's proposals expressed by Mr. Lloyd George and the other British delegates was that those proposals were rejected by the Conference, and, as will be seen, a solution was adopted which gave more consideration to the natural rights of the German majority in West Prussia.

It was announced on April 11 that the League of Nations Committee, which, as already stated, had been considering the revised draft of the League Covenant, had decided that the future capital of the League should be Geneva. Some members of the Committee had urged strongly that Brussels should be given that unique honour, but Geneva was selected by 12 votes to 6, President Wilson himself supporting this proposal. It was understood that not only the Belgian, but also the French delegates, voted in the minority in favour of Brussels.

It will be remembered that one of the Committees established by the Conference was empowered to examine the problems of labour from an international standpoint. This Committee drew up a report, and they recommended that certain clauses should be inserted in the Treaty of Peace, which, though they might not be made legally binding, would yet embody the aspirations in regard to social reform entertained by the Allied Powers. The clauses suggested by the Committee were as follows (some-what abbreviated):—

1. The labour of a human being is not to be treated as an article of commerce.

2. Employers and workers shall be allowed the right of association for all lawful purposes.

3. No children shall be employed in industry before the age of fourteen. No one between the ages of fourteen and eighteen shall be employed on work which is harmful to physical development or which interferes with education.

4. The worker is entitled to a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life.

5. Equal pay shall be given to women and men whose work is of equal value.

6. A weekly day of rest, including Sunday or its equivalent.

7. Limitation of hours of work in industry on the basis of an eight-hour-day subject to special climatic or industrial conditions.

8. Foreign workmen lawfully admitted into any country shall be ensured the same treatment as nationals in matters concerning their status as workers.

9. A system of inspection shall be instituted to ensure the enforcement of regulations for the protection of workers.

A plenary session of the Peace Conference was held on April 11 in order to discuss the recommendations of the Labour Commission. M. Clemenceau was in the chair. Unfortunately Mr.

(rompers (the American Labour leader) who had been Chairman of the Commission was not present, and in his absence Mr. Barnes was the chief speaker. M. Colliard, the French Minister of Labour, and M. Vandervelde also spoke. Perhaps the most interesting of the speeches was that of Lord Sinha. He said that India was in an extremely backward state in industrial matters, and he had feared at first that in the drawing up of the Conference Labour Convention insufficient allowance would be made for the conditions prevailing in countries which were much more backward than Western Europe. His fears in this respect had been removed, however, by the qualifications subsequently inserted in the Labour Charter. The Maharajah of Bikanir then reminded the gathering that as regards the native States of India it would be the native Governments which would have to deal with this matter. The Conference subsequently passed a resolution approving of the draft Labour Convention, and thereby creating a permanent organisation for the promotion of the international regulation of labour conditions.

On April 14, after what most of the journalists regarded as undue delay, the announcement was made by President Wilson on behalf of the Council of Four that the German plenipotentiaries had been invited to meet representatives of the Associated Powers at Versailles on April 25. President Wilson said that the questions which were immediately concerned with the Peace Treaty between Germany and the Associated Powers were now very near complete solution, but, he continued, "this does not mean that the many other questions connected with the general peace settlement will be interrupted, or that their consideration which has long been under way will be retarded. On the contrary, it is expected that rapid progress will now be made with those questions so that they may also presently be expected to be ready for final settlement. It is hoped that the questions most directly affecting Italy, especially the Adriatic question, can now be brought to a speedy agreement. The Adriatic question will be given for the time being precedence over other questions and pressed by continual study to its final stage."

It was subsequently announced that the arrangements for the reception of the German delegates at Versailles were proceeding apace. It was proposed that such conversations as might be necessary should take place in the Trianon Palace Hotel, and that only one grand meeting in the Galerie des Glaces would be necessary. It was proposed that no discussion should be permitted on territorial, military, naval, or aerial matters; and that the Germans would only be allowed to negotiate on questions of reparation and finance. It was stated that a total War Indemnity of 11,000,000,000*l.* would be demanded.

Whilst the last stages of the debates on the questions which immediately concerned Germany were taking place, and whilst the other matters not immediately concerning Germany were

being investigated as rapidly as circumstances would allow, the Conference itself was growing. Representatives of other minor Powers continued to arrive. Even China sent no fewer than 62 delegates. Indeed the magnitude of the Conference was altogether unprecedented. Even at a session of the plenary Conference itself, 70 delegates were entitled to take part, and these were themselves appointed from 104 plenipotentiaries, representing no fewer than 27 Powers. The British Empire was represented by 21 plenipotentiaries, constituting a panel, and a whole host of British technical advisers and experts were in attendance upon these plenipotentiaries. Including the committees of the Conference already referred to in this chapter, no fewer than 17 main committees were established, and these committees were themselves divided up into about 40 sub-committees.

The activities of the Conference suffered no cessation during Easter, though a momentary hitch in the arrangements occurred owing to an unexpected refusal of the German Government to send fully authorised plenipotentiaries to Versailles. Apparently the German intention was to send representatives who would only be empowered to transmit the terms to the German Government. The Council of Four sent, however, a peremptory note to Weimar ordering the Federal Government to give their representatives plenipotentiary powers.

In the meantime the Adriatic question to which President Wilson especially referred on April 14 caused long discussions, not to say dissension, between the Associated Powers themselves. It will be remembered that the Treaty of London had given Northern Dalmatia to Italy and that the French and British Governments naturally felt bound by their signatures to this Treaty, notwithstanding that the enormous majority of the population in the district concerned were Slavs. The United States was, however, under no such obligation to respect the Treaty, and President Wilson had stated emphatically on more than one occasion that he thought that all Dalmatia ought to be given to the new Jugo-Slav State. The situation was further aggravated by the attitude of the Italian delegates. When the Dalmatian question was being considered the Italians appealed to the Pact of London, but when the future of the Port of Fiume came up for consideration the Italian delegates desired to abandon the Treaty of London (which had not given Fiume to Italy) and claimed to apply the principle of self-determination to that port, averring that the majority of the inhabitants were Italians. The Italian Government were thus attempting to make the best of both worlds. And, moreover, even in regard to the matter of self-determination in Fiume, they were only technically in the right; for although it was true that the majority of the townsfolk within the legal boundaries of Fiume were Italians, if the suburb of Sushak—which was for all practical purposes part of the town—was included, there was a

Slav majority in the whole town. In these circumstances it was not surprising that public opinion, not only in America, but also in France and Great Britain, was distinctly adverse to the Italian pretensions.

It appears that at a meeting of the Council of Four held on April 20 President Wilson made his opinion on the question extremely clear; and therefore at a meeting of the Council held on the following day he was not present, but allowed the European statesmen, who were all bound of course by the Pact of London, to discuss the matter, among themselves. The French and British representatives endeavoured to arrange a compromise by advising that Italy should abandon Northern Dalmatia in exchange for Fiume. The Italians, however, proved obdurate, and on his side President Wilson still considered that Italy ought to abandon both Northern Dalmatia and Fiume,, though special rights could, in his opinion, be legitimately claimed for the large Italian-speaking minority in Fiume. The conflict of opinion was thus acute, and it reached a climax on April 23. On that date President Wilson issued a statement reviewing the whole Adriatic problem. He said that since the Pact of London, which merely had the force of a private understanding, had been concluded, the whole situation in Europe had entirely altered. The Austro-Hungarian Empire had ceased to exist; and many other Powers, both large and small, had joined in the conflict without any knowledge of the Pact. Moreover, independent nations had arisen upon the corpse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and the war had been ended by an armistice which had been concluded on "certain clearly defined principles which would set up a new order of right and justice. These principles were intended to be applied everywhere, in South-Eastern Europe as well as against Germany. It was upon the explicit avowal of those principles that the initiative for peace was taken. It is upon them that the whole structure of peace must rest. If these principles are to be adhered to, Fiume must serve as the outlet and inlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the lands to the north and north-east of that port—Hungary, Bohemia, Rumania, and the States of the new Jugo-Slav group. To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we had deliberately put the port upon which all these countries chiefly depend for their access to the Mediterranean in the hands of a Power of which it did not form an integral part, and whose sovereignty, if set up there, must inevitably seem foreign, not domestic or identified with the commercial and industrial life of the regions which the port must serve." The note continued by stating that this was no doubt the reason why the Pact of London had not assigned Fiume to Italy; and on the other hand, the reason why part of Dalmatia had been assigned by the Pact to Italy was not that a few Italians happened to live in that region but that Italy might have needed a strategic protection against

the peril of future Austro-Hungarian aggression. The note then emphasised the point that Austria-Hungary no longer existed, and also pointed out that it was to Italy's interest to be surrounded in future by friendly States. The President then said that America was Italy's friend and was moreover linked to Italy, not only by affection, but by blood, for millions of Americans were of Italian extraction. It was not a peace of the old type which was now in question. It was the rights of peoples, and above all the right of the nations to a real peace, which had to be secured. The United States was bound to adhere to those principles, and Americans hoped and believed that the people of Italy would only ask America to make peace on those principles.

The reply of the Italian Government to President Wilson's note was brief and sensational. It was announced on April 23 that "As a result of the declaration by President Wilson on the Adriatic question, the Italian delegates have decided to leave Paris to-morrow." • On the following day Signor Orlando left Paris, the efforts of the French and British to mediate being temporarily unsuccessful. M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George stated that they were of course prepared to honour the signatures of their countries to the Pact of London, but that notwithstanding this they advised the Italians to forego their claim to Northern Dalmatia. And, moreover, the French and British Governments made it perfectly clear that if the Italians insisted upon maintaining the Treaty of London they would have to abide by the letter of that agreement and therefore abandon Fiume.

The position of the Italians in Paris was not strengthened by an announcement also made on April 23 that the Italiana proposed to establish a naval base in the Dodecanese (islands which it will be remembered possessed an almost exclusively Greek population); and proposed also to establish their naval power along some 200 miles of coast from the Gulf of Scalanovo to beyond Adelia.

Before he left Paris, however, Signor Orlando had another meeting with President Wilson, M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George, and before leaving he issued a long explanation of his attitude towards the whole problem of the Adriatic. The announcement began by complaining that President Wilson had published a statement whilst the negotiations were actually proceeding on the basis of a certain British suggestion for a compromise, and it was averred that "the practice of addressing oneself directly to peoples assuredly constitutes an innovation in international relations." Signor Orlando then said that whilst he did not condemn this innovation he certainly proposed now to take advantage of it himself, and he said that "if such appeals are to be regarded as addressed to the peoples as apart from the Governments representing them—and I will even say, almost against those Governments—I cannot but feel great

regret at the thought that this procedure, hitherto employed only in the case of enemy Governments, is to-day for the first time applied to a Government which has been, is, and means loyally to remain the friend of the great American Republic—namely, the Italian Government." The moment for the issue of the American note was singularly ill-chosen. "And," continued the Italian Premier, "I shall above all have reason to complain if the declarations in the presidential message were intended to draw a distinction between the Italian Government and the Italian people, since in that case one would be going so far as to ignore and to deny the high degree of civilisation which the Italian people has attained in the forms of a democratic and liberal regime, in which it yields place to no other people in the world." After further complaints, Signor Orlando then turned to the specific arguments in President Wilson's note. He said that Fiume was historically an Italian city, and that if the Italian right to the town was to be disputed by reason of the international importance of the port, what must be said of the ports of Antwerp, Genoa, and Rotterdam, all of which were ports serving as outlets for most diverse peoples and regions, but which did not on that account lose their national character. "And," the Premier continued, "with regard to Poland the principle is proclaimed that rights cannot be created by denationalisation secured by violence and arbitrariness. Why not apply the same principle to Dalmatia?" The Premier's note ended with a passage emphasising the sacrifice of blood which Italy had made during the war.

It should be said that the King of Italy sent a telegram of congratulation and support to his Prime Minister, and that public opinion all over the Peninsula was almost unanimous in support of the Italian Government. It even became necessary to place a military guard in front of the American, British, and French Embassies in Borne in order to prevent any riotous attacks upon those legations (see Italy).

A few days later the other Italian plenipotentiaries left Paris. And it was, therefore, a singular result of this Italian-American dispute that the representatives of one of the principal European Powers were absent from France when the German delegation arrived and, as will be seen, when the revised Covenant of the League of Nations was given to the world. After ten days' reflection, however, it was announced in Rome, on May 5, that Signor Orlando and Baron Sonnino would return to Paris forthwith.

On April 28 another plenary session of the Peace Conference was held, this time in the great Banqueting Hall at the Quai d'Orsay.. This was only the fifth plenary session which had been held since the opening of the Conference. The first business on the agenda for the day was the consideration of the revised Covenant of the League of Nations; and after M. Clemenceau had formally opened the session President Wilson

rose to explain the revisions which had been made in the draft. Most of the changes, he said, were merely alterations in phraseology, not changes of substance. The opening paragraph of Article I. was, he said, new, and this was considered necessary in order to make it clear in what manner neutral States could adhere to the Covenant. The third paragraph of Article I. was also new, and provided for the withdrawal of any member of the League on giving two years' notice. The second paragraph of Article IV. was also new, and provided for an increase in the Council, as other Powers might adhere to the League. A paragraph had also been added to Article IV. specifying that each member of the League in the Council should have one vote (which had, however, been implied in the original draft), and providing also that there should be one representative of each member of the League. The first paragraph of Article V. was also new, expressly incorporating the provision as to unanimity of voting which was at first taken for granted. To the second paragraph of Article VI. a clause had been added stating that a majority of the Assembly must approve the appointment of the Secretary General. In Article VII. Geneva is named as the seat of the League. Article VII. now also provided for equality as between men and women employed by the League. Article XIII. had been made more specific. An Amendment to Article XV. sought to protect the liberty in domestic affairs of the several members of the League. The last paragraph of Article XVI. was also new and provided for an expulsion from the League in certain extraordinary circumstances.

Article XXI. was entirely new (this was the article relating to the Monroe Doctrine which had been inserted at the request of the American delegates). It read as follows:—

"Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace."

Article XXII. now provided that no nation could be compelled to undertake a mandate. Article XXIII. was a combination of several former articles, and aimed at the prevention of several abuses which could be best dealt with by international means. Article XXV. definitely associated the Red Cross with the work of the League. Article XXVI. now permitted the amendment of the Covenant by a majority of States composing the Assembly, instead of three-fourths of the States, though it did not change the similar requirements in regard to a vote in the Council. At the request of the Brazilian delegation a paragraph had been inserted in Article XXVI. permitting any member of the League to dissent from an amendment, the effect of such dissent being, however, withdrawal from the League. An annexe had been added giving the names of the signatories of the Treaty who will become members, and also the names of the States invited to accede to the Covenant.

Having described these changes which were all, he said, of some importance, President Wilson proceeded to move a resolution of an executive character which had become necessary in order to carry out the provisions of the Covenant. "You will notice," he said, "that the Covenant provides that the first Secretary-General shall be chosen by this Conference; it also provides that the first choice of the four member States who are to be added to the five Great Powers on the Council is left to this Conference; I move therefore :—

First, that the first Secretary-General of the League shall be the Hon. Sir James Eric Drummond.

Second, that until such time as the Assembly shall have selected the first four members of the League to be represented on the Council in accordance with Article IV. of the Covenant, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain shall be members of the Council; and

Third, that the Powers to be represented on the Council of the League of Nations are requested to name representatives who shall form a committee of nine to prepare plans for the organisation of the League and for the establishment of the seat of the League, and to make arrangements and to prepare the agenda for the first meeting of the Assembly. This committee shall report both to the Council and to the Assembly of the League.

President Wilson closed his speech by once more referring to the urgent necessity of establishing this free League of Nations to preserve peace.

M. Clemenceau was then about to call upon Baron Makino to make a speech, but before the Japanese statesman rose President Wilson intervened to propose an amendment to Article V. which he had forgotten. He said that in several parts of the Treaty of which the Covenant formed a part, certain duties were assigned to the Council of the League of Nations. In some instances, he said, it was provided that the action they should take should be by a majority vote. It was therefore necessary to make the Covenant conform with the other portions of the Treaty by making Article V. read as follows:—

"Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, or by the terms of this Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting." The text of the revised Covenant as laid before the Conference contained the words "expressly provided in this Covenant," but President Wilson now moved that the clause "or by the terms of this Treaty" should be added.

Baron Makino then rose and made his speech in English. The object of his speech was to move an amendment adopting the principle of racial equality. He said that he had raised this question first as early as February 13, and that at a meeting of the Commission on April 11 the principle with certain quali-

fications had obtained a clear majority in its favour, though not of course unanimity. Since the Japanese amendment, -even as qualified, had not been adopted in the revised Covenant, the head of the Japanese delegation availed himself of the opportunity to revert to an advocacy of his original amendment which, he said, read as follows: "The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the high contracting parties agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all alien nationals of States members of the League equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality," Baron Makino said that without the adoption of this amendment, it would be difficult to expect a hearty co-operation of the different peoples in the work of the League; and that it was his duty to declare that the Japanese Government would press for the adoption of the principle by the League in the future. M. Hymans then rose to express the disappointment of the Belgians that the headquarters of the League had not been established at Brussels.

After this M. Bourgeois moved two amendments on behalf of the French delegation. The first was an amendment to Article VIII., and read as follows:—

"The high contracting parties, being determined to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of armaments, their military and naval progress, and the conditions of such •of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes, have appointed a committee for the purpose of ascertaining as far as possible the above information."

The second was an amendment to Article X., and read as follows:—

"A permanent organisation shall be constituted for the purpose of considering and providing for naval and military measures to enforce the obligations arising from the agreements -entered into by the high contracting parties under this Covenant and making it operative in all cases of emergency."

M. Bourgeois urged that these amendments were necessary if the existence of the League was really to guarantee peace and really to deter would-be mischief-makers from disturbing the peace of their neighbours. The speaker said that what he most feared was that there would be a certain appearance of impotency in the League in the future.

Dr. Costa, on behalf of Portugal, asked that a reservation should be made against the nomination by the Conference of a neutral country as a member of the Council of the League.

The Japanese and French amendments were subsequently withdrawn, but it was made known that the States concerned would bring forward similar amendments in future in the debates carried on by the League itself.

The League Covenant, with all the revisions that have been specified, and including President Wilson's last motion, was then adopted unanimously by the Conference.

It may be considered that at this moment the League of Nations was brought into existence.

The Conference then passed on to deal with the international regulation of labour; and Sir E. Borden read the nine clauses which the Labour Commission desired to have included in the Treaty of Peace, these clauses now being somewhat revised. After some discussion M. Clemenceau rose to inform the gathering that these nine revised points were adopted.

In the meantime "the Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War" issued its report. The report recommended that all persons, however highly placed, should be formally tried for breaches of the customs of war and of the laws of humanity, but the Commissioners stated that they could not advise that "the cause which provoked the war should be charged against the authors and made the subject of proceedings before a tribunal." And the Commissioners held that no criminal charge could be made against the Ex-Kaiser or other authorities on the score of "breaches of neutrality."

The first part of the report dealt at great length with the familiar controversy in regard to the negotiations at the end of July, 1914; and arguments used on very many occasions by the Entente Governments were brought forward once more, but little that was new was said. The report also set out thirty-two categories of serious crimes perpetrated by the enemy forces and these crimes were formally condemned by the Commission. The report, it should be added, was not unanimous. The American and Japanese delegates dissented from the other Commissioners on fundamental points. The Americans were opposed to the trial of the Ex-Kaiser before an international tribunal on the various moral charges brought against him, and they disagreed with the proposals of the Commission for the punishment of guilty persons.

The German delegates began to arrive at Versailles on April 28, and by April 30 the whole of the German delegation had arrived in France. Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau arrived on April 29 and was formally received at the little station of Vaucresson by the Prefect of the Seine-et-Oise.

Whilst the final touches were being put to the League of Nations Covenant, and whilst German delegates were duly arriving at Versailles, the actual executive business of the Council was being carried on by what had now become "the Council of Three," namely, President Wilson, M. Clemenceau, and Mr. Lloyd George, and on May 4 this Council of Three sent a formal invitation to Italy to resume her place at the Conference.

The Executive Committee, which the fifth plenary session of the Conference had established for arranging the practical details of the organisation of the League of Nations met for the first time at the Hotel Crillon on May 5, the Committee consisting of representatives of the Great Powers (the Marquess Imperial representing Italy), and Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and

Spain. Lord Robert Cecil represented Great Britain, and, of course, Sir Eric Drummond was also present in his new capacity of Secretary of the League.

On May 5 a private plenary session of the Conference was held, and the Treaty of Peace with Germany as finally drawn up was approved by the Conference. No formal vote appears to have been taken, but protests on various points were made in several quarters. The Italians were represented by Signor Crespi. The head of the Chinese delegation entered a formal protest against the rights which had been accorded to Japan in Kiao-Chau; and the Portuguese representative also expressed dissatisfaction with the terms. A speech was then made by Marshal Foch who announced that he considered that the security given to France was inadequate from the military point of view, and that in his opinion the Treaty ought not to be signed. He said that it was essential that the French should hold the bridge-heads of the Rhine, and that this necessity was not met by an occupation limited to fifteen years. On the evening of May 5 it was announced that in addition to the delegations of the other countries the delegations of the following countries (who were to have been excluded from the ceremony) should be admitted to the Conference at Versailles when the peace terms would be delivered to the German representatives—the countries concerned being China, Siam, Cuba, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Panama, Honduras, and Liberia.

The terms of the Peace Treaty were delivered to the German delegates with every formality at a meeting held at the Trianon Palace Hotel at Versailles at three o'clock on May 7. The terms were of course delivered by M. Clemenceau, as President of the Paris Peace Conference. M. Clemenceau's speech was short. He said abruptly that the time had now come to settle accounts. Germany had asked for peace; and the terms upon which the Associated Powers would consent to make peace were contained in a book which was now handed to the plenipotentiaries of the German Republic. The Germans would be given an opportunity to examine the terms in detail, and any explanations that they might require would of course be made, "but," continued the French Premier, "we must say at the same time that this second Treaty of Versailles has cost us too much not to take on our side all the necessary precautions and guarantees that this peace shall be a lasting one." Any observations that the Germans might desire to make would have to be made in writing. And the time-limit for any such observations would be fifteen days. M. Clemenceau then read the headings of the Treaty as follows: League of Nations; geographical frontiers of Germany; political clauses for Europe; Belgium, Luxemburg, the Sarre, Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Eastern Prussia, Denmark, Heligoland; clauses concerning Russia and the Russian States; recognition, of new European States; political clauses for countries outside

Europe; general clause of renunciation of colonies; Siam, Liberia, Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, and Bulgaria, Shantung; military, naval, and aerial clauses; war prisoners; responsibilities and punishments; reparations and restitutions; financial clauses; economic clauses; ports, waterways, rivers, and railways; aerial navigation; organisation of labour; guarantees and occupation of territories; final clauses; execution of the armistice, end of the war, state of peace. M. Clemenceau said that any observations the Germans might make in writing within the prescribed period would be answered with promptitude. With these remarks the French Premier closed his brief speech.

The time had then arrived for the head of the German delegation to make his reply. By some strange error Count v. Brockdorff-Bantzau did not rise to make his speech, and this—whether done from deliberate discourtesy or some other reason—naturally made a bad impression on the Allied delegates. The Count's speech was much longer than M. Clemenceau's. It was, however, delivered with decision and confidence and was also to the point. The Count could not with justice be accused of unnecessary digression. The speech was translated into both French and English. The German Foreign Minister began as follows: *'Gentlemen, we are deeply impressed with the sublime task which has brought us hither to give a durable peace to the world. We are under no illusion as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German armies is broken. We know the power of the hatred which we encounter here, and we have heard the passionate demand that the victors shall make us pay as the vanquished and shall punish those who are worthy of being punished. It is demanded of us that we shall confess ourselves to be the only ones guilty of the war. Such a confession in my mouth would be a lie. We are far from declining any responsibility for this great World War having come to pass and for its having been made in the way in which it was made. The attitude of the former German Government at the Hague Conference, its actions and omissions in the tragic twelve days of July, 1914, certainly contributed to the disaster, but we energetically deny that Germany and its people, who were convinced that they were waging a war of defence, were alone guilty. Nobody will want to contend that the disaster originated only in the calamitous moment when the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary fell a victim at the hands of assassins." Count v. Brockdorff went on to say that imperialism had developed in all European countries during the previous fifty years, and this had reached its climax in the Great War. The Russian mobilisation had, said the Count, unfortunately taken the dispute out of the hands of the statesmen and given it into those of soldiers. The world was now resounding with the crimes which Germany was said to have committed, and some crimes no doubt had been committed. As

had been said in the Reichstag at the beginning of the war, a wrong had been done to Belgium and that ought to be repaired. But, continued Count v. Brockdorff, speaking with force, the German crimes were not the only crimes. They in Germany could not forget what had happened since the armistice. It had taken the Allies six months to lay down their conditions of peace. Crimes committed in war might not be excusable, but at all events they were committed in the heat of the struggle. "The hundreds of thousands of non-combatants who have perished since November 11 by reason of the blockade were killed with cold deliberation, after our adversaries had conquered and victory had been assured to them. Think of that when you speak of guilt and of punishment. The measure of guilt of all those who have taken part can only be assessed after an impartial inquest by a neutral commission, before which all the principal persons in the tragedy are allowed to speak and to which all the archives are open. We have demanded such an inquest, and we repeat this demand again at this Conference, where we stand facing our adversaries alone and without any allies." Count v. Brockdorff went on to say, however, that Germany had the protection of the principles which had been accepted before the armistice by all the Associated Powers. Those principles, laid down by President Wilson, were binding upon both parties to the war. The Germans realised that, and they were prepared to play their part, and in particular to right the wrong which had been done to Belgium. And, furthermore, the Germans were prepared to assist in the reconstruction of the devastated part of France. They thought, however, that it would be unjust and cruel to have this work carried out by enslaved German prisoners. Continuing, the speaker said that the remedy for all these evils must be found in the League of Nations, which should be thrown open to all nations who were really ready to assist in preserving the peace of the world. A peace which could not be defended as just before the whole world would in the end cause resistance to the terms imposed. "Nobody will be capable of subscribing to it with a good conscience, for it will not be possible of fulfilment. Nobody would be able to take upon himself the guarantee of its execution which ought to lie in his signature. We shall examine the document handed to us with good-will, and in the hope that the final result of our interviews may be subscribed to by all of us."

No other speeches were made at this meeting and the proceedings closed a few minutes after four o'clock.

An official summary of the preliminary Treaty of Peace was published on May 8, though certain corrections to the summary as published on that date were made known on the following day. A clause was inserted into the Treaty, apparently at the last moment, by which it was made possible for the Treaty to come into operation so soon as it had been ratified by Germany on the one hand, and by three of the principal Allied and

Associated Powers on the other hand. The object of this clause was evidently to provide against the possibility that the Italian Government might refuse to ratify the Treaty owing to the Adriatic dispute.

The preliminary Treaty having been delivered to the Germans, negotiations proceeded, and dragged on for the next six weeks. A large number of notes were exchanged between Count von Brockdorff-Bantzau on the one hand, and M. Clemenceau on the other hand, the Germans taking exception to very many of the terms of the Treaty. It was averred, for instance, that the territorial clauses violated President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and it was stated that it would be quite impossible for the German nation to fulfil the economic exactions. The notes entered into many details at great length; and although the time originally given to the Germans to make their observations on the Treaty expired on May 21, it was soon obvious that this time was too short, and extensions of the time for discussion were announced in Paris. At the end of May the Germans made known their counter-proposals to the preliminary Peace Terms presented to them. In these counter-proposals the Germans agreed to the clauses relating to disarmament; they agreed to reduce their Army to 100,000 men, and also to abolish their Navy. They "rejected" certain of the territorial clauses, such as the cession of Upper Silesia, and the Allied claims to dispose of Memel, East Prussia, West Prussia, and Danzig, though they agreed that Danzig should be a free port. The Germans also claimed to be allowed to administer their former colonies as the mandatory of the League of Nations. They "rejected" the "penal stipulations" and declared that all alleged violations of the laws of war should be tried before a neutral tribunal. In regard to reparation they agreed to pay a total sum not exceeding 5,000,000,000l., of which 1,000,000,000l. should be paid by the year 1926.

The various points raised by the Germans had to be considered and answered in detail; and in this manner the negotiations dragged on until the middle of June, and on June 17 the reply of the Associated Powers to the German counter-proposals was published. In regard to the territorial changes to be brought about by the Treaty, the Allied reply merely stated in regard to Alsace-Lorraine, that the German claim for a plebiscite could not be admitted. In regard to the Eastern frontiers of Germany, the Allies replied at greater length and made certain small concessions. The proposed frontier as against Poland was modified in certain details. It was pointed out also that the historic frontier between Pomerania and West Prussia had been respected, and that in bestowing autonomy on Danzig the Allies had merely restored that port to the position which it held for many centuries. In regard to Memel, it was pointed out that the Memel district had always been mainly Lithuanian, notwithstanding the fact that the port itself might now be

largely German. On various other matters, economic and otherwise, slight concessions were made to the German point of view.

The final concessions of the Allies were handed over to the Germans on June. 16, and the Germans were informed that they would be allowed five days in which to accept or reject these terms in their entirety. There was, as stated elsewhere (see Germany) much hesitation on the part of the German Government in regard to the signing of the Treaty. Many Germans were opposed to signing, and thought that it would in the end be better for them to refuse to take any responsibility for the terms, even though the Associated Powers would then occupy Germany. The internal conflict in Germany was so acute that Herr Scheidemann's Government, which had hitherto been stable, fell. But a new Government, with Herr Bauer as Premier, was formed within a few days, and the new Premier agreed to sign the Treaty; and in this he had the support of the majority of the National Assembly. At first Herr Bauer said that he would sign the Treaty with certain reservations, but the Allies immediately made it known that the terms must now be accepted without any reservations whatsoever. The last days of the negotiations were punctuated by a striking incident. It will be remembered that the German Navy had been interned at Scapa Flow, but had remained in charge of its own crew, under the command of a certain Rear-Admiral von Beuter. On June 21, at the command of Admiral Beuter, nearly all the German ships were blown up and sunk, greatly to the resentment of the British and other Allied peoples.

The Allied Armies on the Rhine were held in readiness for an advance into Germany, but on June 23 it was announced that a final submission had been made by the German Government.

The final scene took place in the afternoon of Saturday, June 28, in the famous Galerie des Glaces at Versailles. On that day the German delegates and the delegates of all the Associated Powers (except China) duly signed the Treaty of Peace. The chief German delegate was a certain Hermann Miiller, who was the new Minister for Foreign Affairs. Altogether four documents were signed at the ceremony. There were the main Treaty and the Protocol, which were signed by all the Powers. Thirdly, there was a Rhineland Agreement, signed by the Five Great Powers and by Germany, and fourthly, there was a special Polish Treaty, signed by the Germans, the Poles, and by the Five Great Powers.¹

The Treaty with Poland was designed to protect racial minorities in that newly resuscitated State. The Poles were required to give guarantees that full protection of life and liberty would be given to all racial minorities in Poland, including the

¹A full summary of the terms of the Treaty will be found in Part II., page 80.

Jews. It was stated that similar Treaties would be presented later to Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, and Jugo-Slavia.

On the morning of the same day President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George signed a Treaty of Alliance with France, by which the United States and Great Britain agreed to come to the assistance of France in the event of an unprovoked attack being made by Germany. The text of the agreement between France and Great Britain was as follows:—

"Whereas there is a danger that the stipulations relating to the Left Bank of the Rhine contained in the Treaty of Peace signed this day at Versailles may not at first provide adequate security and protection to the French Republic; and

"Whereas His Britannic Majesty is willing, subject to the consent of His Parliament and provided that a similar obligation is entered into by the United States of America, to undertake to support the French Government in the case of an unprovoked movement of aggression being made against France by Germany; and

"Whereas His Britannic Majesty and the President of the French Republic have determined to conclude a Treaty to that effect and have named as their Plenipotentiaries for the purpose, that is to say:—

"His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India:

"The Eight Honourable David Lloyd George, M.P., First Lord of His Treasury and Prime Minister;

"The Eight Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P., His Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"The President of the French Republic:

"Mr. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War;

"Mr. Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

"Article 1,

"In case the following stipulations relating to the Left Bank of the Rhine contained in the Treaty of Peace with Germany signed at Versailles the 28th day of June, 1919, by the British Empire, the French Republic, and the United States of America among other Powers:

"'Article 42. Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine, or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine.

"'Article 43. In the area defined above the maintenance and assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as.

the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilisation, are in the same way forbidden.

" 'Article 44. In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatory of the present Treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world,'

may not at first provide adequate security and protection to France, Great Britain agrees to come immediately to her assistance in the event of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her being made by Germany.

"Article 2.

" The present Treaty, in similar terms with the Treaty of even date for the same purpose concluded between the French Republic and the United States of America, a copy of which Treaty is annexed hereto, will only come into force when the latter is ratified.

"Article 3.

"The present Treaty must be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations and must be recognised by the Council, acting if need be by a majority, as an engagement which is consistent with the Covenant of the League; it will continue in force until on the application of one of the Parties to it the Council, acting if need be by a majority, agrees that the League itself affords sufficient protection.

"Article 4.

" The present Treaty shall before ratification by His Majesty be submitted to Parliament for approval.

"It shall before ratification by the President of the French Republic be submitted to the French Chambers for approval.

"Article 5.

" The present Treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the Dominions of the British Empire unless and until it is approved by the Parliament of the Dominion concerned.

" The present Treaty shall be ratified, and shall, subject to Articles 2 and 4, come into force at the same time as the Treaty of Peace with Germany of even date comes into force for the British Empire and the French Republic.

" IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty, drawn up in the English and French languages.

"Done in duplicate at Versailles, on the twenty-eighth day of June, 1919.

"(Seal)

D. LLOYD GEORGE.

"(Seal)

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

"(Seal)

G. CLEMENCEAU.

"(Seal)

S. PICHON."

The Treaty between the United States and France was a strictly comparable document, having only the necessary verbal alterations.

During the six weeks when the negotiations were taking place between the Supreme Council and the Germans, it was announced that decisions had been taken in the matter of the ex-German colonies. It was stated that Togoland and Kamerun should be subject to a joint recommendation by Great Britain and France to the League of Nations. In regard to German East Africa a mandate was to be given to (Great Britain. The Union of South Africa was to be granted a mandate for German South-West Africa. New Zealand was to have a mandate for the German Samoan Islands. The other German possessions in the Pacific, south of the Equator, were to be held by Australia as the mandatory of the League of Nations. An exception was made, however, in the case of Nauru, for which Great Britain was to be given a mandate. The mandate for the islands north of the Equator was to be given to Japan. These arrangements were immediately subjected to a vigorous protest on the part of the Belgian Government. The Belgian Government claimed to be given a mandate for Ruanda and the adjoining districts of German East Africa.

Whilst the negotiations were taking place with Germany, the negotiations with the Austrians were also under way. The head of the Austrian delegation was Dr. Renner, who, it will be remembered, was the Chancellor of the Austrian Republic. There was considerable delay in presenting the terms to the Austrians, and the draft of the Treaty, which was given to Dr. Renner at St. Germain on June 2, was still incomplete in a number of details.¹ The Treaty was presented by M. Clemenceau in a short speech. Dr. Renner in replying laid stress upon the deplorable conditions prevailing in Austria, and he declared that it would be unjust to regard the small German-Austrian republic as the sole heir to the great Austrian Empire. After they had examined the Treaty the Austrians declared that it was impossible for them to fulfil the economic conditions, and during the course of negotiations the Allies granted certain concessions in regard to the economic clauses, and ultimately these concessions were incorporated in the Treaty which was handed to the Austrians on July 20. The negotiations with the Viennese statesmen were, however, protracted in an extraordinary manner, and it was not until September 10 that the Austrian Treaty was signed. The ceremony took place in the Stone Age Hall in the Chateau St. Germain. Dr. Renner was himself the chief signatory for Austria. No fewer than fourteen conventions had to be signed in all.

It should be stated that after the signing of the peace with Germany, the Executive Committee of the Peace Conference

¹A summary of the Austrian Treaty will be found in Part I I . , page 109.

was re-constituted, and thereafter consisted of the Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain, the United States, and Italy, M. Clemenceau remaining President. This new Committee came to be known as the "Council of Five."

The treaties having been delivered to the Germans and Austrians, it remained to deal with the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian delegates arrived in Paris on July 26; and they were handed the terms which they were required to sign at the Quai d'Orsay on September 19.¹

The terms involved the cession by Bulgaria of a small district in the south-west near Strumnitza, and also the cession of a much larger district on the coast of the Aegean Sea, including the port of Dedeağatch. The Treaty with Bulgaria was signed on November 27 in the Town Hall at Neuilly. The Bulgarian representative was the Prime Minister, M. Stambolisky.

The reader may be reminded here that the Treaty of Peace with Germany was ratified by the King of Italy on October 7 and by the King of Great Britain on October 10.

The domestic history of France must be passed over very rapidly, and, as already stated, internal affairs naturally occupied a very subordinate position compared with the proceedings of the Peace Conference. At the beginning of the year questions of finance were occasioning French statesmen serious anxiety. The total cost of the war to France up to the end of March, 1919, was no less than 5,860,000,000l. A certain portion of this expenditure had been met out of taxation, but at the beginning of the year the total national debt stood at no less a figure than 5,990,000,000l. It will be remembered that France's pre-war debt was 1,400,000,000Z. The French Government hoped, of course, to obtain heavy indemnities from the defeated Germans. The Budget was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by M. Klotz at the end of May. M. Klotz stated that there would be heavy increases of taxation in nearly all branches, and he hoped to raise during the current financial year a revenue of 820,000,000l.

During June Paris was greatly disturbed by a strike of Transport Workers and others; but by the tactful intervention of M. Clemenceau the strike terminated before the end of the month.

On July 5 a Bill was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies approving the Peace Treaty with Germany, the Rhine Convention, and the agreement relating to Poland. The Bill was duly passed through both Chambers, though not without considerable discussion, and it was signed by the President (thus ratifying the Peace Treaty) on October 13.

During the year several sensational trials attracted the attention of the French public. The first of these was known as the Humbert Trial. The accused, in this case, were firstly, Senator

¹A summary of the terms of the Bulgarian Treaty will be found in Part II., page 125.

Humbert, who was charged with commerce with the enemy; Lenoir and Desouches, who were charged with intelligence with the enemy; and Ladoux, who was alleged to have misappropriated an important State document. This was one of the greatest of the French treason trials, and lasted from March 31 until May 9. In the result, Humbert and Ladoux were acquitted. Desouches was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and a fine of 800*l.* And Lenoir was sentenced to death. The last named was executed in October. Another trial which took place early in the year was that of a certain Raoul Villain, who was charged with the murder of the famous Socialist, M. Jaures, at the beginning of the war. Villain in assassinating Jaures, was said to have been actuated by patriotic fervour, Jaures having been a Pacifist. In the result, Villain was acquitted, but the acquittal was received with considerable misgiving by the majority of the French public. Another trial which attracted much attention was that of Quien, who was stated to have been mainly concerned in betraying Miss Cavell to the Germans. He was charged with intelligence with the enemy and with swindling. He was found guilty on both charges and was sentenced to death.

A case which would naturally overshadow all these in importance was that of the treason charge against M. Caillaux, an ex-Premier of France. M. Caillaux had been under arrest on a charge of treason since January, 1918, and even at the end of 1919 only the preliminary stages of the trial had taken place. M. Caillaux was to be tried before the Senate, sitting as a High Court, and he was brought before that body for the preliminary proceedings on October 23. M. Caillaux, in replying to the Public Prosecutor's remarks, stated that the trial had been instituted for political motives, and that it was in fact started by "a revived inquisition against the liberty of human thought." It was stated that the next meeting of the Court would not be held until the middle of January, 1920.

M. Clemenceau's Government stood firm throughout the year, and when a General Election was held on November 16, the Government were returned stronger than ever. The elections were held under a reformed system of voting, including proportional representation and the *Scrutin de Liste*. There were to be 626 seats in the new Chamber of Deputies—twenty-four members for Alsace-Lorraine. There were over 2,000 candidates in the field. The main interest of the election was the contest between Non-Socialists and Socialists, the latter having been the only real Opposition during the war. In the result France showed an entirely different tendency from that manifested in Italy at the contemporaneous General Election, and from that apparently existing in Great Britain, as shown by the bye-elections of 1919. The Socialists were routed all over the country, and returned very much weaker than they had been in the old Chamber. Only seventy Socialists were elected. The parties of the Right obtained over 100 members; and the

intervening groups, all of whom could be styled Liberals of different shades, namely, the Republicans, the Radicals, the Progressives, the Socialist Radicals, and the Republican Socialists, obtained over 400 members between them. Notwithstanding the victory of the Government, several members of the Cabinet failed to obtain re-election, the best known of these being M. Clementel, the Minister of Commerce. It was stated that 350 of the deputies were men elected to the Chamber for the first time.

On November 10 the President of the French Republic and Madame Poincare paid an official visit to England, and were duly received by the King and Queen (see English History).

ITALY.

At the opening of the year the political situation in Italy was disturbed and critical, and even the international position of the kingdom was not wholly unaffected by the internal controversies.. Signor Orlando remained Prime Minister, and Baron Sonnino was still Foreign Minister. The Cabinet, however, was shaken at the end of December by the resignation of the famous Socialist Minister, Signor Bissolati. Victory had brought with it serious perplexities for Ministers. There had, unfortunately, never been any real agreement regarding the territorial aims of Italy. The extremists or "imperialists" had always demanded that Italy should be given not only the Trentino and Trieste, but Fiume and the entire Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, with the adjacent islands. These demands had brought the Italians into a position of sharp antagonism towards the Serbians, and, later, towards the new Jugo-Slav State, the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes." The vast majority of the population of Dalmatia (about 97 per cent.) were Slavs, and on the now generally accepted "principle of nationality," the Serbian standpoint was quite intelligible. The Italian case was based upon the historic influence of Italian culture on the eastern shore of the Adriatic and also upon the alleged necessity of safeguarding, strategically, the very vulnerable east coast of the Italian peninsula. As already stated, this acute territorial controversy was not without its effects upon the general European situation. When Italy entered the war in 1915 an agreement was concluded between that Power and the Entente Governments, by which it was decided that in the event of victory, Italy should be given not only the Trentino, Trieste, and Istria (to which by common consent she had a right on the principle of nationality), but also northern Dalmatia with the northern islands. The agreement was known as the Treaty of London. The Treaty thus went some way, though not the whole way, towards satisfying the demands of the Italian imperialists. The Treaty did not give Italy either Fiume or southern Dalmatia. In the new situation, however, the terms of the Treaty were sufficiently

extensive to cause difficulty. France and Great Britain were, naturally, bound legally to the terms of the Treaty. During the war, however, the Entente as a whole had been expounding principles which, it was averred, ought to animate the international settlement. * Among the precepts, the foremost position was given to the "right of self-termination" and the principle of nationality. These principles had gained an ever wider acceptance, until at last they formed what might almost be called a definite programme. In these circumstances some French and British politicians and large sections of the French and British Press openly adjured Italy to renounce, out of loyalty to the principle of nationality, a part of the spoils to which she was entitled under the Treaty of London. The situation was still further complicated in two ways. Firstly, although France and Great Britain were bound by the Treaty, America was not so bound. And, secondly, the Italian Government were now enlarging their demands even beyond the terms of the Treaty, and were claiming not only northern Dalmatia, but also Fiume.

It was in these circumstances that Signor Bissolati resigned from the Cabinet at the end of 1918, as a protest against what he regarded as the too imperialist policy of the Government. It was known, by the way, that the extreme policy was more strongly supported by Baron Sonnino than by Signor Orlando. Signor Bissolati was inclined to concede the claims of the Jugoslavs, and their French and British friends.

President Wilson arrived back in Paris from England on December 31, and on the following evening he left the French capital to pay an official visit to Italy. Dr. Wilson arrived in Rome early on January 3 and was received by the King and Queen. Later in the day, the President gave a formal address to the Parliament. In his speech, which was not long, he said that he hoped that the forthcoming Peace Conference would be animated by a new spirit, not hitherto existing in international affairs, and that the new statesmanship would lift mankind to new levels of endeavour and achievement. After the function, a State banquet was given at the Quirinal, at which the King made a long speech. Then the party proceeded to the Capitol, and Prince Collona, Mayor of Rome, conferred the citizenship of the city upon the American President. On January 4, Dr. Wilson paid a brief visit to the Vatican, and also visited many other places of interest. In the evening he left the capital, and after visiting Genoa, Milan, and iTurm, he arrived back in Paris on January 7. It should be added that whilst he was in Rome, Dr. Wilson had a long conversation with Signor Bissolati.

Later in the month Signor Bissolati delivered a long speech, explaining the reasons for his resignation. He said that the principle of nationality required that Italy should abandon her claim to northern Dalmatia, and the existence of the Treaty of

London did not alter this fact. Moreover, the Dodecanese, which were indisputably Greek islands, ought to be given to Greece. This would, incidentally, secure for Italy the most valuable friendship of the Hellenic people. Nor was this all. It would, said Signor Bissolati, be a serious mistake for the Italian Government to ignore ethnographical considerations in Tyrol, merely for strategic reasons. They ought not to proceed to the annexation of a purely German population. It might be true, he said, that the Brenner was the best defensive line; but a good defensive line could also be found on the Upper Adige and the Eisach. Finally, Signor Bissolati urged that if they abandoned northern Dalmatia, they could legitimately ask the Peace Conference to give Italy the Italian city of Fiume.

After the Premier had had many consultations with his supporters, it was announced on January 17 that the Cabinet had been reconstructed as follows:—

Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior	- -	Signor Orlando.
Minister for Foreign Affairs.	.	Baron Sonnino.
Minister for the Colonies.	.	Signor Coloscolo.
Minister of the Treasury.	.	Signor B. Stringher
Minister of Finance.	.	Signor Meda.
Minister of Justice.	.	Signor Facta.
Minister of Food Supplies.	.	Signor Orespi.
Minister of Agriculture.	.	Signor Riccio.
Minister of Commerce and Industry	- - -	Signor Ciuffelli.
Minister of Transportation.	.	Signor Villa.
Minister of Public Works.	.	Signor Bonomi.
Minister of Education.	.	Signor Berenini.
Minister of Posts and Telegraphs	.	Signor Fera.
Minister for War.	.	General Caviglia.
Minister of Marine.	.	Vice-Admiral Del Buono.
Minister of Construction in Liberated Provinces	-	Signor Fradeletto.

It should be added that in addition to Signor Bissolati, Signor Nitti had also resigned, together with several minor Ministers.

On January 19 a meeting was held in Rome to found a new political party with definitely Catholic sympathies, the new party to be called the "Partito Popolare Italiano." This was of course a great departure from tradition, since hitherto Catholics, as Catholics, had rigidly refrained from taking part in politics. It was announced that the new party would be independent of the Vatican, but the announcement was received with some scepticism.

The friction between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs in regard to the Adriatic questions continued to develop; and, as stated elsewhere, at the end of April the crisis became so acute that the Italian representatives at the Peace Conference left Paris. Signor Orlando took exception to the proclamations issued to the Italian people and to the world by President Wilson. Whilst there was no doubt that public opinion in France, Great Britain, and America was in the main favourable to the Jugo-slav case, in Italy Signor Orlando had the vigorous support of

ail parties, except the Official Socialists. Many speakers and nearly all the papers protested against President Wilson's statements, and when Signor Orlando arrived in Rome on April 26 he received a fervid welcome. A dramatic session was held in Parliament on April 29, when Signor Orlando made a long speech defending his action. In his speech, as in his statements issued in Paris, Signor Orlando took his stand upon the Pact of London. A resolution was afterwards passed by the Chamber by a majority of 382 votes to 40, expressing confidence in the Government. The resolution was worded as follows: "The Chamber, as the guardian of the dignity, and as interpreter of the will of the Italian people, declares itself in unison with the Government, and confirms its full confidence in it for the defence of the supreme rights of the nation, and for the securing of a just and durable peace." The sitting was also remarkable for a speech by Signor Turati, the Socialist Leader, who was by no means wholly hostile to Signor Orlando. He said that he could not associate himself with the Socialist parties of the Allied countries, who, whilst applauding the seizure of the Saar valley where there was not a soul who spoke French, were yet opposed to giving Fiume, which was almost entirely Italian, to Italy. The Government also issued, with President Wilson's permission, a memorandum dealing with Fiume, which the American President had given to the Italian delegates in Paris on April 14. President Wilson proposed that Fiume should be made an international port.

As stated elsewhere (see France) the Italian delegates returned to Paris early in May.

Whilst the country supported Signor Orlando as against President Wilson, there was widespread criticism of Signor Orlando's failure to obtain more recognition in Paris of the Italian point of view. And it therefore came as no surprise when the Government was defeated in the Chamber on June 19. It had scarcely been expected that Signor Orlando would survive his failure in Paris. The King then sent for Signor Nitti, who was able quickly to form a Coalition Ministry representing nearly all the parliamentary groups except the Socialists. Signor Tittoni became Foreign Minister.

One of the first actions of Signor Nitti's Government was to bring in a comprehensive Reform Bill, which embodied the principles of Scrutin de Liste and proportional representation. The measure obtained a wide support in the House and was passed without difficulty in August.

The discussions on Fiume continued, and in September they led to an extraordinary and unforeseen development. One of the most ardent of the Italian imperialists was the poet D'Annunzio, who had made fiery and eloquent speeches on the outbreak of the war and had himself served in the army. At the beginning of September, D'Annunzio suddenly led an expedition, composed mainly of aviators from the army, down the short strip of coast which divided the Italian lines from the

•coveted port, and appeared in the outskirts of Fiume. The Commander of the Italian troops occupying Fiume, was a certain General Pittaluga. The Commander met D'Annunzio outside the town. The poet said that he had come to claim the Italian city of Fiume for Italy. General Pittaluga, after some discussion, seems to have given way, and D'Annunzio entered the city and proclaimed its annexation to the Kingdom of Italy in dramatic, not to say grandiloquent, terms. This constituted, of course, open defiance to the Peace Conference, and it was therefore impossible for the Italian Government openly to recognise D'Annunzio's action, whatever the private feelings of the Cabinet may have been. D'Annunzio was ordered to evacuate the city and to submit to the commands of the Peace Conference and the Italian Government. The poet, however, refused to move; and even when a blockade of the port was proclaimed, D'Annunzio and his mutineers refused to be coerced. The blockade may not have been very serious. The Italian public were divided in their sympathies. Many loudly proclaimed the heroism of D'Annunzio; but the more sober elements saw that the country was being led into a position which almost involved defiance of the Paris Peace Conference. D'Annunzio remained in control of Fiume until the end of the year.

At the end of June a grave series of earthquakes occurred in the districts between Florence and Bologna, and in the Mugello Valley, one of the most beautiful spots in Tuscany. Very serious damage was done and several hundred persons were killed, and many more injured. Many ancient houses were reported to have been destroyed.

Early in the year the total Italian casualties during the war were made known. It was stated that 462,391 men of the army had been killed; and that 953,886 soldiers had been wounded, of whom some 50 per cent, were permanently disabled. The naval casualties numbered about 8,000.

The financial position of the country at the close of the war was of course extremely serious. The national expenditure for the year 1918-19 amounted to 1,306,000,000l., and the revenue for the same year was said to have been 339,000,000l. It was stated that the total war expenditure of Italy was 3,600,000,000l.

The Electoral Reform Bill having been passed, arrangements were made for the holding of a General Election and the polling was fixed for November 16—the same date that the General Election was held in France. On September 29 a Royal decree was issued dissolving the Chamber of Deputies.

The Electoral Reform Bill had divided the country into fifty-four large electoral districts, even the smallest of which was to return five deputies. Owing to the adoption of proportional representation, there were an enormous number of candidates, over 3,000 in all. The results of the elections were quite unlike those in France. The Official Socialists doubled their strength and returned with 156 members. The new Clerical

Party obtained 100 seats. The Liberal Party obtained 161 seats, and the more Conservative groups were greatly reduced in strength, probably largely owing to the absorption of their supporters by the new Clerical Party. The elections appear to have excited but little interest in the country, and a very low percentage of the electors recorded their votes.

At the end of November it was announced that Signor Scialoja had been appointed Foreign Minister.

The new Chamber was opened by the King on December 1. It had been feared that an anarchist attempt might be made upon the King, but in the result no untoward incident occurred, although the Socialist deputies left the Chamber during the King's speech, as a protest against monarchical institutions. On the following day Signor Orlando was elected President of the Chamber.

CHAPTER II.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

GERMANY.

THE new German Republic was born under conditions of terrible strain and stress, for which, in many respects, it would be difficult to find any historic parallel. The greatest factor, the dominant force, in the life of the German nation during the previous four and a half years had been the naval blockade. Even the vast military operations were a lesser influence than the work of the British fleet. The deaths from the direct or indirect effects of the grave under-feeding and malnutrition were numerous, and were alleged by the Germans themselves to number over 700,000, but it is the general effect on the population as a whole which needs, in some sense, almost more consideration than the actual deaths. The very perfection of the organisation created by the Imperial Administration to resist the deadly embrace of the British Navy was in the end one of the chief causes of the Empire's complete undoing. The under-feeding was controlled scientifically. And it was general. Notwithstanding numerous individual cases of fraud, it remains true to say that, all in all, the distribution of the inadequate food-stuffs was just. One class of the population did not have sufficient to eat whilst another class starved. All classes were systematically underfed. This had, of course, happened before in the beleaguering of cities and small areas, but never in the case of an entire nation. A whole people was now exhibiting on the greatest scale the results of a prolonged course of semi-starvation. A part of the army, the field army actually facing the foreign foe, was indeed spared the more severe privations which were imposed upon the main mass of the population; but this was the only important exception to the general rule; and,

of course, the individuals of whom the field army was composed were constantly changing. The food situation in Germany was thus quite unlike that in contemporary Russia. The under-feeding was, on the average, less serious in Germany than in Russia, but it was more general, much more equally distributed. No exact statistics are available—none will ever be available—but it is certain that the deaths in Russia were incomparably more numerous than those in Germany. But in Russia, whilst some starved, others suffered little or nothing from food scarcity; and again, in some localities, famine suddenly became acute where previously a sufficiency had existed. This difference was certainly one of the causes of the difference between the Russian and German revolutions. In Russia some sections of the population retained their energy because they were not seriously under-fed; others acquired a violent hysterical energy through a sudden absence of bread which had not been previously experienced. Thus persons in full possession of their natural energy found themselves in an intolerable situation, and the result was unprecedented violence, anarchy, and bloodshed. In Germany but little violence of this kind occurred. Whilst this was, of course, partly due to the difference between the Russian and German characters, it is also certainly to be attributed in considerable measure to the physiological effects of prolonged under-feeding. A strange unheard-of paralysis had come upon the German people. The energy, the tireless vigour, the arrogance, the intense patriotic pride, which were so notoriously characteristic of the Hohenzollern Empire, had vanished utterly. Here was a people listless, lacking in self-respect, indifferent to the most bitter humiliations, without the energy for violent revolt, without the strength to think of revenge, regarding the past with despair, hoping nothing from the future.

This unnatural lethargy was thus the most important factor in directing the course of the revolutionary movement. It placed a check upon violence, and it was one of the causes of the quiet transition from the Hohenzollern to the republican regime in November, 1918. It will be remembered that Herr F. Ebert had become Provisional President of Germany, and that at the end of the year the Supreme Executive, the Federal Cabinet, had been composed of Herr Ebert and five colleagues, all members of the "Majority" Socialist Party. In the early weeks of the revolution three of the six Cabinet portfolios had been held by Independent (or Extreme) Socialists, of whom Herr Haase was the most distinguished. Before the end of December, however, the Independent Socialists had resigned, their places being immediately occupied by Moderate Socialists. There was at first no parliament. Both the Bundesrat and the Reichstag had been dissolved, if not abolished. On the other hand, "Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates"—Soviets—had sprung into existence all over the country, and the Central Soviet representing all Germany exercised considerable

influence, albeit an extra-legal influence, over the Federal Government. The Berlin Soviet was also at first a very influential body, possessing a disproportionately important voice in the management of affairs affecting not only Berlin but the whole country, and attempting on occasion to dictate to the Government. During December, however, the Berlin Soviet came to be overshadowed by the all-Germany Soviet. The influence of the Soviets, it should be noted, was not of an extremist character. As in the case of the Russian Soviets in March, 1917, the Moderate Socialists predominated.

As already emphasised, the revolution was of a singularly placid character; but, nevertheless, a few feeble attempts to overthrow the Ebert Government by violence were made by the Bolshevik or "Spartacist" faction in Berlin. Street fighting occurred in the capital during Christmas, but it was mostly very unreal in character; considerable noise was made with fire-arms, but there were few casualties.

Further and somewhat more serious efforts to create disturbances were made by the Spartacist faction in Berlin at the beginning of January. The two most famous leaders of the Spartacists were Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who had been notorious as extreme communists for many years before the revolution. Liebknecht and the Spartacists must not be confused with the Independent (Minority) Socialist Party led by Herr Haase. The Independent Socialists were much less extreme in their opinions and eschewed violence. The avowed aim of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was to upset by violence the Ebert Government, to establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Germany through the instrumentality of the Soviets, and then, in alliance with the Russian Bolsheviks, to spread the social revolution, by violent means if necessary, to the countries of Western Europe. In a speech to his adherents, delivered at this time, Liebknecht said: "We do not want a lemonade revolution; we will raise an iron fist against all who oppose the social revolution of the proletariat. What we must first expect is the internationalisation of the civil war. The class war has begun in Russia. We demand that the uniformed German proletarians on the Russian frontier should refuse to become the executioners of their Russian brothers, and should shoot down the officers who command them to commit such disgraceful deeds. Radek," he continued "brought us yesterday the fraternal greetings of the Soviet Government. Our answer shall be to proclaim a joint struggle of the German and Russian proletarians against our common enemy, the Entente;"

Rosa Luxemburg's speeches were also couched in violent terms, and her object also was to establish an international dictatorship of the proletariat.

On January 5 serious rioting broke out in the Prussian capital. Spartacist partisans armed with hand-grenades and

other weapons marched through the streets, and made attacks upon various buildings, including the Wolffs Bureau Telegraph Station, and the head offices of several newspapers, the *Vorwärts*, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Vossische Zeitung*, and others. Liebknecht endeavoured to fan the flames of the insurrectionary movement. The Spartacists began publishing the captured *Vorwärts* under the name of *Der Bote Vorwärts*. Proclamations were issued demanding that the Government should disarm all military officers, that all symbols of military rank should be abolished, and that all military authority should henceforth be vested in the Soldiers' Councils, which should elect all officers. Thus the first efforts of the Spartacists, as of the extreme Russian revolutionaries before them, were directed against the discipline of the Army. In the face of these demands, however, the Government remained firm, and the majority of the troops remained loyal. The Spartacists took several of the railway stations by storm, and held them for several days. Herr Noske, the War Minister, acted with energy and decision, however; and his organisation of the Government forces was designed not only to overpower the insurgents, but to restrict the bloodshed as far as might be practicable. Troops from all the garrisons in Brandenburg poured into Berlin. The most serious conflict seems to have taken place at the Anhalt station, when it was recaptured by the loyalists, numerous hand-grenades, gas-bombs, and machine-guns being used. One by one the railway stations were recaptured, but the extremists held out with fanatical courage, and were buoyed up by rumours—totally devoid of foundation—that Russian Bolshevik forces were marching to their rescue, and had already been allowed to pass into Germany by mutinous German frontier troops. On January 9 the loyalists made systematic attempts to recapture the newspaper offices, but they were at first driven back by the defenders, who rejected all demands that they should surrender. On the night of January 9-10, however, the Spartacists suffered heavily, and on the 10th, 11th, and 12th all the buildings were recaptured by the troops, including the police station, where the Spartacist headquarters were established. In some localities an armistice was put into force on the 10th, but in other places, notably at the office of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the insurgents fought to the last. In places the conflict was bitter. The Government stated that the Spartacists went so far as to try certain loyalist prisoners by "court-martial," and "executed" them. On the other hand, some Spartacist partisans found carrying arms appear to have been shot without ceremony. By January 13 order was re-established throughout the capital.

The result of the insurrection was no less disastrous for the Spartacist leaders than for their cause. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who had remained in Berlin throughout the disturbances, were arrested by soldiers on January 15. They were both taken to the Eden Hotel for the preliminary examination.

The news that the Spartacist leaders had been arrested spread quickly, and a large hostile crowd collected outside the hotel. After the examination Liebknecht was taken to a side exit from the hotel and was hurried into an automobile in order that he might be transferred to the Moabit Police Station. He seems to have been roughly handled by the crowd whilst getting out of the hotel, but the motor-car moved away and shook off the mob. In order to avoid the crowd, the car was driven through the Tiergarten, but on the journey through the park it broke down. It was stated that the guards urged Liebknecht to proceed on foot, but that before he had gone many paces, he attempted to escape. The official account stated that the escort shouted several times to the fugitive to stop, and that when he did not do so, several of the guards fired. One bullet struck Liebknecht between the shoulders and he died immediately. Rosa Luxemburg's fate was somewhat different. She was taken from the hotel after Liebknecht had gone. It appears that the escort made some effort to mislead the mob by giving out (whilst the prisoner was still in the hotel) that she had already been taken away to the prison. She was then hurried into a motor-car, but the crowd quickly discovered the ruse—if ruse there had really been—and before the automobile had proceeded far, it was stopped and stormed by the mob. The unfortunate woman was beaten, and it appears that she was finally shot by one of the crowd. The corpse was dragged away by the infuriated populace, and was not recovered for several months.

When the news of the death of the two Spartacist leaders spread through the capital, the majority of the people appear to have been relieved rather than shocked. Whilst of course nothing can excuse the anarchy of "lynch-law," it must be admitted that both these extreme and unbalanced revolutionaries had themselves constantly incited mobs to violent deeds. And they had been the cause of much fratricidal strife in Berlin. Strongly as we must condemn the cowardly murder of Rosa Luxemburg, and the shooting of Karl Liebknecht (which was probably callous and unnecessary), it must be made clear that the victims were in no sense harmless pacifist martyrs. The end which they met was one to which they had been fully prepared to send others.

The funeral of Liebknecht took place in Berlin on January 25. The Government took very thorough measures for the preservation of order, and the ceremony passed off without any disturbance.¹

The first great event of the year was the General Election for the new National Assembly of the German Republic. This took place on January 19. Full adult suffrage was established, every German man and woman over twenty years of age (and not in-

¹References to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will be found in the *Obituary*, pp. 172-3.

capacitated in some special manner) being entitled to vote: The principle of proportional representation was also adopted, the country being divided into a relatively small number of large constituencies (thirty-seven), each returning from six to seventeen members. It was clear from the outset that a most instructive comparison would be possible with the results of the elections for the former Imperial Reichstag, the latter assembly having been sufficiently democratic to make comparison profitable. The franchise and mode of election for the Reichstag, it will be remembered, were closely comparable to the system prevailing contemporaneously in Great Britain for the election of the House of Commons, the Reichstag being, however, somewhat more democratic.¹ Full manhood suffrage existed for the Reichstag elections, and the principle of the second ballot prevented the election of members on a minority vote, which so often occurred in Great Britain. There was, however, no system of proportional representation. The chief anomaly in the Reichstag elections arose from the need for a redistribution of seats, the unequal growth of population having caused the great towns to become under-represented and the rural districts to be over-represented. This inequality had favoured the more Conservative parties. Similar anomalies in the distribution of seats, arising from the same cause, are familiar to all students of British politics. Notwithstanding the absence of proportional representation in the Reichstag elections, it would clearly be possible to compare the strength of the different parties in the old Imperial Lower House with their strength in the new popular assembly; and it would obviously be still more practicable and instructive to compare the strength of the parties in the old and the new electorates respectively. It was true that women had now been given the vote. But it was reasonable to suppose that the different sections of women would, in the main, be divided in much the same manner as the men; and this was particularly to be expected in a country such as Germany, where, in a party-political sense, class consciousness was highly developed.

The political parties had changed their names, but, except of course in the matter of the monarchy, they had not revised their principles to any very serious extent. Even in regard to the monarchy, it is to be doubted whether the conversion of the Non-Socialist parties to republicanism was much more than a formality. Indeed, in the case of the Conservatives, the acquiescence in the new regime was avowedly a matter of expediency and not of fundamental conviction. The Social Democrats had, of course, always been republicans; and, with whatever degree of sincerity or insincerity, the moderate parties and even the National Liberals had now also adopted the

¹More democratic in respect of its constitution, but of course much less democratic than the House of Commons in respect of its powers.

republican faith. The old parties were newly named as follows: The German National People's Party (Conservatives); the German People's Party (National Liberals); the Christian People's Party (the Centre); the German Democratic Party (the Radicals); the Social Democratic Party (the "Majority" Socialists); and the Independent Social Democratic Party (the "Minority" Socialists). The sentiments of the National Party were not changed; these Conservatives were merely embittered by failure. They were still led by that honest if narrow-minded nobleman, Count Westarp. They could expect the support of almost the whole of the squirearchy, and of many of the agriculturists, especially in the east, but they were known to be numerically weak. A section of the National Liberals were said to have joined the new Democratic Party. The Christian People's Party were now asking for the support of clerically-minded Protestants, as well as of Catholics. This party was still led by Dr. Spahn and Herr Erzberger. The Radicals, the new "German Democratic Party," had strengthened their position during the revolution, and their adherence to the new republican regime was probably not altogether lacking in sincerity. They possessed able leaders, including Professor Hugo Preuss, Herr Theodor Wolff, Herr Fischbeck, and Herr Conrad Haussmann. These politicians were Free Traders and were in favour of a large degree of nationalisation of industry. The Social Democratic Party were of course the Ministerialists, and few doubted that they were the strongest single party; though, on the other hand, there appeared to be little prospect that they would dominate the assembly without allies. The Independent Socialists had been dissentients during the war, and had refused to vote the war credits after the Russian collapse in 1915. After the revolution they suffered in public esteem owing to their compromising attitude towards the Spartacists. The latter group refused to take any part in the General Election on the ground that the National Assembly could have no just right to govern the country, since the upper and middle classes ought to have no voice whatever in the control of the affairs of State. The Spartacists were in this respect following out consistently their Bolshevik principles, but they were no doubt also aware of their numerical insignificance.

The elections were most orderly, and great interest was displayed in the contests. Over 95 per cent, of the electors went to the poll. It was originally arranged that the elections should extend to Alsace-Lorraine, but this was not permitted by the Allied Powers. The voting in the Polish districts of Prussia was also disturbed and hampered by the friction between the Prussians and the Poles and by the uncertainty surrounding the destinies of these various districts.

The results of the elections for the German Assembly were as follows:—

German National People's Party.		42
German People's Party.		21
Christian People's Party		88
German Democratic Party.		75
Social Democratic Party.		168
Independent Social Democratic Party.		21
Others.		11

421

It will be seen at a glance that as compared with the membership of the last Reichstag,¹ the Socialists had gained, not only fortuitously through the redistribution of seats and proportional representation, but also in real political support. The erstwhile National Liberals suffered very severely; the Conservatives had also lost, but mainly through the redistribution of seats. The Clericals had not quite maintained their former position, but the German Democratic Party, as had been anticipated, were more influential than the old Progressives had been. The Democrats and the Majority Socialists together possessed a majority of 55. On the other hand, in the unlikely event of all the Non-Socialist parties combining, they would possess almost the same majority over the two Socialist parties. In point of fact, however, the Democrats were much more in sympathy with the Moderate Socialists than with the German National Party.

Another feature which should be noted is that the old Reichstag majority—the Moderate Bloc which existed throughout the later stages of the war, and which consisted of the Centre, the Radicals, and the Majority Socialists—was returned once more to the new National Assembly as an overwhelmingly powerful majority—a larger majority than before. This was highly significant. And the result leaves no doubt that the Reichstag truly represented the mind of the German people during the war.

The failure of the Independent Socialists was complete. Indeed, the most notable point in the election results, when allowance is made for redistribution and proportional representation, is the close approximation to the political complexion of the Reichstag. There had been an appreciable, but not especially striking, growth of moderate Socialism during the war. No other important change in political sentiment was indicated by the elections.

The following statistics of the votes cast for the chief parties were published at the end of January:—

German National People's Party.		2,729,186
German People's Party.		1,106,408
Christian People's Party.		5,338,804
German Democratic Party.		5,552,930
Social Democratic Party.		11,112,450
Independent Social Democratic Party		2,186,305

¹ There were 397 seats in the Reichstag, and at its abolition the strength of parties was approximately as follows: Cons., 71; N.L., 45; Centre, 88; Rad., 46; Mai. Soc, 85; Min. Soc, 24; Poles, 18; others. 20.

This accounts for over 28,000,000 votes. The other small parties polled fewer than 400,000 votes. It will be noticed that notwithstanding the system of proportional representation, the membership of the House did not exactly represent the feeling of the country. The Independent Socialists were under-represented and the Clericals were over-represented. It should be added that the proportional representation was contrived by means of party-lists of candidates, each party being entitled to put up as many candidates as there were seats for the particular constituency. The votes were thus cast for party-lists rather than for individual candidates. This system of election had the incidental result of making the election of the chosen leaders of all parties practically certain.

In Berlin the Socialists were more successful than elsewhere. The Majority Socialists (headed by Scheidemann) secured over 365,000 votes, and the Minority group was supported by no fewer than 275,000 electors. There were just over a million votes cast in Berlin altogether, so that in the Prussian capital the Socialists represented 64 per cent, of the electorate. The Democrats (led by Herr Naumann) secured 163,000 votes. The two parties of the Right together secured under 150,000 votes. The Clerical Party—still mainly Catholic—was naturally weak in Protestant Berlin. It will be remembered that Berlin was strongly Socialist even before the revolution. In Hamburg, which became extremist from the first moment of the revolution, the Independent Socialists won six of the eight seats, the other[#] two being gained by the National Party and the Democrats respectively. In Bavaria, as might have been expected, the Clericals were the strongest party. The returns from East Prussia—the home of *Junkertum*—are also of some interest. In this province only two members of the National Party were elected, and only one representative of the German People's Party, the other successful candidates being one Clerical, three Democrats, and seven Majority Socialists. Thus did the peasantry of the most Conservative province rally to the cause of modern democracy. It must be added that several women were elected to the new House of Representatives.

A week later, on Sunday, January 26, the elections were held for the Prussian Constituent Assembly. Owing to the entirely undemocratic character of the old Prussian diet, no comparison is possible with the elections to the Lower House of the former monarchic Parliament. Under the Hohenzollerns the real voice of the Prussian people was to be heard only from the Prussian members of the Reichstag, and not in the Prussian Parliament. The results of the new elections were closely similar to those for the German Assembly. Excluding the province of Posen, there were 380 seats to be filled, and these results were as follows:—

German National People's Party.		41
German People's Party.		18
Christian People's Party.		87
Democratic Party		61
Social Democratic Party.		142
Independent Social Democratic Party.		24
Others.		7
Total.		380

It will be noticed that the complexion of the House was somewhat less Progressive than that of the German Assembly. The Moderate Socialists and the Democrats together possessed a majority of 26, but on the other hand the total non-Socialist majority was 48.

The General Election in Bavaria took place a fortnight earlier, on January 12, and the results were as follows —

National Liberals.		7
Christian People's Party		55
Democratic Party.		28
Social Democratic Party.		50
Independent Socialists		4
Peasant's Union -	-	18
Total.		162

It will be seen that these Bavarian results are very different from those already given for the German and Prussian elections. The political situation in Bavaria, owing to the existence of the Peasants League and other factors, was not, however, entirely comparable to that in North Germany. As was also the case in the monarchic Bavarian House of Representatives, no Conservatives were elected. The combined Democrats and Moderate Socialists were, however, in a minority, and the total non-Socialist majority was no less than 54—the Socialists being only one-third of the House. It should be added that in Bavaria the Clericals went under the special local name of the "Bavarian People's Party,"

The General Election in Saxony took place on February 3, and the results were as follows :—

German National People's Party.		13
German People's Party.		4
Democratic Party		22
Social Democratic Party.		42
Independent Socialists.		15
Total.		96

Thus in Saxony the two Socialist groups possessed a majority overall the non-Socialist parties combined.

The elections in Wurtemberg were held at the same time as those in Bavaria, and the parties were returned to the Constituent Assembly in Stuttgart in the following numbers:—

Conservatives and National Liberals (Coalition)	-	-	-	25
Christian People's Party	-	.	.	81
Democratic Party	-	.	.	38
Social Democratic Party	-	.	.	52
Independent Socialists.	.	.	.	4
Total.	.	.	.	150

These figures proved that the Clericals were much less influential in Wurtemberg than in Bavaria. On the other hand, the Liberals were more powerful here than in any other part of Germany, and a moderate brand of Conservatism also attracted considerable support.

It was arranged that the new German Parliament should sit in Weimar, not in Berlin. It was thought that public sentiment would be averse from constituting Berlin as the legislative capital of the new republic, since that city was all too reminiscent of the disastrous Hohenzollern regime. The session was opened on February 6, and the sitting was held in the well-known National Theatre, this building being, however, very imperfectly adapted for a legislature. A long speech was made by Herr Ebert, who, it will be remembered, had been acting since the revolution as Provisional President of Germany. He said that the Government owed its mandate to the revolution, but it now willingly surrendered it to the Constituent Assembly. The German monarchs had, he said, gone for ever, and it was the old regime and not the young republic which had brought defeat, starvation, and misery upon the people. Turning to the terms of the armistice, Herr Ebert said that these were merciless and were being ruthlessly enforced. The Entente proposed to make the peace a peace of exploitation instead of a peace of reconciliation. The Germans demanded a peace on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, in accordance with the promises made to them in November and on the strength of which they had disarmed. The German people would not submit to being converted into slaves for forty or sixty years. "Neither can we give up the idea of uniting the whole of the German Nation within the bounds of one realm. As early as November 12 of last year, our German-Austrian brothers in their National Assembly, declared themselves to be a part of the great German Republic, and now the German-Austrian National Assembly, amidst enthusiastic demonstrations, has again sent us its greetings, and expressed the hope that our National Assembly and theirs will succeed in reuniting the country, which was torn asunder by violence in 1866. German-Austria, it says, must be united with the mother-country for all time. I am certain that I am expressing the views of the whole National Assembly when I welcome wholeheartedly and joyfully this historic manifesto, and answer it with cordial brotherly affection. Our comrades by race and fate may be assured that we welcome them with open arms and hearts into the new realm of the German

Nation. They belong to us and we belong to them." These passages in Herr Ebert's speech were received with loud applause. In conclusion, the speaker said that the spirit of militarism was dead in Germany, and that the spirit of 1848 was abroad in the land.

Long conferences of the members of the several parties were held, and it is noteworthy that at the meeting of the Majority Socialists, delegates from Austria were present. On February 6, too, Herr David, a Socialist and Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was elected President of the Assembly.

On February 11, Herr Friedrich Ebert was elected President of Germany by the National Assembly. The form of Government then adopted resembled the French rather than the American system; an office of Prime Minister was created in addition to that of the President. Herr Philip Scheidemann undertook to form a Ministry, and owing to the willingness of the Democrats and Clericals to co-operate with the Majority Socialists, he was able to form a very strong and representative Administration. The Cabinet was constituted as follows:—

Prime Minister (Chancellor) -	-	-	Herr P. Scheidemann.
Minister of Finance (and Vice-Premier)			Herr B. Dernburg.
Foreign Minister.			Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau.
Minister of the Interior	-	-	Dr. Hugo Preuss
Minister of Labour	-		Herr J. Bauer.
Minister of Reconstruction	-	-	Herr Wissell.
Minister of Food Supplies	-	-	Herr R. Schmidt.
Minister for the Colonies	-	-	Dr. Bell.
Minister of Justice	.	.	Herr Landsberg.
Minister of Defence	.	.	Herr Q. Noske.
Minister of Ports	.	.	Herr Giesberts.
Ministers without Portfolio	-	-	Herrren M. Erzberger, David, and Gothein.

The presence in the Government of Herr Dernburg, of the Democratic Party, and Herr Erzberger, the famous Clerical politician, much increased the stability of the Administration. Herr Ebert was born in 1870 and Herr Scheidemann in 1869. When Herr David took his seat in the Cabinet, the Presidency of the Assembly fell to Herr Fehrenbach, formerly President of the Reichstag. It will be noticed that the whole trend of political events was to bring the old Reichstag "bloc" into its legitimate heritage of power.

On February 14 Count v. Brockdorff-Bantzau delivered a speech to the Assembly dealing at length with the foreign situation. The Minister opened by complaining that peace had not already been concluded, and said that since Dr. Wilson's principles had been accepted by all the belligerents, there was no sufficient reason for the delay. The Count demanded that the German ownership of the German colonies should at least obtain recognition in some form. Alsace-Lorraine should be granted the right of self-determination. The French plans for annexing the Saar Valley and the Bavarian Palatinate, he characterised as outrageous, and likened them to the schemes of the German

Conservatives for seizing Longwy and Briey. Referring to the Germans of Austria, the Foreign Minister complained of the tyrannous manner in which the Czechs were treating the population of German-speaking Bohemia. In regard to Poland, the Federal Government were willing to cede all the districts which possessed undoubted Polish majorities, and Poland ought to be granted safe commercial communication with the Baltic. This could be done by a friendly regulation of traffic on the Vistula, and ought not to involve any alienation of the Province of West Prussia from Germany. The German Government would willingly grant the right-of self-determination to the Danes of Schleswig. The German Government, concluded the speaker, would endeavour to convince the enemy of the justice of the German claims.

On the following day a long debate took place. The Independent Socialists, who, being embittered by their failure at the polls, were becoming increasingly more extreme, demanded that the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils should be given a place in the government of the country. The Ministry resisted these demands, and Herr Noske declared that the disorders, which were condemned by the vast majority of the nation, would be put down with a strong hand.

In the meantime, however, Spartacist outbreaks occurred in various parts of Germany, and the troops at the disposal of the Federal Government were too weak in numbers to police the country effectively in these troublous days. In Bavaria there was a second revolution which may be compared to the Eussian *coup d'etat* of November, 1917, and to the subsequent success of the Bolsheviks in the Hungarian capital. On February 21, Herr Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian President, was shot and killed by a reactionary army officer, Count Arco Valley. The assassination took place as the President was proceeding to the Parliament House in Munich. The natural result of the crime was to enrage the extremists of the Left, both the Independent Socialists and the avowed Spartacists. Eisner, it will be remembered, was himself a Minority Socialist, and had always represented tendencies more extreme than those of Berlin and Weimar.

Eisner was by birth a Galician Jew, his original name being Salomon Kusnowsky. He was at one time one of the editors of *Vorwärts* and wrote a life of the great Wilhelm Liebknecht. Consequently when the Majority Socialists obtained exclusive control of the *Vorwärts* he was obliged to resign his editorial position.

The assassination of Eisner led to further violence, even in the Bavarian Parliament House itself. The legislature met that same day and Herr Auer, the Minister of the Interior, and a Majority Socialist, opened the proceedings by making a speech deploring the assassination of the Premier. Auer, though an opponent of Eisners extremist policy, was no doubt horrified

at the foul deed of the royalist assassin, and he was urging the legislators to use all their influence to prevent further violence, when a shot rang out from behind a curtain in the Chamber and Auer himself fell to the ground dangerously wounded. The assassin made no attempt to escape, but fired several more shots at the Government benches before he was seized, and several other legislators were killed and wounded. The assassin was said to be a Spartacist who resented Auer's determined opposition to the interference of the Soviets in the administration of the country.

After these events anarchy ensued in Munich, and for weeks there was a constant struggle proceeding between the adherents of the diet and the Spartacist extremists. There was at first an attempt by three neurotic extremists named Niekisch, Sekuser, and Gandari'er to seize power. But these three partisans proved too violent even for the Spartacists, and a Soviet Congress held in Munich at the beginning of March acknowledged a certain Herr Segetz (a Minority Socialist) as Premier of the Bavarian Republic. The Spartacists were, however, far from being in control of the Bavarian capital. The moderate Socialists and the Liberals were never suppressed to the extent which prevailed in contemporary Hungary. The chief sufferers from the outbreak of violence were, however, the South German nobility, many of whom were seized and imprisoned and even murdered by the Spartacists in revenge for the assassination of Eisner. A notable feature of the civil war which had now broken out in Bavaria was that there was no interference by the German Federal Government. The German Government did, indeed, declare that they could not acknowledge a Soviet republic in Bavaria, but they did not actually take sides against the Spartacists, and the whole matter was therefore fought out between the two Bavarian factions themselves. Early in March an attempt was made by the Majority Socialists and the Spartacists to come to an agreement, on the basis of a compromise which acknowledged the Soviets as well as the diet as controlling authorities over the Bavarian Government, Herr Segetz to act as Premier of a Cabinet including Majority Socialists, Minority Socialists, and Spartacists. It was suggested that Herr Niekisch should be included in the Cabinet, but that his two friends should be rejected. No stable arrangement was reached, however. And the essential incompatibility of the Soviets and the diet became apparent before many days had passed. In the middle of March the diet once more resumed its sittings and proceeded immediately to elect Herr Hoffmann, a well-known Majority Socialist, as Premier. It was obviously impossible to have the Government of this, or any other, country, controlled by one council (the diet) representing the whole nation, and at the same time by another council (the Central Soviet) representing merely one of the classes in the nation. No country could at one and the same time be controlled by a democratic regime

.and by a class-dictatorship. Hence it caused no surprise when on April 4 troops representing the Soviets seized the Bavarian Parliament House, and proceeded to proclaim the establishment of a purely Soviet Government. The extremists obtained temporary control of Munich, and Herr Hoffmann and the leading members of the parliament fled to Bamberg. A few days later the constitutionalists regained control of the capital, but after forty-eight hours they were once more overthrown by the Spartacists. After this the civil war assumed a more serious and formal character. For several weeks two Governments existed in Bavaria, the Soviet Ministry in Munich and the constitutional Cabinet in Bamberg. Except in the capital, the greater part of Bavaria adhered to Herr Hoffmann, but the Soviets seized control temporarily in Augsburg and Würzburg. The Government succeeded in getting an army together and marched upon Munich, and on May 1 the capital was entered in force by the Government troops. The Spartacists put up a fanatical resistance. They also followed the example set up by the Russian Bolsheviks and murdered many of the hostages whom they had taken. The latter included well-known members of Royal and noble families, both men and women. Among those done to death by the Spartacists were Prince Albert of Thurn and Taxis and his wife, formerly an Archduchess of Austria; and also the Countess Westarp, wife of the well-known Conservative leader in the Reichstag. After this severe defeat of the Spartacists, Herr Hoffmann's Government was established in Munich.

Whilst these events were taking place in Bavaria, there were also disturbances in other parts of Germany, but they were not nearly so serious as the anarchic conditions prevailing in Munich. And the National Assembly of Weimar was able to set to work upon its first great task of internal reform, the drawing up of the provisional constitution for Germany. In the early days of the revolution much was heard of a project to break up the great State of Prussia into smaller units, but in the end public feeling proved to be against any such proposal, and Prussia emerged from the revolutionary upheaval with only those losses of territory which were dictated by foreign Powers. Professor Hugo Preuss was mainly responsible for drawing up the actual text of the Bill which was to establish the new provisional constitution of the German nation, and this Bill was laid before the assembly as early as the middle of February. The text of the Bill was as follows:—

CLAUSE I.—The Constituent German National Assembly has the task of resolving upon the future Federal Constitution and also of passing other urgent Federal legislation.

CLAUSE II.—The introduction of proposals by the Federal Government (Clause IV. notwithstanding) requires the consent of the States Committee.

In the States Committee every German Free State has at

least one vote. The larger Free States have in principle one vote per one million inhabitants, and any surplus number of inhabitants which amounts to not less than the total number of inhabitants of the smallest Free State will be reckoned as a full million. No Free State can have more than one-third of the votes. Accordingly, Prussia will be represented in the States Committee by nineteen votes, Bavaria by eight votes, Saxony by five votes, Wurtemberg and Baden by three votes each, Hesse by two votes, and the other Federal States by one vote.

A member of the Federal Government will preside over the States Committee.

If German-Austria joins the German Bealm she will have the right to participate in the States Committee with a number of votes to be fixed by law. In the meantime she will participate with a consultative voice.

If an agreement is not reached between the Federal Government and the States Committee, either of them can present its Bill to the National Assembly for decision.

CLAUSE III.—The members of the Federal Government and of the States Committee can take part in the proceedings of the National Assembly and can claim to be heard at any time in order to express the views of their Governments.

CLAUSE IV.—The future Federal Constitution will be voted by the National Assembly. The territory of a free State cannot, however, be altered without its consent.

For the rest, a Bill becomes law by agreement between the National Assembly and the States Committee. If such agreement cannot be reached, the President of the Bealm must bring about the decision by vote of the people.

CLAUSE V.—Articles 21-23 and 26-32 of the former Imperial Constitution are applied to the National Assembly. [These Articles were concerned with the proceedings of the Reichstag, status of its members, etc.]

CLAUSE VI.—The affairs of the Bealm will be conducted by a President of the Realm. The President of the Bealm has to represent the Bealm internationally, to enter into treaties with Foreign Powers in the name of the Bealm, and to accredit and to receive diplomatic representatives. Declarations of war and conclusions of peace are effected by federal legislation.

Treaties with Foreign States which concern subjects of federal legislation require the assent of the National Assembly and the States Committee.

As soon as the German Bealm has adhered to a League of Nations aiming at the exclusion of all secret treaties, all treaties with the States that are united in the League of Nations will require the assent of the National Assembly and of the States Committee. The President of the Bealm is obliged to publish in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* the federal laws and treaties concluded in accordance with Clauses I.-IV.

CLAUSE VII.—The President of the Realm shall be elected by the National Assembly by an absolute majority of votes. His office will continue until the entry into office of the new President of the Realm who shall be elected upon the basis of the Federal Constitution.

CLAUSE VIII.—For the conduct of the government of the federation the President of the Realm will appoint a Ministry of the Realm, to which all the federal authorities and the Supreme Command of the Army will be subordinate.

The Ministers of the Realm must enjoy the confidence of the National Assembly for their conduct of office.

CLAUSE IX.—All civil and military regulations and ordinances of the President of the Realm require the counter-signature of a Minister of the Realm.

The Ministers of the Realm are responsible to the National Assembly for the conduct of their official business.

The Bill was passed by the National Assembly within a few days and with only trifling alterations in its text. The criticism was, however, made in many quarters in Germany that the Act preserved too fully the powers of the individual States and gave insufficient authority to the Federal Parliament and Federal Government. The text of this Constitution shows the reader the nature of the regime under which the German nation lived and acted during the first year of its republican existence.

Whilst the disorders were taking place in Bavaria there was another attempt by the Spartacists to upset the Government in Berlin, and quite serious fighting occurred in the Prussian capital during March. Once more, however, Herr Noske's admirable organisation succeeded in bearing the strain, and after considerable bloodshed the rebels were compelled to surrender unconditionally. The Government were assisted, in particular, by a volunteer corps consisting entirely of ex-military officers and cadets and numbering about 2,000. This corps consisted, naturally, of born soldiers, and though many of them were monarchists they were determined to support the existing Constitutional Government against the Bolshevik bandits.

After the suppression of the outbreaks in Berlin and Munich, the attention of the country was directed exclusively towards the doings of its unhappy delegates to Paris. When the peace terms became known they caused dismay throughout Germany. Both the territorial losses and the stupendous claims for reparation were regarded as crushing; and even Germans such as Prince Lichnowsky, who had never supported the German Government during the war, declared that the terms were unjustly severe and cruel. It was also declared that the territorial clauses did not conform with the requirements of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. As stated elsewhere (see France) the decision of the Allies to compel the Germans to sign the Peace Treaty with but slight modifications, caused the downfall of Herr Scheidtmatt's Cabinet and the resignation of Count-

von Brockdorff-Bantzau, who, it will be remembered, had been Foreign Minister and Head of the German delegation to Versailles. Herr Bauer, a well-known Majority Socialist, who had not been a member of the previous Cabinet, was asked by Herr Ebert to form a Ministry, and he succeeded in doing so on June 21. Several of the members of the new Cabinet had served under Herr Scheidemann, these including Dr. David (Minister of the Interior), Herr Erzberger (Minister of Finance), Herr Giesberts (Minister of Posts), and Herr Noske (the distinguished Minister of Defence). Herr H. Muller became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and he was immediately appointed as the chief delegate to Versailles. On June 26 it was announced that Herr Muller and Dr. Bell (Minister of Communications) would sign the Treaty on behalf of Germany.

As stated elsewhere (see France) the Peace Treaty was duly signed at Versailles on June 28.

On July 9 the Government introduced into the National Assembly a Bill to ratify the Peace Treaty, and it was passed through all stages in the House with great rapidity. Speakers of all parties, including the Independent Socialists, protested against the terms which had been imposed. It was declared unanimously that in passing the Bill the House was merely submitting to the compulsion of superior force. The National Party introduced a motion embodying certain reservations, but the Government intimated that it was too late for any action of this character, and the Conservative amendment was therefore defeated. The third reading of the Bill was passed on the same day by 208 votes to 115, and in the evening Herr Ebert, as President, ratified the Treaty.

The Treaty of Peace having been disposed of, the National Assembly turned to the more congenial task of drawing up a permanent Constitution for Germany. This work proceeded very rapidly and the Constitution Bill was passed by the National Assembly on the last day of July. The document embodying this Constitution was of great length, and it was, in the main, a great expansion of the Provisional Constitution of which details have already been given. The first Article stated categorically that the German State was a republic. Two Houses of Parliament were instituted, the Lower House, for which the old name of *Reichstag* was preserved, being elected directly by the universal suffrage of all men and women over twenty years of age. The Upper House, now named the *Reichsrat*, represented as before the Federal States. No one State was to possess more than two-fifths of the votes in the *Reichsrat*. It was laid down that the legislatures of each of the component States must be based upon universal adult suffrage and proportional representation. The President was to be elected by the whole German people for a period of seven years,, and was to be endowed with large powers, notwithstanding the fact that the new Constitution (like the Constitution of the

French Republic) provided for an office of Prime Minister (or Chancellor) in addition to that of President. It should be stated that the Constitution Bill was passed in the National Assembly by 262 votes to 75, the minority consisting of the National Party, the German People's Party, and the Independent Socialists. One provision of the Constitution gave the right to representatives of Austria to sit in the Reichsrat, though it was provided that they should not have the right to vote until after the union of Austria with the rest of Germany. This last provision naturally attracted the attention of the Allied Governments, who pointed out that by Article 80 of the Peace Treaty, Germany had undertaken to respect the independence of Austria. The Allied Governments therefore demanded that this provision should be abolished; and hence in September the Article in question was erased from the German Constitution.

Questions of finance naturally caused great anxiety to all the statesmen and publicists of Germany during the year. The most prominent feature in the financial situation was the appalling collapse in the value of the mark, which at the end of the year was worth only $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. in English money. Owing to this adverse rate of exchange it is impossible to tell what the real indebtedness of the German State was, for the exchange itself, though remaining low, was constantly fluctuating. The German Government stated in the spring that the total war expenditure of Germany had been 186,000,000,000 marks, which, at the old rate of exchange, would of course have been equivalent to 9,300,000,000l. The total debt of the Federal Government was given as 160,000,000,000 marks. At the end of June Herr Erzberger, Minister of Finance, introduced a scheme for a drastic levy on capital which, beginning at 10 per cent, on fortunes of 1,000l. (nominal) rose to 70 per cent, on very large fortunes. It was hoped in this manner to raise a sum of 4,000,000,000l. (nominal).

In provincial politics, the most notable event was the restriction in the powers of the individual States which was brought about by the adoption of the new Constitution for the federation. The powers of the States did, indeed, remain large, but were less extensive than under the Hohenzollern regime. In accordance with the new Constitution, all the Bavarian legations abroad were closed, since foreign policy was now exclusively the concern of the Federal Government.

The Prussian Government, of which Herr Hirsch, a well-known Majority Socialist, was Premier, were mainly occupied with economic reforms, and more particularly with the breaking-up of the large landed estates which had existed for so many generations,

Some of the minor States made generous financial provision for the deposed royal Houses.

AUSTRIA.

The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the autumn of 1918, left the small German nucleus, around which that great congeries of States had been built up during many centuries, in a pitiable condition. The breaking away of the Polish, Czecho-Slovak, Jugo-Slav, Hungarian, and other fragments of the Habsburg dominions, left only the core of Austria still attached to the historic Imperial capital; that core, although it had never at any time constituted a single and separate German State, had always been and had always remained German, and the people of Vienna and its neighbourhood remembered that in history they had in truth been the very heart of the German Empire. Thus the dissolution of the empire led to a singular emergence of the real Austria. In the recent past the name Austria—Austria, altogether apart from the Hungarian moiety of the monarchy—had applied to a heterogeneous collection of territories of half-a-dozen different nationalities possessing only an administrative and dynastic unity. The name, which had originally belonged only to the central part of the German core—to the two provinces of Upper and Lower Austria—had come to apply to a large spread of territory in Central Europe which included considerable fragments of six different nationalities. Except, therefore, in a bureaucratic sense, the name became almost meaningless. It corresponded neither to a nation nor to a language. And the growth of the sense of nationality, based mainly on linguistic affinity, during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth century had caused the artificial character of the administrative unity to become painfully apparent. Yet whilst the separatist tendencies were becoming more and more marked in the outer provinces, a movement of the reverse character was taking place near the centre of the realm. A real Austria was gradually being formed, which, whilst it was a much smaller thing than the Austria of diplomacy, was yet larger than the two historic provinces of Upper and Lower Austria. The self-same force, a growing consciousness of nationality, which caused Galicians, Bohemians, and Slovenes to move away from Vienna, brought to all the German provinces at the centre of the empire a sense of kinship and unity other than the fortuitous common allegiance to the reigning house. Austria—the two provinces—had utterly failed to bind to itself the alien districts which came under Vienna; but it had inevitably absorbed the nearer domains of like speech with itself. Thus a real Austria came to exist in fact, before the dissolution, before the war, before it had any admitted right to the name—and before the casual foreign observer had perceived what had happened.

It was over a State formed in this manner that the leading Social Democrats of Vienna established their authority in November, 1918. The lead was taken by Dr. Karl Renner, one of the best-known Socialists in Austria, and he became provisional

Prime Minister of the little country. He was supported by a Cabinet composed of Socialists and certain other democratic politicians, not formal Socialists, who were indeed well known in Socialist circles in Austria, but who had hitherto been hardly heard of elsewhere. Among the more prominent members of the Cabinet were Dr. Ender (Vice-Chancellor), Dr. F. Klein (Minister for Foreign Affairs), and Dr. J. Schumpeter (Minister of Finance).

The country over which Dr. Renner came to rule, however, did not include the whole of German Austria. The Allied Governments made it known from the first that they would not allow the German-speaking district of Bohemia to become part of the German-Austrian republic; and this district was therefore compelled to join the newly-formed Czecho-Slovak State. It may be remarked in passing, that if the district known as German Bohemia had been separated from Bohemia at all, it would have been more natural geographically for it to have become part of Saxony, with which it had a long common boundary, rather than with Austria proper, with which it was united only by a narrow strip of territory.

Moreover, it soon became known that the Allies would sanction, for strategic reasons, the annexation to Italy of certain parts of German-speaking South Tyrol, the Italians holding that it was necessary for them to advance their frontier as far as the Brenner Pass. Both German Bohemia and South Tyrol were anxious to remain parts of German Austria, but by a strange paradox, the people of the little province of Vorarlberg, who were desirous of uniting with the Swiss confederation, found that the Peace Conference would not sanction any such cession. The net result of the territorial changes was that Vienna remained the capital of a State comprising only about 7,000,000 persons.

The union of the different provinces of German Austria was not, however, the only territorial question which was occupying the attention of Vienna. The Viennese were even more anxious to be reunited with the main body of Germany, from which they had been so artificially separated in 1866. And accordingly in January a resolution was passed unanimously by the Provisional Assembly of the German Austrian Republic, declaring that German Austria was a part of the German realm. Much dismay was caused in the country when it became known that the Allied Governments would not sanction the reuniting of the Vienna district with Germany.

The first political event of the year was the General Election for the National Constituent Assembly, which was held on February 16, the suffrage being enjoyed by all citizens, male and female, who were over twenty years of age. The result of the elections was that the Radical parties secured a small majority over the Social Democrats. The parties were returned in the following strengths:—

Social Democrats		74
Christian Socialists		64
Liberals		24
Minor Parties		5

It should be remembered that the Christian Socialists in Austria were very distinct in their opinions from the Socialists proper, and conformed rather to the political complexion of the new Christian People's Party in Germany.

The National Assembly having thus been established, it proceeded to sanction the formation of the Cabinet, the composition of which has already been given, and which differed but little from the Provisional Cabinet which was formed immediately after the revolution, though Dr. Bauer had at first been Foreign Minister. There was no presidential office as apart from that of Prime Minister; but Dr. Seitz, the President of the National Assembly, fulfilled important functions in the government of the country, including that of sanctioning on behalf of the diet the Cabinet submitted to him by Dr. Eenner.

The Cabinet having been re-established in March, it became necessary for Dr. Renner and his associates to make preparations for proceeding to St. Germain, there to receive the peace terms which were to be imposed on the little State. The proceedings which took place in St. Germain are described elsewhere (see France and Public Documents). The Treaty was regarded in Vienna as most oppressive and unjust, both in regard to the territorial clauses and in regard to the economic clauses. It was stated that the Treaty imposed upon the country a debt amounting to 320l. per head of population. Early in the spring Herr Bauer once more became Foreign Minister, and his chief endeavour was to come to an agreement with the Italian Government and to induce them to moderate their demands in regard to the annexation of German South Tyrol. Herr Bauer failed, however, to obtain any concessions from the Italian Government, and in July he once more resigned his position as Foreign Minister. On July 28 Dr. Renner announced to Herr Seitz that he himself intended to take charge of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

On the same day the Budget for 1919-20 was submitted to the National Assembly. It was stated that the expenditure would be 6,550,000,000 crowns, and that the revenue would be 2,550,000,000 crowns. The Minister of Finance declared that it was utterly impossible for the Austrian State to fulfil the financial exactions embodied in the Peace Treaty.

On October 17 the National Assembly adopted without a debate the Bill ratifying the Treaty of St. Germain. Dr. Renner and the whole Cabinet thereupon tendered their resignations to Dr. Seitz; but the Assembly re-elected Dr. Renner, and the latter reconstituted his Cabinet with certain alterations in its

personnel. Herr E. Reisch became Minister of Finance, and Herr J. Fink held the position of Vice-Chancellor.

At the end of October it was announced that the Bill to provide a permanent Constitution for Austria would be laid before the National Assembly at the end of December or beginning of January. It was stated that it was proposed to follow the Swiss model and that Austria would be constituted as a federation of provinces. The small German-speaking district of Hungary which had been given to Austria by the Peace Conference was to be established as a separate province.

Up to the end of the year the Austrians were still much occupied with the territorial changes which were brought about by the Treaty. The diet of Tyrol, sitting in Innsbruck, issued a formal protest in November against the annexation of German South Tyrol (the district south of the Brenner Pass) to Italy. It was declared that this district was the very heart of Tyrol and that it had always been German. The district was inhabited by 220,000 Germans, and practically no Italians lived there, though 20,000 Ladiners lived in one locality—these Ladiners, however, did not possess Italian sympathies. The protest also pointed out that the district now given to Italy was the home of the famous patriot Andreas Hofer.

As already stated, the province of Vorarlberg, unlike the other German-speaking provinces, desired to be detached from Vienna. The little province, which was inhabited by 150,000 people, had always had close associations with Switzerland; and a movement for union with Switzerland grew up early in the year. A separate diet of Vorarlberg was formed, and Dr. Ender became Premier. On May 11 a plebiscite was held in the province on this question of union with Switzerland and the result of the plebiscite was as follows:—

For union with Switzerland -	45,466
Against union with Switzerland - - -	11,029

Towards the end of the year the Swiss Government appeared to be considering somewhat favourably the possibility of this union, but in December the Supreme Council in Paris made it known that they would preserve the integrity of Austria as established by the Treaty of St. Germain.

At the beginning of November, the Hon. Francis O. Lindley was sent to Vienna as British High Commissioner for Austria. At the end of the year the food conditions in Austria and particularly in Vienna became very acute, and the privations of the people became very terrible. Private charity in America and England made considerable efforts to relieve the distress, but the supplies which arrived were very inadequate, and the severe privations of Vienna may be judged when it is stated that the bread ration in the capital at the end of December was only a quarter of a pound a week.

CHAPTER III.

MUSCOVY, UKRAINIA, SIBERIA, POLAND, FINLAND, MINOR RUSSIAN STATES, CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, RUMANIA, JUGO-SLAVIA, AND THE MINOR STATES OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

MUSCOVY.

IN November, 1918, the great truce came to the nations of Western and Central Europe, but in the East it was otherwise. The Russian revolutionary movement which at first had been relatively moderate in character, developed at the end of 1917 into a system of extreme terrorist socialism, which speedily became notorious throughout the world under the name of Bolshevism. A dictatorship of the proletariat was established in Petrograd and Moscow, under the leadership of two able, fanatical, and egotistical men named Vladimir Ulianov-Lenin and Leo Trotsky. The former made himself Premier or President and Trotsky became Foreign Minister. It will be remembered that at the end of 1917 a great part of Western Russia, including all the districts inhabited by the non-Russian border peoples and part of Ruthenia, was occupied by German and Austro-Hungarian troops, and hence this large area in the West escaped the terrors of Bolshevism. The new Socialist Government of Central Russia at once made peace with the Central Empires, and concluded the well-known Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. By the terms of this Treaty the Western peoples, the Letts, Lithuanians, Rsthonians, Poles, and Finns were separated from Russia, and Ruthenia (or Ukraina) also established its independence. All these countries came, temporarily and in different degrees, under Austro-German influence and protection, and being in this manner inspired from Berlin and Vienna, a somewhat Conservative form of polity was adopted by each and all of these countries. And through the discipline and efficiency of the German garrisons which remained in the territories, the newly established peoples were protected from marauding bands of Bolsheviks.

Even, however, after all these districts had established autonomous Governments, much the greater part of "Russia in Europe," not only in respect of area but in respect of population also, remained under the rule of Petrograd, or rather, of Moscow, for the Bolsheviks removed the seat of Government thither. There was, however, another movement in the East, which also—in a different sense—was separatist. In January, 1918, a Constituent Assembly met in Petrograd. This body represented not only the people of Great Russia, but also Ruthenian and Siberian constituencies. The elections for the Constituent Assembly were held under troubled conditions, and the machinery of the polling left much to be desired; but notwithstanding its imperfections, and notwithstanding that it was

convoked and met before all the deputies had been elected, the Constituent Assembly had a much better right to speak in the name of Russia than had any other council or diet that had existed since the Revolution. And in the Assembly the Bolshevik party were in a minority. The Moderate Socialists, known as Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, dominated the diet; and the anti-Bolshevik forces were further strengthened by a small group of non-Socialists, all of whom now called themselves "Cadets" (Constitutional Democrats). The Government were thus placed in an awkward position. Lenin met the situation, however, with decision; he dissolved the Constituent Assembly after its first meeting, and established an undisguised dictatorship of extremists. The Cadets and Moderate Socialists were naturally furious, but in Petrograd and Moscow they were powerless. The Ruthenian constituencies had returned an overwhelming majority of Moderate Socialist deputies, and it was this dissolution of the Parliament which caused the notables in Kieff finally to decide to establish an entirely independent Government. The leading Cadets and Mensheviks of Great Russia fled to Siberia, where a quasi-independent Government already existed, and there they were able to rally. There were many individual Bolsheviks, and many fraternities and groups of Bolsheviks, in Siberia; but Lenin's authority did not extend there. Various anti-Bolshevik "Governments" were formed in Siberia, of which eventually the most important was a Council at Omsk, formed under the presidency of a certain Admiral Koltchak. The Siberian Government was under the patronage of the Entente, and it was accordingly more anti-German than the Directory at Moscow. The Omsk Administration was in fact the heir and representative of the regime which existed in Russia under Prince Lvoff and M. Kerensky between March and November, 1917. Thus Lenin and Trotsky ruled only Great Russia and South Russia; their State was, in a territorial sense, a resuscitation of seventeenth century Muscovy. They did not rule the Russia of the last Tsar, nor even the Russia of Kerensky. Yet, nevertheless, in the twentieth as in the seventeenth century, Muscovy was much the most important State in Russia.

Muscovy was organised on the most extreme principles of Socialism and class-warfare. The organ of representation and Government was the "Soviet" or Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. And the Central Council of Soviets took the place of a Parliament, the Council of People's Commissaries (as the Ministry called itself) being, at least nominally, responsible to this Central Soviet. In this manner there was, both in theory and in practice, what may be called an occupation qualification for political rights. The lower or "working" classes! alone possessed political power. Both in theory and in practice the upper and middle classes had become helots. They had no voice in the management of affairs; moreover, where food was scarce—and it was scarce yearly everywhere—they were the first

to suffer privations and to starve; for they were given lower rations. In theory the bourgeoisie had no right to exist; and in practice they were often massacred. If a tithe of the stories which came through to Western Europe were true—and many of the stories were well-authenticated and came from the greatest variety of sources—the horrors of the French Terror were far exceeded.

In the circumstances existing in Russia, therefore, the history of the year is concerned mainly with the struggle which was taking place informally, but in a most ruthless manner, between the Muscovite Bolsheviks and the civilised peoples surrounding them on all sides. The war which was going on was in the first place a civil war; but the anti-Bolshevik Russians, of whom Admiral Koltchak was the most important, had the sympathy, and to some extent the active support, of the entire outside world. In the phrase which became current in Paris, the object was to draw "a sanitary cordon" round the Bolsheviks. Thus in the West there was a line held by Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, and Germans, which was situated in much the same position as the German Army of the East at the end of the Russo-German War, but which was, however, not quite so far East. In the North-West the Estonians were holding their little country against the Bolshevik flood. In the extreme North a small but widely spread British and Allied force occupied the area around Murmansk and Archangel. In the East there was a powerful army immediately under the control of Admiral Koltchak which was spread, roughly, along the Siberian border. In the South, again, there was an army under the command of General Denikin which, though confined at first to the Caucasus and the extreme South, afterwards carried out a sensational advance into European Russia. Finally, in the extreme South-West the Rumanians kept an army in being, and this was supported by French and Greek contingents.

At the end of December, 1918, the Siberian troops captured the great town of Perm, taking 30,000 prisoners and 60 guns. On the other hand, early in the year the Bolsheviks were getting the better of the contest in the West. The Poles were still very unorganised and were ill supplied with arms. The German troops who had originally held this front against the Bolsheviks without difficulty, no longer troubled to defend the country after the revolution. Moreover, by the terms of the armistice they were supposed to evacuate Poland. Both Vilna and Eiga were taken by the Bolsheviks early in the year, and in the case of Eiga terrible atrocities seem to have been perpetrated. In these circumstances, it was surprising that Estonia succeeded in beating off the Bolshevik aggressions farther north. On January 11 the advance guard of the Bolsheviks got as far west as Mitau. But after this, probably because of the approach of the marauders to East Prussia, the German lines which had been retiring voluntarily, suddenly stiffened and the Bolsheviks

did not cross into German territory, though they took the Port of Windau in February.

Notwithstanding the reverse which the Bolsheviks suffered at Perm, other parts of their Eastern Army were more successful in January, and both Ufa and Orenburg were captured by them. In the meantime, General Denikin, whose headquarters were at the town of Ekaterinodar, was gathering his forces together and he was stated to have, even in January, no fewer than 200,000 men under him. He was also fortunate in being able to communicate with the Allies more easily than was possible for Admiral Koltchak, and he thus secured liberal supplies of ammunition. Whilst Denikin, and to a lesser extent, Koltchak, possessed this advantage of communicating with the external world, the Bolsheviks on their side possessed certain other great advantages. They controlled much the greater part of Russia, and they had a great numerical superiority. And, moreover, with every month's delay they were able to proceed further with the organisation of the enormous territory over which they ruled. When the Bolsheviks first came into power the whole of Russia was, of course, in an utterly chaotic condition, and the Muscovite Government was therefore unable to use the enormous natural resources of the country. Every month's delay told, however, in favour of the Bolsheviks.

Whilst the war was proceeding the Bolsheviks continued their atrocities against the upper and middle classes within the area under Soviet rule. Thus on January 28 four Russian Grand Dukes were "executed" by order of the Revolutionary Tribunal in Petrograd. The four Grand Dukes in question were Paul Alexandrovitch (uncle of the late Tsar), Dmitri Constantinovitch (great uncle of the Tsar), Nicholas Mikhailovitch (the Tsar's cousin), and George Mikhailovitch.

Owing to the half-neutral attitude of the Ukrainians, the Bolsheviks were able in the spring to make important conquests in the south-west. After the conclusion of the armistice with Turkey, Allied troops had occupied Odessa and Kherson. The Bolshevik pressure in this region steadily increased, however, and the Greek garrison of Kherson was driven out at the beginning of March. There was a strong French force in Odessa itself under the command of General Franchet d'Esperey. The great town was held, therefore, for some weeks longer and many thousands of civilians were enabled to escape; but on April 7 the Allied forces evacuated the port. Naturally the capture of Odessa much enhanced the prestige of the Muscovite Government. In the meantime, however, Admiral Koltchak's Army met with some success and Ufa was recaptured on March 14. At the beginning of April the Bolsheviks initiated an offensive against the Allied force at Archangel, and carried out attacks at Bozerskaya and elsewhere. The attacks met with some slight success but reinforcements were despatched from England. The little British force based on Murmansk was also attacked.

During the early summer the war continued desperately on the Eastern frontier of European Russia, and by about the beginning of June the Bolsheviks began to establish a definite superiority over Admiral Koltchak; and on June 9 they retook Ufa, which thus changed hands for the third time during the year. The success of the Bolsheviks on this front continued, and at the beginning of July, Koltchak suffered a severe defeat in the neighbourhood of Ekaterinburg which was occupied by the Muscovite troops on July 14.

The defeats of Admiral Koltchak's troops appear to have had a demoralising effect upon the Russians fighting with the Allied forces near Archangel, and a serious mutiny of these Russian troops occurred at the end of July. The Russians fighting on the Onega sector abandoned their positions to the Bolsheviks and a slight British retreat became necessary. The Bolsheviks captured the town of Onega itself. During the mutiny several British officers were murdered by the mutineers. Prompt measures were taken by the British Government to deal with the situation, and on July 31 it was announced by the War Office that Sir H. S. Rawlinson would proceed to North Russia and that reinforcements would be sent.

During August the fighting proceeded vigorously on all the fronts, and whilst the northern Russians were demoralised by Koltchak's failure, nothing of this sort appears to have taken place in General Denikin's Army. On the contrary, the Southern Army progressed with remarkable rapidity. Early in July the great town of Kharkoff was taken by Denikin, and a few weeks later Poltava also fell to him. Denikin's left wing continued to advance rapidly, and on August 27 it was announced that Odessa itself had been recaptured from the Bolsheviks. During August, also, a precarious junction, thinly held, was made between the left wing of Admiral Koltchak and the right wing of General Denikin, a force of Ural Cossacks forming a link between the two great armies near Lake Elton. Under British auspices, also, a new North-West Eussian Government was formed in August with the idea of forming a Government for the old Eussian "governments" of Petrograd, Novgorod, and Pskoff. It was announced that M. Lianozoff was the Prime Minister of this new North-West Government, and that General Yudenitch was Minister for War and Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the new Provincial Government. M. Lianozoff proceeded at once to recognise and co-operate with the Esthonian Government. The immediate object of General Yudenitch was, of course, to march upon Petrograd. On August 18 a naval engagement took place near Kronstadt between a flotilla of British motor-boats and a Bolshevik squadron. Two large Muscovite battle-ships, the *Petropavlovsk* and the *Andrei Pervozvannyi* were sunk. Notwithstanding the retreat of Admiral Koltchak, the month of August must be regarded as the high-water mark of the anti-Bolshevik forces in Russia.

In the middle of September it was announced in Paris that the Supreme Council were opposed to any further intermeddling in Russian affairs, and although a qualified denial of this report was afterwards issued, certain it is that during the autumn the Allies gave far less support to the anti-Bolshevik Russians. At the end of September Archangel was evacuated voluntarily by the British and other Allied troops stationed there, and Murmansk was also subsequently evacuated. Whilst this withdrawal would probably have been necessary in any event, it undoubtedly had a disheartening effect on the anti-Bolshevik Russians.

General Denikin, however, continued to advance, and having taken Odessa his forces reached Kieff and points even farther west. In October, also, General Yudenitch made a determined advance upon Petrograd and at one time reached Gatchina; but the Muscovites rapidly reinforced this front and Yudenitch was afterwards compelled to fall back.

Whilst Denikin and Yudenitch were making these brave fights against a great numerical superiority, the Allies attempted to use against Muscovy their favourite weapon of the blockade, and in October they sent a request to the German Government asking them to co-operate in this matter, so as to complete the cordon around Muscovy. The German Government, however, refused to participate in this manner in the war against the Bolsheviks.

Being unable to bring about the collapse of Bolshevism, towards the end of the year the Allied Governments appeared to be more inclined to come to terms with M. Lenin, and a speech to this effect was made by the British Prime Minister at the Guildhall on November 8 (see English History).

In the meantime the Bolsheviks, having disposed of Koltchak and Yudenitch, concentrated their forces against Denikin, and in December made a vigorous assault upon his armies all along the line. Kieff, Kharkoff, and Poltava were rapidly reconquered by the Muscovite forces, and at the end of the year Denikin was in full retreat towards the Black Sea.

UKRAINIA.

It will be remembered that when the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was concluded by the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, with the newly established Bolshevik Government in Petrograd, the State of Little Russia, Ruthenia, or Ukraina was revived under Austro-German auspices, and was separated entirely from Great Russia. The Ukraine was in reality only a province of Russia, and its revived independence was always somewhat artificial, but the autonomy of the State at least had the effect of saving this part of Russia temporarily from the horrors of Bolshevik rule. After the collapse of the Central Empires, however, Ukraina which had been occupied by Austro-

German troops, became a prey to all manner of invasions and afflictions. The country was not strong enough to stand alone in the chaotic conditions existing in Eastern Europe. The Poles, for instance, attempted to seize Eastern Galicia, which the Ukrainians rightly regarded as their territory; an informal war was therefore waged against Poland. The country was, moreover, exposed to Bolshevik incursions, and Kieff itself was conquered by Muscovite Bolsheviks in January. "When General Denikm was advancing in South Russia he crossed the Ukrainian border, and announced that he was in favour of one united Russian State. The unfortunate Ukrainians, therefore, found themselves with enemies on all hands

Whilst the Austro-German troops were in Ukrainia, the government of the country was in the hands of a certain General Skoropadsky, who preserved a conservative regime. But in November, 1918, Skoropadsky was driven out and a new Government was formed under the presidency of General Petlura. The regime established by General Petlura was much more democratic and socialist than that of General Skoropadsky. There is no doubt that General Petlura was sincerely anti-Bolshevik, but owing to the doubt whether Admiral Koltchak and General Denikin would respect the independence of the country, Petlura and his followers did not co-operate very amicably against the Muscovite forces. Moreover, such strength as the Ukrainian Army possessed was largely occupied in resisting the aggressions of the Poles against the north-western districts of Ukrainia

As already stated, when General Denikin advanced northwards during the latter part of the summer he proceeded into Ukrainian territory, and on September 2 his army entered Kieff. Unfortunate disputes occurred between Denikin's and Petlura's soldiers, the latter arriving from the west at about the same time. Ghastly traces of Bolshevik atrocities were found in the Ukrainian capital. When the Bolsheviks advanced again in the autumn, they once more took Kieff (on December 1(5) and the remnant of Petlura's Army fled to the south-west.

SIBERIA.

As already stated in this chapter, a constitutional Russian Government was established at Omsk in 1918 under the presidency of Admiral Koltchak. This was for a time the effective Government of Siberia, and during 1919 it was recognised as the Government of all Russia by the Allied and Associated Powers, and also by General Denikin. Admiral Koltchak's regime, however, fared ill. In the earlier months of the year his army succeeded in advancing some distance into European Russia, but afterwards, as already narrated, he was compelled to fall back, and in the middle of November he was driven out of Omsk itself. Admiral Koltchak's Government was then

removed much farther east to the town of Irkutsk. And at the end of December it was announced that the Bolshevik forces had reached the great Siberian town of Tomsk

POLAND.

The political situation in Poland at the beginning of the year was complex and curious. This was due to the fact that both the Central Powers and the Western democracies had aimed at a resuscitation of Poland, so that during the war some Polish patriots had supported Austria and Germany and others had taken sides with the Entente. It will be remembered that during the war a provisional Polish State had been established by the Central Powers with a monarchic form, the sovereign being represented by a Regency Council. The territorial limits of the State formed under Austro-German patronage were such that it might be regarded as a resuscitation of Napoleon's Grand Duchy of Warsaw rather than as a revival of historic Poland. It included, provisionally at any rate, only "Congress Poland," that is, the Russian kingdom of Poland. It was unlikely that the statesmen at Vienna and Berlin intended that even Western Galicia should be attached to the new Poland, and it is quite certain that they had no intention of giving to Poland the Polish districts of Prussia. Nevertheless, even this limited scheme had obtained the sincere support of many Poles: and this for several reasons. The Polish nation as a whole was fairly well disposed towards Austria, because that country had treated her Polish subjects in a much more lenient manner than either Russia or Prussia, and had, indeed, given the Poles of Austria jurisdiction over territories which according to the new principle of nationality were Euthenian rather than Polish. And, moreover, the Polish nobility, whose outlook on life was very conservative, had natural sympathy with the type of polity represented by Austria and even by Germany—more sympathy, perhaps, than they had with the modern democracies of Western Europe. On the other hand, the sympathies of other classes of the Polish population were naturally more with the democracies than with the Central Powers. It may be remarked here that in recent years a middle class had been growing up in Poland, a country which had of course possessed in the past only a native nobility and a very illiterate native peasantry, together with a large Jewish population, occupying the position of middle class.

After the collapse of the Central Powers in November, 1918, the authorities set up by the Germans and Austrians in Warsaw and Cracow were turned out, and an attempt was made by the leading Poles then residing in the country to form an avowedly republican Government. The first State organisation was, however, unstable and there was a succession of personages claiming to be Prime Minister. A certain M. Dazynski declared himself

head of a Socialist Government in Cracow; and then M. Moraczewski was proclaimed provisional Premier in Warsaw. And later a certain General Pilsudski, working in collaboration with M. Moraczewski, was able to wield more effective authority.

In the meantime there had been formed during the war a "Polish National Council" located in Paris and having the patronage of the Allied Governments. The most influential Pole connected with this National Council was M. Paderewski. At the beginning of the year, however, there existed all the elements of a conflict between General Pilsudski on the one hand and M. Paderewski on the other hand. Happily, however, a concordat between the Provisional Government in Warsaw and the National Council in Paris was established in January. M. Paderewski went to Poland, and since his name was naturally one to carry weight with every patriotic Pole, he was able to make an amicable agreement with the authorities in Warsaw. At the same time General Pilsudski sent a mission to Paris, the head of the mission being Dr. Casimir Dluski. It was announced on January 15 that all the details of the agreement between the two Polish bodies had been settled. M. Moraczewski resigned his office as Premier and M. Paderewski took his place. General Pilsudski continued to act as Provisional President, and the Polish National Council, which had hitherto consisted of 14 members, was to be increased to 24 members, the additional 10 being appointed direct from Warsaw. At the same time Dr. Dluski's mission approved of the appointment of M. Dmowski (one of the most active Poles in Paris) as the chief Polish delegate to the forthcoming Peace Conference. In addition to this, the co-operation of all the non-socialist parties in Poland was assured. Thus it will be seen that the Polish parties set an excellent example to the warring factions which existed in some of the other countries of South-Eastern and East-Central Europe. It should be added that M. Paderewski himself took the portfolio of foreign affairs.

M. Paderewski formed a Coalition Ministry which included M. Englich as Minister of Finance, M. Wojoiechowski as Minister of the Interior, and Colonel Wroczynski as Minister of War. Several of the Ministers, including the last named, had held office under M. Moraczewski. The formation of the new Cabinet was greeted with enthusiasm throughout Poland, but the Government were faced with very serious difficulties. Firstly, the retirement of the German Armies westwards laid the Eastern frontiers of Poland open to the Bolshevik peril, and it was therefore immediately necessary to proceed with the organisation of the Polish Army. The country was also suffering seriously from the famine then prevailing all over Central and Eastern Europe.

A General Election for a Constituent Assembly was held at the beginning of February, and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the bloc of non-Socialist parties supporting

Paderewski. The Ministerial Party were reported to have secured 400 seats, the Socialists 80, and the Jewish Party 15 seats.

Later in the year M. Paderewski attended the meetings of the Paris Peace Conference; but he returned to Warsaw for important meetings of the diet in July. It was M. Paderewski's duty to lay the treaties of peace before the Polish parliament, and this was not an altogether agreeable task, because many of the legislators resented the guarantees which the Allies had required from Poland in regard to the treatment of national minorities in the country. It will be remembered that similar guarantees were required from Poland as from Rumania and Jugo-Slavia (see France). M. Paderewski's personal popularity was never more marked than when he presented the treaties to the legislature, and the treaties of peace, including the clauses giving the guarantees in regard to the treatment of minorities, were passed by the Parliament on August 1 by 285 votes to 41, the minority consisting almost exclusively of the Socialists.

During the year the Poles were waging a serious war against the Bolsheviki, and conflicts of a less continuous and less serious character with the Ukrainians and the Czecho-Slovaks. In respect of the Ukrainians, it was the Poles who were the aggressors, as they were attempting to seize the Ukrainian districts of Galicia. But in respect of the Bohemians, it was, on the contrary, the Czecho-Slovaks who were the aggressors, Bohemian bands endeavouring to seize disputed territory in Upper Silesia. In regard to the latter problem, it was decided by the Peace Conference that a plebiscite should be held, and it was announced that this referendum in Upper Silesia would be held in June, 1920.

As against the Bolsheviki the Poles were much more fortunate than the Ukrainians, and were able to hold their own, even up to the end of the year, when the Bolsheviki were advancing in all other directions.

At the end of November the draft of a Bill embodying the new Polish Constitution was published. It was proposed that the vote should be given to all citizens of both sexes over twenty-one years of age, and that the National Assembly should be elected every four years. The Bill provided for a bi-cameral form of government, a small Senate being instituted. The Senate was to be a mainly nominated body. The holder of the presidential office was to be endowed with large powers; and a new President was to be elected by a special National Assembly every seven years.

In December a political crisis arose, which eventually involved the fall of M. Paderewski. Nearly all Poles laid claim to Eastern Galicia, over which the Polish Provincial Government at Lemberg had been accustomed to rule, under the supervision of the Austrian Imperial Government at Vienna. The great majority of the inhabitants of the eastern half of Galicia were, however

Ruthenians. In December the Powers announced that the territory would be given autonomy for twenty-five years, under the protection of Poland, after which time it would be at the disposal of the League of Nations. This announcement caused an outcry in Warsaw. M. Paderewski endeavoured to explain that the decision was not final, but the explanation carried no conviction, and he was compelled to vacate office. On December 15 it was announced in Warsaw that M. Skulski would form a Ministry.

FINLAND.

At the end of 1918 the new independent Finnish State presented perhaps the most remarkable example of class cleavage and class antagonism that has ever been seen in Europe. During the year a violent outbreak had occurred among the disreputable elements of the Finnish nation who had the assistance of Russian Bolshevik troops and arms. The Bolsheviks, both Russian and Finnish, committed all manner of atrocities during the period when they controlled Helsingfors and the south of the country. But before many weeks had passed the Finnish Army, led by General Mannerheim, with some official assistance from Germany and unofficial assistance from Sweden, succeeded in recapturing Helsingfors and in re-establishing a constitutional and non-Socialist Finnish State. General Mannerheim's Army belonged to the class of so-called "White Guards" which had, by this time, become well known all over Eastern Europe. These White Guards were recruited from the bourgeois classes only: that is to say, they were essentially a class army and a political army. Now, when the capital was retaken, the armed rabble, whether native or Russian, had been suppressed with a ruthlessness which recalled the Tsardom. This is not to say that the Whites committed the cruelties, tortures, and atrocities of the Bolsheviks; but there appears to be no doubt that the rebels were executed in great numbers. The natural result of these events was that intense bitterness existed between different classes both in the capital and in the country-side. Moreover, the White Guards, who numbered over 50,000 men, were not demobilised; they were, on the contrary, very much in evidence. And it was in truth this armed force which was the real foundation of the Government's strength. The result, therefore, was curious: Finland was no more a democracy than contemporary Muscovy. It was a class dictatorship, but with the position of the classes reversed as compared with Russia.

In February General Mannerheim, who was **now** President of Finland, paid a visit to the King of Sweden in Stockholm.

In March, elections were **held for a new Finnish** diet, which, as before, consisted of about 200 members. It was reported that the Socialists **had obtained about 70** seats. **It is more than doubtful, however, whether full facilities for voting were really accorded to the working classes.**

The new diet was opened by the President at the beginning of April, and General Mannerheim stated that he hoped that the victorious powers would soon recognise the independence of Finland. On May 6 Mr. Cecil Harmsworth announced in the House of Commons that His Britannic Majesty's Government had officially recognised the independence of the Republic of Finland, and also the existing Finnish Government.

In June the Bill necessary formally to institute a republican form of Government in Finland was brought before the diet and was duly passed by a large majority, namely, 163 votes against 83. In the following month the National Assembly, acting as an electoral college, held an election for the presidency of the Republic. The chief candidates were Professor Stahlberg and General Mannerheim. In the result Professor Stahlberg secured 143 votes and General Mannerheim only 50 votes.

Later in the year Finland was asked by the Allies to co-operate in General Yudenitch's advance upon Petrograd, but the Finnish Government required assurances of support which the Allies felt unable to give. General Mannerheim, who was at that time in Paris, was, however, strongly in favour of his country intervening against the Bolsheviks.

In regard to the disputed question of the Aaland Islands which had been agitating both Finland and Sweden ever since the Russian Revolution, the Paris Peace Conference decided that the islands should be neutralised under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

THE OTHER RUSSIAN STATES.

In addition to the States described above, two groups of small independent republics had come into existence on the corpse of Russia, one group along the Baltic and the other in the Caucasus. The first group comprised (1) Esthonia, with Eeval'; (2) Lettland, with the great port of Eiga, and composed of the greater part of Courland and Livonia; and (3) Lithuania, with its capital at Vilna. The Esthonian Government, led by a certain Mr. Pets, was able to maintain the integrity of the little country throughout the year, but both Lettland and Lithuania were nearly swamped by the Bolshevik flood in the earlier months of the year. The Lettish Government were also much hampered by an independent German legion in Courland commanded by General von der Goltz, which was supposed to be assisting in the war against the Bolsheviks, but which was no doubt actuated by ulterior motives. It was understood that the port of Memel would be handed over to Lithuania by the Powers. The group of States in the Caucasus included (1) Georgia with the towns of Tiflis and Batum; (2) Azerbaijan (the Russian territory, not the Persian province of the same name), including Baku; and (3) Armenia. Of these the most powerful was Georgia.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Among the new States and new provinces of old States which were formed out of the corpse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, that which was best and most readily provided with a political and national organisation was Bohemia. Professor Masaryk became first President of the new united Czecho-Slovak Republic immediately after its independence of Vienna was established, and Dr. Kramarzh became its first Prime Minister. Both these statesmen had long been ardent advocates of Bohemian independence. The province of Bohemia had possessed some of the machinery of a State organisation when it belonged to Austria, because, of course, Bohemia, like all the other Austrian provinces, possessed a considerable measure of autonomous powers, and it was therefore not very difficult for the Czechs when they came into their heritage to take possession of the provincial machinery, to enlarge it, and to extend it to the wider area which came to be ruled from Prague when Moravia and the Slovak districts of Hungary were united to Bohemia proper. The new polity which was established was of a Liberal character; and in the existing circumstances the most important point was that it was a polity of an anti-Bolshevik type. And the attention of the world was violently directed to this fact when a young Bolshevik assassin made an attempt upon the life of Dr. Kramarzh at the beginning of January. The assassin fired at the Premier as he was leaving Hradcany Castle in Prague on January 8, and Dr. Kramarzh narrowly escaped with his life. One of the assassin's bullets, it is said, was only deflected from the Premier's heart by a piece of metal which he had in his pocket.

The course of the republic during the year was very smooth compared with the experiences of the neighbouring States. Under the guidance of the Foreign Minister, Dr. Benes, the country was able to obtain recognition of all its claims in Paris, including the possession of the German-speaking district in north-western Bohemia (see Austria). On January 14 Dr. Kramarzh informed the National Assembly that France had recognised this claim as far back as September, 1917. During May the Czechs were obliged to enter into hostilities with the Hungarian Bolsheviks, and in this campaign in Slovakia they were not too successful. It was, however, internal politics rather than these military reverses which caused the fall of Dr. Kramarzh's Ministry in July. The new Premier was M. Vlastimil Tusar, a politician whose views were more in accord with the aspirations of the Radical-Socialist majority in the diet.

HUNGARY.

It will be remembered that at the time of the collapse of the Central Empires in November, 1918, the complete independence of Hungary from Vienna was declared in Budapest, and King

Karl abdicated as well from the Hungarian as from the Austrian throne.

The new polity which was established in Budapest after the abdication of the King was much less extreme in character than the polities which were founded at the same time in other countries of Central Europe—Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland. The well-known politician, Count Karolyi, became Prime Minister, and other Liberal politicians were associated with him in the New Government, Count Bathany being Foreign Minister. It will be remembered that Count Karolyi had founded a new section of the "Independence Party" during the war, which was styled "the 1848 Party"; and he was well known as the chief opponent of Count Tisza's chauvinistic policy. He had actively advocated an understanding with France and Great Britain. Count Karolyi, however, though not a representative of the old political order, was, nevertheless, a typical representative of the old social order in Hungary, and it was a moderate Liberal regime which his Government hoped to establish and maintain in the country.

Count Karolyi was, of course, faced with a situation of extreme difficulty. The sufferings of the country during the war, both in the matter of casualties and latterly in the matter of privation from food, had been extreme. It was stated that Hungary had had nearly 900,000 men killed in the war and the number of wounded was, no doubt, much greater than this. These figures are, of course, very high in view of the fact that the total population of the kingdom was only about twenty millions. The privations in the matter of food were not due, of course, to any essential incapacity of the Hungarian land to feed its own population, but to the disorganisation of the administration during the latter part of the war, and particularly to the scarcity of labour. After the failure of the last Austro-Hungarian offensive in Italy in October, the army completely broke up, and when the armistice was hastily concluded by the dying Imperial Government, the Hungarian soldiers were permitted, and indeed ordered, to return to their homes. But before any considerable number of the troops had been demobilised, the military organisation collapsed and chaos supervened. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers returned to Hungary, not as an army, not in units, but as hordes of disciplineless individuals. The masses of disbanded soldiery thus created a great deal of trouble and disorder all over the country, both in the towns and in the rural districts, and this unfortunate position was aggravated by a lack of employment and, of course, by the scarcity of food.

The Government were also faced with acute political difficulties. The original armistice concluded with General Franchet d'Esperey at Belgrade on November 8 had been not unfavourable to Hungary, but it had caused discontent among the minor Allies of the Entente, and severe revisions of the terms, of the

armistice were afterwards imposed upon the Hungarian Government, and these revisions involved the occupation of great stretches of what had been Hungarian territory by the Rumanians, the Bohemians, and the Serbians. And in the meantime the autonomous province of Croatia had declared its independence of Budapest and its union with the new Jugo-Slav State. Thus it was a much-diminished Hungary over which Count Karolyi ruled; these losses of territory, or some of them, were resented by all Magyars without distinction of party—even by the Socialists.

And there was another political danger of a different character. In Budapest, as in nearly all the other capitals of Europe, there was a small but very active Bolshevik faction. And the Hungarian Bolsheviks were determined to exploit the sufferings and difficulties of the country. Count Karolyi had from the first been fully alive to this danger, and he attempted to meet it by coming to terms with the moderate Socialist Party. Both Houses of the old Hungarian Parliament were abolished, and it was announced that a Constituent Assembly would be elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and although the chief power was retained in the hands of the Liberals, several leading moderate Socialists were co-opted into the Cabinet, notwithstanding the fact that the Socialist Party had not possessed a single representative in the old Hungarian House of Commons.

There is no doubt that the summoning of a democratic Constituent Assembly would have been the most effective method of combating Bolshevism. But in this matter the Government were on the horns of a dilemma; they were unable to hold elections in the extensive districts occupied by Eumanians, Czechs, and Serbs, and they were at the same time unwilling to admit that these districts had ceased to be legitimate portions of the Hungarian realm. To postpone the elections played into the hands of the Bolsheviks; to hold the elections in Central Hungary only would raise the ire of all Magyar patriots. Thus the Hungarian Government were compelled to witness the formation of Constituent Assemblies in nearly all the other countries of Central Europe, whilst they were unable to move in the matter. After much procrastination, however, it was announced at the end of February that the elections for a Constituent Assembly would be held early in April and that the elections would be on the basis of proportional representation. Every Hungarian man over the age of twenty-one was to be entitled to a vote without any literacy test whatsoever. The vote was to be granted to women, but not on the same terms; women were not to be entitled to a vote until they were over twenty-four, and they were to be subjected to a literacy test, the proclamation laying down the regulation that female voters would be required to prove their ability to read and write in any one language.

Count Karolyi's Government did not survive to hold this election.

The territorial exactions of the Allies, to which reference has already been made, came to a head in the middle of March with the demand that a neutral zone should be established between the Hungarian and Rumanian troops; and this zone further diminished the Hungarian territory (see Rumania). Count Karolyi appears to have lost heart altogether on receiving this demand; and he thought, or pretended to think, that the Allies intended to make the western side of the zone the future eastern frontier of Hungary. He decided to resign office rather than comply with the orders of the Paris Conference, and he issued an appeal against the Conference to the proletariat of the world. This was of course playing into the hands of Bolshevism; and the Budapest Soviet, thus invited, immediately established a Bolshevik ministry, of which Alexander Garbai was at first President. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established on the same lines as in Russia, but at first there was little or no bloodshed. The new Hungarian "Commissary for Foreign Affairs" was a certain Bela Kun, and this revolutionary subsequently took the lead and made himself dictator of Hungary. Within a few days the Allies issued a note stating that the zone was not intended to establish the permanent frontiers of Hungary, but this had no effect upon the internal situation in Budapest. At the beginning of April the Supreme Council in Paris sent General Smuts to Budapest to negotiate on the matter of the proposed neutral zone, but no satisfactory agreement was reached; and Bela Kun continued to issue appeals to "the proletariat of the world" and attempted to negotiate for an alliance with Lenin. On April 7 elections were held for the newly authorised councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates; and whatever may have been the exact character of the elections, they appear to have given some support to Bela Kun's Government.

Bela Kun's Bolshevik Government had a very short life; and even during the brief period which it existed, it was not able to establish its authority over the whole even of the diminished territory which was left in the hands of the Magyars. In the middle of May, an anti-Bolshevik Government was established in Arad, and obtained the support of Count Karolyi and the constitutional elements in the country. The position, therefore, came to resemble that which had existed earlier in Bavaria, where there had also been two Governments for a short period. The Hungarian Bolsheviks were at war, somewhat informally, both with the Czechs and with the Rumanians. Against the Czechs they won several victories in June; and the Rumanians were at first handicapped by the unwillingness of the Peace Conference to sanction a further Rumanian advance in Hungary. In July, however, the Magyar generals rashly began an offensive against the Rumanians; and the natural result was that the Rumanian Army was then set in motion seriously. The Rumanians crossed the Theiss and advanced rapidly upon the capital.

Seeing that the cause was lost, Bela Kun resigned on August 1, and handed over the control of affairs to another extreme Socialist named Peidl. The Rumanians entered Budapest in force on August 4, and proceeded straightway to impose most severe exactions upon the country. The contributions, both in kind and in currency, which the Rumanian authorities exacted were so severe that the Paris Conference sent protests to Rumania. The Rumanians' exactions included 50 per cent, of all the rolling stock in the country; 30 per cent, of all the live stock and animals of all kinds; 20,000 cart-loads of wheat, 10,000 cart-loads of corn, 5,000 cart-loads of fodder, and 30 per cent, of all agricultural machinery of every kind existing in Hungary. There were many other similar exactions. In answer to the protests from Paris, the Rumanian Government declared that the severity of these terms was justified by the manner in which Rumania had been treated when that country was occupied by the Central Powers.

After the entry of the Rumanians, M. Peidl vacated office; and a surprising development followed. Within a few days the Archduke Joseph reappeared in Budapest and assumed the control of affairs, apparently with the concurrence of the Rumanian authorities. The Archduke appointed M. Stephan Friedrich as Premier. The Archduke Joseph's regime was, however, even more brief than that of Bela Kun. After long discussions and vigorous protests from various quarters, particularly from the Czechs, it was announced on August 24 that the Entente would not recognise any Habsburg in any position of authority in Hungary. The Archduke was therefore obliged to retire, but M. Friedrich remained Premier, until the Rumanians left Budapest in the middle of November.

The Rumanian troops evacuated Budapest on November 14, and two days later Magyar regiments took possession of the capital amid great manifestations of joy by the populace. There was then a reconstruction of the Government. M. Huszar became Premier, but M. Friedrich retained office as Minister of War. Count Sommich was Foreign Minister. In December it was announced that the Hungarian Government had been requested to send peace delegates to Paris.

RUMANIA.

The year opened propitiously for Rumania, notwithstanding the severe casualties which the country had suffered during the war. It was announced in January that the number of Rumanian soldiers killed in the war was no fewer than 325,000; whilst 275,000 civilians had died of disease and privation. Moreover, out of 117,000 Rumanian soldiers who had been taken prisoners by the hostile armies about 50 per cent, appear to have died. Nevertheless, in a territorial sense and from the point of view of national aggrandisement, Rumania was the only country

to get the best of both worlds. She could expect to annex the great districts of Hungary where the Rumanian-speaking population was in the majority, and she was enabled by the peculiar situation which had arisen, to incorporate into her own kingdom the Rumanian-speaking districts of her former ally, Russia.

As stated elsewhere (see France), the Rumanian delegates in Paris put forward somewhat extravagant demands; but during the earlier part of the year the country remained popular in Western Europe, and when Queen Marie visited England in March, she had a very cordial reception.

As the reader is aware, territories in several different directions became united with Rumania. Early in 1918, the Constituent Assembly of Bessarabia, sitting at Kishinev, had declared for a qualified union with Rumania, Bessarabia to retain, however, large autonomic powers. On December 9 of the same year, however, the Bessarabian diet had gone further, and had passed a resolution uniting the province unconditionally with the Rumanian kingdom. The reader may be reminded that nearly 70 per cent, of the whole population of Bessarabia was of Rumanian nationality. As stated in the last number of the ANNUAL REGISTER the Rumanians of Transylvania, or "Ardeal," declared for union with the Kingdom immediately after the collapse of the Central Powers in November, 1918. Similar action was taken by the Rumanians of Bukovina, a territory to which Rumania's claims were, however, less good. The total population of Bukovina was about 800,000, of whom only about 300,000 were Rumanians. After the collapse the Austrian Provincial Government in Czernovitz, the Rumanians became the most influential nationality, nearly all the Ruthenians being peasants. A general assembly of the Rumanians of Bukovina was held in Czernovitz on November 28, 1918, and a resolution was passed declaring the province united to Rumania. The Government at Bukarest also appears to have obtained the voluntary adhesion of at least one non-Rumanian nationality. This was the so-called Saxon community of Transylvania. It will be remembered that the German element in that district of the defunct Hungarian Kingdom was fairly numerous. A meeting representative of the Saxons of Transylvania was held at Mediash on January 21, and declared for union with Rumania in cordial terms. On the other hand, the Zeklers of Transylvania (a people closely allied to the Magyars) took an entirely different line, and offered a bitter despairing opposition to the Rumanian troops as they advanced through the province.

There was yet one other province to which the Rumanian claims had to be considered. This was the Banat of Temesvar. The Banat was claimed both by Rumania and by the new S.H.S. State; and the whole matter was considered by the Peace Conference. The Rumanians claimed the whole province, partly on the ground that the Allies had agreed to give them

the entire territory at the time when Rumania joined the war, and partly on the alleged ground that the majority of the inhabitants, even in the western part of the province, desired to come under Rumanian rule. On the other side, the Serbs declared that they ought at least to be given the Western (Torontal) half of the province on the ground that the Jugoslavs were the most numerous nationality there. In the result, the Peace Conference decided in favour of the Serbian claim, and gave them the western low-lying district, Torontal. The new frontier, however, satisfied neither party, and it had the preliminary disadvantage that the railway line crossed the new border at several different points. Moreover, whatever may have been the justice of the decision, the real nature of the Rumanian case scarcely seems to have been understood in Western Europe. It was not denied in Bukarest that the Serbs were more numerous in Torontal than the Rumanians. But it was pointed out that the German-speaking inhabitants, the so-called "Swabians," were numerous—almost as numerous as the Serbs—and the Rumanians claimed that it was the desire of these Swabians to be united with their kindred, the "Saxons" of Transylvania. The argument might at first sight appear over-ingenious, but there was undoubtedly a certain inherent probability in the claim, and the Swabians and Rumanians together were considerably more numerous than the Serbs. According to the Hungarian census of 1910, there were in Torontal, 200,000 Serbs, 170,000 Swabians, and 87,000 Rumanians. There were, however, also 128,000 inhabitants classed as Magyars, as to whose wishes neither party appears to have made any claim.

As described elsewhere (see Hungary), the Rumanians entered into hostilities with the Hungarian Bolsheviks during the summer, and occupied Budapest at the beginning of August. The Rumanian exactions in Hungary led to friction with the Great Powers, which was further accentuated by the clauses in the Treaty of Peace with Austria, giving the League of Nations the right to protect national minorities in Rumania. And relations became so strained that the Rumanian delegates refused to take part in the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Austria on September 10. And shortly afterwards M. Bratiano, the Prime Minister, resigned, owing to the difficulty of the Foreign situation. A Cabinet was then formed by General Vaitoianu. Shortly afterwards General Vaitoianu's Cabinet also fell, and a Ministry was then formed by Dr. A. Vaida-Voevod, who agreed to sign the Treaty of St. Germain. At the end of October a General Election was held in Rumania. The National Liberal Party, which had hitherto been all-powerful, suffered serious defeats even in old Rumania; and a powerful national party was returned from Transylvania and a peasant party carried nearly all the Bessarabian constitution 3.

In August it was announced that the Crc

ce Carol

had renounced his legal rights on account of his morganatic marriage.

THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES.¹

It will be remembered that immediately after the surrender of the Central Empires in November, 1918, a formal union took place between the Kingdom of Serbia and the Jugo-Slav provinces of Austria and Hungary. M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier, became the first Prime Minister of the united territories, but before the end of the year he was succeeded by M. Protitch, formerly Serbian Minister of Finance. M. Trumbitch, who had been President of the Jugo-Slav Committee in London during the war, became Foreign Minister. And M. Korosek, who had been head of the Provisional Government formed at Zagreb (Agram) when the Dual Monarchy was in the process of breaking up, was appointed Vice-Premier.

During the earlier part of the year M. Protitch remained in power, and under the leadership of M. Pashitch the Serbian delegation in Paris were able to obtain very favourable terms for the new Jugo-Slav State. At the end of June, however, a Ministerial crisis arose, this being due almost entirely to internal politics. M. Protitch was leader of the Eadical Party, which had done great service to the country in bringing about the union of the different unredeemed provinces; but many Serbs regarded the party as too conservative in its domestic policy for the new situation which had now arisen. Moreover, friction seems to have arisen between the Premier and M. Korosek and other Croat members of the Ministry; and the Radicals were obstinately opposed to many reforms which had wide support, including woman suffrage and proportional representation. After constant Ministerial crises, M. Protitch resigned on August 2; and the Prince Regent asked M. Davidovitch, the leader of the Democratic Party, to form a Government. The latter-named statesman succeeded in forming a Ministry, which included Dr. Trumbitch as Foreign Minister. The Democratic Party were in favour of an active agrarian policy and of woman suffrage and of proportional representation. At the time of the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Austria the same difficulty arose with the Jugo-Slavs as occurred with the Rumanians, and the Serbian delegates did not take part in the ceremony. Dr. Davidovitch also resigned office as a protest, but at the request of the Prince Regent he subsequently agreed to carry on the business of the country.

During the year the relations between the Jugo-Slavs and the Italians did not tend to improve. Both nations laid claim to Fiume, and -when Signor d'Annunzio seized that port, his action was bitter sented in Jugo-Slavia. The South Slavs felt that

¹ Known [ally](#) as the "S.H.S. State," i.e. the Kingdom of the Serbs, Hrots, and S

they had an even stronger claim to Dalmatia, and accordingly, when d'Annunzio appeared in Zara in November, feeling ran very high in Belgrade and Agram. Fortunately, however, public opinion in Italy did not support the poet in his raid on Zara.

BULGARIA.

At the opening of the year the Bulgarian nation was in a disastrous position, and could only await with patience the decrees of the Paris Conference. Throughout the earlier part of the year M. Theodoroff was in power; and as described elsewhere (see France), it was he who received the draft Treaty from the Allies on September 19. On August 17 a General Election was held in Bulgaria, and the results were as follows: the Agrarian Party, followers of M. Stambolisky, obtained 85 seats; the Conservatives, 19; the Democrats, 28; the old moderate Socialist Party, 39; the Communists, 47; and certain minor groups, 19.

The success of the Agrarians was so striking that in October M. Theodoroff resigned and M. Stambolisky became Premier. The change of Government was also partly due to M. Theodoroff's aversion to signing the severe conditions of peace to be imposed upon Bulgaria.

As stated elsewhere (see France) peace was signed between Bulgaria and the Allied and Associated Powers on November 27.¹ The terms of the Treaty were greeted with dismay in Bulgaria, and the territorial clauses in particular came in for a good deal of criticism even in Entente countries. The critics, who included well-known English authorities on Balkan affairs, pointed out that almost the whole of the ceded territory, both on the coast of the AEgean Sea and in the Strumnitza district, was inhabited by Bulgarians.

The real difficulty, which had, in truth, faced the Allied Governments from the beginning was that much of the territory possessed by Serbia in Macedonia, even before the war, was territory to which, according to some of the best authorities, Bulgaria had quite a good ethnographical claim.

GREECE.

In so far as domestic politics were concerned, there was little news from Greece during the year. There was no change of Government; and no General Election was held. The Prime Minister himself, M. Venizelos, headed the Greek delegation to Paris, and although he was not able to gain the approval of the Powers for all the claims which he put forward (some of which were very extreme), he obtained great concessions to the Greek point of view. In particular, the Greek claim to

¹Full particulars of the Bulgarian Treaty will be found under Public Documents.

Smyrna was recognised ; and Greek troops were landed at that port, with the approval of the Powers, on May 15. Unfortunately the Greek troops came almost immediately into sanguinary conflict with the Turkish populace, and the Turks alleged that an actual massacre took place. The affair certainly does not seem to have reflected credit on the Greek troops ; but the Greek Government instituted an investigation into the occurrence, and a certain Colonel Skina, who was found to be largely responsible for the bloodshed, was sentenced to penal servitude for life. The Government appointed M. Stergiadis as Governor of Smyrna. In the new organisation of the territory ceded to Greece, the Powers laid down similar conditions for the protection of minorities as were imposed upon Rumania and the S.H.S. State.

TURKEY.

Whilst the fate of Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria was decided by the Paris Conference during 1919, no similar action was taken in regard to Turkey. During the earlier part of the year it was apparently hoped and anticipated in Paris that the United States Government would undertake a mandate for Turkey, under the newly instituted League of Nations. And it was in view of this possibility that the settlement of the Turkish question was postponed. And it was not until the later months of the year, when the Treaty was opposed and then finally rejected by the Senate in Washington, that it was realised that another arrangement would have to be made.

At the beginning of March there was a change of Government in Constantinople. The Grand Vizier, Tewfik Pasha, resigned, and he was succeeded by Damad Ferid Pasha. Shortly afterwards Damad Pasha was invited to appear in Paris, and he arrived there in the middle of June, the Conference granting him a hearing on June 17. The Turkish Prime Minister declared before the assembled statesmen that it had been only the Committee of Union and Progress who had been responsible for the war, and if it was true that the Committee had been responsible for the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Armenian Christians, they had also slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Moslems. The Turkish people had, he declared, no kind of responsibility for the war.

In October there was a further change of Government, and General Ali Riza Pasha became Grand Vizier. Parliamentary elections were held in Turkey at the end of the year, but only a farcically small minority of the electors took part.

Whatever might be the ultimate fate of Constantinople, it was known that large provinces would certainly be detached from Turkish rule. The new State of Armenia was to be composed partly of Russian and partly of Turkish territory, (Armenia was certainly to include the provinces of Erivan and

Kars). Both Mesopotamia and Palestine were to be detached and were to go to Great Britain. Smyrna, as described above, was given over to Greece; and finally the French were to be given a mandate for Cilicia and part of Syria. In September a Franco-British Treaty was concluded in regard to Syria, and by the terms of this agreement the great towns of Damascus, Horns, Hama, and Aleppo were to be excluded from the French sphere and were to be given over to the Arab State of the Hedjaz. On the South a line from Haifa to Tekrit was to divide the Arab sphere from the British sphere in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

MONTENEGRO.

During the year a very peculiar situation arose in regard to Montenegro. Notwithstanding the armistice with Germany and Austria, the Powers did not allow King Nicholas to return to his country; and the Serbian claims to incorporate Montenegro obtained widespread sympathy in the Allied countries, particularly in Krance. The little country was, moreover, occupied by Serbian troops. According to news received from Serbian sources, a grand meeting of the Montenegrin Skupshtina was held on April 20, and passed a resolution dethroning King Nicholas and his dynasty and declaring the union of Montenegro with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It was declared by Montenegrin partisans of King Nicholas, however, that this Skupshtina was a bogus body in no way representing the Montenegrin people. Later in the year, the Allied Governments sent to Montenegro a commission, headed by Count de Salis; but up to the end of the year the results of the investigations of the commission were not published.

ALBANIA.

No final decision as to the fate of Albania was reached during the year, but it was believed to be the intention of the Allied Powers to recognise the special rights of Italy in that country. Albanian nationalist deputations, however, demanded that the country should be given complete independence. In the meantime, the Greeks claimed to have a right to the Northern Epirus; but as the Moslems were in majority over the Christians in this district, the Greek claims were not deemed to be very strong.

CHAPTER IV.

LESSEE STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM
 —LUXEMBOURG—THE NETHERLANDS—SWITZERLAND—SPAIN
 —PORTUGAL — DENMARK — SWEDEN — NORWAY—DANZIG—
 SPITSBERGEN.

BELGIUM.

BELGIUM, having been evacuated by the German troops, was in some respects more favourably placed than France. The country had not been devastated to such an extent as the industrial north-eastern districts of France, and since Belgium could naturally expect to have the first claim on any indemnities which might be obtained from Germany, the Government, which was established under the premiership of M. Delacroix, was not faced with insuperable difficulties. M. Delacroix had behind him a nation which was much more united than it had been before the war, and it would always rally with enthusiasm to any appeals of its heroic Sovereign, and to any reasonable demands for self-sacrifice which the King's Government might be compelled to make.

The first important measure brought in by the Government in the newly-established Parliament related to electoral reform. Before the war the Belgian suffrage had been complicated and by no means democratic; but in April a drastic Reform Bill was passed by the legislature, and this measure gave one vote (and one vote only) to every Belgian man over twenty-one years of age, and also to specified classes of women.

In March the Budget for the year was introduced by the Prime Minister. The Budget provided for an expenditure of 45,000,000*l.* and on the existing basis of taxation not more than half this sum could, said the Premier, be raised. The Government therefore proposed to impose severe taxes on incomes, inheritances, tobacco, and alcohol.

During the proceedings of the Peace Conference in Paris there was some discontent in Belgium, many of the people holding that the sacrifices made by the country were not receiving sufficient recognition. In particular, many Belgians desired to see the ancient Treaty of 1839 drastically revised in such a manner as to give Dutch Limburg and a portion of Zeeland, the district south of the Scheldt, to Belgium. These claims to territory belonging to a neutral country were not favourably received in Paris, and they were of course strenuously opposed in Holland. The ultimate decision of the Peace Conference was that no claims to Dutch territory could be supported, but that a revision of the regulations governing the navigation of the Scheldt ought to be undertaken. Hitherto the Scheldt had been of course a purely Dutch river, in so far as Holland controlled both banks in the region of the mouth. But it was

thought in Paris that the legal position of the river ought to be revised in such a manner as to give friendly warships access to Antwerp in time of war. In addition to this question of Dutch territory and Dutch rights, the Belgians were at one time incensed by the fact that the whole of German East Africa was given to Great Britain as the mandatory Power for that region. Subsequently, however, it was agreed that the north-western portion of the ex-German colony should be given to Belgium.

In September the economic condition of the country was again considered, and M. Delacroix gave out certain data relating to these questions. He said that the total National Debt of Belgium had reached at that date a sum of 514,000,000l.

On November 16 a General Election took place in Belgium—at the same time as the elections were held in France and Italy. The Parliament to be elected would have the powers of a Constituent Assembly charged with the duty of revising the Constitution of the country, and more particularly with legalising the suffrage reforms which had been passed by the Parliament in the previous spring. The situation was therefore somewhat anomalous; because in strict law the Constituent Assembly ought to have been elected on the basis of the old franchise. But the Government held that owing to the disturbances created by the war it would be impossible to construct a register on the old system. A very large number of parties and candidates were in the 'field, a state of affairs which was made possible owing to the existence of proportional representation in Belgium.

The results of the elections were a "blow to the Clerical Party which had consistently been in the majority for nearly 40 years. There were nearly 900 candidates for the 186 seats; and the parties were returned in the following strength:—

Clericals.		.73
Liberals.		.34
Socialists.		.70
Others.		.9

186

The most striking result of the elections was therefore (as in Italy) the growth in strength* of the Socialist Party. M. Delacroix remained in power at the head of a Coalition Ministry, which continued to consist of Clerical, Liberal, and Socialist members.

LUXEMBURG.

During the year important political events occurred in Luxemburg. The Grand Duchess, Marie Adelaide, had expressed German sympathies during the war; and this had made her position difficult in her own country, where the people had no particular sympathy with the Germans, and were, before everything, desirous of being on the winning side. It therefore

came as no surprise when it was announced on January 15 that the Grand Duchess had abdicated and that her younger sister, Princess Charlotte Adelgonde, had ascended the throne. The new Grand Duchess was betrothed to Prince Felix of Bourbon-Parma, and the marriage took place in Luxemburg Cathedral later in the year.

The change in rulers did not, however, satisfy the Luxemburg people, and a few weeks later Herr Reuter, the Prime Minister, brought in a Bill to authorise the holding of a plebiscite on the future form of government in the little country. The Bill was passed by the diet at the beginning of April; but the diet itself passed a resolution affirming that the legislature was determined to maintain the independence of the country.

The referendum was held on September 28, all men and women over twenty-one years of age being entitled to vote. The referendum was held not only on the political question of whether the form of government should be monarchical or republican, but on the question as to whether in future Luxemburg should be united economically with Belgium or with France. It will be remembered that in the past Luxemburg had been part of the German Customs Union, but it was known of course that the continuance of this arrangement would not be sanctioned by the Peace Conference. The figures relating to the voting were published on October 10 and were as follows:—

Voters on the register.		127,775
Actual voters.		90,984

Dynastic Question.

For the Grand Duchess Charlotte	-	66,811
For another Grand Duchess.		1,286
For another dynasty.		889
For a Republic.		16,885
Blank and spoilt papers.		5,113

Economic Question.

For an economic union with France	- - -	60,135
For an economic union with Belgium	- - -	22,242
Blank and spoilt papers.		8,607

On October 26 a General Election was held and revealed quite a different political tendency from that prevailing in Belgium. The result of the elections was as follows:—

Clericals.		22
Liberals.		7
Socialists.		13
Others.		6

The Socialists returned in the same strength as in the previous Parliament.

THE NETHERLANDS.

At the beginning of the year, the Dutch Government and the Dutch people were much disturbed by the startling claims to the revision of the Treaty of 1839 which the Belgian Government and Belgian publicists were bringing forward. It will be remembered that these claims not only included proposals to modify the rules of navigation on the Scheldt, the Maas, and on the Ghent-Terneuzen canal, but also included, at least semi-officially, claims to the annexation of Dutch Limburg and the portion of Zeeland lying south of the Scheldt. Whilst the serious position in which Belgium was placed in time of war by the Dutch possession of both banks of the lower reaches of the Scheldt, and the extreme inconvenience caused, not only in war but in peace, by the fact that the great canal from Ghent to Terneuzen opened into Dutch waters, were generally admitted, the Belgian claims to annex Dutch provinces obtained scarcely any support outside Belgium. And as described elsewhere (see France), the latter demands were rejected after brief consideration by the Paris Peace Conference, and there was every reason to suppose that the populations of the districts concerned would have greatly resented any loss of Dutch citizenship. At the beginning of March, Queen Wilhelmina with the Prince Consort and the Minister of the Interior paid a visit to Maastricht and proceeded upon a royal progress through South Limburg. The Queen was received everywhere with great enthusiasm, the population giving every token of their attachment to Holland. Similarly, at the end of May, large bodies of delegates representing South Limburg and South Zeeland carried out a great demonstration at the Hague in order to attest their loyalty to the Dutch State and to the Dutch Sovereign.

On June (> the Foreign Minister, Jonkheer van Karnebeek, made an important speech in the Lower House dealing with the Dutch-Belgian negotiations, which had then been opened in Paris. The Foreign Minister began by reciting with exactitude the claims of the Belgian Government, which included the exercise of sovereign rights by Belgium over the whole course of the Lower Scheldt, a modification (not exactly specified by the Belgians) of the territorial position in South Limburg—which it was averred was necessary for Belgium's safety—the question of the Ghent-Terneuzen canal and other problems of minor importance. The Foreign Minister said that he had informed M. Hymans, the Belgian representative, that the Dutch declined to enter into any discussion of any proposals which involved any transference of the Dutch sovereign rights over the land and water territory of the South Netherlands. The Government, he said, stood in general by the terms of the Treaty of 1889, and they thought that the safety of Belgium was a question that could not be considered apart from the proposed League

of Nations. A long discussion had taken place in Paris on June 3; and on the following day the French Foreign Minister on behalf of the Great Powers, had informed the Dutch Minister that the following arrangement had been reached:—

" The Powers who have recognised the necessity of a revision of the treaties of 1839, entrust to a Commission, comprising representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and the Netherlands, the task of studying the measures which must result from the revision, and of making proposals which may not involve transfer of territorial sovereignty or the establishment of international servitudes. The Commission will invite Belgium and the Netherlands to submit common formulas with reference to the navigable waterways, allowing themselves to be guided in so doing by the general principles accepted by the Peace Conference."

The Foreign Minister said, in conclusion, that since there was no question of any change of territorial sovereignty, the Netherlands Government were able to continue the negotiations.

After this the negotiations proceeded more satisfactorily, and arrangements were made for an international regulation of traffic on the Scheldt and for the submission of any disputes that might arise to the arbitration of the League of Nations.

Some ill-feeling was caused, however, by the revelation later in the summer of secret Belgian machinations to undermine the loyalty of the people of Dutch Limburg, which were carried on apparently with the connivance of the Belgian Government.

The Budget for the year 1919-20 was laid before the Lower House of Parliament on September 16. The estimated expenditure was 48,833,000l. and the estimated revenue was 34,083,000l. In the opinion of the Cabinet the financial situation was alarming; and it was announced later in the year that the extra expenditure in which the Netherlands had been involved owing to the war was 156,000,000l.

On July 2 the question of diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and Russia was raised in the Lower House of Parliament by an extreme Socialist, Mr. Wynkoop. In reply to the interpellation, Jonkheer van Karnebeek explained that the Dutch Government had not as yet recognised the Russian Soviet Government, partly because they were adopting a waiting attitude in regard to all the new States which had arisen out of the war, and also because the Soviet Government had seized by force the British Embassy, which had been placed under Dutch protection. The Government were, in point of fact, still maintaining relations with the representative appointed by M. Kerensky. The House rejected by 39 votes to 18 Mr. Wynkoop's motion asking the Government to enter into diplomatic relations with the Soviet

The Autumn Session of Parliament was opened by the Queen on September 15. Republic In her speech the Queen said that the foreign

relations of the Netherlands had been satisfactory, save for the unfortunate incident with Belgium. In domestic affairs the Government hoped to bring forward measures for dealing with unemployment, food supply, and undue profiteering.

SWITZERLAND.

The first important event of the year in Switzerland was the foregathering of a very large International Socialist Conference in Berne at the beginning of February. This was the first attempt at a restoration of the old Socialist Internationale which had existed before the war. The countries represented were Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Finland, Esthonia, Ukraina, Georgia, Rumania, the Moderate Socialists of Russia, Argentina, but not Switzerland herself. The Conference was, therefore, of a very representative character. But the American Labour Party, which had always possessed very little international spirit, refused to take any part in it, and, on the other side, the Russian Bolsheviks declined to be present on the ground that they had founded a new extremist internationale of their own, and because they regarded all the ordinary Socialist parties as much too moderate and too inclined to compromise with the old social order. Among the delegates present were some of the most famous Socialist leaders in the world, including Mr. Branting of Sweden, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M. Albert Thomas, M. Huysmans, M. Longuet, Herr Risner (the Bavarian Premier), and Herr Haase, the leader of the German Minority Socialists.

The meetings were of a most animated description, mainly owing to the presence of the German Majority Socialists. The first meeting was held on February 3 and Mr. Branting was elected chairman. M. Albert Thomas proceeded to make an attack on the German Majority Socialists, saying that in supporting their Government during the war they had failed to fulfil their duty towards the Socialist Internationale, and that consequently they ought to be excluded from the present Conference. Herr Wels replied for the German Majority Socialists, and declared that it was impossible for his party to obstruct the German Government in 1914 owing to the imminent peril of a Russian invasion of Germany. The whole question of the responsibility for the war was then raised and very heated discussions took place. Herr Risner candidly admitted the responsibility of the German Government for the war, but declared that the German people had been deceived as to the course of negotiations and had been frightened by the spectre of Tsarism. He said that at the beginning he himself had been almost deceived in this manner. Herr Risner therefore made an appeal for Socialist unity. The British delegates also intervened with an appeal for Socialist unity, and ultimately the

French motion to exclude the Majority Socialists was defeated, and a resolution was passed declaring that whatever view might be taken of the actions of the German Social Democracy during the war, the German proletariat had now, through the revolution, destroyed the old system which was responsible for the outbreak of the conflict.

Apart from this question of the responsibility for the war and the guilt of the German Majority Socialists, the most important subject discussed was the League of Nations. The Conference was in favour of a League organised on a somewhat different plan from that adopted by the Paris Conference. The Socialists thought that the League should be formed from the Parliaments of the different countries and not merely from their Governments, and, as they expressed it, they aimed at a League of Peoples rather than at a League of Governments.

The resolutions passed at the Congress were brought to the notice of Mr. Lloyd George by the British delegates; and on April 1 the Paris Committee of the Berne Socialist Conference had a long interview with Lord Robert Cecil.

Apart from the Socialist Party, the Swiss Government investigated thoroughly the question of the League of Nations, and they appointed a special Commission to examine and report upon the questions raised. M. Calonder, the Foreign Minister, and other Swiss statesmen went to Paris in March; and in May the President himself, M. Ador, went to Paris to confer with M. Pichon and others in regard to the question of Switzerland entering the League of Nations. In September the Commission reported in favour of Switzerland joining the League, subject to certain qualifications. In November a special session of Parliament was called to consider the matter; and the proposal to join the League was passed by the Lower House by 128 votes to 43 and by the Upper House by 33 votes to 6. But, as stated above, the Swiss Government desired to join the League with a certain reservation. The reservation was that Swiss neutrality should not be affected by the country joining the League. That is to say, that Switzerland should not undertake obligations to participate in external military operations on behalf of the League, but should only be required to defend her own territory. This question was also connected with the so-called neutral zone in Savoy, which Switzerland had the legal right to occupy. It was understood that the Swiss Government were willing to abandon to France their military rights in Savoy, if they could enter the League without thereby losing their position of neutrality. In December negotiations were opened with France on these questions.

In the domestic politics of Switzerland the year was somewhat uneventful. A scheme for increasing the number of the Cabinet from 7 to 9 was rejected in April by the Upper House. In May there was a referendum on the question of a special levy to repay half the war debt; the referendum resulted in favour

of the proposed measure. During August the small Bolshevik element in the country instigated strikes in Zurich and elsewhere, but the Government took strong measures, and the strikes collapsed in a few days. In December M. Motta was elected President in succession to M. Ador.

SPAIN.

Notwithstanding the fact that as regards food supplies and in many other respects Spain had been the most fortunate country in Europe during the war, the country was the scene of perpetual political and social unrest during 1918, and constant changes of Government occurred. The Conservatives and the moderate Liberals were together in a large majority in Parliament, but they went in fear of the Socialists and extreme revolutionaries. In December, 1918, Count Romanones, one of the best known of the Liberal leaders, became Premier, but his immediate followers were only a small minority of the Lower House.

The most important question before the country at the beginning of January was the demand of Catalonia to be granted a large measure of Home Rule. This desire for autonomy was expressed by nearly all the Catalonian Deputies, irrespective of their opinions upon other matters. When he assumed office in December Count Romanones said that he would submit the question of Catalonian autonomy to an extra-parliamentary Commission. Parliament reopened on January 21 and the Premier was able on that day to obtain a majority for his proposal of submitting the Catalonian question to this Special Commission. On January 24 the Catalonian Mancomunidad, or Union, met in Barcelona and formally drew up its scheme for the widest measure of Home Rule. This Mancomunidad was a voluntary representative body, able to speak in the name of the whole Province of Catalonia. The assembly condemned Count Romanones' proposals as being much too limited in character. At the same time a plebiscite was taken of all the municipalities in Catalonia, and it was stated that of more than a thousand replies which were received all except four were in complete agreement with the ambitious measure drawn up by the Mancomunidad.

. A great debate took place in Parliament on the Catalonia question on January 28. Sefior Cambo, the leader of the Catalonian Party, delivered to the legislature the message from the Mancomunidad*, and demanded that the Government should accede to the almost universal wish of the Catalonian people. In his reply to the speech of the separatist leader, Count Romanones said that the Spanish Government refused to be bullied by any local faction, and declared that there was no reason why the legislature should accept the scheme drawn up in Catalonia. The question, he said, was one to be decided by the diet, which represented the whole of Spain. Sefior Dato, who

voiced the opinions of the Conservative Party, gave his support to Count Romanones and averred that the matter was obviously one for the Spanish people as a whole.

The Extra-Parliamentary Commission was appointed forthwith and issued its report upon the Government scheme without delay, but in the meantime the legislature passed to the consideration of the Budget for the preceding year—business which was long overdue. The Commission reported in favour of the limited Home Rule scheme drawn up by the Government, but Senor Cambo refused to modify his demand for a more extensive measure. Nearly all the Deputies, apart from those representing Catalonian constituencies, supported the Government, but the unanimity of the Catalonians and the ferment among the populace of Barcelona created such a difficult position that Count Romanones resigned office on February 24. The King pointed out to the Premier that the necessity of passing the Budget required that he should remain in power, and Count Romanones thereupon consented to withdraw his resignation on this ground.

There was no active outbreak of rebellion in Catalonia, but the position in the province remained extremely strained. The strength of the Catalonian movement is at first sight somewhat surprising, seeing that the movement, in great measure, lacked the linguistic basis which has so often been the origin of separatist agitations in other countries. The Catalonian tongue is, of course, merely a dialect of Castilian and cannot be regarded as a distinct language. Catalonianism was, however, strengthened by other causes, more particularly by economic causes. Barcelona, and Catalonia generally, were much in advance of the rest of Spain in industrial matters. Many Catalonian business men were progressive by temperament and through circumstances, and hence many Catalonians grudged the very large proportion of the total national taxes which their province supplied, and resented also being fastened to a country which was unenterprising, stagnant, and almost decaying. Apart from the purely nationalist movement in Barcelona, there was also much active syndicalism in that town, and whilst there was no direct connexion between the two movements, the syndicalist agitators naturally added to the embarrassments of the Government in Madrid.

On April 3 Count Romanones notified the Peace Conference in Paris that the Spanish Government hoped eventually to adhere to the League of Nations, provided the League Covenant did not in the meantime undergo any essential modification.

On April 14 Count Romanones once more resigned office and this time King Alphonso felt obliged to accept his resignation. The immediate cause of the new crisis, which had been foreseen by everybody for several weeks, was the departure of the Governor from Barcelona and the extreme difficulty of finding any substitute for that official. The King then sent for Senor Maura, the Conservative leader, who had been Prime

Minister for some months in 1918. Senor Maura was able to form a Cabinet which included the following members:—

Prime Minister	- - - . . .	SeSor Maura.
Minister for Foreign Affairs		„ G. Hontoria.
Minister of Finance.		„ La Oierva.
Minister of the Interior.		„ Goiecoechea.
Minister of Justice.		„ Viscount Matamala.
Minister of War.		„ General L. Santiago.
Minister of Marine	- - - -	„ Mirando.
Minister of Rducation.		„ Senor Silio.
Minister of Publio Works	- - - -	„ G. Ossorio.

After assuming office, Senor Maura's Ministry were faced with what seemed insuperable difficulties. The Conservatives were in a minority in Parliament, and since Senor Maura was the Leader of the more extreme wing of that Party, he was unlikely to obtain any assistance from the Liberals.

King Alphonso, however, came to his rescue, and issued a decree dissolving both Houses of Parliament at the end of April. In Spain the party in power always has a great advantage in a General Election; and it was therefore natural that not only the Radicals and Socialists, but also the Liberals, were very irate with the Sovereign for granting a decree of dissolution in this manner. The elections were held for the Lower House on June 1 and for the Upper House on June 15. The two wings of the Conservative Party obtained a small majority in the Lower House, namely 213 seats out of 408. They were, however, faced by the bitter opposition of all the other parties who refused to recognise the legality of the King's act in dissolving Parliament. Moreover, after a few weeks Senor Maura was again in difficulties, as the more moderate group of Conservatives, the followers of Senor Dato, did not lend him consistent support. In July, therefore, Senor Maura resigned. He was succeeded as Premier by Senor S. Toca, one of the Leaders of the Datist wing of the Conservative Party.

The first act of Senor Toca's Government was to pass a measure prolonging the 1914 Budget—an unsatisfactory device which all Spanish Governments had adopted for the last five years in order to shirk the necessity of facing the financial difficulties in which the country was placed. The result had been a steady increase of the national debt, since the 1914 rate of revenue was not sufficient to meet the expenditure of succeeding years.

At the beginning of August the Lower House passed a resolution approving the adhesion of Spain to the League of Nations.

In October, as recorded elsewhere (see English History) King Alphonso and Queen Victoria paid an official visit to England.

At the beginning of December, Senor Toca was himself compelled to resign owing to a difference of opinion with General Tovar, the Minister for War, in regard to the army

regulations. After several other statesmen had attempted to form a new Ministry, the King asked Senor Allende Salazar, one of the Leaders of Sefior Maura's party, to undertake the task, and that statesman was successful in forming a Cabinet. The Marquess de Lema became Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Senor Prida became Minister of the Interior.

During the latter part of the year no further move was made in the matter of Catalonian autonomy.

PORTUGAL.

It will be remembered that during recent years, since the monarchy was overthrown, Portugal had suffered from constant insurrections and revolutions, and had sunk in this respect to the level of a minor South American Republic. In December, 1917, Senhor Sidonio Paes had led a revolution and had made himself Provisional President of the Republic; and in the following year he had been confirmed in that position by a poll of the people—whatever the character of that poll may have been. In December, 1918, President Paes was himself assassinated by a desperado of one of the rival factions and Senhor J. C. de Castro Silva Antunes thereupon became Provisional President. Senhor T. Barboza became Prime Minister.

At the beginning of the year there was a somewhat serious Royalist insurrection in the North of Portugal. The movement was led by Senhor Paiva Couceiro, who had formerly taken part in several other armed insurrections on behalf of the monarchy, and who was one of the few disinterested patriots in Portugal. On January 19 the restoration of the Monarchy was declared in the town of Oporto, and Senhor Couceiro was able to rally around him an army of several thousand men. The towns of Braga, Vizeu, Coimbra and Aveira were quickly seized and the Royalists marched South towards the capital. There was accordingly much agitation in Lisbon; Senhor Barboza resigned and Senhor Jose Relvas became Prime Minister. A number of the officers of the regular army deserted to the Royalists, but the rank and file for the most part remained faithful to the Republic; and, moreover, the populace of Lisbon appears to have rushed to arms with considerable enthusiasm. All the Northern districts appear to have welcomed the Royalist army warmly, but before Senhor Couceiro's force reached Lisbon it was met by a Republican army supported by much superior artillery, and the Royalists suffered a severe defeat. After this, the failure of the rising was never in doubt, and after twenty-five days of troubled existence the Royalist Government in Oporto was suppressed by the entry of Republican troops. Many of the monarchist leaders were captured, but Senhor Couceiro himself escaped.

At the end of March Senhor Relvas handed in the resignation

of the Government, and a new Cabinet was then formed by Senhor D. Pereira, who himself took the Ministry of the Interior. Senhor Z. Silva became Minister for Foreign Affairs and Senhor R. Curto took the portfolio of Finance.

After these events there were rumours that the Provisional President, Senhor de Castro S. Antunes, would resign office; but that statesman remained in power until a formal election of a new President was carried out by Congress at the beginning of August. The two candidates were Dr. Antonio J. d'Almeida and Dr. T. Gomes, the Portuguese Minister in London. The voting was close, but Dr. d'Almeida obtained a majority.

At the end of the year figures relating to the cost of the war to Portugal in both men and money were given out; it was stated that Portugal had mobilised 200,000 men, of whom 8,367 had been killed. The total cost of the Portuguese Expeditionary force had been 28,000,000l.

DENMARK AND ICELAND.

The year was highly eventful in Denmark both in regard to internal and external politics. It will be remembered that in the previous year a General Election had been held, and that although Mr. K. Zahle's Radical Government had obtained a majority in the Lower House, in the Landsting the Opposition (consisting of the Conservative and Liberal parties) had obtained a plurality. It was therefore not surprising that at the beginning of the year a Parliamentary crisis ensued. In February the Government brought forward a Bill in the Folketing authorising a new State Loan of 6,700,000l. The Bill duly passed the Lower House; but when it came to be considered by the Upper Chamber, the Landsting majority refused to give their consent to the Bill unless the Government surrendered forthwith the extraordinary powers which the Bigsdag had given the Executive during the war (notably the powers of control over Danish trade); but on this point Mr. Zahle refused to give way. Owing to this conflict with the Upper Chamber the Cabinet resigned on March 1; and thereafter the King endeavoured to induce the leading statesmen to form a Coalition Government. The King refused to ask the Conservative and Liberal leaders to form a Government apart from the Radicals, on the ground that the two Opposition parties were in a definite minority in the Folketing. After negotiations had been prolonged for more than a fortnight Mr. Zahle and his colleagues agreed to resume office without any change of personnel. The Cabinet, however, agreed to explain at length why it was necessary for them to retain the powers given to the Executive in August, 1914.

After the opening of the Peace Conference in Paris, it was only natural that the question of the return of Schleswig, or part of Schleswig, to Denmark should be the main subject of interest in the country.

The whole question of Schleswig-Holstein was one about which a great many erroneous impressions existed among foreigners. This was chiefly due to the fact that the connexion between Schleswig and Holstein was of a purely fortuitous and accidental character. The historic boundary between Germany and Denmark was the River Rider. And the Rider is, of course, the boundary between Holstein and Schleswig. Holstein was and always had been part of Germany, save only during the artificial Napoleonic regime, when indeed Holstein was united to Denmark—and when in an equally anomalous manner Cologne and even Hamburg were included in France. The Rider was the northern boundary of Germany and of the territory owing immediate allegiance to the Kaiser during the many centuries of the Holy Roman Empire. And the position of Holstein was re-established in an historically correct manner by the Congress of Vienna. Holstein was included in the newly formed German Confederation and its position was precisely comparable to that of Hanover. The King of Great Britain was also King of Hanover, and in the latter capacity himself a member of the German Confederation. The King of Denmark was also Duke of Holstein, and in the latter capacity himself a member of the German Confederation. The only difference between the two cases was not a legal difference, but the accidental geographical difference that Great Britain was not part of the Continent. But it was this difference which led to the difficulties which ensued. For the southernmost province of Denmark, namely Schleswig, became administratively attached to Holstein; and not only this, the South of Schleswig became Germanised, certainly in speech and possibly to some extent in sentiment. In other words, Germanism spread beyond the historic boundary of the Rider. Hence when the Schleswig-Holstein question arose in such an acute form in the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the territory of Schleswig-Holstein, which was conceived to be a unity by ill-informed foreigners, in fact consisted of three parts, raising quite dissimilar political questions. First, there was Holstein over which the German Confederation had legitimate and historical rights; secondly, there was South Schleswig which had become Germanised, but which was historically Danish, and lastly there was North Schleswig which was entirely Danish in speech and in sympathy as well as in history. The forcible annexation of the whole territory by Prussia in 1867 was of course a gross injustice, and was in no sense a solution of the problems presented. Indeed, even the Holsteiners themselves, though they wished to have their rights as German citizens, had no desire to become Prussian subjects. Nor had the forty years' subsequent union with Germany crushed out the Danish spirit in Northern Schleswig. This, therefore, was the problem which faced the Peace Conference. And it must be said at once that in no part of their

extraordinarily difficult task did the statesmen in Paris display a more accurate knowledge of the historical and ethnographical facts or a better judgment than they did in this question of Schleswig.

At the end of February a delegation consisting of eight persons representing Denmark and Schleswig went to Paris to discuss the question with the Peace Conference. The delegates included one representative of each of the four Danish political parties, two representatives of North Schleswig and two of Middle Schleswig. The representative of the Ministerial or Radical Party was Dr. Munch, the War Minister. The best-known delegate from Schleswig itself was Mr. Hanssen Norremolle. The first proposal of the Peace Conference, which was actually adopted in the draft treaty, was that Schleswig should be divided into three zones, northern, middle, and southern, and that each zone should have a separate plebiscite on the question of reunion with Denmark. The southern zone had, however, become almost wholly Germanised; and the scheme was afterwards modified. At the express wish of the Danish Government, supported by the majority of the Bigstag, the Peace Conference decided that no plebiscite should be held in the third or southern zone. The Danish people had no desire to annex a compact body of 300,000 Germans. And it was apparently thought that the Germans of South Schleswig might vote for inclusion in Denmark in order to avoid the financial difficulties that were overwhelming Germany.

The final decision, therefore, was that two plebiscites should be held, in the northern and middle zones respectively. All German troops and officials were to evacuate the districts before the referenda were held, and the arrangements for the polling were to be supervised by British and other allied officials, and also by Norwegians and Swedes. Owing to the delay in the ratifications of the Peace Treaty the plebiscites were not held before the end of the year, but many of the preliminary arrangements had been completed. It was considered a foregone conclusion that the northern zone would vote for reunion with Denmark, and interest therefore centred in the plebiscite in the second zone, which included the important port of Flensburg. It should be added that not only the Danes of Denmark, but the Danish organisations in Schleswig itself, had been opposed to the suggested plebiscite in the southern zone.

SWRDRN.

During the year there was no change of Government in Sweden, Dr. Rden, the Liberal Prime Minister, being able to maintain his position. The country was mainly occupied in an attempt to return to normal economic conditions, which had been so seriously disturbed during the war. In this connexion the Ministry brought in several measures for political and social

reform, and conferences were held with the Ministers of the two other Scandinavian States. The most important of these conferences was held at Stockholm at the end of May. During the war special arrangements had been made between Sweden, Denmark, and Norway for the interchange of goods between the different parts of Scandinavia. After the armistice and with the gradual return of more normal conditions these arrangements became somewhat artificial, and, indeed, tended to hamper the commerce of all the countries concerned. The chief object of this Stockholm Conference was accordingly to arrange for the termination of these agreements, and to restore greater liberty of action to each State.

Among the reform measures which were brought in, two require special mention. A Bill giving the suffrage to women was passed by both Houses of Parliament in May. A general Right-Hour Day Bill was also brought in during May at the instance of the Social Democratic Party. The course of this latter Bill was not so smooth. It was passed by the Lower House, but was rejected by the Upper House (in which there was a Conservative majority) at the beginning of June. Later in the month, Dr. Eden asked the King to dissolve the First Chamber; and in the elections which followed the Parties of the Left gained great successes. The Social Democrats increasing their representation by ten. The Right-Hour Day Bill was then brought before Parliament once more and was passed by both Houses at the end of September. At the end of June the Crown Prince and Crown Princess paid a private visit to England, where they stayed for several weeks. During the earlier part of the year, the Queen continued to reside in Germany, whither she had gone in the previous autumn. But at the beginning of August she returned to Stockholm.

In Sweden as in other neutral countries, great interest was taken in the proceedings of the Paris Conference. The terms of peace imposed upon Germany were accorded a very adverse reception by Swedish publicists. The Swedes held that the economic conditions were impossible of fulfilment, and that the territorial conditions were unjust and bore no resemblance to President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points. The condemnation of the terms was naturally most strong in Conservative quarters, but the Liberals and Socialists also expressed their disapproval.

NORWAY.

At the beginning of the year the political situation was somewhat strained owing to the General Election which had taken place in the previous autumn, and which had been a blow to Mr. Knudsen's Radical Government. It was true that the Radicals and the Labour-Socialist combination had returned from the polls with a joint majority over the parties of the

Right. But the latter, on the other hand, were now much more powerful in the Storting than they had been in the previous Parliament. Hence when Parliament met at the beginning of February a Ministerial crisis immediately arose, and owing to the weakness of his position in the legislature, Mr. Knudsen felt called upon to hand in his resignation to the King. In this awkward position the King at first endeavoured to induce the Conservative and Liberal leaders to form a Government, and he took counsel with the famous statesman, Mr. Christian Michelsen, who was now living in retirement in Bergen. The efforts of the King and Mr. Michelsen to bring about the formation of an alternative Cabinet, were, however, unsuccessful, and after a lapse of about a fortnight the sovereign was obliged to send once more for Mr. Knudsen to ask him to reconstitute his Cabinet. Mr. Knudsen thereupon resumed office and formed a new Cabinet with certain important changes of personnel. Mr. Ihlan was Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Omholt Minister of Finance.

Early in the year the exact statistics of Norway's losses of commercial shipping during the war were published. It was stated that in all 829 ships had been sunk, of which the gross tonnage was 1,240,000. The total number of lives lost was 1,155.

During the latter part of the year the chief question put before the country was that of the prohibition of alcoholic liquors. During the war prohibition had been introduced as a war measure; and at first it had certainly had the effect of greatly reducing drunkenness. This fact was of course seized upon by the prohibition propagandists; but the anti-prohibitionists pointed out that latterly, in the early months of 1919, the secret distillation of alcoholic liquors had become widespread, and that the number of arrests for drunkenness had been very much greater during the first six months of 1919, as compared with the first six months of 1918, namely, 17,000 against 10,000. The Government decided, however, to hold a plebiscite upon the question, and the polling was fixed for October 5 and 6. In the result, the proposal to institute permanent prohibition was carried by about 390,000 votes against 280,000. There was an extraordinarily sharp conflict of opinion between Christiania and the rural districts. The voting in the capital was 70,000 against prohibition and only 20,000 in favour of it.

DANZIG.

The Paris Peace Conference established the great port of Danzig as a free and independent city, under the protection of the League of Nations. The proposal was to establish a legislature for the new State, to be based upon universal suffrage of all men and women over twenty years of age. The voting was to be direct and secret, but provision was made for plural voting.

The economic life of the city was disturbed after the separation from the German confederation, this being unavoidable owing to the large works belonging to the German Government which were situated in Danzig. Sir Reginald Tower was appointed High Commissioner under the Peace Treaty.

SPITSBERGEN.

Among the many problems considered by the Paris Peace Conference that of the archipelago of Spitsbergen was included. A Commission was established to deal with the question, and this body recommended that the sovereignty over the archipelago should be given to Norway, but that mining and other rights belonging to other nations should be preserved as heretofore. The recommendations of the Commission were approved by the Conference, and sovereign rights over the islands were therefore bestowed upon the Norwegian Government.

CHAPTER V.

SOUTHERN ASIA: CYPRUS—THE HEDJAZ—AFGHANISTAN—INDIA.

CYPRUS.

DURING the year the chief subject of political interest in Cyprus was the agitation of the Greek majority in the island for union with the Greek Kingdom. In January a deputation of representative Cypriotes, headed by the Archbishop of Cyprus and including certain elected members of the legislative council, arrived in England to lay before the Imperial Government the demands of the Greek-speaking population in Cyprus for union with Greece. The deputation was received by Lord Milner at the Colonial Office, but the Secretary of State was not able to give any promise that Great Britain would cede the island to Hellas. Later in the year many resolutions were passed by various bodies in Nicosia and elsewhere asking for union with Greece.

It was stated in a statistical return published in June that the population of Cyprus at the end of 1918 was 306,997.

THE HEDJAZ.

The year witnessed further satisfactory developments in Arabia, and as stated elsewhere (see France), the newly founded principality of the Hedjaz was duly represented at the Paris Conference. And that the British Government hoped and expected to see King Hussein's State playing an important part in the future was clear when it was announced that the Anglo-French agreement in regard to Syria had excluded Damascus, Hama, Hama, and Aleppo from the French sphere, thus allowing for the development of an important Arab community.

A war of very short duration broke out at the beginning of July between King Hussein and the chief, Ibn Saud, of the Ri'adh.

One serious battle seems to have taken place in which King Hussein's forces were defeated.

PRRSIA.

During the year important measures were taken by the Powers in general, and Great Britain in particular, to regularise the position in Persia. A Persian delegation attended the Paris Conference, the head of the delegation being the Foreign Minister, Moshaver-el-Mamalek. The negotiations with the Persians proceeded very satisfactorily, and on August 9 a Treaty was signed at Teheran, giving Great Britain a special position in the Persian Empire. Great Britain, on her side, agreed to respect the integrity of Persian territory, whilst the Persians undertook to raise a force of military police to maintain order in the country, this force to be supplied with officers and equipment by Great Britain. The Shah's Government also agreed to appoint British expert advisers to assist in the administration of the Empire. Great Britain agreed to make the country a loan of 2,000,000*l.* at an interest of 7 per cent, and redeemable in twenty years. It was further agreed that the two Governments should co-operate in the construction of railways in Persia and in a revision of the Persian Customs Tariff.

At the end of October the Shah of Persia paid an official visit to England.

AFGHANISTAN.

After many years of peace there was a recrudescence of trouble in Afghanistan and all along the border between that country and India. On February 22 the Ameer Habib Ullah Khan, who had always been a loyal friend to Great Britain, was murdered whilst camping in the Laghman Valley. Thereupon ensued a competition for the throne. At Jellalabad a proclamation was issued that Nasr Ullah Khan had assumed the throne, but in Kabul power was seized by Aman Ullah Khan, the third son of the late Ameer. Aman Ullah's mother was Habib Ullah's chief wife; but the late Ameer's eldest son was Inayat Ullah who appears to have supported the claims of Nasr Ullah. Aman Ullah soon showed, however, that he had control of the situation and the rival claimant withdrew. There was more than a suspicion that Nasr Ullah (who was a brother of the late Sovereign), had been not unduly disturbed at Habib Ullah's assassination.

The new Ameer, Aman Ullah, began his reign by announcing that he would punish those who were guilty of the assassination of his father, that he would institute reforms in the country, including the abolition of the virtual slavery, which existed in a disguised form, and that he would preserve the tradition of friendship with India. On April 13 a Durbar was held at Kabul, at which the assassination of the late Ameer was investigated. A certain colonel, who was found guilty of committing the

murder, was executed, and the new Ameer's uncle, Nasr Ullah, was found guilty of complicity in the crime, and was sentenced to imprisonment for life. Possibly owing to the intrigues of the Russian Government, the new Ameer did not long keep his promise of preserving friendship with Great Britain. Early in May a large Afghan army came pouring across the frontier and proceeded to pillage far and wide in the north-west provinces. The act of war seems to have been somewhat unofficial, however, for within a few days, and before the Afghans had suffered any serious defeats, the Ameer entered into tentative negotiations with the Indian Government. The fighting continued, however, the British forces on the frontier being commanded by General Sir Arthur Barrett. The aeroplanes attached to the Anglo-Indian forces bombed both Jellalabad and Kabul. After much procrastination a peace conference was opened at Rawal Pindi on July 26, Sir Hamilton Grant representing the Indian Government and Sirdar Ali Ahmed Khan representing the Ameer. A preliminary peace was signed on August 8. By the terms of the agreement the arrears of the late Ameer's subsidy were confiscated, and no subsidy was to be paid at present to the new Ameer. The Afghan privilege of importing arms and ammunition from India was also withdrawn. The frontier in the region of the Khyber was to be definitely demarcated by the Indian Government, and the Afghans were to accept this demarcation. The Indian Government expressed their willingness, however, to receive another Afghan mission six months later. Moreover, there was another item in the agreement which was subsequently made known and which evoked considerable criticism in England and India. In the past there had been an agreement between Great Britain and Afghanistan that Afghanistan should have no relations with any foreign Government except Great Britain. According to the new Treaty this stipulation was withdrawn, the Ameer's Government thus obtaining full liberty to enter into relations with any foreign Government. It was regarded by many as a sinister comment on this agreement that during the year the Ameer sent a mission to Moscow.

INDIA.

The opening of the year in India was characterised by unwonted political activity. During the previous year the part played by Hindustan in the war had become more considerable, and over half-a-million Indian troops served in the Mesopotamian theatre alone, but it was not the war which was the chief centre of interest to educated Indians. In July, 1918, the famous Report on Indian Reform by Mr. Montagu (Secretary of State for India) and Lord Chelmsford (the Viceroy) was published, and this made the year a veritable landmark in the history of the sub-continent. The report, it will be remembered, had re-

commended a large measure of devolution of powers from the Central Imperial Government of India to the Provincial Executives, and, concurrently, the creation of Representative Legislative Councils in the provinces, such councils to have at first only limited functions. The central idea of the Report was the education of the Indian natives in the art of self-government by bestowing upon them a gradually increasing influence in provincial politics. The Report naturally gave rise to much controversy, both in India and in England. It was accorded a mixed reception—more mixed in India than in England. The more Conservative section, of the British community in India condemned the proposals as being likely to undermine British authority in the dependency. On the other hand, some English residents thought well of the scheme, and, moreover, averred that progress along some such lines as those laid down by the distinguished authors was inevitable in the near future. In

England the Report was for the most part very favourably received. The most remarkable effect of the issue of the Report was, however, that it completely split the Indian Nationalist Party into two sections. A group of moderate politicians, led by Sir Ragendra N. Mookerjee, Sir Krisna Gupta, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and others, accepted the Report. But a group of extremists, led by Mr. Tilak, and including the majority of the prominent members of the so-called Indian National Congress (and also including Mrs. Annie Besant), declared vociferously that the scheme was inadequate, and demanded that the British Government should permit a much further and more rapid advance towards the ideal of self-government.

In the result, the Moderates felt compelled to withdraw from the Indian National Congress, in which body they were evidently in a weak minority. A session of the Congress was held in Bombay in August, and another session was held at Delhi at the end of December. The Moderates held a separate Congress at Bombay in November under the presidency of Mr. Banerjee. The extremists declared that complete responsible government ought to be bestowed upon the separate provinces at the end of six years, and upon Hindustan as a whole at the end of fifteen years. At the Delhi Congress a resolution was passed appointing Mr. Tilak, Mr. Gandhi, and Mr. H. Imam as delegates of India to the Paris Peace Conference, the idea being that India should appeal to the Allied and Associated Powers as a whole, over the head of the London Government. The Congress also claimed the right of self-determination for India, with the immediate grant of full provincial autonomy. The would-be delegates were, of course, forbidden by the British authorities to proceed to Paris. At the end of January Mrs. Besant severed her connexion with the extreme wing of the Reformist Party.

At the beginning of the year much discussion arose concerning reform in Burma. In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report it was proposed that Burma should be excluded from the scheme of

reform on the ground that the people of Burma were entirely distinct ethnographically from those of India proper. Before the end of December the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, Sir Reginald Craddock, published a scheme of Constitutional reforms (published fully in England in January), the ultimate aim of which was "the complete separation of Burma from India. Sir R. Craddock proposed that the Legislative Assembly should be increased in numbers to 74 members, of whom 52 should be elected. The elections should take place on a basis of communal representation, Europeans, Anglo-Burmese (*i.e.* Eurasians), Burmese, and Chinese polling separately. It was further proposed that the administration of the country (apart from certain functions reserved to the Lieutenant-Governor) should be placed in the hands of four boards—a Ministry of Finance, a Ministry of the Interior, a Local Government Board, and a Ministry of Development respectively—and "that the chairman of each board should be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor from among the elected members of the diet, three of the four always to be Burmans. The elected portion of the Legislature would thus have actual representatives in the Administration. The Lieutenant-Governor also proposed that the representation of Burma in the Indian Legislative Assembly should be abandoned, but that Burma should have three representatives, one official and two non-official, on the new Council of State, and that there should be a Secretary for Burma in the Government of India itself. As already stated, however, it was hoped that ultimately Burma would be separated entirely from India, and pending that development it was suggested that the title of the Viceroy should be changed to that of "Governor-General of India and Burma."

It will be seen that Sir Reginald Craddock's proposals were of a most progressive character. In regard to the question of separation from India, it was obvious from the outset that such separation would be an essential corollary to the granting of any serious measure of representative government to Hindustan. The political and administrative union of Hindustan and Burma was reasonable and convenient, so long as both were being governed from above by an irresponsible British autocracy. It would become most undesirable, if not quite impracticable, after the introduction of effective democratic elements, since the union would then involve the domination of Burma by alien India. It will be remembered that in race, in culture, and in religion, the affinities of Burma are with Siam and China, not with India.

At the end of January a Conference of the Ruling Princes of India was held at Delhi. The object of the Conference was to consider the relations of the native States to the Government of India under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, and about forty princes' attended the Congress, these including the Begum of Bhopal and the Maharajas of Kashmir, Gwalior,

Kohlapur and Jaipur, and other notable chiefs. The Conference was opened by the Viceroy. The subject which gave rise to the longest discussion was the proposal in the Beform Scheme to divide the native States into two categories, those possessing "full-powers" of internal government and those not having such powers. The Report proposed the institution of a Council of Princes, which might be called by the Viceroy to deliberate conjointly with the proposed Council of State (practically the Upper House of the Indian Legislature), and the division of the States into two categories was of immediate interest to the rulers, since it bore upon the question of their eligibility for seats in the Council of Princes. The Congress was sharply divided on this question. Some of the princes held that the membership of the Council of Princes should be limited to the rulers enjoying full powers, whilst others considered that some measure of representation ought to be given to the little States; and the Congress came to no agreement on the matter. The proposal to institute a Council of Princes received, however, general support, and it was suggested that the new House should be called the Narendra Mandal (House of Princes).

In March the Government issued a report on the virulent epidemic of influenza, which afflicted India, like other countries, during 1918. It was stated that on a conservative estimate 6,000,000 persons had died in India from that disease and its complications in that year. It was further explained that this total was equivalent to over 50 per cent, of the entire mortality from plague during the previous twenty-two years.

The Annual Budget was submitted to the Imperial Legislature by the new Financial Secretary, Sir James S. Meston, on March 1. Sir James said that with regard to the Imperial Revenue of the current year a deficit of 4,500,000*l.* was anticipated, the revenue being now estimated at 85,500,000*l.* and the expenditure at 90,000,000*l.* In regard to the estimates for 1919-20, the total Imperial expenditure was estimated at 85,357,300*l.* In regard to the revenue the Government had decided to raise the minimum taxable limit for income tax from 1,000 rupees to 2,000, which would entail a loss to the Exchequer of about 500,000*l.*, but would afford relief to nearly 240,000 assessees. Including this reduction, the estimated revenue on the existing basis of taxation would be only 80,000,000*l.*, but it was proposed to obtain the extra revenue required by means of an Excess Profits Tax. Sir James Meston then referred in strong terms to the Indian habit of hoarding money in unsettled times. He said: "We are on permanently unsafe ground until the country abandons the habit of hoarding money in unsettled times. The Government cannot possibly continue meeting the insane demand for silver rupees without seriously affecting the world price of silver. During the last four years 1,200 millions of rupees have been drawn from the mints, and unless the hoarded coins are restored,

we may be forced to reconsider the whole basis of the currency exchange policy."

As the year progressed an increasing interest in politics was manifested by most sections of the Indian people. At the end of March a most influential body of Indian Mohammedans, including His Highness the Aga Khan, addressed a manifesto to Mr. Arthur Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, protesting against the proposal of the Peace Conference to dismember the Turkish Empire. The manifesto stated that the proposal would be received with great misgiving by the Indian Mohammedans and by the Afghans and by the Moslem tribes along the north-west frontier. Indian Mohammedans, it was stated, regarded with favour the proposal to create autonomous provinces in Armenia and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, but they deprecated the idea of severing these provinces altogether from Constantinople. The autonomous provinces might well receive guarantees from the League of Nations, but the position of the Sultan of Turkey as Caliph gave him a special prestige in the eyes of all Moslems; and it was therefore proposed that the spiritual suzerainty of the Ottoman Sovereign as Caliph should be preserved by allowing him to retain the right formally to confer their powers upon the rulers of the suggested autonomous provinces on the occasions of their investiture. The manifesto proceeded to protest against the proposal to form Palestine into a Jewish State. Palestine, it was averred, had been a Moslem country for fourteen centuries, and at the present time only one-seventh of the population of the country was Jewish.

In the spring the Government passed a special Anarchical and Kevolutionary Crimes Bill, the object of which was to give effect to the suggestions indicated in the famous Rowlatt Report on sedition in India. The Bill was bitterly opposed by the majority of Indians and aroused a great deal of warm feeling. At Delhi and elsewhere a Passive Resistance movement was instituted at the end of March in order to protest against the passing of the Bill. But unfortunately the movement did not long remain of a passive character. The passive resisters of Delhi endeavoured to prevent other Indians performing their daily tasks, and when the police endeavoured to protect the natives who were not in sympathy with the passive resistance movement, it became necessary to arrest some of the agitators and serious rioting thereupon ensued. Troops were called out and were compelled to fire. In the middle of April the rioting spread to many parts of India and assumed an almost revolutionary complexion. There were concerted and organised attempts to interrupt the railway communications of the country, and serious attacks were made upon the railways, and telegraph and telephone wires at Ahmedabad and Viramgam, in the Bombay presidency, and also at Amritsar and Gujrat in the Punjab. On April 14 the Viceroy was compelled to issue a declaration that he would not hesitate to employ the military reserves of

the Government in order to suppress the organised outrages which were taking place, and maintain law and order throughout India. An almost unprecedented feature of the movement was the co-operation of Hindus and Mohammedans in the attempt to frustrate the working of the British administration. The most serious conflict between the rioters and the military occurred at Amritsar from April 10-13. Serious bloodshed also occurred at Lahore.

After the vigorous suppression of these disturbances in April there was little further trouble of a similar kind during the remainder of the year. Hundreds of arrests were made in connexion with the rioting, particularly at Amritsar, and a certain number of Indians were sentenced to death.

The various committees which had been established to fill in the details of the scheme recommended by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report issued their reports during the year. Of these perhaps the most interesting was that of the Franchise Committee, of which Lord Southborough had been chairman. The Committee recommended a scheme of territorial constituencies combined with communal representation for Mohammedans, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, and Europeans. The scheme would raise the total number of voters to over 5,000,000. It was pointed out that at the present time the total number of electors for the provincial councils was only 33,000. Other Committees dealt with the problems of the division of functions between the Government of India and the provincial Governments and between the reserved and transferred subjects in the provinces (the so-called Dyarchy), and with the problem of the so-called backward areas which were to be excluded from the whole scheme.

In the autumn further trouble was caused by the tribe of the Mahsuds in Waziristan, and it became necessary to send a punitive expedition into the district, the expedition being under the command of General Climo. The tribe surrendered at the end of December.

In December the decision of the Government was announced on the question of the membership of the Council of Princes, of which mention has already been made. It was stated that the rulers of all States entitled to a permanent dynastic salute of eleven guns or over would be entitled as a right to membership of the council. The lesser States would receive proportionate representation. The regulation in regard to salutes would include about eighty princes, but it was proposed to confer a similar honour upon a number of other princes, bringing the total who would sit as of right in the new House to over a hundred. It was stated that these more important rulers would be designated in future "ruling princes," whilst the lesser potentates would be known as "ruling chiefs."

As stated elsewhere (see English History) the Government of India Bill, embodying the recommendations of the Montagu-

Chelmsford Report, was passed by the Imperial Parliament in December.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FAR EAST : CHINA AND JAPAN.

CHINA.

AT the end of 1918 the Chinese republic was in a distressed condition. The country had been distracted by civil war for nearly two years, and although the hostilities had been of a perfunctory and not very sanguinary character, they had nevertheless been disastrous to the State, in that they had effectively prevented all measures for the promotion of political progress, which was at this time essential to the welfare of the country, if the independence and dignity of the republic were to be preserved. It will be remembered that the war had arisen partly in a conflict of principles of government and partly in a question of personal antagonism between leading statesmen. Tuan Chi-Jui, who was Premier in 1917, endeavoured to free himself and his Ministry from what he regarded as the irksome and unnecessarily detailed control of the legislature, and also, incidentally, from the close supervision of the holder of the presidential office. The rights of the Parliament were upheld by the President, Li Yuan-Hung, who was also no doubt animated by his notorious personal hostility to Tuan Chi-Jui. The President and the parliamentarians were supported by the provinces south of the Yangtse; Tuan Chi-Jui was supported by the northern provinces, more particularly by the influential military governors. Before the end of 1917 Li Yuan-Hung was forced to resign his office, and he was succeeded by the Vice-President, Feng Xuo-Chang. Tuan Chi-Jui also resigned about the same time, but he became Premier again in March, 1918. Tuan proceeded to hold elections for a new Parliament, and it was not surprising that this new legislature when it met contained a majority of Tuan's followers, namely, the An-Fu Party. The old Parliament denounced the elections as illegal, and refused to regard itself as dissolved. It continued to sit in Canton. The Northerners were in a purely military sense much more powerful than the Southern Party, but they were hampered by divided counsels. One faction, supported more or less surreptitiously by Feng Kuo-Chang, were in favour of coming to an agreement with the South. Tuan was thus unable to prosecute the campaign with vigour. And in the closing months of 1918 the Moderate Party in the North fortunately gained in influence. Feng resigned, but he was succeeded in the presidency by Hsu Shih-Chang, who openly advocated compromise with Li Yuan-Hung and the Canton Parliament. The Peace Party were also supported by Liang Shib-Yi, who was President of the Senate and Leader of the

Opposition in the Peking Parliament, and by the famous General Wu Pei-Fu. In the meantime, the great province of Zechuan had gone over to the Southern cause. In China, it will be remembered, the provinces possessed in practice a very large measure of autonomy. The Canton party, on their side, were willing to come to an agreement with Hsu Shih-Chang and Liang Shih-Yi, but they remained bitterly hostile to Tuan Chi-Jui.

Before the end of 1918 the Allied and Associated Powers formally advised the Peking Government to open negotiations with the South. The Moderate Party steadily gained the upper hand, and it was arranged that a Peace Conference should be held. It was at first proposed that the Conference should sit at Nanking, but subsequently, at the desire of the Southern leaders, the town of Shanghai was selected as the seat of the negotiations. The Conference opened informally in February, but the proceedings were delayed by protests from the Southern delegates against the continuance of hostilities in the province of Shensi, where, it appeared, the Northern generals were not observing the armistice which had been concluded. The head of the Northern delegation was Chu Chi-Chien, and the leader of the Southern representatives was a certain Tang-Shao-Yi. The latter made urgent representations in the matter of the Shensi hostilities, and in the middle of March Hsu Shih-Chang sent peremptory orders that the irregular operations should cease.

The informal hostilities in Shensi having been stopped, the Shanghai Conference reassembled and dilatory negotiations were continued for some weeks. The demand of the Southerners that the Canton Parliament should meet in Peking appears to have caused serious difficulty, however, and in the middle of May, partly owing to this cause and partly owing to the sudden concentration of the attention of all Chinese upon the Paris Conference, all the delegates of both sides resigned their positions. The negotiations between the North and the South were not entirely broken off, however, and there was no formal renewal of the civil war. The internal *status quo* was preserved, that is to say, each provincial Government continued to do very much as it pleased, and with little or no reference to the wishes of Peking.

As already indicated, the proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference had the remarkable effect of diverting the attention of all such Chinese as were able to take any interest in politics from the internal situation to external affairs. The proceedings at Paris caused in fact an extraordinary uproar all over China. It will be remembered that treaties had been concluded between China and Japan in 1915 giving the Japanese important commercial and even political privileges in China, and the Japanese expected to inherit all the German rights in Kiao-chau and Shantung, and to obtain many other advantages as well. The Chinese, both of the North and of the South, hoped to obtain a revision of these treaties, and in particular to regain the rights

in Shantung which they had given away to Germany. The Chinese delegates to Paris were instructed to endeavour to obtain concessions on these points from the Conference. The Japanese laid claim to the succession to all the German rights in Shantung, and during the course of the war, in the spring of 1917, had obtained the support of France and Great Britain on these questions. Hence the Paris Conference supported the Japanese ambitions, notwithstanding the fact that President Wilson was notoriously friendly to the Chinese point of view. The publication of the draft Treaty of Peace in May raised a storm in every city in China, and a general boycott of all Japanese concerns—banks, shops, steamers, and so forth—was proclaimed and was carried out with unmistakable thoroughness and enthusiasm by all classes of Chinese. Every articulate association of Chinese, including the Northern Military Party (which had been reckoned to be pro-Japanese) declared that China ought not to sign the Treaty. In the result, as stated elsewhere (see France), the Chinese delegates in Paris refused to put their signatures to the Treaty of Peace with Germany; and the boycott of Japanese goods and, to a lesser extent, the movement against the other Allied Powers continued to grow and to extend. When it became known that the delegates had demonstratively refused to sign the Treaty, there was a great outbreak of enthusiasm, and the delegates became national heroes. The Government immediately took steps to conclude a separate peace with Germany, and at the beginning of August a Bill was passed by the Peking Parliament declaring that the state of war between China and Germany was terminated. It should be stated that when the intentions of the Peace Conference first became known, the public were inclined to hold the Chinese Government partly responsible for the course of events, and President Hsu Shih-Chang placed his resignation in the hands of Parliament, but the legislature requested him to continue in office. Various members of the Government who were believed to be pro-Japanese were, however, compelled to resign. When, later in the year, the attitude of the American Senate towards the Peace Treaty in general and the Shantung clauses in particular became known, the American nation naturally became extremely popular in China.

Later in the year there was a remarkable reassertion of Chinese authority over Mongolia. In August, Chinese troops crossed the Mongolian border with the ostensible object of assisting the Mongolians in repelling the incursions of Russians—both the Bolsheviks and also Cossack forces, who were commanded by a certain Colonel Semenoff. In November, the Mongolian Government renounced the independence of the country and placed Mongolia formally under the protection of China. The Chinese Government, on their side, denounced the Kiachta Treaty and other Russo-Chinese agreements relating to Mongolia, and accepted the Mongolian proposal of a Chinese suzerainty over that country.

JAPAN.

The year 1918 was much less eventful in Japan than in European countries, for Japan, though nominally a belligerent, had, throughout the war, been largely outside the disturbing influences of the conflict. In September, 1918, Marshal Terauchi, Prime Minister, resigned office owing to riots arising out of the high prices of rice; and a new Cabinet was formed under the presidency of Mr. Kei Hara. Mr. Hara was himself one of the best-known leaders of Marshal Terauchi's own party, the Seiyukai, which had obtained a majority in the General Election of 1917. Viscount Y. Uchida became Minister for Foreign Affairs in Mr. Hara's Cabinet. Mr. Hara's appointment to the office of Prime Minister was somewhat revolutionary in that he was the first commoner to be Premier of Japan.

The Imperial Diet was opened for the Spring Session on January 21, and an important declaration was read to the legislature by Viscount Uchida. The Foreign Minister said that the primary object which Japan had in view when she intervened in Siberia was the relief of the Czecho-Slovak troops, and this aim had now been attained. The Japanese forces in Siberia had accordingly been reduced, but, owing to the chaotic conditions prevailing in that country, it was not proposed to evacuate the region entirely. The speaker said that the Government hoped to see Russia restored to her position as one of the Great Powers of the world. The civil war in China had caused grave concern to the Japanese Government; and in conjunction with Great Britain, America, France, and Italy, the Japanese Government had tendered friendly advice to the two Chinese factions on December 2, recommending that peace negotiations should be opened between them at the earliest possible date. Viscount Uchida then said that mischievous rumours were current abroad in regard to Japanese policy in China, and he declared that Japan harboured no territorial ambitions either in China or elsewhere; on the contrary the Mikado's Government had no wish whatever to hamper the legitimate development of the Chinese nation. And accordingly the Government were desirous of settling in a friendly spirit any Chino-Japanese questions which might arise at the Paris Peace Conference. The Japanese Government, when it acquired the free disposal of the territory of Kiao-chau, would restore sovereignty over it to China in accordance with the terms of the Notes supplementary to the Treaty of May 25, 1915, regarding the province *loi* Shantung. At the same time it should not be forgotten, said the Minister, that the Japanese themselves were in a large measure dependent upon the development of the rich natural resources of China, and he had no doubt that the Government and people of China would realise the necessity and desirability of a close co-operation between the two countries.

The course of events during the year did not altogether

accord with Viscount Uchida's declarations. The claims which the Japanese Government made at the Peace Conference in regard to the great province of Shantung were scarcely consistent with an effective Chinese sovereignty in that district. In regard to Siberia, however, the Japanese actions accorded better with the Ministerial declarations, and the majority of the troops in that country—the number of which had at one time reached 60,000—were withdrawn.

As stated elsewhere (see France) the Japanese Government expressed their willingness to join the League of Nations, but they strongly urged an amendment to the Covenant establishing racial equality. This subject came up for discussion in the Lower House of the legislature on March 26, and Viscount Uchida made a statement on the question. In regard to this point, the Minister for Foreign Affairs said: "The Government, whilst firmly believing in the fundamental principle of the League of Nations as containing an assurance of permanent peace for the world and of the realisation of justice and equality, had pointed out the necessity of removing legally established discriminations based on racial differences, with a view to effecting the perfection and glorious realisation of the League of Nations."

In the spring a most important political Reform Bill was passed by Parliament. In the past the franchise for the House of Representatives had been of a very limited character, the total number of voters being about 1,500,000 although the population of Japan was greater than that of the United Kingdom. There was a widespread demand in the country for a lowering of the qualifications for the vote, and the Opposition demanded the introduction of a scheme which would bring the total number of voters up to 5,000,000. The Government introduced a more cautious measure which, by lowering the property qualification, would increase the number of electors to somewhat over 8,000,000. The Bill was passed by the House of Representatives on March 8 and by the House of Peers on March 25.

During the year a widespread agitation sprang up in Korea, aiming at national independence. The agitation was, of course, resisted by the Japanese Government, but it was announced in Tokyo that minor reforms in the administration of the country would be instituted. These reforms mainly related to the functions of the Governor-General. Hitherto only a general could be Governor-General of Korea, but this obligatory military qualification was abolished, and it was arranged that even when the Viceroy happened to be an army officer his powers over the military forces in the country and over the gendarmerie should be restricted,

CHAPTER VII.

AFRICA : THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—RHODESIA—PORTUGUESE
EAST AFRICA—BRITISH EAST AFRICA—THE BELGIAN CONGO—
LIBERIA—KAMARRUN AND TOGOLAND—NIGERIA—MOROCCO—
EGYPT—SUDAN.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

THE political situation in South Africa at the beginning of the year was substantially the same as that which had existed throughout the war. General Botha, the leader of the South African Party, was in power, but his followers were only a minority of the Lower House, and he owed his continuance in office to the support given him by the Unionist (or British) Party, notwithstanding the fact that the Unionists had been formerly regarded as the official Opposition. The real Opposition was the Nationalist Party, the group of Boer extremists led by General Hertzog. The latter party had been gaining in influence during the war, and was stronger in the country than their membership (under 30) in the House of Assembly seemed to imply. The Nationalists were determined anti-imperialists, and in the year 1917 they had definitely adopted the faith of republicanism, and sought to sever the connexion between South Africa and the British Empire.

At the beginning of the year the parliamentary situation was unusual in that the two leading statesmen, Generals Botha and Smuts were both away in Europe for the purposes of the Peace Conference. Mr. Malan was the Acting Premier during this period. Parliament was opened by the Governor-General, Lord Buxton, for the Spring Session on January 15. Lord Buxton said that they all rejoiced at the victorious conclusion of the war, and that they all appreciated the gallant part taken by the South African forces. Mr. Malan moved a resolution conveying the congratulations of the House to the King upon the victory which had been achieved, and expressing the sympathy of Parliament at the sufferings of all the British and Allied peoples during the conflict. The resolution was seconded by Sir Thomas Smartt, the leader of the Unionist Party. The motion was also supported by Mr. Creswell, the leader of the Liberal Party, but an amendment was moved by Mr. T. Roos, leader of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, averring that the peace of the world could only be maintained by a complete application of those principles of self-determination which had been so clearly annunciated by the Allied and Associated Powers. Mr. Roos's amendment was rejected by 73 votes to 20, and the original motion was then adopted. Mr. Malan then moved a further resolution, thanking the citizens of the Union for the part which they had played in the war. The Acting Premier, in the course of his speech, gave interesting figures as to the

part played by South Africa in the war. He said that 60,000 men had gone to German South-West Africa, 41,000 to Central and East Africa, and 31,000 had joined the overseas contingents. The total casualties suffered by the South Africans in all theatres reached 7,089.

During February a great debate was opened on the subject of the republican propaganda in South Africa. The debate lasted several days, and was opened on February 11 by a motion submitted by Sir Thomas Smartt condemning the republican movement. After Sir Thomas Smartt had made his speech, Mr. Malan introduced an amendment to the motion making considerable alterations in the wording, but likewise condemning republicanism.

A speech was then made by General Hertzog in favour of republicanism, but stating that he was opposed to other than constitutional methods of attaining that end. He said, however, that the Orange Free State was entitled to break away from the union if the people of the province so desired. In the later course of the debate a speech was delivered by Mr. T. Roos. Referring to the Nationalist delegation which was about to proceed to Paris to demand liberty for South Africa, Mr. Roos said that if the deputation failed to attain its object the Nationalists would continue to agitate until they obtained a majority in the Union Parliament, and thus win the independence of South Africa constitutionally. The debate was concluded in an all-night sitting on February 28, and a vote on Mr. Malan's amendment was then taken. The amendment was passed by 78 votes to 24.

The deputation to which Mr. Roos had referred was a Nationalist deputation headed by General Hertzog himself which proposed to proceed to England in order to present a petition to the British Government, asking for the independence of South Africa. It was also the intention of the delegation to make an appeal to the Paris Peace Conference itself. The delegates hoped at first to proceed to England by a British merchant vessel, the *Durham Castle*; but the crew of that vessel refused to sail with the Nationalist delegation on board. It was a somewhat ironical development that the British Government then offered to place a warship at the disposal of General Hertzog. The Nationalists, however, appear to have perceived the incongruity of that proposal; and they eventually proceeded in a Dutch vessel to New York and thence took ship for Europe. The delegates arrived in England on April 18. The petition was presented to the British Government, but the official reply was that the Imperial Government could not recognise the right of a minority to speak in the name of the Union of South Africa.

It may be noted, however, that whilst the delegation was in England, the provincial diet in Bloemfontein passed a resolution, with only one dissident, demanding the complete independence of the Orange Free State,

On February 19 the annual Budget statement was made in the House of Assembly by the Finance Minister, Mr. Orr. In his statement, Mr. Orr said that a small deficit was anticipated for the financial year 1918-19; but this anticipation proved to be erroneous, and there was actually a surplus of over 400,000*l.* for that year, the revenue being nearly 22,000,000*l.* Mr. Orr said that the Government proposed to increase the duties upon imported spirits and upon the exportation of diamonds. From a subsequent statement made by Mr. Orr in the middle of May, it appeared that the estimated revenue for 1919-20 was approximately 22,230,000*l.*; and that the estimated expenditure was 22,860,000*l.* It was stated on February 21 that the net result of the working of the railways and harbours during 1918-19 had been a deficit of over 1,000,000*l.*

At the end of March there was a serious outbreak of Bolshevism at Johannesburg. A general strike took place, all trains ceased to run, all light in the city was shut off, and all churches and theatres were closed. The Government took strong measures to restore order, however, and the trouble was fortunately of short duration.

The death of General Botha at the end of August (see Obituary), almost immediately after his return from Paris, caused the very widest expressions of sympathy and appreciation from all parties in South Africa. On August 31 Lord Buxton asked General Smuts, who had also just returned from Europe, to form a Ministry, and all the members of General Botha's Cabinet agreed to serve under General Smuts.

In September a special session of Parliament was held in order to ratify the Treaty of Peace. The legislature was opened by Lord Buxton on September 5. In his speech, Lord Buxton referred in a very appreciative manner to General Botha's services to South Africa. A few days later the new Prime Minister introduced a motion asking the King to ratify the Peace Treaty on behalf of South Africa, and a Bill making arrangements for the carrying out of the clauses of the Treaty giving the mandate for South-West Africa to the Union. The resolution ratifying the Treaty was opposed by General Hertzog, who said that the so-called League of Nations differed in no way from any ordinary alliance of victors for the oppression of the vanquished. Long debates took place on both the resolution and the Bill, and both were passed by large majorities in the middle of September.

In regard to the new regime to be established in South-West Africa, it was announced that German soldiers and officials would be sent back to Germany, but that all the ordinary German colonists would be permitted to remain.

RHODRSIA.

During the year there was an unmistakable growth of the movement in favour of self-government for Rhodesia. The

propaganda of the Responsible Government Association was continued, and at the end of April the Association held a big meeting at Bulawayo. The principal speaker was Sir Charles Coghlan. Sir Charles said that the people of Rhodesia ought to control their own destiny, though they hoped to part on good terms from the British South Africa Company. Responsible Government was preferable to Crown Colony Government or to union with South Africa. It was contended by some that the large native population was a difficulty, but there was, said Sir Charles, no reason why this should be so. Let it not be forgotten that when Natal was given Responsible Government, 450,000 natives were handed over to the rule of 60,000 Europeans.

A few weeks later the Legislative Council passed a resolution asking the Secretary of State for the Colonies to state precisely what proofs he would require that the colony was fit for Responsible Government. Lord Milner replied that he could not answer a hypothetical question, and that he thought the existing arrangement ought to continue for some years.

On April 30 the Administrator (in the absence of the Treasurer, owing to illness) delivered the annual Budget statement to the Legislative Council. It was stated that the expenditure for 1918-19 had been 864,000*l.* and that the revenue had been 887,700*l.* It was estimated that the expenditure for 1919-20 would be 939,000*l.*, which on the existing basis of taxation would involve the country in a deficit of over 100,000*l.* The Administrator said that he proposed to reimpose the income tax, but not the excess profits tax.

PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA.

The assassination of Senhor Sidonio Paes at the end of 1918 resulted in a change in the governorship of Mozambique. When Senhor Paes seized power unconstitutionally at the end of 1917, the distinguished Governor-General, Dr. Alvaro de Castro, had been compelled to retire, and he had been succeeded by Colonel Massano de Amorim. In the spring it was announced that the latter statesman would retire, and that Dr. de Castro would return to his old post. There does not appear, however, to have been any ill-feeling in the colony towards Colonel de Amorim. It was also announced in Portugal that in future the Governor-General of Mozambique, as also the Governors of the other Portuguese colonies, would be granted greater liberty of action.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

It will be remembered that before the end of 1918, General Sir Edward Northey had been appointed Governor of British East Africa, and it was hoped that under his administration the colony would make further rapid progress, more particularly as it was taken for granted that in one form or another the British Empire would gain control of the great German colony lying to

the south. In the result, as stated elsewhere (see France), the greater part of German East Africa was given to Great Britain under the new scheme of mandates. And there was accordingly great rejoicing in Nairobi when the Peace Treaty was ratified. An important session of the Legislative Council was held early in the autumn. Among the schemes foreshadowed by Sir Edward Northey was a plan for settling ex-soldiers in East Africa. The Governor explained that 2,500,000 acres of land, divided up into 1,300 farms had been set aside for this purpose. At the end of the year General Northey paid a visit to England, partly owing to a serious accident which had caused him the loss of the sight of one eye.

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

Among the questions discussed at the Paris Peace Conference, not the least important was the fate of German East Africa. At one time the American delegates appear to have favoured the idea that the Germans themselves should be given the mandates for some, at least, of their African colonies. This, however, was strongly opposed by the representatives of the other Powers. It was then proposed to give Great Britain a mandate for the whole of German East Africa. This proposal gave rise to a clamour of dissatisfaction in Brussels, however, and it was subsequently arranged that the mandate for the districts of Ruanda and Urundi should be given to Belgium. The districts in question, which are situated in the north-western part of the ex-German colony, consist largely of high tableland, suitable for cattle farming, and even for a limited measure of European colonisation.

From statistics published during the year, it appeared that the total population of the Belgian Congo (exclusive of the new districts) was about 5,500,000.

LIBERIA.

It was announced at the beginning of the year that Mr. C. D. B. King would stand as candidate for the presidency of Liberia, a post which would become vacant at the end of the year, when President D. R. Howard's term of office would expire. There was no other candidate, and, the election being held on May 6, Mr. King duly became President-elect on that day. Mr. King, who was forty-three years of age, was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Liberian delegate to the Peace Conference. Mr. King was installed in office at Munrovia at the beginning of January, 1920.

During the year it was announced that in future Liberia would be placed under the exclusive supervision of the United States Government, in place of the joint supervision by America, Great Britain, and France which had existed in the past. In the autumn, too, the President-elect visited the United States.

KAMERUN AND TOGOLAND.

As stated elsewhere (see France) the Supreme Council asked Great Britain and France to draw up an agreement on the partition of the two West African colonies of Kamerun and Togoland, for which the two Powers concerned had been given mandates, and to submit the agreement subsequently to the League of Nations for ratification. An agreement was reached by Great Britain and France in the autumn. In regard to Kamerun, the permanent line of partition differed in minor points only from the provisional line drawn during the war. The division gave France four-fifths of the colony, including the capital, Duala, and all the railway lines. The British, however, obtained concessions in the region of Bornu. In Togoland, France received Lome, and the Misahoehe and Atakpame railway lines. Great Britain obtained territory in the north which formed a natural extension of the Gold Coast colony. The partition also had the effect of giving Dahomey a good outlet to the sea.

NIGERIA.

Early in the year it was announced that Sir F. Lugard, Governor-General of Nigeria, would retire. On the occasion of his departure Sir Frederick issued a statement expressing appreciation of the work of the Civil Service during the war, which had carried on the administration of the colony satisfactorily, although it had been reduced in numbers by one-third. Sir Frederick also said that the foreign trade of the colony was in a satisfactory condition. Sir Frederick Lugard was succeeded in the position of Governor-General by Sir Hugh Clifford, who arrived in Lagos on August 8.

MOROCCO.

The question of the future of Morocco was considered by the Paris Peace Conference, and it was formally decided that France should be freed from the restrictions placed upon her actions by Germany in the Treaty of Algeciras. In the Spanish zone serious trouble arose owing to the fact that the great chief, Kaisuli, who had hitherto been friendly towards Spain, opened hostilities against various Spanish posts. Serious fighting took place in July and August, and the forces in the protectorate had to be strongly reinforced from Spain. The Spanish Army was placed under the command of General Berenguer. An advance was made into Baisuli's territory, and his chief fortress, the Fondak of Wad Bas, was taken on October 5.

EGYPT.

The year was an eventful one in Egypt, and witnessed a great outbreak of the revolutionary movement which had been

simmering for some years. Before the end of 1918 the Egyptian Prime Minister, Hussein Rushdi Pasha, had tendered his resignation to the Sultan, on the ground that he had received what he regarded as a snub from the British Government. The Premier had applied to the British Government for permission to head a delegation to London to lay before the British Government the views of the Egyptian Cabinet on the future of their country. The British Government had replied that owing to the pressure of business at the Peace Conference it was inconvenient at that time for the Imperial Government to receive such a delegation. Rushdi Pasha thought, rightly or wrongly, that this was intended to postpone the whole question of Egypt's aspirations to an indefinite future, and he therefore, as already stated, resigned his office. After this Egypt was without a regular Government for many weeks, though Rushdi Pasha's resignation was not formally accepted until the beginning of March. Immediately after this it was announced that the British authorities proposed to deport four prominent nationalist politicians, namely, Zaghlul Pasha; Ismail Pasha Sidky, Mohammed Pasha Mahmoud; and Hamed Pasha Bassel. These agitators had previously been warned by the British Government to desist from their activities. The announcement that they were to be deported caused a most serious outbreak of rioting in Cairo and elsewhere. The crowds came into collision with the British troops in Cairo, and about forty of the rioters were killed and wounded. The rioting spread to other parts of the country, and owing to the gravity of the situation the Imperial Government decided to appoint General Allenby Special High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan. At the time of these events, Sir Reginald Wingate, the High Commissioner, was absent from Egypt, and General Allenby himself was on his way to England. General Allenby returned to Egypt with all speed, arriving in the country on March 25. The insurrectionary movement continued to spread, however, and it was noticeable that the Bedouin of the deserts joined with the townsfolk and the fellaheen in attempting to make trouble for the British authorities; and numerous outrages were committed against European residents, as for instance when an attack was made upon a tram at Deir Mawas and eight British soldiers were killed. General Allenby took, however, a bold course. The Imperial Government had given him plenipotentiary powers and he decided to rescind the banishment of the four nationalist leaders. After this, Rushdi Pasha resumed office and his new Ministry was announced on April 9. Most of his Ministers had been members of the previous Cabinet. The Premier appealed to the Egyptian people to preserve order, but rioting continued in many parts of the country.

Rushdi Pasha remained in power for only a few days, feeling obliged to resign once more on April 21. For some weeks Egypt was without a Cabinet, but Mohammed Said Pasha

became Premier at the end of May. The country continued in a more tranquil condition for the next few months, and at the end of October it was announced that Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby had been created High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan in succession to General Sir Reginald Wingate. On November 15 the new Governor-General issued a declaration stating that it was the policy of Great Britain to develop the autonomy of Egypt, under British protection. In the autumn it was announced that a commission, headed by Lord Milner, would go to Egypt to investigate conditions in that country. Lord Milner arrived in Cairo at the beginning of December.

At the end of November there was a further change of Government, and a new Ministry was formed under the Premiership of Youssef Wahba Pasha.

In the Budget for the year 1919-20 the revenue and expenditure were estimated at R28,850,000l.

The administration of Palestine, which was known provisionally as "Occupied Enemy Territory—South," was carried on in connexion with that of Egypt. The territory consisted of the Turkish sanjaks of Jerusalem, Nablus, and Acre, and was bounded on the north by the province of Syria which had been given over to the new Arab Government. The area of Palestine as thus defined was 8,700 sq. miles, and its population was 640,000, of whom 61,000 were Christians, 66,000 Jews, and the remainder Moslems. The Budget for 1918-19 showed a revenue of R748,000l. and an expenditure of R697,000l.

THE SUDAN.

The agitation for national independence, which was so prominent in Egypt, did not spread to the Sudan, and the great southern territory was relatively tranquil throughout the year, notwithstanding the local disturbance mentioned below.

The Budget of the Sudan Government for the year 1919 was published in May. The revenue and expenditure were estimated to balance at R2,685,000l., a figure that was over R400,000l. in excess of that relating to the previous year.

At the end of October, a sudden rising of the Dinka tribe occurred. An isolated police-post was attacked, and the position had to be evacuated. A punitive expedition was dispatched, but met with a stiff resistance, and in an engagement fought in the middle of November, the British suffered serious casualties, those killed including Major Stigand, the Governor of Mongalla.

CHAPTR VIII.

AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES— CANADA—NEWFOUNDLAND—MEXICO —BRAZIL— ARGENTINA—CHILI—PERU—OTHER REPUBLICS OF LATIN AMERICA.

THE UNITED STATES.

AT the beginning of the year an unprecedented situation existed in American political life: never before had an American President, during his term of office, paid a visit to Europe. President Wilson had left for Europe several weeks before the end of the year, and his countrymen were watching with close attention and interest the part which he was playing in the Peace Conference during January. Similarly, the attention of Congress was mainly directed towards external affairs, and in January a Bill was passed voting 20,000,000*l.* for the relief of starvation in Austria, Turkey, Poland, and western Russia. A message from Dr. Wilson urged that these countries were unable to make arrangements for feeding themselves, since they possessed no stable Governments.

President Wilson was expected to return to America temporarily in February, but before his arrival the country witnessed the success of the "prohibition" movement. Sentiment against the sale of alcoholic liquor had been growing rapidly in recent years, and on December 17, 1917, Congress had approved an amendment to the Constitution rendering the liquor traffic illegal. The amendment required the sanction of a three-fourths majority of the States, and this majority, according to the conditions laid down by Congress, had to be registered within seven years. During 1918 fifteen States ratified the amendment to the Constitution. At the beginning of January the matter came before the legislatures of a number of the other States, and on January 16 it was announced that the 36th State, Nebraska, had adopted the amendment. This gave the required three-fourths majority. The amendment would normally come into force after an interval of twelve months, namely, on January 16, 1920; but it had already been agreed that the total suppression of the manufacture, sale, importation and exportation of alcoholic liquor should be put into operation as a war measure on July 1, 1919, and it was believed that this war measure would not be repealed or rendered inoperative, so that in fact "total prohibition" would come into force permanently all over the Union on July 1.

At the end of January the War Department published certain statistics relating to the military strength of America at the date of the conclusion of the armistice. The total strength of the Army, including the Marines, was 3,703,000. The forces in France numbered 1,950,000, but some of these were partially trained reserves, not immediately available for service. The

War Department also made known the interesting fact that at the end of October, 1918, the rifle-strength (namely, men actually in the fighting lines) of the Allies in the West exceeded that of the Germans almost exactly in the ratio of 2 to 1.

At the beginning of February the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which had passed the House of Representatives, came before the Senate, but failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in that Chamber.

President Wilson arrived at Boston on February 24, and delivered a long speech there to an audience of 8,000 persons. The speaker declared that he was delighted to be among his own countrymen again, and declared that the prestige of America stood wonderfully high. He had met many men urging ardently the claims of down-trodden peoples, "and in the midst of it all, every interest seeks out first of all when it reaches Paris, the representatives of the United States. Why? Because -and I think I am stating the most wonderful fact in history—because there is no nation in Europe that suspects the motives of the United States." The trust with which America was regarded, however, carried with it, said the President, corresponding responsibilities and burdens. Americans must help to create the League of Nations. In particular, the new nations—Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, the Jugo-Slavs—looked to America as a disinterested friend.

President Wilson's visit to the United States was extremely brief, but before he sailed once more for Europe on March 5 he delivered an important speech in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York—on March 4. The function was notable in that Mr. Taft, once Republican President, appeared on the same platform with President Wilson. Mr. Taft spoke first. He said that it would be a hideous blot on Christian civilisation if such a war as the last ever occurred again. It was perhaps true, he said, that the covenant of the League of Nations as proposed in Paris bore evidence of compromise, but it had been produced by the earnest efforts of the representatives of all the nations who had won the war. The covenant was on the whole well drawn, but it would be desirable for Congress to fix the limitation of armaments for the United States, and such an obligation would endure for whatever time the covenant of the League might be made binding: as, for instance, a period of ten years. Mr. Taft criticised the articles of the League designed to compel submission of differences to arbitration, and said that he thought that these articles were incomplete; they did, however, represent a substantial step forward. Mr. Taft then went on to say that he considered Washington's policy of avoiding entangling alliances to be obsolete in the present conditions of international politics, because the interests of America were inevitably involved in the preservation of the peace of Europe. Moreover, he considered that the League was no threat to the Monroe doctrine, and he continued: "Those who seek to en-

force the Monroe doctrine, which makes the Western Hemisphere our own preserve, in which we may impose our sovereign will on the will of other countries in their own interest, because, indeed, we have done that in the past, should not be sustained/'

Dr. Wilson then made his speech. He said that the conferences of the commission set up to devise a covenant for the League of Nations had been most impressive. Representatives of fourteen nations had sat around that board, and they had all been inspired by a common purpose to form a League of the civilised world. Continuing, he said that wars were largely born of intrigue, and intrigue could not stand publicity, and therefore if the League of Nations was nothing more than a great debating society, it would nevertheless kill intrigue. Dealing with the origin of the past war he said that if Germany had supposed that Great Britain would go in with France and Russia she would never have undertaken the enterprise; and the League of Nations was meant as a notice to all outlaw nations that not only Great Britain, but the United States, and the rest of the world would go in to check enterprises of that sort. Dr. Wilson said that he could only explain some of the criticisms which had been levelled against the League of Nations by the supposition that the men who made such criticisms had never felt the great pulse of the heart of the world. These gentlemen did not know what was in the mind of man at the present time. But everybody else did. They had been separated from the general current of the thought of mankind. Continuing, Dr. Wilson described the ardour of the American Armies in the field, and said that what was now needed was something more than any ordinary treaty of peace, and that something could only be supplied by the League of Nations.

As already stated the President sailed for Europe on the following day. He left behind him a somewhat divided country. Nearly all the Democrats rallied to him in his policy of the League of Nations. And a certain number of Republicans were ready to follow the lead given by ex-President Taft. This division of opinion was reflected in the Press. Most of the Democratic organs, including *The World*, were zealous in support of their leader, and averred that the Senate (where, it will be remembered, the Republicans now had a majority) would not dare to oppose the Treaty of Peace or the League of Nations covenant when it came to an actual vote on these issues. On the other hand, the Republican *Tribune* was hostile, as the following comment by that paper will show: "The President has shown most astonishing political ineptitude. He has sought in the violation of unbroken precedents and of the spirit of the Constitution to exclude the Senate, his partner in treaty-making, from participation. He refused to consult it; he would not appoint members of the Senate as members of the peace commission; he would not say in any definite way what he wanted, making the impossible demand that whatever

he saw fit to agree to must be accepted without debate or amendment."

There is no doubt that these criticisms had some substance in them. Dr. Wilson had certainly made mistakes from the point of view of political tactics; he had possibly made mistakes also from the more important standpoint of constitutional law. Many Americans recalled that after the Spanish War President McKinley had included Senators in the peace delegation. The powers given to the Senate by the constitution in all matters of foreign policy were undoubtedly considerable. Dr. Wilson, entirely possessed by his enthusiasm for the ideal of a League of Nations, did not stop to consider whether he could really carry the American nation and the American legislature with him. He attempted to ride rough-shod over the opposition which was obviously gathering in his own country, and he laid himself somewhat open to the charge that his treatment of the Senate was neither tactful nor altogether courteous. It is possible that if the President had taken counsel with the Senate and with the Republican Party in the early days of the armistice a much larger section of the republican Party would have been found to follow Mr. Taft. In the event, however, American history for the remainder of the year is largely a narrative of the formidable growth of the opposition to the League of Nations.

It should be explained at the outset, however, that only a small minority of the Senate—and no doubt also of the nation—were opposed to the underlying principle of a League of Nations. Some few Senators, it is true, wished to see the United States retire again to the position of complete isolation, which she had held before the war. The leaders of this group were Mr. Borah and Mr. Poindexter. But these politicians, as already stated, were in a small minority. And the main opposition was led by Mr. Lodge and Mr. Knox and others who, whilst anxious that America should bring her influence to bear in some practical manner for the preservation of the peace of the world, were strongly of opinion that the covenant of the League as drawn up in Paris infringed too much on the principle of national sovereignty, and in particular that it involved America in too extensive commitments, and took the control of policy almost entirely out of the hands of Congress. And it must be admitted that the opposition to the League was strengthened by the activities of that Anglophobe faction, which has never ceased to exist in America. The Irish succeeded in working on sentiment by proclaiming the injustice of applying the principle of self-determination to the Poles, the Czechoslovaks, the Jugo-Slavs, and other nationalities, and at the same time withholding it from the Irish. And in other quarters the idea of guaranteeing the existing frontiers of the British Empire found anything but a favourable reception.

As early as March 4 Senator Lodge introduced into the

Upper House a motion averring that peace with Germany ought to be concluded with the utmost expedition, and that then, but not till then, the proposal to establish a League of Nations to ensure the permanent peace of the world should be taken up for careful and serious consideration.

Moreover, it was perhaps significant that on the same day the House of Representatives passed by a majority of 216 votes to 41 a resolution moved by the Democrat, Mr. H. 1). Flood, giving expression to the hope that the Peace Conference would consider favourably the claims of Ireland to the right of self-determination. The speakers for the minority stated that they considered that the internal affairs of Great Britain were not the concern of the people of the United States.

In the spring a new federal loan was issued by the Government and was known by the name of the Victory Loan. A sum of 900,000,000/. was asked for; and the total subscriptions amounted to no less than 1,050,060,000l. It was stated that the excess subscriptions would be refused. This result was announced on May 26, and a few weeks later statements were issued in regard to the total American war expenditure. It was stated that the total war expenditure of the United States Government, from April 6, 1917, to June 1, 1919, amounted to 2,909,000,000/.; and of this 2,540,900,000/. was spent in the United States.

In June a revised list of the American casualties during the war was issued. It was stated that 32,842 men had been killed in action; 13,554 lost at sea; 4,640 died of wounds; that the total of wounded was 208,223, of whom 85 percent, returned to duty; prisoners of war still missing, 2,993; prisoners released and returned, 4,534, and Marine casualties, 6,013.

During the summer the (opposition of the Republican Party to the Treaty of Peace, as negotiated by President Wilson, became more apparent. And even before the Treaty was finally presented to the Germans, resolutions were introduced into the Senate by Republicans, including Senator Lodge, Senator Kriox, and others, condemning the inclusion of the League of Nations covenant in the Peace Treaty. Immediately after the Peace of Versailles was signed, President Wilson left Paris and returned home. He arrived in New York on July 8. After this no time was lost in laying the whole matter before the Senate. The Treaty of Peace was laid before the Senate by President Wilson himself on July 10. In his speech recommending the Senate to pass the measure, the President devoted himself almost entirely to a defence of the League of Nations, and to rebutting the charge, that the League was wholly inconsistent with the American tradition of eschewing entangling alliances.

Four days later the battle in the Senate for the ratification of the Peace Treaty and the League covenant included therein, was begun, the first debate being opened by Senator Swanson of Virginia, a representative Democrat who stated the case for

the Treaty with great force. He dealt with the clauses *seriatim*, and averred in particular that Article 10 would not destroy the validity of the Monroe doctrine, and would, on the contrary, protect both the Panama Canal and the Philippines. He showed also that the terms of the covenant could be revised from time to time. At the end of the month the Treaty of Alliance between America, Great Britain, and France was also introduced into the Senate, but the consideration of it was obviously only an appendage to the consideration of the Peace Treaty itself. The Republican Senators remained hostile, as was soon clear when the Treaty was duly referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. During August a conference between the President and representative Republican Senators was held at the White House. The President was subjected to some searching questions. In particular, President Wilson was forced to confess that he was not himself in favour of the policy of giving the control of Shantung to Japan, and that he had been obliged to give way on that point.

It was soon clear that the Foreign Relations Committee were determined to investigate the whole matter of the Treaty in great detail. It was announced in August that they had decided to hear the spokesmen of the Egyptians, the Irish, and various small nations of Central Europe in regard to the terms of the Treaty; and they also decided to hear what Dr. R. T. Williams, who had resigned from the Peace Commission over the Shantung question, had to say on that matter. Whilst the Senate was considering the subject in this manner it became clear that the Republican point of view had the support of wide sections of the American people, many of whom were still very averse to departing from the tradition of isolation which had been one of the strongest of American political prepossessions in the past. At the end of August, therefore, President Wilson undertook a campaign in order to influence public opinion in favour of his policy. It was announced that he would take a trip to the Pacific coast, and make speeches in all the principal cities on his way thither. The campaign was duly inaugurated and the President spoke in many of the middle western and western towns; but unfortunately his health suffered a serious breakdown during the tour and he was unable to complete the series of speeches which he had planned. After this the President remained in serious ill-health up to the end of the year.

On September 4 the Foreign Relations Committee, having adopted four fundamental reservations to the Treaty, relating respectively to the Monroe doctrine, the regulations relating to the 'withdrawal from the League of Nations, certain domestic questions, and (the most important) Article 10 of the covenant, ordered the Peace Treaty to be reported to the Senate. The Treaty then came formally before the whole Senate and it was debated at very great length. At first it appeared that the Democrats would fare better in the whole Senate than they

had done in the Committee. Various amendments were introduced by Republicans, including one to give the German rights in Shantung to China instead of to Japan, but these were defeated. Soon, however, it became obvious that the tendency of the Republican majority of the Senate was to append reservations to the Treaty and to endeavour to pass it in that form. The Democrats on their side declared that if any drastic reservations were appended they would vote against the ratification of the Treaty. Since the Treaty required a two-thirds majority in the Senate the Democrats would be able to veto the ratification. The debate continued until the middle of November, and since there was every sign that it would be further protracted, the closure was adopted on November 15. Two days earlier what was perhaps the most important of all the reservations which the Republicans advocated was passed. This was a reservation to Article 10 of the League covenant, and it read as follows:—

"The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or interfere in controversies between nations, whether members of the League or not, under the provisions of Article 10, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any Article in the Treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case Congress, which under the Constitution has the sole power to declare war, or authorise the employment of the military or naval forces, shall by act or general resolution have so provided."

In the opinion of President Wilson this reservation cut the heart out of the entire covenant, and there is no doubt that in this view of the matter he was correct. With such a reservation attached, there was very little left of the League, in so far as the United States was concerned.

Various other reservations related to the Monroe doctrine, -Shantung, the expenses of the League, and other matters. One very strong reservation referred to the limitation of armaments. This reservation stated that if the United States should adopt a plan for the limitation of armaments in agreement with the other members of the League (under Article 8), "it reserves to itself the right to increase such armaments without the consent of the Council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war."

The closure having been adopted, the remaining stages of the debate were passed through very quickly. One of the last reservations to be adopted was one stating that the United States would not be bound by any decision of the Council or Assembly of the League in which any other member "and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of the Empire, in the aggregate have cast more than one vote." This, of course, was a reference to the votes given to the British Empire by the covenant of the League.

On November 19 the final vote was taken. The Foreign Relations Committee brought in a resolution ratifying the Treaty with fifteen reservations which had been adopted. The resolution was defeated by 51 votes to 41, the majority being composed of the Democrats and of a dissentient group of Republicans, who had always desired to defeat the Treaty.

The Democrats opposed the resolution in full agreement with President Wilson himself, who had written to Senator Hitchcock (the leading Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee), stating that what the Foreign Relations Committee really proposed was the nullification, not the ratification of the Treaty.

The Democrats then made an attempt to ratify the Treaty without the reservations, but their motion was of course defeated. In this manner the Treaty of Peace was definitely shelved in America, and thus did the United States refuse to join the League of which the chief author and founder was her own President.

Whilst these momentous debates were taking place in the Senate, the country was afflicted with great labour troubles. At the end of October a strike was declared by the bituminous coal-miners, the dispute involving altogether nearly half a million men. The miners demanded a 60 per cent, increase in wages, a six-hour day, and other improvements in conditions. The Federal Government took drastic measures to maintain order and to prevent a coal famine, but the strike lasted, though not without local interruptions, throughout November. Ultimately, some of the men's demands were conceded.

At the end of October the International Labour Conference, provided for in the Peace with Germany, met in Washington. Labour representatives of the ex-enemy countries were allowed to attend. Among the subjects discussed were an eight-hour day, the prevention of unemployment, and the regulation of the labour of women and children.

The Treaty of Peace having been shelved, Congress adjourned, but reassembled again on December 2. The message which President Wilson sent to Congress dealt almost exclusively with domestic questions, and there was no reference whatever to the Treaty of Peace.

In November the Prince of Wales paid an official visit to the United States and was received at Washington and elsewhere.

CANADA.

At the opening of the year the political situation in Canada was still dominated by the fundamental changes which took place in 1917. It will be remembered that the introduction of conscription in that year rent the Liberal Party in twain. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the party, was opposed to the

principle of compulsory service, and he had been supported in this attitude by the immense majority of the electors of his own province, Quebec. In the English-speaking provinces, however, and particularly in the West, a large and influential section of the Liberal Party had broken away from the federal leader and had supported the Conservative Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, in the introduction of the Military Service Act, which they deemed necessary for the safety of the Empire. Sir Robert Borden was supported in particular by the Prime Ministers of the four western provincial Governments, all of whom were Liberals. A Coalition Government was subsequently formed, including the Conservative leaders and the ex-Liberal Conscriptonists. In December, 1917, the Coalition Government appealed to the country and the General Election resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Ministerialists, who were now known as the Unionist Party. The victory was won, however, by methods which caused intense bitterness among the Opposition. Before appealing to the constituencies, Sir Robert Borden had forced through Parliament a so-called War-time Election Act, the most important provision of which bestowed the federal vote upon the female relatives of soldiers, but not upon women generally. The Liberals and the Quebec Nationalists averred that this partial scheme of female enfranchisement had been adopted by the Government with the object of giving the vote to the women who were naturally likely to share the Minister's opinions on the conscription question and of withholding the electoral privilege from the women who were likely to be opposed to the idea of conscription for oversea campaigns. This particular provision of the War-time Election Act caused even greater resentment than the Conscription Act itself, and during the earlier months of 1918 the enforcement of the Conscription Law caused much friction and even rioting in Quebec. Notwithstanding the fact that hostilities were terminated in November, and notwithstanding the passing of a general Women's Franchise Bill later in 1918, party feeling was still running very high at the end of the year.

At the opening of the year questions of finance were perhaps the most important with which the Dominion Legislature had to deal. The main budgetary estimates were laid on the table of the House of Commons by the Minister of Finance, Sir James White, on March 19. It was stated that, apart from expenditure on the Army, which, owing to the exceptional position, had to be dealt with separately, the total expenditure was estimated at no less than 87,400,000l., which was an increase on the corresponding expenditure of the year 1918 of over 27,000,000l. Sir T. White explained that this very large increase in expenditure was due to the Government's far-reaching plans of reconstruction. The Administration proposed to spend 6,000,000l. on shipbuilding, 4,000,000l. on roads, 7,000,000l. on railway equipment; and a further sum of nearly

8,000,000l. on items arising naturally in the after-math of the war, such as pensions, military hospitals, soldiers' settlement, and "re-educational schools." It was further stated that the cost of the war to Canada in the previous financial year was 69,400,000l. The National Debt at the end of March was 287,600,000l., which was an increase during the past year of 66,400,000/.

The death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier (see Obituary) gave rise to general expressions of appreciation of that statesman's great qualities by all Canadians, without distinction of party. It had been expected that the death of the veteran Liberal leader would probably bring about a reunion between the Liberal members of the Coalition and the Independent Liberals who had remained in opposition, more particularly as the question of conscription, which had divided the two sections, was of course no longer a live issue. In fact, however, there was no real attempt to bring about this reunion; and there is no doubt that the two sections had drifted far apart in many of their ideas. A meeting of the Liberal caucus was held at Ottawa on February 24 in order to elect a provisional leader for the Liberal Party in Parliament. It was not proposed to elect immediately a permanent leader, no doubt mainly because many of the most prominent Liberals had been excluded from Parliament at the previous General Election. The caucus elected Mr. D. D. Mackenzie, K.C. Mr. Mackenzie was sixty years of age and was a well-known barrister of Nova Scotia. He had represented Cape Breton in the Dominion House of Commons since 1901.

During the spring there was a development of a wholly unprecedented character in the Canadian West. In the past, socialism, even moderate socialism, had been very weak in Canada, as in the United States. Labour had obtained little or no direct representation in any of the legislatures, and from the point of view of economic reform the political and parliamentary position had been not unlike that existing in Great Britain at the end of the nineteenth century. Even in these matters, however, the war had brought about changes, and in the spring unrest became manifest in two very different quarters. In the first place, the demobilised soldiers who had been very rapidly repatriated by the Canadian Government, were much incensed to find aliens who had made no sacrifice for the country during the war, and who had, on the contrary, drawn very good wages in war industries, installed in many of the best positions in industrial concerns in the Western towns. Feeling ran high, and in Winnipeg riotous conflicts occurred between the returned (and largely unemployed) soldiers and the alien workmen. In the second place, a sinister movement arose among these alien workmen themselves and spread to some of the workers of British or Canadian origin. The new movement was avowedly akin and sympathetic to Russian Bolshevism. The new movement was distinct from the older and much more moderate

Trades Union movement. At the end of March, a Western Labour Conference was held at Calgary and passed resolutions expressing sympathy with the Soviet idea, proposing the formation of "one big Union" in order to bring about a general strike, and declaring in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The decisions of this Extremist Conference were condemned by Mr. Moore, the President of the Trades and Labour Council (hitherto the most important Trades Unionist body in the Dominion), but the new Bolshevik faction continued to gain adherents.

In connexion with the growth of the Bolshevik movement among the alien element in the West, it must be mentioned that a Bill was brought into the Federal House of Commons by Mr. J. A. Calder, the object of which was to give the Administration far stronger powers for the exclusion of undesirable aliens, particularly persons born in the lately hostile countries. The Bill was duly passed by the Parliament in June. In the meantime, however, there had been a very grave development of Bolshevism in the West, and particularly in Winnipeg. In the latter city the movement had obtained the support of many workmen of British and Canadian extraction, in addition to the malcontent element among the foreigners. In the middle of May a general strike was suddenly proclaimed in Winnipeg, and for some weeks the strikers had almost complete control of the city. They were even in a position to censor news sent out to other parts of Canada. Similar outbreaks occurred in Calgary and some of the smaller neighbouring towns; but the movement did not spread to the East. The attempts of the Federal Government to bring about a settlement were unsuccessful. The movement attracted a great deal of attention all over the Empire, because it was the deliberate and avowed intention of the strike leaders to establish the Soviet form of government, first in Winnipeg and Manitoba, and then in all Canada. The eventual failure of the strike appears to have been due exclusively to the fact that it did not spread to a sufficiently wide area. The Winnipeg Bolsheviks could not exist apart from the surrounding country, and aside from the short-lived movement in Calgary, the sympathetic strikes were on a small scale. At the end of June, therefore, after having continued for about five weeks, the Winnipeg strike collapsed and the constitutional authorities resumed control of the provincial capital.

At the beginning of August a conference of Liberals held in Ottawa considered the question of appointing a permanent leader in succession to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Four candidates were nominated by different sections, one of the four being Mr. Mackenzie, the temporary leader. One of the other candidates was Mr. Mackenzie King, who had been Minister of Labour under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and it was generally anticipated in the party that he would be the successful candidate. It was

necessary to hold three ballots in order to decide the question, and in the third ballot Mr. King defeated a certain Mr. Graham by 476 votes to 438. Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King was born in 1874 and had made a special study of labour questions. The Liberal Convention in Ottawa also considered the question of Imperial relations; and a resolution was brought forward declaring that the existing relations between different parts of the Empire should be maintained and that any attempt to centralise Imperial institutions should be strongly opposed. The resolution was adopted by the Convention.

After paying his visit to Newfoundland, at the beginning of August, the Prince of Wales proceeded to Canada and landed at St. John, New Brunswick, on August 15. He was welcomed at the port by the Governor-General (the Duke of Devonshire) and by the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick (Mr. Pugsley). The Prince stayed for many weeks in Canada, visiting all parts of the Dominion, and going on a shooting trip in the West. In November, as stated elsewhere, he paid a visit to the United States.

In July Sir Thomas White, the Federal Finance Minister, resigned; and he was succeeded by Sir Henry Drayton.

On September 1 the Governor-General opened Parliament for a special session called to consider the ratification of the Treaty of Peace with Germany. On the following day the Prime Minister moved in the House of Commons a resolution asking Parliament to approve the Treaty of Peace. In regard to the League of Nations, Sir R. Borden said that he had suggested at the Conference that the British self-governing Dominions should be given the status of small nations, and after prolonged discussion in Paris that suggestion had been adopted by the Conference. During the course of the debate an important amendment to the resolution was moved by Mr. W. S. Fielding, this amendment bearing a close resemblance to the reservations which were successfully moved in the United States Senate. Mr. Fielding's amendment was worded as follows:—

"That, in giving such approval, the House in no way assents to any impairment of the existing autonomous authority of the Dominion, but that the question what part, if any, Canada shall take in any war, actual or threatened, is one to be determined at all times, when occasion may require, by the people of Canada through their representatives in Parliament,"

This amendment was defeated by 102 votes to 70. The ratification of the Treaty was subsequently passed unanimously by the House of Commons, and was also passed unanimously by the Senate.

A General Election was **held** in Quebec on **June 23**. There **were** 81 seats in the Lower House of the Provincial Diet, of **which*** 40 were carried by the Liberal Government by acclamation

on Nomination Day. The final result was that the Liberals obtained 72 seats, the Conservatives 7, and the Labour Party 2.

In the following month a General Election was held in Prince Edward Island. The Liberals, under the leadership of Mr. J. H. Bell, won a decisive victory, securing 26 out of the 30 seats. In the previous parliament the Conservatives had been in a small majority.

In the middle of October a General Election of exceptional interest was held in Ontario. The Conservatives had been in power since 1905, and at the time of the dissolution Sir William Hearst's Government had a majority of about 77 votes to 33. The situation was now complicated by the intervention of two comparatively new parties, the United Farmers' Party and the Labour Party. The result was one of the most extraordinary election anomalies ever seen in Canada. The two older parties, the Conservatives and Liberals, secured a large majority of the total number of votes cast, namely, 723,711 out of 1,153,567. But they secured only a minority of the seats, namely, 54 out of 110. Of these 54 seats the Conservatives held only 24. When the result of the election became known the Premier and the whole Cabinet of course placed their resignations in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Hendrie; and the latter asked Mr. Drury, the leader of the Farmers* Party, to form a Cabinet. It should be said that the Farmers Party and the Labourites had formed a Coalition during the elections. Sir William Hearst announced that he would retire into private life. A referendum was held in the province at the same time on the question of the prohibition of alcoholic liquor, and there was a majority of over 200,000 in favour of prohibition.

During the year, it was suggested by Mr. Stefansson, the famous Arctic explorer, that the vast herds of the Musk-Ox which inhabit the Barren Lands of the Canadian North, might be used as a source of both meat and wool on a large scale. Accordingly, in May the Government appointed a Commission to consider the question of the development of both the Musk-Ox and Reindeer industries, Mr. Stefansson being the Chairman of the Commission.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

During the year there was considerable political activity in Newfoundland. At the opening of the year, it will be remembered, Sir W. F. Lloyd was Prime Minister, and he attended the Paris Peace Conference in that capacity. In the spring it was hoped that a General Election would be held in May, but it was not found possible to complete the new arrangements, and the elections were postponed until November. There was, however, a change of Government during Sir William Lloyd's absence in Europe, the Cabinet being reconstituted with Mr. M. P. Cashm as Prime Minister, Mr. Cashia *had* been Minister

of Finance under Sir W. Lloyd. Mr. J. Currie, at one time Leader of the Opposition, was a member of the new Cabinet.

The General Election was held, as arranged, on November 3. At the time of the dissolution the Ministerial Party had a considerable majority in the House of Assembly. The elections were fought with great bitterness, and sectarianism was introduced to an unprecedented extent. The Prime Minister was a Roman Catholic, and attacks were made on him from that point of view. In the result, there was a remarkable turnover of votes. The Opposition won 24 seats and the Government only 12. The Cabinet of course resigned, and in the middle of November a new Ministry was formed under the Premiership of Mr. Richard Squires, one of the leaders of the Fishermen's Party.

On his outward voyage to America, the Prince of Wales paid a visit to St. John's. He landed on August 12, and on the following day a regatta was held in his honour. Unfortunately the function was marred by a fatal accident, a small boat capsizing and a Newfoundlander being drowned. The Prince left the same day.

The fishing season was very successful, but the sealing industry suffered from the thoughtless slaughter which had taken place in recent years, and the total catch was the smallest recorded since sealing was first practised on a large scale—that is, for more than a century.

The influenza epidemic, which was so prevalent everywhere early in the year, was serious in Newfoundland itself, and in Labrador wrought terrible ravages. * It was reported that out of about three thousand Eskimos inhabiting the Labrador coast, about two thousand died of the disease.

MEXICO.

The best that can be said of conditions in this troubled republic during the year is that they did not grow any worse. It will be remembered that President Carranza had been able in the previous year to establish his authority over the greater part of the country, but that in certain parts of the republic, bandits, of whom the greatest was "General" Villa, remained unchecked. In the settled parts of the country which the Government was able to police, conditions undoubtedly improved, and it was announced in the summer that the Government proposed to extend the railway system of the country, a measure which would not only be of use commercially, but would no doubt aid in extending the authority of the Government.

Unfortunately the friction between the United States and Mexico continued throughout the year. In the middle of June some of "General" Villa's bandits crossed the American border and fired into the town of El Paso, and a number of Americans

were said to have been killed. A small American force under the command of Major-General de Besey Cabell was then thrown across the border into the town of Juarez ; and cavalry was sent in pursuit of the bandits. One body of Mexicans was rounded up and an engagement ensued in which the Mexicans were reported to have lost twenty killed and seventy wounded. After thus punishing and dispersing the Villista forces, the American troops were withdrawn across the border.

Frontier incidents of a similar sort occurred constantly throughout the latter part of the year, and on one occasion several American airmen were seized by bandits. The trouble which thus arose was not occasioned by any direct antagonism between the Americans and the law-abiding section of the Mexican people; but by the inability of the Government and that law-abiding section to control the parts of the country dominated by brigands. Constant notes were sent by the Government at Washington to President Carranza, but the only real protection of the American towns along the border was the large American force (numbering, it was said, 50,000 men) which was held in readiness there.

Another incident of a somewhat more serious character arose at the end of October. The American Consular Agent at Puebla, a certain Mr. W. O. Jenkins, was kidnapped by bandits and held for a ransom of 150,000 dollars. The ransom was paid by Mr. Jenkins' friends and he was released by the bandits, but he was then suddenly arrested by the agents of the Mexican Government itself, who declared that Mr. Jenkins had been conspiring with the bandits. The American Government then peremptorily demanded that Mr. Jenkins should be released. The Mexican Government procrastinated and made all manner of excuses, but at the beginning of December Carranza yielded to direct threats from Washington and Mr. Jenkins was released.

BRAZIL.

The year was a prosperous one in Brazil, and the Republic, as stated elsewhere (see Prance), took its legitimate part in the Peace Conference in Paris. In January, Dr. Eodrigues Alves, President of the Republic, died, and in the presidential election which then became necessary, the head of the Brazilian Delegation in Paris, Dr. Epitacio da Silva Pessoa, was elected President of the Republic. Dr. Pessoa had had a very distinguished career and had travelled much in Europe. As early as 1898 he had held the office of Minister of the Interior, and in 1901 was member of the Supreme Federal Court of Justice at Rio. He was also a member of the Senate; and when he was in Paris, it was only appropriate that he should be nominated by the Conference a member of the committee on the League of Nations. Whilst he was in Europe Dr. Pessoa visited first Brussels, and then at the beginning of June paid a State visit

to London, where he arrived on June 3. On June 5 he was entertained by the King at Buckingham Palace, having been the guest of the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House earlier on the same day. Subsequently Dr. Pessoa paid a State visit to Lisbon, whither he was taken on a British cruiser.

In July Dr. Pessoa returned to Brazil and assumed the presidential office. He appointed the following statesmen as members of his Ministry:—

Minister for Foreign Affairs -	Senhor A. Marques.
Minister of the Interior.	Senhor A. Pinto.
Minister of Finance.	Senhor H. Baptista.
Minister of Communications -	Senhor Pires do Rio.
Minister of Agriculture.	Senhor S. Lopes.
Minister of Marine.	Senhor R. Soares.
Minister of War.	Senhor P. Calogeras.

ARGENTINA.

The year was marked in Argentina by the occurrence of very serious labour troubles due in the main to the spread of definite Bolshevik doctrines through the agency of the large number of Russian immigrants where. The most serious outbreak occurred in January. Early in the month a general strike was declared in Buenos Aires, and this appears to have developed into a deliberate attempt to bring about a political and social revolution and the establishment of a Bolshevik regime. On January 9 the revolutionaries were able to seize control of the city, and it was notable that on the following day the only newspaper to appear was the Socialist organ. Thefts and murders occurred in all directions; and by a concerted movement the strike spread on January 11 to every town in the Republic. For several days it appeared as though the Russian and other foreign workmen would be able to seize control of the Argentine capital. President Irigoyen and the Government acted with decision, however. On January 11 General Dell Epiane was appointed Military Dictator of Buenos Aires, with full powers. He immediately established the most severe form of martial law, and severe street fighting between the troops and the revolutionaries occurred in the capital. A serious conflict took place outside the General Post Office, in which nearly 1,000 casualties occurred. The fighting in the Russian quarter was shed before General Dell Epiane was able to carry out his intention of interning all the Russian ringleaders in the warships anchored in the harbour. After a few days of what was virtually civil war, however, General Dell Epiane's vigour had the desired effect and the revolutionary movement collapsed.

CHILI.

Chili was not subjected to the economic and revolutionary disturbances which characterised the year in Argentina; but

constant political changes occurred, and the President, Senor Dr. J. L. Sanfuentes, found it necessary to sanction several changes in the personnel of his Cabinet. At different periods Senor Henry Bermudez and Senor Florencio Valdes held office as Premier. And there were also changes at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, this office being held successively by Senor Luis Parros Borgone, Senor Alamiro Huidgero, and others. These changes in personnel, however, did not imply any fundamental alterations in the policy of the country.

The perennial Peruvian claim to the Chilian provinces of Tacna and Arica was complicated during the year by a similar claim put forth by Bolivia.

PERU.

The year was somewhat eventful in Peru. At the opening of the year Dr. J. Pardoe was still President, but his term expired in August, 1919. A Presidential Election was therefore held in the middle of May, Senor Aspillaga being the candidate of the so-called Civil Party (to which Dr. Pardoe himself belonged), and Senor Leguia being the candidate of the Independent Party. The contest was of an extremely bitter character, and although Senor Aspillaga naturally had the support, legitimate and otherwise, of the governing forces, Senor Leguia was much the more popular of the two candidates, particularly in Lima. In the result Senor Leguia secured a large majority of votes (apparently about 160,000 out of the 200,000 cast), but the Government endeavoured to conceal the figures, and the real truth of the matter remained in doubt for some weeks.

At the beginning of July, however, Senor Leguia took the matter into his own hands. On July 4 a *coup d'etat* was carried out in Lima; President Pardoe was seized and imprisoned, and Senor Leguia was declared President. There was reported to have been no bloodshed during the *coup*. The only result therefore of the unconstitutional manner in which the presidential change was carried out, was that Senor Leguia assumed office a few weeks earlier than he would otherwise have done. He immediately appointed a new Ministry, of which Senor M. F. Porras was Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs. Senor I. D. Idiquez was the Minister of Finance.

Rx-President Pardoe was banished from Peru.

On assuming office President Leguia announced that he hoped to carry through constitutional reforms of a most drastic character. The reforms which President Leguia had in view involved an extensive measure of devolution, and the establishment of three provincial legislatures at Arequipa, Huncayo, and Trujillo. In order to carry out this great reform a Constituent Assembly had to be elected, and a General Election for this body was held in August, and resulted in the return of a large

majority of deputies favourable to President Leguia's plans. The Constituent Assembly met to consider the reforms in December.

OTHER SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

In March there was a Presidential Election in URUGUAY. Dr. Baltasar Brum was elected President by 81 votes as against 47 votes obtained by his opponent, Dr. Golfarini. Under the Reformed Constitution, which had now become operative, a National Administrative Council would share the executive power with the President; and it was announced that Dr. F. Viera would be President of this Administrative Council. At the end of November a General Election was held for the National Assembly. Fifty-seven members of the Ministerial Party were returned, 59 Nationalists, and 12 members of minor parties.

In the middle of November it was announced that both COLUMBIA and PARAGUAY had adhered to the League of Nations.

CHAPTER IX.

AUSTRALASIA.

AUSTRALIA.

AT the beginning of the year, Mr. W. M. Hughes was still at the head of the Commonwealth Government. This Ministry had been formed originally in February, 1917, by a coalition of that minority of the Labour Party which supported Mr. Hughes' war-policy on the one hand and the Liberal Party on the other hand. After their union these two groups had taken the name of the "Nationalist Party," and the Coalition Government thus formed included such well-known politicians as Senator G. F. Pearce, Sir J. Forrest, and Mr. Cook. During the war, the first plank in the platform of the Nationalist Party had been the scheme for compulsory military service for overseas expeditions, but this plank, at least, had been unpopular in the country. And although at a General Election held in 1917 the Nationalists had been confirmed in office, they had obtained their majority partly owing to a pledge that they would not introduce conscription for Foreign Service without taking a direct poll of the people upon that question. It should be added that this question of conscription was twice submitted to the Australian people during the war, first in 1916 and again in 1917. On both occasions the conscription proposals were defeated by a considerable majority.

The normal expiration of the term of office of the Governor-General, Sir Ronald Crawford Munro-Ferguson, was to fall due in May; but at the special request of the Imperial Government, Sir Ronald agreed to continue in office for twelve months longer.

Throughout the earlier part of the year, the Prime Minister was absent from Australia and was representing his country at the Paris Peace Conference (see France). At the Conference Mr. Hughes played a prominent part; and the terms of the League of Nations covenant itself were not uninfluenced by the arguments brought forward by the Australian statesman. Mr. Hughes found himself on more than one occasion in conflict with the Japanese delegates. The question of the Pacific colonies of Germany was, of course, an important one for Australia; and as described elsewhere, the ultimate decision of the Conference was to give the mandate for the islands north of the Equator to Japan, and the mandates for the much more important colonies south of the Equator to the two Australasian dominions. New Zealand was to have the mandate for German Samoa, whilst Australia herself was authorised to take over German New Guinea and the neighbouring islands. Even this arrangement did not wholly satisfy public opinion in Australia, as the southward advance of the Japanese was viewed with some anxiety.

The debates on the German colonies were not, however, the only occasions on which a difference of opinion arose between the Japanese and Australian statesmen. Another question of even greater importance was that of the Japanese amendment to the League of Nations covenant asserting the so-called principle of racial equality (see France). On this question opinion, both in Australia and in New Zealand, was very strong. The policy of a White Australia was the very foundation of the political creed of nearly all Australians, without distinction of party, and therefore any principle of so-called racial equality which might restrict the power of the Commonwealth Government to exclude coloured immigrants roused the determined opposition of all Australians. Mr. Hughes urged this point with great force during the debates in Paris, and it was partly owing to his advocacy that the Japanese amendment, even in the milder form in which it was subsequently brought forward, was excluded entirely from the covenant. The stand which Mr. Hughes made on this point increased his reputation in Australia, and, as already stated, on this question he had the support of his political opponents. In the spring, Mr. T. J. Ryan, Prime Minister of the Labour Party, visited England; and whilst there he expressed his opinion upon the project of a League of Nations. He said that, so far as the League was designed for the prevention of future wars, he was entirely in favour of the scheme. But the League ought not to have power to interfere with the domestic policy of the individual nations, and, for instance, the League ought to have no right to intervene in such matters as the Australian tariff or the policy of a White Australia.

Immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Peace with

Germany, Mr. Hughes and Sir Joseph Cook (who had also been at the Peace Conference) left England for their return journey to Australia. Early in September the Commonwealth Parliament met to consider the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, and the House of Representatives was crowded on September 10 when Mr. Hughes moved a resolution approving of the Treaty of Peace. The Prime Minister, who had landed at Perth three weeks earlier, and had made a public progress through Western Australia, South Australia, and Victoria, made a long and memorable speech in describing the Treaty. Mr. Hughes described at length the course of the negotiations at Versailles, and in regard to the new project of a League of Nations, he said that this was the very foundation of the temple of civilisation. He dealt at length with the general question of the Pacific Ocean, and the natural rights therein of the two Australasian States. He said that the Monroe doctrine, to which America still held, forbade the interference of European countries in the affairs of the two American continents. The question of the Pacific was, said Mr. Hughes, a parallel case; and the people of the United States should understand that they ought not to interfere there. Mr. Hughes went on to describe how he, with the support of Sir Joseph Cook, had fought in Paris for the principle of a "White Australia; but he declared that it was his hope that the Japanese would remain on friendly terms both with Great Britain and with Australia. Continuing, the Premier said that the national debt of Australia now amounted to 8(50,000,000/. sterling. The total amount of the indemnity that Australia would receive from Germany was uncertain, but whatever the final sum might be, it would certainly be much less than the amount of the Australian debt. The payments would be spread over a period of about thirty years, and by 1921 the Government hoped to have received the first instalments amounting to from 3,000,000/. to 8,000,000/.

The Treaty of Peace was duly ratified by the Australian Parliament.

As was only natural, in view of the figures mentioned above, the Australian statesmen were much preoccupied with questions of finance. The Commonwealth revenue for the year ending June 30 was 44,500,000/. The ordinary expenditure was about 44,900,000/. In the autumn a "Commonwealth Victory Loan" for 25,000,000l. was issued; and it was announced that if the total was not subscribed the Government would resort to compulsion. In the result, the total subscriptions amounted to 21,500,000/. It therefore appeared that compulsion would be necessary; but the banks intervened and subscribed the remaining 3,500,000/.

During the summer a controversy arose with regard to the question of the reform of the Federal Constitution. The Labour Party were in favour of a fundamental reform in the Australian Constitution involving practically the unification of

Australia. Other publicists advocated a milder degree of reform which would leave the Australian States with powers comparable to those possessed by the Canadian provinces. The Government, however, were not prepared to go even so far as that. They desired only very minor amendments of the existing law, which should serve to obviate the friction which sometimes arose under existing conditions between the Federal Government and the State Administrations. During this controversy, and before the return of Mr. Hughes, a leading part was played by Mr. Holman, the Prime Minister of New South Wales. Mr. Holman said that he was willing to see an increase in the powers of the Federal Government, giving it exclusive control of the customs and rights over monopolies, but he was strongly opposed to unification, and even to the adoption of the Canadian Constitutional model. At the beginning of October, a Bill introducing minor amendments in the Federal Constitution was passed by both Houses. The Labour Party proposed an amendment establishing the unification of Australia, but this was defeated.

During the summer a large number of strikes took place, of which one of the most serious was a strike of seamen which lasted for more than three months.

On November 3 a proclamation was issued dissolving Parliament, and a General Election was held on December 13. In his election speeches, Mr. Hughes made vigorous attacks upon his political opponents. He said that at the beginning of the war the Labour leaders had pledged themselves to spend the last shilling and the last man in support of the war, but they had not lived up to these pledges. He and others had been turned out of the Labour Party for advocating conscription. Moreover, in April, 1919, when the fortunes of the Allies were at their very lowest, the Labour leaders had issued a manifesto asking for an immediate cessation of hostilities with "no annexations and no indemnities." There was widespread industrial unrest, but the increase in the cost of living was the inevitable aftermath of the war; and moreover the increase in Australia was much less than in Great Britain and France, and even than in the United States. The world was in a ferment, and attempts at Bolshevism were being made almost everywhere; but Bolshevism was the negation of democracy, and the Australian Government were determined to oppose it.

In an election manifesto issued by Mr. Tudor, the leader of the Labour Party, the Socialist leader declared in favour of the unification of Australia, rigorous anti-profiteering legislation, the nationalisation of shipping, and a very high protective tariff for Australia.

The results of the elections were somewhat unfavourable to Mr. Hughes. At the dissolution of the Federal Parliament, the Nationalists held 25 seats and the Labourites 11 seats in the Senate. And in the House of Representatives, there were

49 Nationalists, 28 Labour members, and 3 representatives of the small Farmers' Party. It was reported that in the elections for the Senate, the Labour Party had gained 4 seats. In the elections for the House of Representatives, the Labour gains were considerable. But the growth of the Farmers' Party was more important. The Nationalists won 34 seats, the Labourites 27, and the Farmers 14.

At the same time as the General Election, two referenda were held on the constitutional reforms which had been passed by Parliament a few months earlier, this being a legal necessity. These reforms gave the Federal Government increased powers over commerce and in regard to the nationalisation of monopolies. At the end of the year the final figures for the referenda were not known, but it was stated that both had been defeated.

NEW ZEALAND.

The part played by New Zealand in the war was, in proportion to her population, greater than that of any other of the British overseas Dominions. According to official figures published early in the year the total number of men mobilised was 124,211, that is to say, over 11 per cent, of the total population, and just over 50 per cent, of the total number of men of military age. Of these, just over 100,000 were sent in the various overseas contingents. And of the total, too, just under 92,000 were voluntary recruits. The total number of New Zealand casualties was 41,435, the number of killed being 16,302.

The Parliamentary situation at the opening of the year was the same as had existed since the early days of the war. It will be remembered that in 1915 a Coalition Government had been formed by the two chief parties, the Reform Party led by Mr. Massey (who was Prime Minister) and the Liberal Party led by Sir Joseph Ward. This coalition had continued to exist with good results throughout the war, though there had not been the same fusion of parties, as had taken place both in Canada and in Australia. Both Mr. Massey and Sir Joseph Ward represented New Zealand at the Pans Peace Conference. In Paris the New Zealand statesmen supported Mr. Hughes, the Australian Premier, in his opposition to the Japanese demands for racial equality.

The national expenditure of New Zealand during the war had been much less per head of population than that of Great Britain. It was stated that the total war expenditure of the Dominion up to the end of March, 1919, was 62,636,720l. In the Budget for the year 1918-19 the final figures showed a large surplus. The revenue was 22,352,3722l and the expenditure was 18,673,599l. These figures were given out in the spring, but owing to the absence of the Prime Minister from New Zealand the Budget for the year 1919-20 was not presented to Parliament until September. It was then stated that the

estimated revenue for the current financial year was 22,919,165l, and that the estimated expenditure was 22,441,057l.

During the summer it became apparent that the war coalition would not long survive the conclusion of peace. Although the Liberals were a somewhat more Radical group than the Reform Party, yet were but slight, and the failure to bring about a fusion was due more to traditional party feeling than to any fundamental distinction in political faith. A great Congress of the Liberal Party was held at Wellington at the end of May under the presidency of Mr. W. D. S. MacDonald; and at this Congress it was decided that whilst the existing party compact should be observed, the Liberals should contest the next General Election separately from the Reform Party, and with a progressive programme. Immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, Mr. Massey and Sir Joseph Ward left Europe for New Zealand. And very shortly after they arrived home, Sir Joseph Ward and all the other Liberal members of the Cabinet resigned. At the same time the Liberal leader issued a manifesto declaring that in his opinion the continuance of the coalition was undesirable since it had possessed no real bond of union except that of winning the war. Sir Joseph Ward also explained the programme of the Liberal Party. He said that they were in favour of the expansion of Imperial preference, with special duties to be levied on imports from any countries which were not members of the League of Nations. Sir Joseph also declared for the nationalisation of coal mines, severe restrictions on profiteering, and an advanced policy of land settlement. In a speech made at Wellington at the beginning of September, Sir Joseph Ward indicated that he had resigned partly because the Prime Minister had not consulted him about questions in regard to which he felt entitled to be consulted.

The Dominion Parliament was opened by the Governor-General, Lord Liverpool, on August 28. Lord Liverpool said that the status given to the British Dominions at the Peace Conference marked the beginning of a new era in the history of New Zealand, as of the other Dominions. The Governor-General said that the chief subjects with which the legislature would be called upon to deal would be the ratification of the Peace Treaty and the acceptance of the mandate for Samoa. The legislature lost no time in ratifying the Treaty. The necessary resolution was introduced by Mr. Massey on September 2 and was passed the same day.

After some delay Mr. Massey reconstructed his Cabinet exclusively from the Reform Party. Sir James Allen was Minister of Finance and also of Defence; and Sir F. H. D. Bell was Attorney-General and Minister of Education.

Lord Jellicoe paid an official visit to New Zealand during the year, and in October he issued a report on Naval Defence in the Pacific. Lord Jellicoe advised the Imperial

Government in favour of the maintenance of a special New Zealand division of the Royal Navy as a part of a great Far Eastern Fleet, command the Pacific. Lord Jellicoe suggested that the ultimate financial contribution of New Zealand to this fleet should be 1,000,000*l.* per annum.

In the autumn Parliament was dissolved, and a General Election was held in 1919. It was of considerable interest. It will be remembered that 76 members of Parliament were elected by the Whites and 4 by the Maoris. For these 76 seats there were 203 candidates, namely, 61 Reformers, 66 Liberals, and 50 Socialists, and candidates of certain minor factions. Thus in the majority of constituencies there were triangular contests, which in the absence of the second ballot (and of the alternative vote), produced surprisingly distorted results. According to figures given out by Sir Thomas Mackenzie, the High Commissioner in London, at the end of December, the parties were returned to the House in the following strength:—

Reformers.	48
Liberals.	18
Socialists.	10

Sir Joseph Ward and other prominent Liberals were defeated. The Ministerialists thus secured a large majority over all other parties combined. As already indicated, however, this was a great distortion of the real opinion of the country. The Liberals, being the more Radical of the two great parties, suffered the more from the intervention of the Socialists; and, moreover, the Liberals were unfortunate in the triangular contests. The aggregate number of votes cast for the different parties, excluding the Maoris, was stated to be as follows:—

Reformers	- - - - -	194,000
Liberals.	.	164,000
Socialists.	.	126,000
Others.	.	83,000

Thus it will be seen that whilst the Reformers were a large majority in the House, they were a somewhat small minority in the country.

At the time of the General Election a referendum was held on the question of the prohibition of alcoholic liquor, but the final results of the poll had not been published at the end of the year. It was known, however, that the voting was very close.

PART II.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

IN 1919.

JANUARY.

I. The New Year Honours included four new baronets, Sir Lewis Selby-Bigge, Secretary to the Board of Education; Sir Maurice de Bunsen, formerly British Ambassador in Vienna; Sir Abe Bailey, the South African financier, and Mr. Justice John Ross of the High Court of Justice in Ireland. Sir Eric Geddes was promoted to be G.C.B.; seventeen knighthoods were conferred, eight of them on Indian officials.

— Honours to the Army for services in France and Flanders included a G.C.B. for Generals Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Julian Byng. The K.C.B. was conferred on Major-Generals F. H. Sykes, W. H. Brancker, and J. M. Salmond.

— The naval steam yacht *Iolatre*, with about 250 seamen on New Year leave on board, went ashore outside Stornoway harbour with a loss of nearly 200 men.

— Damage estimated at £1,000,000 was caused by a fire at granaries at Bethnal Green.

3. President and Mrs. Wilson arrived in Rome and were received by the King and Queen of Italy.

7. *The Times* announced that Mr. Henry Farnham Burke, C.V.O., C.B., had been appointed Garter King of Arms.

— President Wilson returned to Paris at the end of his tour in Italy.

10. The constitution of the new Government was officially announced.

11. The Board of Trade revoked the various tobacco restriction orders made by them under the Defence of the Realm regulations.

13. Announcement that Sir Frederick Lugard would vacate the appointment of Governor-General of Nigeria.

— Medina capitulated to the King of the Hedjaz under the terms of the Armistice with Turkey.

14. The Miners' Federation confirmed the appointment of Mr. Smillie as permanent President, and Mr. Frank Hodges as permanent Secretary.

15. Princess Charlotte Abelgonde acceded to the Grand Ducal Throne of Luxemburg in place of the Grand Duchess Adelaide who had abdicated.

— Mr. Paderewski became Prime Minister of Poland.

— Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the leaders of the Spartacists, were killed in Berlin.

16. A flight from London to Edinburgh was made during the night by a pilot and observer of the Royal Air Force.

— The new Armistice Convention was signed at Treves extending the Armistice for a month, until February 17.

18. First meeting of the Peace Conference at Paris.

— Death of Prince John, youngest child of their Majesties.

— Close of subscriptions to National War Bonds; the total amount reached exceeded £1,600,000,000.

19. Polling for the National Assembly took place in Germany.

21. Peerages were conferred on Mr. R. E. Prothero, Mr. Andrew Weir, and Sir S. P. Sinha.

— Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Mr. Andrew Weir, and Sir R. S. Home were sworn members of the Privy Council.

— Sir Aston Webb, E.A., K.C.V.O., C.B., was elected President of the Royal Academy.

23. A verdict of manslaughter was returned against Reginald de Veulle at an inquest on the body of Miss Billie Carleton, an actress, who had died according to the medical evidence from drug taking.

25. *The Times* announced that the total British loss in submarines during the war was 59.

27. Sir Charles Fielden resigned the post of Director-General of food production.

30. A committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Lord Crewe to inquire into the organisation of the India Office.

31. Since the Armistice about one million men had been demobilised.

FEBRUARY.

1. The Metropolitan Special Police were withdrawn from street duty.

— Beginning of a new issue of National War Bonds (fourth series). Five per cent, bonds redeemable at 102 per cent, in five years or at 105 per cent, in ten years were offered at par, and 4 per cent, bonds (income tax compounded) redeemable at par in ten years were offered at 101½ per cent.

3. A meeting of non-Coalition Liberals elected Sir Donald Maclean their Chairman for the session, with Mr. Hogge and Mr. Thorne as joint Whips.

— Sir James Carmichael was appointed Director-General of Housing in England and Wales in connexion with the Government policy of affording temporary assistance for the provision of houses for the working classes.

— Eamon de Valera, the Sinn Fein M.P. for East Clare, with two other Irish prisoners, escaped from Lincoln gaol.

4. First meeting of the new Parliament. Mr. Lowther was elected Speaker.

— H.M.S. *Penarth* struck a mine off the Yorkshire coast and sank.

6. The German National Assembly opened at Weimar.

7. Mr. W.E. Codling was appointed Controller of the Stationery Office in succession to Mr. U. F. Wintour.

10. Lord Bradford was appointed Lord-in-Waiting in place of Lord Herschell.

11. Opening of Parliament by the King.

— Herr Ebert was elected first President of the German Republic.

— Both Houses of Convocation of Canterbury met for the first time since the dissolution.

12. *The Times* announced the appointment of Major-General Sir H. M. Trenchard, K.C.B., D.S.O., as Chief of the Air Staff, and Major-General Sir F. H. Sykes, K.C.B., C.M.G., as Controller-General of Civil Aviation.

— A British Service machine flew from London to Paris and back in 4 hours 20 minutes.

14. Sir George Newman, K.C.B., was appointed principal medical officer of the Local Government Board.

18. Mr. O.E. A. Simpkin was appointed public trustee in place of Sir Charles Stewart, K.B.R., who had resigned.

19. *The Times* announced that the price of meat was to be reduced by 2d. per lb. on March 1.

— M. Clemenceau was attacked and wounded by a French anarchist in the Rue Franklin.

20. The Ameer of Afghanistan was murdered in camp in Laghman.

21. The Food Controller decided that the orders governing the distribution and price of tea were to be suspended as from March 24.

— Herr Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Premier, was shot and killed by a lieutenant.

— A libel action brought by Mr. B. G. Tilak, a Hindoo, against Sir Valentine Chirol because of passages in his book "Indian Unrest," ended in a verdict for the defendants.

22. The Cabinet determined to increase by 50 per cent, the amount of spirit allowed to be released.

24. President Wilson landed at Boston on his return from Europe.

25. *The Times* announced that Mr. Geoffrey Dawson had resigned from the editorship of *The Times*, and that he had been succeeded by Mr. Henry Wickham Steed.

27. Princess Patricia of Connaught was married to Commander Alexander Robert MauleEamsay, D.S.O., E.N., at Westminster Abbey.

28. The number of persons receiving out of work donation on this date was 948,620.

MARCH.

1. *The Times* announced the appointment of Mr. A. D. McNair as Secretary of the Coal Industry Commission of which Mr. Justice Sankey, K.B.R., was Chairman.

— The King reviewed in Hyde Park a number of battalions about to join the Army of the Rhine.

4. Sir Evan Jones, Bart., M.P., was appointed Controller of Coal-mines in succession to the late Sir Guy Calthrop.

— During a riot at Kinmel Military Camp, Ehyd, five men were killed and twenty-three injured.

5. President Wilson sailed from New York on his return to Paris to attend the sittings of the Peace Conference.

6. Elections were held for the London County Council and resulted as follows: Municipal Reformers, 68; Progressives, 40; Labour, 15; Independent, 1.

7. Sir Charles Murray Marling, K.C.M.G., C.B., was appointed Envoy Extraordinary

10. A peerage of the United Kingdom was conferred upon Sir George Askwith, K.C.B.

— A Viscounty was conferred upon the Right Hon. Lord Finlay. Mr. Justice Atkin was appointed a Lord Justice of Appeal, and Mr. Frederick Arthur Greer, K.C., was appointed a Justice of the High Court in his place. Mr. Greer at the same time received a knighthood.

12. Major-General William Fry, C.B., C.V.O., was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man.

13. Dr. Sidney Frederick Harmer, F.R.S., was appointed Director of the Natural History Museum in place of Sir Lazarus Fletcher, F.R.S., who had retired.

— President Wilson arrived at Brest on board the *George Washington*,

14. Sir Douglas Haig was appointed Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief the forces in Great Britain in succession to Sir William Robertson who was appointed General Officer Commanding-in-Chief the Army of the Rhine.

— A bye-election in the West Leigh division resulted in the return of Mr. A. E. Newbould (L.) by a majority of 2,019 over the Coalition Unionist. This involved the loss of a seat to the Government.

14. Cottin, the anarchist who had wounded M. Clemenceau, was tried in Paris by Court Martial and sentenced to death. The sentence was subsequently commuted to ten years' detention.

15. General Sir Herbert Plumer was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Malta in succession to Field-Marshal Lord Methuen who had resigned.

17. Relaxation of the restrictions on the sale and consumption of drink.

— Mr. E. Barton, M.P. for East Wicklow, escaped from Mountjoy prison, Dublin.

— Mr. H. T. Barrie (U.) was elected at a bye-election in North Londonderry by a majority of 5,600 over the Sinn Fein candidate.

18. Announcement of the posthumous award of the V.C. to Lieutenant-Commander G. N. Bradford, E.N., and Lieutenant-Commander A. L. Harrison, E.N., for their gallantry in the Zeebrugge raid on April 22 to 23, 1918.

— A military biplane flew from Folkestone to Paris, a distance of 172 miles, in 74 minutes.

— Lord Downham was elected Chairman of the new London County Council.

20. Wireless telephone communication was established between Ireland and Canada.

22. Mr. I. T. Williams was appointed General Manager of the London and North-Western Railway in succession to the late Sir Guy Calthrop.

— The Guards marched through London from Buckingham Palace to the Mansion House and had a great reception. The weather, though cold and dull, was dry.

24. All restrictions were removed on the sale of tea.

— The Ex-Emperor Charles of Austria, with his family and suit, arrived in Switzerland to take up his residence in the Chateau of Wartegg.

25. Professor Oman, Coalition Unionist, was returned as member for Oxford University.

26. Sir Robert Jones agreed to act as honorary consultant to the Ministry of Pensions for Orthopaedic cases.

27. Sir Robert Morant, K.C.B., was appointed First Secretary of the new Ministry of Health.

28. The Grand National was won at Aintree by Mrs. Hugh Peel's Paethlyn.

— The number of persons drawing out-of-work donation was 1,060,245.

29. The King approved an alteration of the title " Secretary of State for the Royal Air Force " to that of " Secretary of State for Air."

— The Bishop of Oxford sent in his resignation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to take effect from July 1.

29. Villain was acquitted at the Seine assizes on the charge of the murder of M. Jaures.

30. " Summer-time " came into force at 2 A.M., clocks and watches being put forward one hour.

31. General Sir Henry Rawlinson, Bart., was appointed to the Aldershot Command to date from October 1 next.

— Jimmy Wilde defeated the American, Joe Linen, in a boxing match at the National Sporting Club. Jimmy Wilde was subsequently congratulated by the Prince of Wales.

APRIL.

1. Mr. E. C. Cunningham, C.B., succeeded Sir Stephenson Kent, K.C.B., as Controllor-General of the Department of Civil demobilisation and resettlement of the Ministry of Labour.

2. Prices guaranteed by the Government for 1919 grain crops were as follows : Wheat, 71s. 11d. per quarter of 480 lbs.; barley, 61s. 6d. per quarter of 400 lbs. ; oats, 44s. 1d. per quarter of 312 lbs.

3. Admirals Lord Jellicoe and Sir David Beatty were promoted to be Admirals of the Fleet.

— Announcement that the official Press Bureau would be closed on April 30, after which the censorship would cease.

4. *The Times* announced that Sir Auckland Geddes had been offered the post of Principal of McGill University, Montreal.

— A libel action brought by Sir Hedley Le Bas against the *Daily Mail* ended in a verdict for the defendants. Sir Hedley Le Bas had alleged that the *Daily Mail* had published articles and letters which accused him of having attempted to corrupt the Press.

— Reginald de Veuille was acquitted of the charge of manslaughter of Miss Billie Carleton, but was subsequently sentenced to eight months' imprisonment for conspiring to procure cocaine.

5. Sir Douglas Haig arrived in London from France.

7. The Grand Fleet ceased to exist as such being dispersed under various commands.

— A Peerage was conferred upon the Right Hon. Sir Robert Chalmers, G.C.B.

— The evacuation of Odessa by the Allies was reported in Paris.

9. The trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Norman Cecil Rutherford, D.S.O., for the murder of Major Miles Seton ended in a verdict of "guilty but insane."

11. At a bye-election in Central Hull, Commander J. M. Kenworthy (L.) defeated the Coalition Unionist candidate by 917 votes. This involved a loss of a seat to the Government whose majority at the General Election had been

12. Lieutenant-General Sir Ivor Maxse, K.C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O., was appointed to the Northern Command.

14. Announcement that civilian flying would be permitted from May 1.

15. Lord Buxton agreed to continue as Governor-General of the Union of South Africa and High Commissioner for South Africa until June, 1920.

17. The Board of Agriculture issued a muzzling order for dogs in London and the Home Counties in consequence of an outbreak of rabies.

19. General Sir William Robertson arrived at Cologne to take over the command of the British Army of the Rhine from General Sir Herbert Plumer.

23. Celebration of St. George's and Shakespeare Day and the first anniversary of the naval attack on the Zeebrugge Mole.

24. Mr. Justice Norman Macleod was appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, Bombay.

— Mr. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the United States Navy, arrived in London.

25. The Right Rev. Foss Westcott, D.D., was appointed Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India and Ceylon.

27. Heavy falls of snow took place throughout the country.

28. The Prime Minister's list of honours deferred from the New Year was published. Lord Burnham and Lord Rothermere were created Viscounts. Peerages were conferred on Sir John Roberts, Bart., Colonel Sir Robert Hermon-Hodge, Bart, Sir Thomas, Dewar, Bart., and the Hon. Thomas Cochrane. Twenty-three new baronets were created, two new Companions of Honour, and forty-nine new knights.

— The League of Nations came into existence by the adoption of the revised covenant at the fifth plenary session of the Peace Conference.

29. Commander the Hon. Alexander E. M. Ramsay, D.S.O., E.N., was appointed Naval Attache* at Paris to date from April 12.

— Parliament reassembled after the Easter recess.

30. At a bye-election in Central Aberdeen the Liberal candidate, Major M. Mackenzie Wood, was elected by a majority of 186 over the Coalition Unionist; a Labour candidate also stood. This involved the loss of another seat to the Government.

MAY.

1. Munich was captured by the Bavarian Government troops.

2. The Prince of Wales was admitted as a Freemason, at a meeting at Princes Hotel, of the Household Brigade Lodge.

3. The royal Academy banquet, suspended during the war, was held at Burlington House.

— Twelve thousand men of the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and Newfoundland forces made a triumphal march through London.

6. It was announced that the British Government had recognised the independence of Finland.

7. The Allied and Associated Powers presented their peace terms to the German delegates at the Trianon Palace Hotel, Versailles.

8. Sir Douglas Haig was presented with the Freedom of the City of Glasgow.

— Conclusion of the Humbert trial which began before a Court Martial on March 21. Senator Humbert, charged with commerce with the enemy, and Captain Ladoux, who was alleged to have misappropriated a document, were acquitted. Lenoir and Desouches, charged with intelligence to the enemy, were sentenced, the former to death and the latter to five years' imprisonment and a fine of 20,000 francs.

9. The Dowager Empress Marie of Russia, sister of Queen Alexandra, accompanied by her daughter, the Grand Duchess Xenia with her sons, arrived in London and were met by the King and Queen.

11. The Bishop of Truro (Dr. W. O. Burrows) announced at the Cathedral that he had accepted the See at Chichester in succession to Dr. C. J. Ridgeway who had resigned.

12. A flight from Madrid to London, a distance of 987 miles, was accomplished in less than 12 hours by Lieut.-Colonel W. J. Beatty, who left Madrid at 6.15 A.M. and arrived at Kenley Aerodrome at 6.10 P.M.

— The King and Queen were present at the first night of the Covent Garden Opera Season.

13. The London County Council Budget, 1919-20, amounted to 20,000,000l.

— British troops under General Barrett crossed the Afghan border and occupied Dakka Fort.

14. *The Times* announced the appointment of Lieut.-General Sir Philip W. Chetwode, Bart., to be military secretary to the Secretary of State for War.

— The Austrian Peace delegates arrived at St. Germain-en-Laye.

— Sir Douglas Haig was installed as Lord Eector of St. Andrews University.

— Greek forces landed at Smyrna.

16. A K.C.B. was awarded to Lieut.-Colonel (temporary Major-General) Alfred Knox, C.B., Indian Army.

— Surgeon-Captain Sir Robert Hill, K.C.M.G., C.B., was appointed Director-General of the medical department of the Royal Navy.

— Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, was entertained by the Empire Parliamentary Association at luncheon at the House of Commons on the eve of his return to Canada.

17. The King appointed Admiral of the Fleet Sir George Callaghan G.C.B., G.C.V.O., to be Bath King of Arms.

19. Lieut.-General Sir Henry De Lisle, K.C.B., I) S.O., was appointed to the Western Command to take effect from October 1.

21. The King and Queen paid a visit to Birmingham.

22. The Food Controller announced that the Government had decided to increase the barrelage on beer from twenty million standard barrels to twenty-six million standard barrels.

— An eruption of Stromboli took place.

24. Empire Day was celebrated with increased ceremony and enthusiasm.

— Three posthumous V.C.'s were awarded for most conspicuous gallantry to Lieut.-Commanded Geoffrey White, E.N., Lieutenant Frederick Parslow, E.N.R., and Lieutenant Archibald Smith, E.N.R.

26. Sir Albert Stanley resigned the Presidency of the Board of Trade, and was succeeded by Sir Auckland Geddes.

27. *The Times* announced the sale of the Berkeley Square estate by Lord Berkeley to Sir Marcus Samuel. The estate was a freehold of about 20 acres in the heart of Mayfair.

— Dr. John Holland Rose was appointed by Lord Rothermere to the new Vere Harmsworth Professorship of Naval History in Cambridge University.

29. *The Times* announced that oil had been struck at Chesterfield.

— The Prince of Wales was admitted by patrimony to the Freedom of the City of London.

30. Announcement that Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander L. Duff would succeed Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick C. T. Tudor as Commander-in-Chief on the China Station.

31. Third anniversary of the Battle of Jutland.

— Lord Ribblesdale was married to Mrs. John Astor at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square.

JUNE.

3. The King's birthday honours included a very long list, chiefly for war services. The Order of Merit was conferred on Sir David Beatty and Sir Douglas Haig. Sir Charles Monro, Commander-in-Chief in India, became a G.C.S.I.; Admiral Sir Stanley Colville, Admiral Sir Thomas Jerran, and Sir R.F. Crawford were made G.C.M.G. Lord Edmund Talbot, M.P. number of appointments to the Order of the British Empire.

— The President of Brazil, Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, arrived in London and was received by the Prince of Wales.

4. The Derby was won by Lord Glanely's Grand Parade, starting at 33 to 1. Major W. Astor's Buchan was second, and Sir W. Gilbey's Paper Money was third. The race was witnessed by the King and Queen.

6. The Most Reverend John Henry Bernard, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, was appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in succession to the late Sir J. P. Mahaffy.

— The Oaks was won by Lady James Douglas's Bayuda starting at 100 to 7 against, in record time.

6. Finland declared war on Bolshevik Russia.

7. The " Prime Minister's " List of King's birthday honours was issued, but included no hereditary honours or admissions to the Privy Council. The list contained no political awards, but was largely made up of distinctions to civil servants.

9. At a bye-election for East Antrim the Independent Unionist, Mr. George Hanna, was elected by a majority of 1,165 over the official Unionist.

— Captain Sir Alfred Chatfield, K.C.M.G., was appointed Fourth Sea Lord.

— Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Duff, K.C.B., was appointed to command the China Station, and Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Tothill to command the East Indies Station.

10. *The Times* announced that the Bishop of Lincoln would resign from his diocese as from September 1, owing to serious and prolonged illness.

— The King and Queen visited Leicester where they had an enthusiastic reception. The King subsequently restored the town to its former status as a City.

11. The Admiralty announced that one of His Majesty's submarines operating in the Baltic had been overdue since June 4, and must be assumed lost with all hands.

13. Sir Heath Harrison of Brasenose College presented the sum of 25,000/. to the University of Oxford.

14-15. Captain J. Alcock, D.S.C., and Lieutenant Whitten Brown, R.A.F., flying a Vickers Vimy from Newfoundland to Clifden in 16 hours 12 minutes, thereby winning the prize of 10,000l. offered by the *Daily Mail*.

16. A great fire broke out at Liverpool in a warehouse where a large quantity of turpentine was stored.

— The Bishop of St. Albans announced his intention of resigning as from December 1.

17. The Duchess of Westminster obtained a Decree *Nisi* for a dissolution of her marriage. The suit was undefended.

— Convocation at Oxford rejected by a majority of 6 a proposal that Greek should no longer be compulsory at Responsions.

— Several hundred convalescent Canadian soldiers stormed the police station at Epsom in order to rescue two of their comrades who had been arrested. One policeman was killed.

20. Sir William Nicholson, K.C.B., was appointed Third Sea Lord at the Admiralty.

21. The German battleships and German cruisers interned at Scapa Flow were sunk and abandoned by their crews.

— The King at Windsor Castle conferred upon Captain John Alcock, D.S.C., and Lieutenant Whitten Brown the Knight Commandership of the Order of the British Empire in recognition of their transatlantic flight.

21. Captain G. Gathergood, A.F.C., won the "aerial **Derby**," flying **twice** round **London** at an average speed of 129 miles per hour.

23. The ~~Eight~~ Reverend Henry Luke Paget, D.D., was appointed Bishop of Chester.

— Marshal Joffre arrived in London from Paris.

24. Parliament reassembled after the Whitsun recess.

25. The Right Hon. Christopher Addison was appointed First Minister of Health.

26. The Crown Prince and Crown Princess of Sweden, accompanied by their five children, arrived in London.

— The Prince of Wales received the Freedom of Cardiff and Sir Douglas Haig the Freedom of Oxford.

28. The Peace Treaty was signed in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles and the war thus came to an end.

— Marshal Joffre left England for France.

— The Reverend F. S. Guy Warman, D.D., was appointed Bishop of Truro.

30. The Log of the *Victory* was purchased by Mr. James Buchanan for 5,000l. and presented to the British Museum.

JULY.

2. The Prince of Wales was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple and made a Bencher of the Inn. He was also admitted an Elder Brother of Trinity House.

3. Lord Crewe opened a British Scientific Products Exhibition at the Central Hall, Westminster.

4. The Heavy Weight Boxing Championship of the World was won by Dempsey, who beat Willard at Toledo.

6. The airship R. 34 landed at Mineola, Long Island, New York, after crossing the Atlantic, a distance of 3,130 nautical miles, in about 108 hours.

7. The July Sessions of the Convocation of York opened at York; the Archbishop addressed the joint Synod on responsibilities in peace.

— Mr. A. W. Samuels, K.C., the Irish Attorney-General, was promoted to the Bench. Mr. Denis Henry, K.C., Solicitor-General, succeeded him, while Mr. D. M. Wilson, K.C., M.P., became the new Solicitor-General.

— Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, M.P., resigned his position as Head of the department of Overseas Trade.

8. President Wilson arrived at New York where he had a great reception.

11. A verdict of "suicide while of unsound mind" was returned at an inquest on the body of Mrs. Arthur Eliot, better known as Mrs. Atherton, who had been found shot in her flat in Curzon Street, Mayfair.

11. At Bisley the English team won the Elcho shield with a score of 1,664 points.

12. Close of the Victory Loan [v. July 17].

— An order was issued providing that all beers were to be of greater strength, and that the price in public bars was to be 2d. a pint instead of 3d. for beer of a specific gravity below 1020. The order was to come in force on August 1.

13. The airship R. 34 landed in Norfolk, having flown from Long Island, New York, in 75 hours 3 minutes.

15. General J. J. Pershing, G.C.B., arrived in London.

— The airship N.S. 11 caught fire and fell into the sea off the Norfolk coast, seven lives being lost.

— An explosion in a Cardiff dry dock of the American oil tank steamer *Roseleaf* caused the loss of twelve lives.

16. Vice-Admiral Sir John de Robeck, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., was appointed to succeed Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir Somerset Gough-Calthorpe, G.C.M.G., as Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, to date from July 26.

— The match between the Gentlemen and Players ended at Lords in a drawn game.

17. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the total amount of the Victory loan was 708,000,000l.

— In a boxing match at Olympia, Jimmy Wilde (Tylorstown) beat Pal. Moore (America). The Prince of Wales and Prince Albert were present during the contest.

18. Marshal Foch arrived in London from France.

19. Peace celebrations took place throughout the country.

— The abolition of the postal censorship was announced for British control cables and wireless telegraphs from midnight, July 23-24.

— The grand championship aggregate at Bisley was won by C. P. O. Morton of H.M.S. *Pembroke*.

23. A silver gilt cup, which belonged originally to Sir Francis Drake, was sold at Christie's for 3,800l

24. Sir Henry Wilson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, was promoted to the rank of Field-Marshal.

— The Prince of Wales paid a visit to Edinburgh and received the Freedom of the City.

25. *The Times* announced the appointment of Canon C. F. Garbett, vicar of Portsea, as Bishop of Southwark.

28. The British Legation in Brussels was raised to the status of an Embassy, and the Hon. Mr. Balfour was appointed to be Ambassador.

29. At a bye-election in the Bothwell division of Lanarkshire, Mr. John Robertson (Lab.) defeated the Coalition candidate by a majority of 7,168. This involved the loss of a seat to the Government.

29. In a reply to an address of congratulation from the City of London, the King called for continued self-sacrifice and patience re-enforced by thrift, strenuous industry, and vigorous development of oversea trade.

30. Marshal Foch received the baton of a Field-Marshal of the British Army and the Freedom of the City of London in the Guildhall.

31. Admiral of the Fleet Sir William May retired from the active list.

— Generals Sir Herbert Plumer and Sir Edmund Allenby were promoted to be Field-M Marshals.

AUGUST.

1. Abolition of the restrictions on the sale of new bread, the shape of loaves, and the use of various ingredients.

— *The Times* announced that General Sir Henry Rawhnson had been selected to go to North Russia to co-ordinate the withdrawal of the Archangel and Murmansk forces.

— Mr. Charles Aldington, C.B.R., was appointed General Manager of the Great Western Railway in succession to the late Mr. Frank Potter.

2. 1,800 British and native troops of the Indian Army marched from Waterloo to Buckingham Palace, and were inspected by the King who afterwards conferred decorations.

4. The King, Queen, and other members of the Royal Family took part in a River Procession (Sea Services Commemoration) on the Thames to commemorate the mobilisation on August 4, 1914.

5. The Prince of Wales left England in H.M.S. *Renown*, on a tour to Canada and the United States.

— The King conferred the Order of Merit on Mr. Lloyd George in recognition of his pre-eminent services, "both in carrying the war to a victorious end and in securing an honourable peace."

6. Dr. D'Arcy, Bishop of Down, was elected Archbishop of Dublin in succession to Dr. Bernard.

7. The Admiralty announced the sinking of the Bolshevik submarine *Ersh* by the British destroyers *Valorous* and *Vancouver*.

8. The Government of India signed peace with Afghanistan at 11 A.M.

11. Hottest day of the year in London. Shade temperature reached 91°.

13. Announcement of the King's Birthday Honours. Viscount Iveagh was promoted to be an Earl, while Sir Edward Russell, M.P., and Colonel Hall Walker, M.P., became Barons. There were sixteen new baronets and a number of new knights.

— Mr. Bonar Law announced in the House of Commons that pending the appointment of a permanent Ambassador to the United States, Lord Grey of Fallodon would go on a mission to Washington to deal with questions arising out of the Peace.

15. Lord Lee of Fareham was appointed President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries.

16. *The Times* announced the decision to organise the Coal Controller's department on a permanent basis.

18. The British Naval Force in the Gulf of Finland, in an engagement near Kronstadt, sank two Russian battleships and a destroyer.

19. Sir Thomas L. Heath, K.C.B., Joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, was appointed Comptroller-General of the National Debt Office in succession to Sir William Turpin, K.C.B., who had reached the age of retirement.

20. Mr. F. H. Coller, C.B., was appointed Secretary to the Ministry of Food in succession to Sir W. H. Beveridge.

22. The V.C. was awarded to Lieutenant A. W. S. Agar, E.N., for conspicuous gallantry in an attack on a Bolshevik cruiser.

— At the Victory Chess Congress at Hastings, the chief victory tournament was won by Capablanca.

— The value of the pound sterling in New York was 84-20.

25. The President of the Board of Trade appointed Mr. W. J. Hands, O.B.E., to be Controller of the Profiteering Department.

— Three aeroplanes starting from Hounslow inaugurated a daily London to Paris air service.

26. Opening of the Dublin Horse Show which was held for the first time since the outbreak of war.

— Sir John Bradbury was appointed principal British Representative on the reparation commission in Paris. Sir Warren Fisher became permanent Secretary of the Treasury, and was succeeded by Sir John Anderson as Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue.

27. Owing to an explosion on the river monitor *Glowworm*, on the Dvina river, North Russia, twenty-four of the crew were killed and twenty-three injured.

28. The late Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who had accumulated during his lifetime a fortune of 70 million pounds, left only 5 millions at his death. He left annuities of 2,000*l.* to Mr. Lloyd George, ex-President Taft, and Lord Morley, and annuities of 1,000*l.* to various other public persons.

— British ships and aeroplanes bombarded Kronstadt for two hours.

30. H.M. destroyer *Vittoria* was fired at and sunk by a torpedo in the Baltic.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Abolition of the Press censorship in Ireland.

— The price of the quartern loaf, which had stood at 9d since September 17, 1917, was raised to 9½d.

— Mr. E. C. Given was appointed Director-General of Factories in succession to Sir Benjamin Johnson, who had resigned.

— General Pershing sailed from Brest to New York.

1. Professor J.E. Petavel, F.R.S., was appointed Director of the National Physical Laboratory, in succession to Sir Richard Glazebrook, O.B., F.R.S., who had retired.

2. A number of diplomatic appointments were announced, including that of Sir George Buchanan as Ambassador to Italy, and of Sir Esme Howard as Ambassador to Spain.

— Lady Helena Cambridge, daughter of the Marquis and Marchioness of Cambridge, was married to Major Evelyn Gibbs, Coldstream Guards, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.

— In a twenty round boxing contest at Olympia, Becket (Southampton) beat McGoorty (America), by knocking him out in the seventeenth round.

3. H.M. destroyer *Verulam* struck a mine in the Baltic, and sank with a loss of sixteen officers and men.

4. Announcement that Lloyds Bank had entered into a provisional arrangement to absorb the West Yorkshire Bank.

5. The V.C. was awarded to Lieutenant A.E. Ker of the Gordon Highlanders, and to the late Lieutenant W. Bruce, 59th Scinde Rifles.

9. Opening of the Annual Meeting of the British Association at Bournemouth.

— Lieutenant-General Sir Archibald Murray was specially promoted to be General for distinguished service.

— Orders were given by the Admiralty that the Home Fleet battle-ships and the 4th and 5th destroyer flotillas should be reduced to a reserve basis as from October 1.

JO. Mr. A. G. Gardiner resigned the editorship of the *Daily News*.

— Peace with Austria was signed by the Allied and Associated Powers at St. Germain.

-- Lord Derby's Keysoe won the St. Leger at Doncaster; it was estimated that 35,000 people watched the racing.

11. At a bye-election at Widnes, Mr. A. Henderson (Lab.) was elected by a majority of 987 over the Coalition Unionist; this involved the loss of a seat to the Government.

12. Italian bands, under the leadership of Signor d'Annunzio,, entered Fiume.

15. A Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, G.C.B., was appointed to inquire into the organisation and procedure of the civil secretariats of the Government of India.

— Damage of 300,000l. was caused by a fire at Brooklyn when a number of oil tanks blew up ; 300 firemen were injured.

16. Celebration in Birmingham of the centenary of James Watt.

— Field-Marshal Sir Edmund Allenby arrived in England from Palestine, and had an enthusiastic reception at Dover and London,

18. Announcement that a British mission to the Imam of Yeman had been captured and despoiled by hostile Arabs.

19. At a bye-election at Pontefract, Alderman W. Forrest (Co.-Lib.) was elected by a majority of 1,475 over the Labour candidate.

20. Lord Grey of Fallodon left Southampton in the *Mauretania* for the United States to take up his new duties at Washington.

23. *The Times* announced that a special mission under the Presidency of Lord Milner would shortly proceed to Egypt to inquire into the causes of the late disorders, and to report on the best form of constitution for that country.

24. An agreement was signed by the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John under which the joint working of the two corporations was to be continued in time of peace.

25. The Supreme Council of the Peace Conference granted to Norway sovereignty over Spitsbergen.

— Lord Ludlow and Lady Wernher were married in London.

26. A railway strike throughout the country commenced at midnight.

27. Admiral of the Fleet Sir David Beatty was presented with the Freedom of the City of Manchester.

— Evacuation of Archangel by British troops.

— Closing of the British Naval Base at Archangel.

29. "Summer-time" came to an end, and normal time was restored at 3 A.M. (Summer-time) when clocks were put back to 2 A.M.

— Alderman Sir Edward Cooper, underwriter and musician, was elected Lord Mayor of London.

— Dissolution of the Italian Chamber of Deputies.

OCTOBER

1. Dr. Shipley, Master of Christ's College, resigned the Vice-Chancellorship of Cambridge University, and was succeeded by Dr. Peter Giles, Master of Emmanuel College.

— The general level of retail commodity prices was estimated to be 120 per cent, above the pre-war level.

2. The French Chamber ratified the Peace Treaty by 372 votes against 52, with 73 abstentions.

4. The King and Queen arrived at Buckingham Palace by motor car, having left Balmoral the previous morning.

— *The Times* announced the impending retirement of the Dean of Hereford on October 15 [v. Nov. 22],

5. Settlement of the railway strike.

7. The King of Italy ratified by royal decree the Treaties of Peace with Germany and Austria.

— An order was issued for the final disbandment of the Women's Royal Air Force.

— Field-Marshal Sir Edmund Allenby was presented with the Freedom of the City of London and a sword of honour.

8. Herr Haase, a German deputy, was shot and wounded in front of the Reichstag building.

— Sir Evan Jones, M.P., resigned his position as Coal Controller.

9. *The Times* fund on behalf of the British Red Cross Society find the Order of St. John reached the figure of 16,000,000/.

10. The King signed the Peace Treaty.

— Mr. Arthur Balfour was elected Chancellor of Cambridge University in succession to the late Lord Rayleigh.

13. President Poincare signed the Peace Treaty.

— The weekly sugar ration was raised from 6 oz. to 8 oz. and the ration of fresh butcher's meat was increased from *As. Sd.* to *2s.* worth owing to a rise in price.

— Monsieur Paravicini was appointed to succeed M. Carlin as Swiss Minister in London.

— Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, G.C.B., resigned his office of First Sea Lord and was succeeded by Admiral of the Fleet Sir David Beatty.

14. Allied journalists on a visit to England were entertained at luncheon at Printing House Square.

15. The King and Queen were present at Newmarket.

— The Cesarewitch Stakes was won by Mr. J. Whites *Ivanhoe*.

10. Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig received the Freedom of Wolverhampton.

18. Announcement that Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby had been appointed High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan in succession to General Sir Reginald Wingate.

20. A bye-election in the Rusholme division of Manchester resulted in the return of Captain J. H. Thorpe (Co.-U.) by a majority of 2,982 over the Labour candidate. The majority at the General Election had been 8,748.

— Charles Ledoux (France) beat Jim Driscoll (Wales) in a boxing contest at the National Sporting Club.

21. An accident occurred in a mine near Land's End in which a considerable number of lives were lost.

22. Parliament reassembled after the recess.

23. The King of Spain arrived in London.

24. Earl Curzon of Kedleston became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in succession to Mr. Arthur Balfour, and Mr. Balfour became Lord President to the Council in place of Lord Curzon.

— The King conferred a Barony of the United Kingdom on the Eight Honourable Sir office of Master of the Rolls.

25. Mr. Bonar Law was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University by a majority of 347 over Professor Gilbert Murray.

27. The Queen of Spain arrived in London.

27. Sir J. Tudor Walters, M.P., was appointed Paymaster-General in place of the Right Hon. S. J. Compton-Rickett, M.P.

28. Announcement of a fusion between the Royal Insurance Company and the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company.

— Prince Albert was admitted to the Freedom of the City of London and entertained at luncheon by the Lord Mayor.

— Major J. Sherwood-Kelly, V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., was Court Martialled for writing letters to the Press on the North Russian expedition.

29. The Right Hon. Lord Sterndale was appointed Master of the Rolls; the Right Hon. Lord Justice Duke was appointed President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty division; and the Hon. Mr. Justice Younger was appointed a Lord Justice of Appeal.

— The price of bar silver rose to $66\frac{1}{2}d.$ per oz., at which point silver coins were worth their face value as metal.

— The International Labour Conference established by the Peace Treaty opened in Washington.

30. The Hon. Frank Russell, K.C., was appointed a Justice of the High Court.

— Six passengers were injured in a railway accident at Selby.

31. The Shah of Persia arrived in London, and was met at Victoria by the King.

NOVEMBER.

1. *The Times* announced the impending resignation of Lieutenant-General Sir William Furse, K.C.B., D.S.O., from the office of Master General of the Ordnance. He was succeeded by Sir John Du Cane, K.C.B.

— Beginning of a strike of 435,000 miners in the United States.

— It was estimated that retail prices were higher than their pre-war figure by 125 per cent.

2. The Queen of Norway arrived in London and was met at King's Cross by the King and Queen.

3. The King conferred a Barony of the United Kingdom on Admiral Sir Rosslyn E. Wemyss, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O.

— An increase of *Id.* per lb. took place in the retail price of sugar.

— Opening of the Beecham Opera Season at Covent Garden.

6. Announcement of the results obtained from observation of the solar eclipse on May 29.

— The Bank rate was raised to 6 per cent, having stood at 5 per cent, since April 5, 1917.

— The King of Spain left London for Paris.

7. Opening of a motor exhibition at Olympia.

8. The Shah of Persia left England at the end of his visit.

9. The Lord Mayor's show took place in London, the central feature being a League of Nations pageant.

10. The Ven. William H. Hutton was appointed Dean of Winchester.

— Announcement of an Alliance between the Union Bank of Manchester and the British Linen Bank with Barclay's Bank.

— An air mail service started between London and Paris.

— *The Times* announced the impending appointment of Mr. Francis de Zulueta as Kegius Professor of Civil Law in Oxford University, in succession to Professor Goudy.

— Mr. William Malcolm Haily was appointed an Ordinary Member of the executive Council of the Governor-General of India, in succession to Sir James Meston who had resigned. The King conferred a peerage on Sir James Meston.

— The Very Rev. William S. Swayne, Dean of Manchester, was appointed Bishop of Lincoln.

— The President of the French Republic and Madame Poincare' arrived at Buckingham Palace on a visit to the King and Queen, who welcomed their visitors at Victoria Station.

— The price of silver rose $1\frac{7}{8}d.$ to $68\frac{7}{8}d.$ for cash.

11. The first anniversary of the Armistice was celebrated at 11 A.M. by two minutes' general silence in response to an invitation by the King.

12. Major-General Seely resigned his office of Under-Secretary of State for Air [v. Dec. 23].

13. President Poincare was installed as Lord Rector of Glasgow University; he afterwards received the Freedom of the City.

14. President and Madame Poincare returned to Paris on the conclusion of their visit to England.

15. Mr. James O'Grady, Labour M.P. for East Leeds, left for Copenhagen to negotiate an exchange of war prisoners with M. Litvinoff representing the Soviet Government of Russia.

16. Elections of new Parliaments took place in France, Italy, and Belgium.

17. The Rev. William Henry Draper was appointed Master of the Temple in succession to Canon B. W. Barnes who had resigned as from the end of January, 1920.

18. Mr. Mark Fisher, A.R.A., was elected a Royal Academician.

19. Prince Arthur of Connaught laid the foundation-stone of an obelisk near Dover to form part of the memorial to the Dover Patrol.

—* All restrictions on clearances of spirits from bond were removed.

— Silver rose to $70\frac{1}{2}d.$

20. Mr. J. A. E. Munro was elected Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.

— Dr. Waiter Lock was elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford in succession to Dr. William Sanday who had resigned.

21. Abolition of rationing for gas and electricity.

22. The Right Rev. Michael B. Furse, Bishop of Pretoria, was appointed Bishop of St. Albans in succession to the Right Rev. Edgar Jacob who had resigned as from December 1.

— The Ven. Reginald Waterfield was appointed Dean of Hereford in succession to the Very Rev. the Hon. James Wentworth Leigh who had resigned.

24. Announcement of an Agreement for fusion of interests between the Loudon Joint City and Midland Bank and the Clydesdale Bank.

25. The Bishopric of Bradford was founded by an Order in Council.

— The cash price of silver rose to 76d.

26. A bye-election at Chester-le-Street was won by Mr. J. J. Lawson, the Labour candidate, by a majority of 12,525.

27. Colonel Sir Rhys Williams resigned his office of Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport.

— A bye-election at South Croydon was won by Sir Allan Smith (Co.-U.) by a majority of 2,204. The majority at the General Election was 10,807.

28. A bye-election in the Sutton division of Plymouth was won by Lady Astor (Co.-U.), who was thus the first lady to sit in the House of Commons.

— A bye-election at Thanet was won by Mr. Esmund Harmsworth (U.) by a majority of 2,653.

— Mr. Arthur Neal, M.P., was appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport in succession to Colonel Sir Rhys Williams who had resigned.

DECEMBER

1. The Prince of Wales arrived back in England after his tour in Canada and the United States.

— Lady Astor took her seat in the House of Commons as the first woman M.P.

— Mr. H. W. Forster resigned the office of Financial Secretary to the War Office on account of ill-health. A peerage was conferred upon him 0. Dec. 18].

2. A sudden gale of wind caused considerable damage in London and the home counties; in some places it reached a speed of 70 miles per hour.

4. Carpentier beat Beckett at the Holborn Stadium in a boxing match for the heavy-weight championship of Europe. Beckett was knocked out in the first round after the fight had been in progress for 1 minute and 14 seconds.

— The Food Controller combined the London division and the home counties division under a single food commissioner and appointed Lieutenant-General Sir Francis Lloyd to fill this office.

— A strike began at the Army and Navy Stores, which included nearly 3,700 members of the staff.

6. The strike at the Army and Navy Stores came to an end.

7. The late Mr. H. C. Frick left estate valued at 29,000,000/., all but 5,000,000/. of which he bequeathed to public educational and philanthropic objects.

— The Ven. Arthur Perowne, Archdeacon of Plymouth, accepted the offer to be the first Bishop of Bradford.

8. Smithfield Club Show was revived at the Royal Agricultural Hall, and was visited in the afternoon by the King.

9. End of the American coal strike.

10. Captain Ross Smith in a Vickers-VimyEolls-Royce aeroplane completed his flight from London to Australia in just under twenty-eight days, thus winning a prize of 10,000/. offered by the Australian Government.

— Mr. H. S. Jones was elected Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford in succession to the late Professor V. J. Haverfield.

11 M. Clemenceau arrived in London.

— Lord Howe was married to Flora, Lady Duferin and Ava.

12. The price of gold rose to 5l. 11s. 3d. per fine oz., and the price of silver rose to 78½d per oz.

— Mr. William Walker, C B.R., was appointed Chief Inspector of Mines in place of Sir Richard Redmayne, K.C.B.

14* M. Clemenceau returned to Paris from London.

— The Rev. J. G. McCormick was appointed Dean of Manchester.

15. The Queen of Spain concluded her visit to London and left for Madrid

— The weekly butter ration was reduced from 1½ oz. to 1 oz.

— Registration of butcher's meat came to an end

17. Mr. Justice Sankey delivered a considered judgment in which he held that a Proclamation which had been made prohibiting the import of chemicals was beyond the power of His Majesty and therefore invalid.

— Dr. S.E. Wells was elected Vice-Chancellor of London University.

18. *The Times* announced that an open general licence had been issued by the Board of Trade for the export of coal with effect from January 1, 1920.

— The Eight Hon. Sir Archibald Williamson, Bart., M.P., was appointed Parliamentary Financial Secretary to the War Office in place of the Eight Hon. H. W. Forster, now Lord Forster.

— Lord Dalmeny obtained a divorce from his wife in Edinburgh on the ground of her desertion.

— Sir John Alcock was killed by his aeroplane falling at C6te d'Evrard, about 25 miles north of Rouen.

19. An attempt on the life of Lord French was made near Phoenix Park, Dublin.

19. Dr. F. W. Keeble, F.R.S., was appointed Sherardian Professor of Botany at Oxford.

20. *The Times* announced the appointment of Lord Kilmarnock as British Charge d'Affaires in Berlin.

21. Lady Patricia Ramsay, formerly Princess Patricia of Connaught, gave birth to a son.

22. The King conferred Knighthoods of the Order of the British Empire on Captain Rothery and his wife in recognition of their successful flight from England to Australia in an aeroplane.

23. Major G. C. Tryon, M.P., was appointed Under-Secretary for Air in succession to Major-General J.E. B. Seely who had resigned.

— Announcement of an agreement for a fusion between the National Provincial and Union Bank of England and Messrs. Coutts & Co.

— A bye-election in the St. Albans Division of Hertfordshire resulted in the return of Lieutenant-Colonel F.E. Fremantle (Co.-U.) by a majority of 713 over the Labour candidate.

24. *The Times* announced that Lieutenant-General Sir J. J. Asser would vacate the command of the British troops in France at the end of the year; and be succeeded by Brigadier-General Evan Gibb.

25. Christmas Day.

— Mr. John D. Rockefeller presented \$100,000,000 to the General Education Board, receiving \$50,000,000.

— Damage to the extent of about 100,000l. was caused by a fire at Bradford.

26. Boxing Day.

27. Announcement that the all-British air route from Cairo to the Cape was now available for traffic.

— The funeral of Sir John Alcock, who had been killed in an aeroplane accident, took place in Manchester.

29. Announcement of new railway freight charges, to come into force on January 15. The new rates showed an increase varying from 25 per cent, to 100 per cent, over the old.

— Sir Reginald Brade, Permanent Secretary to the War Office, resigned from that post, and was succeeded by Sir Herbert Creedy.

30. Sir John Sandys resigned the office of Public Orator at Cambridge University, which he had held for forty-three years.

31. *The Times* announced that the Government had decided to remove control from milk, British cheese, and British butter, early in the New Year.

— At a bye-election at Bromley, Lieutenant-Colonel Cuthbert James (Co.-U.) was returned by a majority of 1,071 over the Labour candidate. The Coalition majority at the General Election had been 12,501.

RETROSPECT

OF

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1919.

LITERATURE.

THE number of books published in 1919 showed an increase over the number for 1918, though it was still below the pre-war level. The greatly increased cost of production still tended to keep down the number of books published; the prices charged to the public for books continued to be very high, in conformity with the high prices ruling for other kinds of commodities; but this seemed to have little adverse effect on the public demand. The number of volumes published during the year was 8,622 for the United Kingdom, far more being published in the later months than in the earlier. In most departments of literature, there was an increase over 1918; but a decrease occurred in the spheres of religion, poetry and drama, history, naval and military, and medicine. A feature of the year's publishing was the large number of important war-books written by the more famous naval and military leaders on both sides. Accounts of these books are given below. A new literary monthly was started in November under the title of *The London Mercury*; and in its second number was able to announce that the subscriptions received had been sufficient to establish its position for the time being. In France the great literary review, the *Mercure de France*, started a new phase in its distinguished career with the last number of the year. It increased the number of its pages to 288, and its price outside France to 2*85 francs. It still remains the cheapest of all the leading French reviews, and its pre-eminence as a literary organ is unrivalled. We append an account of a number of the leading books, specially distinctive of the year's publishing.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

1914, by Field-Marshal Viscount French of Ypres, K.P., O.M. etc. (Constable & Co., Ltd.). This work attracted wide attention during the year, and gave rise to much controversy. The distinguished Field-Marshal describes the opening campaign of the war down to the end of 1914, as he saw it, with the utmost frankness and entire absence of reticence. In the course of this narrative, he criticises General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, and also the actions of Lord Kitchener on certain important occasions. It is on these features that controversy chiefly

resulted ; and no satisfactory exclusion was possible, since Sir Horace was not permitted by the authorities to make any reply. The matters in dispute are of too technical a nature to permit of any opinion being formed by a non-military reader. But in any case, this is only one feature of the work. The main interest lies in the story of that first campaign, told by one who of all Englishmen is the most competent to narrate it. As such, it will form the basis for the ultimate history of the opening stages of the war. And as such, it is of unsurpassed interest to read.

In his final chapter Lord French enters upon another highly controversial topic—the supply of munitions to the Expeditionary Force. He describes a terrible shortage which led to disastrous consequences as regards loss of life, and in limiting capacity for offensive operations. He blames the Cabinet for dilatory measures in meeting this shortage, and warmly condemns the decision to undertake a campaign in Gallipoli—whereby the quantity of ammunition available in France was still further heavily curtailed. He describes his unavailing efforts to induce the War Office to meet his requirements ; and at length his decision to take the matter into his own hands by immediate communication with Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, and Mr. Bonar Law, though he believed that such action would entail his recall. At the same time he gave to Colonel Repington, military correspondent of *The Times*, information as a result of which that newspaper started on its vigorous campaign for increasing the manufacture of munitions. Thereupon the Coalition Government was formed ; the Ministry of Munitions came into existence ; and the situation rapidly began to improve.

An interesting side-feature of the book is the personal description of Generals Joffre, Foch, and other eminent soldiers, both English and French, as well as of various British statesmen. A Preface is contributed by Marechal Foch himself; and readers, whatever view they may take of the controversial elements, must agree in regarding the book as one of the most interesting and important works on the war that have hitherto been published.

Lord French's charges with regard to shortage of munitions led to a sharp controversy, and to a rejoinder by Mr. Asquith in a speech on June 3. Lord French replied to this rejoinder in a second edition of his book, published in September.

The Grand Fleet: 1914-16. Its Creation, Development, and Work, by Admiral Viscount Jellicoe of Scapa, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O. (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). A work by the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet naturally ranks as one of the most important books published during the year. Not only is it of the first historical importance, but also extremely interesting to read. Lord Jellicoe deals with the whole period of his command, from the beginning of the war down to his return to the Admiralty in 1917. He went North on July 31, 1914, as Second-in-Command to Sir George Callaghan. He arrived at Scapa Flow on August 2, and two days later received orders from the Admiralty to take over the supreme command. Beginning with an account of the work and purpose of the Navy, he passes on to the expectation that a great Fleet action would be immediately fought. In his opinion, the Germans

were right in taking up a passive role, but they carried it too far, thus weakening their moral and leading up to the subsequent mutinies. He lays great stress on the necessity for subordinate commanders in modern warfare to possess a large degree of independence, owing to the difficulty of keeping in constant touch with the Commander-in-Chief.

The main historical portion of the book is in diary form. On September 1 there was an alarm that a submarine had made an entry into Scapa Flow, and the entire Fleet forthwith put to sea. The alarm appeared to be unfounded, but led to increased precautions for safeguarding the harbour. In the same month a scheme for the capture of Heligoland was proposed and rejected. Lord Jellicoe states that when the *Audacious* was sunk by a mine on October 27, 1914, the British Fleet had been reduced by various circumstances to a very small margin of superiority over that of the Germans. In the summer of 1915 the movements of the Fleet were seriously hampered by coal strikes in South Wales. A very interesting account is given of the Battle of Jutland—"the first Fleet action since Trafalgar, if we except the action in the Russo-Japanese War." It ends with expectation.

One feature of the book which gave rise to much discussion is that in which Lord Jellicoe describes the defects in the material of the Fleet. In many respects the Germans had the advantage. The book was completed in the early autumn of 1918, but not published till February, 1919. In addition to its description of the larger actions, it recounts many smaller operations, which had not previously been recorded.

Memories, by Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher (Hodder & Stoughton), attracted wide attention during the autumn. It constitutes an interesting expression of the author's personality, and contains furthermore much substance of general political interest. It was dictated by Lord Fisher during the month of September, in complete disregard of literary form, and published apparently with very little revision. In consequence there is little attempt at order or arrangement. The author flings out his recollections just as they come into his mind; and speaks to the public direct, rather than attempts to write a book. Although it would have been much improved by literary handling, it is necessarily full of interesting material. Chapter I. is very suitably devoted to King Edward VII., and gives a remarkable idea of the intimate relations between the King and his great admiral. By a similar lack of reticence, Lord Fisher succeeds in conveying vivid impressions of many well-known public persons: indeed the personal element is predominant throughout the book. It is written with obvious partiality, due no doubt to Lord Fisher's strong feelings, his dislike of compromise, and inveterate tendency to throw himself wholly and unreservedly on one side in all controversies. Incidentally the book brings out the vast debt owed by the nation to this fearless and radical innovator. It needs hardly to be said that egotism must be a strong ingredient in the character of a man who has thus fought his way through life, regardless of all difficulties and obstacles. But egotism is only a vice in small minds. It is an essential virtue in Lord Fisher: a part of his character which can be admired as one of the elements in greatness. The final

chapter consists of a number of aphorisms, which specially appeal to the author, and thereby shed further light upon his character. Yet the book as a whole is a standing illustration of the truth that no author, however interesting his material, can afford to dispense with the form of the literary art.

Shortly afterwards, Lord Fisher published another book of the same character under the title **Records**.

My Memories, by Grand-Admiral Von Tirpitz (Hurst & Blackett, Ltd.) is a translation of one of the most important German war-books of the year. It is in two volumes, the first being in the main a history of the origin and development of the German Navy; the second being concerned wholly with the war. In both is brought out the antagonism in policy which Von Tirpitz met with throughout his career. Though he was clearly often opposed by the Kaiser, he places on record his view that "the Kaiser in particular did not want the war, but did his utmost to prevent it when he realised the danger." He urges of course that the blame for the war rested upon Germany's enemies. The final chapter of Vol. I., dealing with the outbreak of war, adds one more to the large series of first-hand documents which have already been published on the negotiations and diplomatic events which preceded the conflagration. It cannot, however, be said that it causes any revision in the views which had already been formed on that subject.

The second volume will be found generally the more interesting of the two. How strongly the fear of England animated German Imperial Policy is seen throughout the story. Von Tirpitz apparently did not altogether share this feeling; he desired the German Navy to play a far more active part than it did in the war; and its inglorious self-effacement was not unnaturally a cause of profound grief to him. Like most leading sailors, he was no friend to compromise, and resented the policy of his Government, which he thought was too careful to avoid irritation of English sentiments. If this was indeed their policy, we can only remark that it was extraordinarily unsuccessful. A large portion of the second volume is filled with a kind of diary written from day to day during the war, in which the Grand-Admiral expresses in the most unrestrained manner his views on current events.

My War Memories, 1914-18, by General Ludendorff (Hutchinson & Co.) is an intimate account of the war as seen by the great German general. It opens with an account of the Battle of Liege, in which the author won his first distinctions in the war. A great part of the first volume is devoted to the Battle of Tannenberg and the subsequent operations in Russia. In August, 1916, he was appointed to the office of "First Quartermaster-General" and transferred to the Western Front, which by this time was recognised to be the theatre where the result of the war would finally be settled. The position there was already sufficiently gloomy from the German point of view, and with a few interludes of optimism, the gloom gradually increased till the autumn of 1918. August 8 of that year was according to Ludendorff the determining day in the history of the war. After that day the German Government and military authorities **all** agreed that the war could not be won and opinion was only divided as to the best diplomatic method of ob-

taining peace. Anxious as he was for peace, Ludendorff was strongly opposed to any form of capitulation, such as was eventually adopted by the Government. He describes the gradual break-up of the moral of the German Army, the increasing reluctance of soldiers to return from leave, and the rising numbers of "shirkers" at the front. The disaffection spread even to officers and introduced a new element of uncertainty into all military calculations. Ludendorff and Hindenberg, however, believed that the bulk of the Army and people were still sound, and advocated fighting to the end rather than capitulating. They were overruled; and in consequence Ludendorff tendered his resignation which was accepted by the Kaiser. It appears from this account that the loss of moral was the chief immediate cause of the German defeat, though any hope of victory had long been out of the question. The book is full of interest; it is an unadorned military record of the war by a true soldier.

General Headquarters, 1914-16, and Its Critical Decisions, by General Erich von Falkenhayn (Hutchinson & Co.), is a record of the war covering the period when the author was chief of the German General Staff. This period was from September 14, 1914, to August 29, 1915; and during these two years there was no one possessing a more intimate knowledge of the military situation than General von Falkenhayn. The object of the book is "to set forth in an intelligible form, according to my knowledge at the time of their occurrence, those operative ideas by which the best of us were guided in battle and victory during the two years of the war when I was at the head of the General Staff." In the main, the book is an attempted justification of the decisions of the General Staff, and not an actual history of the war, nor an attack on other individuals. It is clear that the turning-point of the war was, as the Allies have always held, in the Battle of the Marne. The extent of that victory, and the extremely dangerous situation in which the Germans immediately found themselves, is well brought out by von Falkenhayn, who, however, must have obvious interests in making the position appear as black as possible, at the time when he took up his appointment. The Eastern and Western theatres are dealt with impartially in this volume. One chapter relates the Battles of the Yser and around Lodz, another the break-through at Gorlice-Tarnow and its consequences, and another again the desperate attempt on Verdun. Perhaps the most interesting portions of the book are where the author discloses, as he frequently does, his opinions of the Allied military operations against him. A table is included at the end, showing the relative strength of the opposed forces. According to this table, the Allies possessed from October, 1914 to July, 1916, a continuous numerical superiority over their enemies in the Western theatre.

In the World War, by Count Ottokar Czernin (Cassell & Co., Ltd.), is an account of the war from the diplomatic rather than the military side. It relates the experiences of the author in a manner that is clearly genuine, and discloses much that is of interest. Count Czernin was anxious at an early date to secure peace, and found the main opposition coming from the German military party. He describes in a vivid manner the course of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, where Kuhlmann

was his German colleague; and the alarm of Hindenburg and Ludendorff lest too much should be conceded. Thereupon it was suggested to Ludendorff that he should himself come to Brest, and take part in the negotiations, if he was dissatisfied; but that general expressed the opinion that he would "only spoil things if he did." Whereupon Count Czernin remarks in his diary, "Heaven grant the man such gleams of insight again, and often." The danger of European Bolshevism was prominent in Count Czernin's mind, and a leading factor causing him to wish for peace. His conversations with A. Joffe, the Bolshevik emissary, are full of interest. A chapter is devoted to William II., which throws much new light on the character of that curious individual. The U-boat warfare is also discussed, and the negotiations of the Peace of Bucharest are described in detail. Not least interesting are Count Czernin's impressions and reflections, which crop out from time to time throughout the volume. His counsels were generally for moderation, and he saw in a certain sense more of the war than the military leaders; for he appreciated the passions which maintained it on both sides, and continued in close touch with those human feelings which made it inevitable. The outlook of the statesman is not less interesting than that of the soldier.

The Outbreak of the War of 1914-18: a narrative based mainly on British Official Documents, by Professor C. Oman (H.M. Stationery Office). Professor Oman, who was entrusted by the Government with the compilation of this narrative, had access to a number of official documents not previously published, and derived also a considerable amount of explanatory information from individuals whose names appear in the documents. The object of the book "is to set forth the manner in which the development of the situation presented itself from day to day to the eyes of * those responsible for the policy of Great Britain." Most of the chief documents are printed in full, and are accompanied by comments from Professor Oman. They tend to confirm the belief that war was decided on at the Council held at Potsdam on July 29, 1914, though the military party had decided upon it in principle long before that date. This at least was the opinion of Sir Horace Rumbold, who was British Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin at the time. On the same day Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador, sent a secret despatch to the Foreign Office, recording an interview with the Imperial Chancellor, in which the latter had endeavoured to convince him of his strenuous efforts to maintain peace. Professor Oman suggests that the reason for this interview was to get it rumoured that Germany was endeavouring to hold back Austria from war. A further point with which he deals at length is the question of the Russian mobilisation in the light of the disclosures at the trial of General Sukhomlinoff. Mr. Balfour stated in reply to an inquiry that, although no official report of the proceedings had been published, it appeared that secret preparations had been made for a general mobilisation against the orders of the Emperor, and that General Sukhomlinoff had denied them when questioned. Though the book contains a good deal of new material, it throws little fresh light on the factors which led to the outbreak of war.

Falklands, Jutland, and the Bight, by Commander the Hon. Barry

Bingham, V.C., E.N. With an Introduction by Admiral Sir David Beatty, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., D.8.O. (John Murray). This book constitutes an admirable first-hand account of these three battles, by one who played a distinguished part in all of them. At the Battle of the Bight he was lieutenant-commander in the *Invincible* ("A" turret). In the same ship he went through the Battle of the Falklands, which is vividly described. Then came a period of patrolling the North Sea in command of the destroyer *Hornet*. At length Commander Bingham attained* his wish, by receiving the command of a new destroyer of the M-class, called the *Nestor*. In command of this vessel, he was engaged in the Battle of Jutland, where twelve British destroyers attacked an enemy force of one light-cruiser and fifteen destroyers, forcing them to retire, and sinking two of them. In the same battle, Commander Bingham led his own and two other destroyers to a torpedo attack on enemy battle-cruisers, which they carried through notwithstanding a heavy fire from the enemy. *Nestor* was so badly hit as to be rendered motionless; and when the German Fleet came up and sank her, Commander Bingham was made prisoner. The story is told with great power and vividness; and, moreover, with complete modesty; so that the book is most attractive reading. Technicalities are mainly omitted, and there is throughout a strong human touch in the book. The fascination of naval life is brought out in so spirited a manner as to affect the dullest reader. The author refrains from continuing his narrative through the twenty-three months during which he was in Germany. He refers to it only as a period "where patience, fortitude, and cheerfulness are sought and struggled for daily." This is unquestionably one of the most attractive war-books yet published.

A Naturalist's Sketch Book, by Archibald Thorburn, F.Z.S. (Longmans, Green & Co.), is a sequel to the same artist's standard work of "British Birds." It is finely got up in the same form as the previous work, and contains sixty plates, of which twenty-four are in colour and thirty-six in collotype. Mr. Thorburn has not pursued any systematic purpose in his new volume, such as that which inspired his work on British Birds, but has followed his own predilections as to what he should include. The result is a very beautiful series of plates, which are equally beyond criticism whether we regard them from the aesthetic standpoint, or from that of technical excellence of reproduction, or from their truth to nature. As regards the last point, Mr. Thorburn has been singularly successful in making his birds alive. They are shown in characteristic attitudes, which admirably convey the notion of their natural vivacity and movement. This is particularly so with the pencil drawings, which while scarcely possessing the beauty of the coloured plates, are even more successful in giving the idea of movement. The plates are accompanied by very brief explanatory letter-press.

The frontispiece is devoted to the red grouse, in various attitudes and surroundings, and is one of the most delightful in the volume. A later plate gives a number of pencil sketches of the same bird. The black-cock has also two plates, one in colour, and the other showing in several sketches its mode of courting. One coloured plate is devoted to the ptarmigan in October plumage and again when its winter feathers are

beginning to show. Another plate contains a typical ptarmigan landscape. Several plates are given up to the partridge, pheasant, and other game-birds.

The eagles, falcons, and hawks fill a number of plates in the volume ; two are given up to owls ; while the smaller birds figure less extensively, a few of them only being represented in three or four plates. The last dozen plates of the volume are miscellaneous in subject. The wild cat, weasel, fox, and otter are portrayed, and one fine plate is devoted to the woodmouse. One of the most beautiful of the plates is from a water-colour drawing of a thick plantation of Scotch fir and larch in late autumn, showing a wonderful mass of colour ; while the final plate of all shows a Scotch thistle, on which we can only regret that no goldfinch is feeding. The book constitutes the most agreeable publication which marked the autumn publishing season.

South: The story of Shackleton's Last Expedition, 1914-17, by Sir Ernest Shackleton. Sir Ernest's plan was to cross the great Antarctic continent from one side to the other, passing over the South Pole on his way. To this end, he sent the *Aurora* into the Ross Sea to lay out depots in a line on that side of the Pole which the transantarctic party might pick up on the latter part of their journey. He himself left England in the *Endurance* just as the war broke out, and finally sailed from South Georgia, the last outpost of civilisation, on December 5, 1914. Unfortunately the summer was exceptionally cold, and he very soon got into difficulties with the ice. He sailed for some distance along the coast of the South Polar continent, but before he could land, the *Endurance* was finally closed up in ice. After a long drift north, the vessel was crushed on October 15, 1915; and at last after many adventures the party reached Elephant Island in boats just six months later. Sir Ernest and five men then made a perilous voyage to South Georgia, which he traversed on foot with two companions, till he reached civilisation on the other side of the Island. He then hastened to organise relief expeditions, the fourth of which succeeded in rescuing the men left on Elephant Island. Meanwhile the Ross Sea party had been undergoing hardships no less severe; three of their men were lost, but not till after they had laid out the depots arranged. To the general reader, the book not only has the great interest of a story of bold adventure, but is a wonderful record of the physical conditions and natural history of the Polar Regions. These are vividly described, as for instance in the description of the sounds made by the pressure of the ice-sheet against icebergs. "We heard tapping as from a hammer, grunts, groans, and squeaks, electric trams running, birds singing, kettles boiling noisily, and an occasional swish as a large piece of ice, released from pressure, suddenly jumped or turned over." The numerous illustrations greatly add to the interest of a book which does not contain a dull paragraph from beginning to end. We may note that the names given on the map do not in all cases correspond with those used in the text.

The Book of a Naturalist, by W. H. Hudson (Hodder & Stoughton), is a collection of articles on Natural History subjects, by the well-known author of "The Naturalist in La Plata." They are written in an inter-

esting, if discursive strain on a great variety of subjects, though it is noticeable that there is very little about birds. The best articles, perhaps, are those dealing with snakes. Mr. Hudson has an affection for all forms of animal life, which extends even to adders, about which he has much that is interesting to say. He points out that the risk of death from snake-bite in Europe is exceedingly small, and inquires into the origin of the very general fear which animates most people on seeing a snake. He certainly seems exempt from this fear himself, for he catches adders by the tail as they are gliding away; and after examining their colours and measuring their length, releases them once more in safety. One article is devoted to the mole, and some curious habits of this creature are described. But we have never experienced the difficulty of holding a mole, which is referred to by Mr. Hudson, and cannot but think that he has fallen in with rather exceptional members of the species. There are some pleasant articles on dogs, one on the toad as a traveller, on bats, wasps, and many other subjects. On all of these Mr. Hudson has something interesting to say; and the interest is greatly increased by the circumstance that his information is entirely derived from first-hand observation. Thus the book is in no sense a compilation, but a genuine contribution to natural history, which every naturalist will appreciate. The most serious criticism to be made upon it is that it bears no date of publication.

Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy, by Bertrand Russell (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.), is a popular exposition of the doctrines dealt with at a greater length in the author's well-known "*Principia Mathematica*. Its popularity is indeed of a limited description; the subject does not permit of elucidation in words of one syllable; but in so far as it does admit of simplification, Mr. Russell has been remarkably successful in attaining his purpose. In fact it is probably true to say that the book contains nothing outside the comprehension of the ordinary educated person. To those unaccustomed to this class of study, it involves a severe tax on the *attention* of the reader, but that is all. Mr. Russell regards Mathematics and Logic as essentially the same study. He breaks down the old line of division between the two; and he justifies the science of Logic by the brilliant conclusions which he reaches by the methods of Logic alone. Future generations will probably regard Mr. Russell as standing in the same relation to Physics; for he is practically the creator of a new science, where formerly nothing but academic trifling existed. It would be futile in a small space to endeavour to convey any of the substance or conclusions of this useful book. Mr. Russell may be congratulated however, on the striking success with which he reduces a difficult subject to comparative simplicity.

Modern Science and Materialism, by Hugh Elliot (Longmans, Green & Co.), is a defence of materialism, based upon the various branches of modern science. The author means by materialism something quite different from what is usually understood by that word. He defines it under three headings: the universality of law or of cause and effect, the denial of any doctrine of purpose in the Universe, and the statement that there exist no kind of entities that are not of a material character. He

is thus led to deny the existence of "mind" as a thing, affirming that we can only know of mental processes, and that they are identical with physical processes taking place in the brain. By this doctrine of identity, however, he attempts to establish an alliance between materialism and idealism, asserting that these are not conflicting theories, but two different aspects of the same thing. He lays the emphasis chiefly on materialism, because he thinks it the more useful way of viewing events for all practical purposes. These doctrines are led up to by a succession of chapters, describing recent research in Astronomy, Physics, and Biology. The theory of Vitalism is vigorously attacked: for upon its destruction depends the materialistic philosophy which is afterwards expounded.

Outspoken Essays, by William Ralph Inge, C.V.O., I.D. (Longmans, Green & Co.), is a collection of essays, all of which (except one) have been previously published in the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, and the *Hibbert Journal*. They deal not only with religious subjects but with several of the wider social problems of our age. Writings by the Dean of St. Paul's are always both learned and interesting; and the present volume is no exception to the rule. Whether the author is dealing with patriotism, or with the decline in the birth-rate, or with survival and immortality, he exhibits a philosophic spirit and a desire for truth, which cannot but excite the admiration even of opponents. The opening essay—the only one not previously published—deals with existing social discontent, and embodies a trenchant criticism of democracy. Although many of the arguments are perhaps over the heads of demagogues, they are none the less powerful; and if they remain unanswered, it will only be because the political habits of democracy are not such as pay attention to the warnings of our best thinkers. The essay entitled "The Indictment against Christianity" refers to the war, which has undoubtedly caused much disturbance of belief among many who would not otherwise have questioned the tenets of their education. The difficulty of reconciling the war with the principles of Christianity has indeed been very widely overlooked. Dean Inge recognises the problem and attempts to deal with it. Whether or not we agree with him, we must admit that it is a far more hopeful attitude than that which merely disregards or denies the problem itself. The more purely ecclesiastical essays deal with "Bishop Gore and the Church of England" (in which the Bishop is described as "the strongest man in the English Church"), Roman Catholic Mo

The Philosophy of Conflict, and other essays in war-time: second series, by Havelock Ellis (Constable & Co., Ltd.), is a sequel to the author's earlier series [*v. A.R.*, 1916, p. 100]. It contains a number of short essays, mostly concerned with the war, either directly or indirectly; the subject of sex and the status of women also receives attention; eugenics is advocated; and there are several little essays—on Herbert Spencer, on Baudelaire, on a friend of Casanova, etc. Though brief, all these essays say something that is worth saying; they are all free from the common vice of superficiality; and, as we remarked of the earlier volume, show a strong infusion of true philosophic spirit. Mr. Ellis' views are nearl

highest standing; and on all subjects connected with sex he is an authority second to none. Special importance attaches therefore to his essays on birth-control, and on the Freudian doctrine of psycho-analysis. In our review of the earlier series, we remarked that any action on eugenic principles was likely to be fraught with such momentous consequences that none should be taken, until the knowledge on which it is based has reached a correspondingly high degree of certainty. Indeed when we observe the errors so constantly being perpetrated by statesmen, we shall surely hesitate before committing to their decision questions fundamentally affecting the future of the human race. If reformers are too precipitate, they will find the human germ-plasm become a question of party politics, and its future fate decided by the ignorant and passing sentiments of the democracy. Mr. Havelock Ellis is one of the few who are capable of appreciating this objection, and in a future series of essays, we venture to hope that he will take steps to meet an argument which at present weighs heavily against his cause.

A Primer of National Finance, by Henry Higgs, C.B. (Methuen & Co., Ltd.), is the first volume of a new series of Economics, in which it is intended to set forth the fundamental principles and method of Political Economy in a concise and simple manner. The editor of the series, Mr. G. Armitage-Smith, has done well in securing the co-operation of Mr. Higgs as the author of his first volume; for the book is not only full of instruction and useful material, but has the additional advantage of being very pleasant and interesting to read. It deals with the elements of financial principles, with special reference to the facts and figures of our national finance; and, while intended for those who have no previous knowledge of the subject, is likely to lead many to a further study of what is here dealt with in so attractive a manner. There can be little question that finance is the most important element in politics. It behoves every one therefore to follow the problems of national finance, not merely from the individual point of view of the taxpayer, but from the wider aspect of the country's good. Mr. Higgs has specially in view to instruct the public as to the meaning of such financial statistics and accounts as are from time to time published in the newspapers. Chapters are devoted to the Expenditure of Government, the Revenue of Government, the National Debt, to Local Finance, and finally as a sort of practical illustration, to the Budget of 1919, in which Mr. Chamberlain's speech is reported at length. The meanings of the different terms are explained; and the technicalities fade away by lucidity of exposition. The present financial state of the country is contrasted with its position before the war; and more than ever the reader is impressed with the profound importance of a wise national finance, and the need for a larger amount of public interest in the subject. Mr. Higgs is to be congratulated on a very able and valuable book.

The Control of the Drink Trade in Britain: a Contribution to National Efficiency during the Great War, 1915-18, by Henry Carter. With a preface by Lord D'Abernon. Second edition (Longmans, Green & Co.). This book, of which the first edition was published in January, 1918, and the second in April, 1919, describes the administrative activities of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) during the war. The Board

was set up in June, 1915, and on nearly all sides was recognised to have dealt with a very delicate problem with remarkable success. Mr. Henry Carter was himself a member of it, and the book is notable as a dispassionate record, not only of what the Board did, but also of its motives, and of the effects achieved. The outstanding conclusion impressed by the author, is that it is possible by means of regulations or laws to bring about a remarkable decline of drunkenness : a result which had often formerly been considered impossible. The orders issued by the Board undoubtedly wrought great improvement. They were, of course, admittedly war-measures ; they were applied to a people which was intent above all other things on winning the war, and was prepared to forego many luxuries to that end. Whether the improvement would have lasted permanently is another matter. On the conclusion of the war the Board was dissolved, and more democratic procedure adopted. The methods of the Board were ultimately those of making it difficult to obtain liquor—by reducing the supplies, diminishing the strength, limiting hours of sale, and so on ; and these measures, though stringent, were devised with sufficient tact to permit of their enforcement. This gigantic experiment in temperance-promotion succeeded. Mr. Henry Carter's book is the only authoritative account of it. Well written, packed with detail, and free from prejudice, it takes its place as one of the most important works ever published in the literature of temperance.

The Feeding of Nations: a Study in Applied Physiology, by Ernest H. Starling, C.M.G., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S. (Longmans, Green & Co.), contains the author's Ohver-Sharpey lectures, delivered at the Royal College of Physicians on June 3 and June 5. Professor Starling was both Chairman of the Royal Society Food (War) Committee, and Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Food, as also the chief British delegate on the Inter-allied Scientific Food Commission. He is, therefore, an authority second to none on the subject of which he treats. He describes the principles which guided the Ministry of Food during the war, and gives the result of a number of researches into the question of human nutrition *en masse*. The main conclusions were in the establishment of the average number of calories required by a man, woman, and child *per diem*. A minimum quantity was fixed (3,300 calories for an adult male) ; and it was laid down that a fixed percentage of this minimum must be in the form of fats. No shortage was ever threatened, either of proteins or carbohydrates ; and the scientific advice given to the Ministry of Food was that bread should be left unrationed, so that calorie deficiency in rationed foods might be easily made good. Professor Starling does not discuss any of the administrative problems of the Ministry, but confines himself strictly to the physiological aspect of their work. Appendices include a table of the composition and caloric value of the more important foods, adopted by the Inter-Allied Scientific Food Commission ; and also the quantities of total food-stuffs consumed each year from 1909-13, and their equivalent energy-values.

The French Revolution : a Study in Democracy, by Nesta H. Webster (Constable & Co., Ltd.), is an extremely interesting account of one of the most remarkable events of all history, by an authoress who has already become known through her life of the "Chevalier de Boufflers."

She takes a somewhat unusual view of the springs of the Revolution, attributing blame for the atrocities rather to the revolutionary leaders than to the people. The book thus tends to the ethical rather than the scientific standpoint—a very common tendency among lady-authors, and by no means calculated to diminish the human interest. Towards the end of the volume Mrs. Webster sums up her conviction "that the day will come when the world, enlightened by the principles of true democracy, will recognise that the French Revolution was not an advance towards democracy but a directly anti-democratic and reactionary movement, that it was not a struggle for liberty but an attempt to strangle liberty at its birth; the leaders will then be seen in their true colours as the cruellest enemies of the people, and the people, no longer condemned for their ferocity, will be pitied as the victims of a gigantic conspiracy." We cannot agree that this will be the ultimate verdict of history. The revolutionary leaders could not have existed, except born on the mad passions of the people. The true origin of the Revolution is a medico-psychological problem; and the verdict of history will not be one which exonerates some and condemns others, but one which realises that a fit of wild insanity had overtaken a nation, and which attempts to trace the physiological and sociological causes of that insanity. The theory of a criminal conspiracy is altogether too simple, and quite inadequate to account for so gigantic an upheaval. Though we cannot agree with Mrs. Webster, yet her book is one of the most useful and instructive histories of the Revolution yet published.

Germany, 1815-90 (Vol. III.), by Sir Adolphus William Ward (Cambridge University Press), is the concluding volume of a new history of modern Germany, of which the first two volumes were reviewed in former numbers of the ANNUAL REGISTER. The book, it may be remembered, is one of the Cambridge Historical Series. This third volume covers the period 1871-90. As was remarked in reviewing the earlier volumes, the book is extraordinarily rich in facts, accurately stated. The first five chapters deal with the general history of Germany from the Peace of Frankfort to the Fall of Bismarck. A sixth chapter is entitled "German Social and Intellectual Life, 1850-1900." A seventh chapter has been added, going beyond the original scheme of the work and dealing roughly with the first twenty years of the Emperor William II.'s reign, and ending with the year 1907. The second chapter deals with the conflict between the Prussian Government and the Roman Catholic Church, usually known to historians as the Kulturkampf. The causes of the great dispute are set out with extreme clearness, and the English reader is enabled to follow the intricacies of socio-ecclesiastical conditions of which he has had no experience in his own country. Sir Adolphus Ward considers that it is a mistake to say that the Kulturkampf ended in a drawn battle. He thinks that on the whole the Prussian State came out of the contest with a moderate measure of success. He is forced to admit, however, that the Church of Rome did not submit to the Government's claims, as originally put forward. Sir Adolphus Ward well emphasises, in this connexion, the close connexion between the claims of the Roman Church and the Polish obstacle to Prussian ambitions. In reviewing the causes of Bismarck's fall in Chapter V., the,

author brings out the point that Bismarck had perforce long endured the hostility of the extreme Conservative Party, who had indeed always disliked the great Chancellor owing to his support of the National Liberal Party, which party was extremely powerful in the early days of the Hohenzollern Empire. The chapter dealing with German Social and Intellectual life in the second half of the nineteenth century is perhaps the best, not only in this volume, but in the whole book. The author's knowledge of all branches of German literature and thought is little short of amazing. All branches of science, art, literature, and thought are dealt with in turn, and the chapter is difficult to criticise even in details. We think, however, that the pre-eminent position of August Weismann in biological science is not quite sufficiently emphasised. His position is regarded by many as much greater than that occupied by Haeckel. The last chapter deals, of course, among other subjects, with the first growth of serious Anglo-German discord. In this connexion, and strangely contrary to the trend which afterwards developed, the author describes Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's proposals for an Anglo-German alliance. The concluding paragraph of the work shows—as, indeed, scattered comments had shown in the earlier volumes—how acutely tragic the war appeared to the English author who in his youth had learned to admire the better qualities of Germany.

Impressions that Remained: Memoirs, by Ethel Smyth, in two volumes (Longmans, Green & Co.), is a very lively and entertaining autobiography by the well-known musician, Miss Ethel Smyth. Part I., "The Smyth Family Robinson," recounts the story of her youth, with admirable character sketches of her family. Her father was a Major-General, who at one time commanded the Artillery at Aldershot: so that Miss Smyth enjoyed plenty of lively society. Part II., "Germany and Two Winters in Italy," carries the story from 1877 to 1885, and marks the foundation of her musical fame, and is exceptionally interesting for the reminiscences of distinguished German musicians, and also for the insight into German home life. At the end of this period there occurred an incident, which is purposely described "as through a glass darkly," but led to the rupture of some of her most cherished associations in Germany. Part III., "In the Desert," relates the few years of Miss Smyth's life immediately following this incident; and the book ends with the year 1891, when we may presume that the position of the authoress was established, and her early struggles past, and before the initiation of the Woman Suffrage Movement; with which she subsequently became identified. The book is extremely well written, vivacious, and entertaining to read. It shows an open and free mind, not too much trammelled by conventions, a happy disposition, and abundant self-confidence: qualities sufficient to ensure success, when backed, as in this case, by remarkable talent and ability. The book was one of the most notable publications of the autumn.

The Prisoners of Mainz, by Alec Waugh (Chapman & Hall, Ltd.). This new book of Mr. Waugh's is a description of his life during the time he was a prisoner in Germany. He was captured late in the war when the bitter hatred for England had died and prisoners were regarded merely with a friendly curiosity. The chapter named "The

"Hungry Days" gives an account of the very meagre meals which they were given. "We were miserably underfed," he says, "but so was the entire German people." In the spring of 1918 Mr. Waugh says that the German attitude towards the war was that it should cease; "the individual outlook in many ways resembled that of France and England." In his chapter a little to say against the Germans; "restrictions were placed on the Camp that could have been avoided," and the removal of the covers of the books was a needless annoyance; these are the chief complaints. The prisoners seemed able to pass their time in quite an agreeable way, and Mr. Waugh's account of his captivity is told in a candid and unbiassed manner, so that one feels that the greatest hardship was the loss of freedom and the forced companionship of uncongenial people.

Unhappy Far-Off Things, by Lord Dunsany (Elkin Matthews). This book contains twelve short essays on devastated France. "The House with Two Storey," "The Garden of Arras," with its charming ending, "Wistfully round the edge of the huge breach in the wall, a Michaelmas daisy peered into the garden, in whose ruined paths I stood," "A Happy Valley," and "The Homes of Arras" are a few of the titles that Lord Dunsany has chosen. His descriptions of these things which he actually felt and saw when he was a soldier in France are every bit as wonderful and certainly more soul stirring than those mysterious fables of his that we know so well. "And in all that stricken assembly no voice spoke but the sound of iron tapping on broken things, which was dumb awhile when the wind dropped. The wind rose and it tapped again." Such an ending makes us visualise to the utmost what France has suffered, and it is good to reflect that her sufferings are now Far-Off Things.

Maeterlinck's Dogs, by Georgette Leblanc Maeterlinck (Methuen & Co., Ltd.). In this fascinating book Madame Maeterlinck tells the stories of the dogs that have lived with her husband and herself. Madame Maeterlinck is not only interested merely in the relations which exist between the dog and man, but she is interested in the dog himself. She sees dogs with characteristics all their own, and it is not the "good" dog that calls for her greatest admiration, but the "vagabonds, idlers, or philosophers, the rift-rafl of canine society," interest her the most. In the chapter "Adhemar the Misunderstood," Madame Maeterlinck shows in a charming manner how even a wise and kind lover of dogs can make a mistake as to their character. The book is illustrated with original drawings by the author which are delightfully quaint.

Georgian Poetry, 1918-19, edited by E. M. (The Poetry Bookshop), is an anthology containing samples of the work of nineteen poets, namely: Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie, Mr. Gordon Bottomley, Mr. W. H. Davies, Mr. Walter de la Mare, Mr. John Drinkwater, Mr. John Freeman, Mr. W. W. Gibson, Mr. Eobert Graves, Mr. D. H. Lawrence, Mr. Harold Monro, Mr. Eobert Nichols, Mr. Siegfried Sassoon, Mr. J. C. Squire, Mr. W. J. Turner, Mr. Francis Brett Young, Mr. Thomas Moulton, Mr. J. D. C. Pellow, Mr. Edward Shanks, and Mrs. Fredegond Shove. The volume is the fourth of a series, of which the first was published in 1912; and the great success which has attended them bears witness to

the desire of the public to read the works of living poets. Though the choice of poems to be included in an anthology must always remain something of a personal matter, yet the judgment of the editor has on the whole met with approval from the most qualified critics; and the present volume gives an admirable idea of the best type of poetry being written and published at the present time.

Scottish Literature: Character and Influence, by G. Gregory Smith (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.). This book consists of ten essays, five of which deal with "the character or habit of Scottish literature" and five with "the influence which that literature has exerted on others." It is critical, rather than historical, in character, though the method of treatment involves a general historical survey, which is of all the greater interest, in that to many readers it will be largely unfamiliar. Two authors, and two alone, in Scottish literature are deemed worthy of chapters to themselves: namely, Burns and Scott. The former is defended from the attacks which have been made upon him by many literary critics—attacks which we may suspect are often based on the difficulty experienced by English critics in understanding his words. Mr. Gregory Smith is thoroughly well equipped for his task; the book shows a wide range of literary knowledge, and a sound critical faculty. It is of course inevitable that judgments as to literary quality must differ widely in different persons. So long as the temperament of critics is diverse, so long will their judgments on famous authors be dissimilar. For no one can attain to that universality of mind which can appreciate equally all forms of literary excellence. Even the estimates of individual critics are apt to alter somewhat at different periods of life. So that while any volume of literary criticism is bound to provoke dissent in details, in the case of the present volume, the opinions expressed are such as are likely to commend themselves to the majority of those competent to judge. Scottish literature (like Scottish history) is far too little studied by the general reader, who is usually too much taken up with English literature to do so. Mr. Gregory Smith has performed a valuable task in assisting to remedy this deficiency.

A History of the French Novel (to the close of the nineteenth century), by George Saintsbury. Vol. II. from 1800 to 1900 (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.). We learn with great regret from the Preface to this volume that it is the last literary production we are to expect from Professor Saintsbury. It certainly shows no sign of falling off from the high standard of literary criticism to which we are accustomed from this eminent author. Professor Saintsbury's style, if a little awkward, is as racy as ever; and he fills his highly interesting subject with life and fire. We may not always agree with his judgments; to his unrivalled knowledge and authority we must always defer. An outside reader will probably consider that the general tendency of his criticism is too severe. In "Les Travailleurs de la Mer" of Victor Hugo, for instance, it may be considered that Professor Saintsbury attaches altogether undue importance to small errors such as the famous "Bug-Pipe" for bagpipes. Nor can we in the least agree that the success of so long a work is (as he suggests) due to a striking contrast which appears only in the last page

or two of the whole book. On Zola and the Goncourts also he is extremely severe. Balzac and Prosper Merimee are more fortunate. In the case of each author with whom he deals, Professor Saintsbury gives a brief account of his chief novels. Nevertheless the book is doubtless more interesting to those who know these works than to those who have not read them. Professor Saintsbury's judgments are apt to be challenging; and though the interest of the book never falls, dissent is often raised. Writers of the present century are excluded from the scope of the volume, which, however, will long stand out as the most interesting, and by far the most important work yet published on the French novel of the nineteenth century.

Cassell's New English Dictionary, with an appendix, edited by Ernest A. Baker, M. A., D. Lit. (Cassell & Co., Ltd.), is the best short dictionary of the English language yet published. Although comparatively a short dictionary, it contains a very large vocabulary, comprising more than one hundred and twenty thousand words and phrases. Scientific, technical, and specialised words are given with remarkable fullness; neologisms, slang-words, and colloquialisms are also admirably dealt with. Appendices include a long list of "Foreign Phrases and Words," a guide to the pronunciation of proper names, an exceedingly useful list of abbreviations, signs, and symbols (from which we may learn, for instance, that W.F.L. stands for Woman's Freedom League), and other features. Finally, there is a supplement—an unusual thing in a new dictionary—including all words that came into use during the war.

For all parts of this important work we have nothing but praise. It is admirably designed for meeting all those practical purposes for which we commonly look up a word in a dictionary. We have compared it closely with "The Concise Oxford Dictionary" of 1911, and the comparison is all in favour of the new Cassell. The "Concise Oxford Dictionary" is far more for the professional student than for the general public. It devotes more than a column to a word like "of," which is covered by Cassell in a few lines. No one but a professional student thinks of looking up "of" in a dictionary. On the other hand, Cassell has a far more complete vocabulary, and much more adequately satisfies the requirements of the average man, who looks up a word in order to find out what it means. The definitions are concise, accurate, and full. Pronunciation is thoroughly well indicated; derivations are given throughout. The paper on which it is printed is the least satisfactory part of the volume; but that is an inevitable sequel of war. We cannot doubt that the Dictionary will take its place as the standard book for the public at large; for it is very cheap, as well as very good. Dr. Baker is to be warmly congratulated on his work; for the new volume increases the prestige which the name of Cassell always confers upon a dictionary.

FICTION.

Tamarisk Town, by Sheila Kaye-Smith (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith's new story is centred round Marlingate, a small fishing village, and Monypenny, the man who developed it and made it into a fashionable seaside town, and who also destroyed it. The book is

divided into two parts ; the first the author has named *The Builder*, and the second *The Destroyer*. In the first part Monypenny's love for the little fishing village is set against the love which he has conceived for the little governess Morgan-le-Fay. For a time he is saved by Morgan marrying her employer—Becket; but after a lapse of years she returns to Marlingate with her husband and child and exerts her old power over Monypenny. He is much perturbed and wavers between his two loves, but when he finally makes his choice, the town wins. In consequence, Morgan kills herself, and from that moment the fate of the town is sealed. In *The Destroyer*, Monypenny marries and has a son who, when he grows up, loves and marries Morgan's daughter. This circumstance intensifies Monypenny's hatred of the town which he has built, and the slow destruction of it begins and is effectively carried out. Miss Kaye-Smith has made a romantic figure of Monypenny, and her Morgan-le-Fay is fascinating if not altogether convincing.

The Tunnel, by Dorothy Richardson (Duckworth & Co.). This is Part IV. of Miriam Henderson's chronicle of her life. She is now secretary to a firm of dentists in Wimpole Street, and we get an extraordinary clear picture of the Wimpole Street household and its arrangements. A week-end visit to clever Mr. Wilson and his wife gives scope for a wonderful criticism of the moods and manners of the people she meets there ; " to get on here one would have to say clever things in a high bright voice," she muses. The love episode of Mr. Taunton the curate and Miss Dear the nurse is a delightful comedy. This book, like the three before it, has neither beginning nor ending, and Miriam goes on in her inimitable way recording her impressions of life as she feels it, giving her reflections too on all she sees. "*The Tunnel* " is a unique piece of work.

The Last Ditch, by Violet Hunt (Stanley Paul), is in the form of letters written during the war, from a Countess and her younger daughter to their married daughter and sister in America. Miss Hunt shows with a relentlessness that is most effective how insignificant some people may become in a time when ability and energy are the qualities most needed.

The Forest Fire and Other Stories, by E. Temple Thurston (Cassell & Co., Ltd.), is a book of short stories. "Captivity," "Sandy Gullick," and "The Nature of the Beast," are particularly well done, and the Irish story, "Father Tierney Intervenes," catches the spirit and feeling of the Irish people in a most realistic manner.

Mount Music, by E. CE. Somerville and Martin Eoss (Longmans, Green & Co.). Miss Somerville in her preface tells us that this book was planned many years ago by Martin Eoss and herself; but it has been left to Miss Somerville to finish it. "*Mount Music*" is a tragic story, and is woven round the lives of two families—the Talbot-Lowrys, who are the owners of Mount Music and young Lawrence Coppinger, the owner of Coppinger Court. When the story opens Lawrence Coppinger has just come home from India and the time is 1894. These people are cousins, but Larry Coppinger is a Catholic while the Talbot-Lowrys are Protestants, and it is this circumstance which gives rise to most of their difficulties. Larry attends the Chapel, and there he makes friends with big Dr. Mangan and his family. "Larry's cads" was the

designation which the young Talbot-Lowrys gave to these friends ; but the big doctor carries all before him, and poor futile Dick Talbot-Lowry gets caught in his clutches, and Larry is almost secured as his son-in-law. For all his scheming, one is never inclined to dislike the big doctor, and his tragic end is not altogether undignified. Christian Talbot-Lowry is the heroine, and one knows this from the moment she is introduced at the age of nine with her beloved animals. " You never call foxhounds ' dogs,' " she contemptuously remarks to her cousin Larry when he had designated her much-loved Amazon by that name. She is as much at home on a horse as she is in the kennels, and the sad end of her hunter seems too hard a blow to give her. Christian suffers much, but in the end she is happy. " Mount Music " lacks the sparkle and wit of some of the previous stories, but it will take a high place among these authors' works.

The Querrils, by Stacy Aumonier (Methuen & Co., Ltd.). The Querril family are a kind-hearted, amiable people whose home life is a sort of paradise; " there was a scrupulous endeavour to see that though every one was loved and fussed over exceedingly . . . no one was loved or fussed over more than anyone else." " The result of this bred a kind of impersonalism." Things have gone on quietly and uneventfully for so long that even when two disquieting episodes occur they scarcely alter their benign outlook on life. One of the sons who is not so much in sympathy with the Querril outlook falls an innocent victim to the monstrous plotting of a scoundrel, and he is sentenced to two years imprisonment for an assault on a young girl. This disaster and the war form the main theme of the story with its effect on the Querril family; but we find in reality that they remain unaltered, and live their lives as remote from the real affairs of life as they did before any disaster fell to their lot. Mr. Aumonier has drawn his characters with skill and insight, and many of the episodes have real dramatic power.

September, by Frank Swinnerton (Methuen & Co., Ltd.). Mr. Swinnerton's new story is unlike any other story he has written. It is a love story of intense feeling, and concerns the conflict between two women of extremely different temperaments. The action takes place partly in a country house and partly in London, and is told with great dramatic power.

A Chair on the Boulevard, by Leonard Merrick, with an introduction by A. Neil Lyons (Hodder & Stoughton). This is a volume of several stories told with extraordinary skill and keen insight into human affairs. Leonard Merrick has been described as the novelist of his brother artists, and several of these stories they confess to knowing by heart. In his introduction Mr. Neil Lyons describes the first story in this volume, " The Tragedy of a Comic Song," as the " funniest story of the century," and it is most fascinating. This volume forms one of the books in the collected edition of the works of Leonard Merrick.

Jinny the Carrier, by Israel Zangwill (Heinemann). " A folk comedy of rural England " is the way in which Mr. Zangwill describes this last novel of his. Essex is chosen as the background for his story with its quaint customs and rare characters, and the time is the early part of Queen Victoria's reign. Jinny herself is a delightful creation, and is

by no means of the quiet inactive type of womanhood. The book is full of humour and of pathos, and makes a delightful love story.

The Secret Battle, by A. P. Herbert (Methuen & Co., Ltd.) is the story of the ruthless breaking of the ardent spirit of a young officer by the injustices of the military machine. Harry Penrose, highly imaginative and as fearless as a child, went out in the early days of the war with the eagerness and enthusiasm of youth. On his fifth day in the line he distinguishes himself by performing a very brave act, but not very long afterwards six of his men are killed in distressing circumstances, and from that time the "Romance of War" has gone for him. Henceforth Harry Penrose endures torments of mental agony; he comes through physical sickness successfully and performs many daring and brave deeds, but his will power is fast disappearing. Unfortunately his colonel takes a dislike to him, and when finally he breaks down and is seen "running down the road—towards the Dump—away from the line" he is court martialled, and in a chapter of rare insight we see the monstrous injustice of the verdict. Harry Penrose "was shot for cowardice," and, says his friend, "he was one of the bravest men I ever knew." A moving and beautifully told story, giving a side of the war that is rarely dealt with.

Christopher and Columbus, by the author of "Elizabeth and her German Garden" (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.). Two girls, Anna-Rose and Anna Felicita, were the twin daughters of a German father and an English mother. Their mother brought the two girls to England. She died shortly afterwards and they were then left to the care of their uncle. They do not get on very well in England owing to the general suspicion of their German origin, so they are forthwith shipped to America—which was neutral at the time—and their experiences in America form a most delightful and attractive story told in the author's inimitable manner.

Cousin Philip, by Mrs. Humphry Ward (Collins & Co., Ltd.). In Mrs. Ward's new story she deals with the ardent spirit of the young pre-war woman, and how the advent of the war gave this spirit direction and usefulness and was able to quell its seeming rebelliousness. The story chiefly concerns Lord Buntingdon—the cousin Philip of the story—and his ward Helena Pitstone. Helena is a kind of irresponsible, raw, but entirely lovable girl who under Cousin Philip's influence develops into useful womanhood.

Up the Rebels, by George Birmingham (Methuen & Co., Ltd.). Mr. G. A. Birmingham's new story deals with the Sinn Féiners. He treats his subject with his unfailing tact and sense of humour, and the story is told in his incomparable manner. It is a book which will give pleasure to all its readers.

The Arrow of Gold, by Joseph Conrad (T. Fisher Unwin). The story has for its foundation the Carlist pretension to the throne of Alfonso; but Carlos himself appears very little. The whole story centres round the romantic figure of Dona Rita, and all other figures rally round her and pay homage to her. There is "Monsieur George" who does all the Carlist business she requires of him; there are Carlos and Azzolati, Captain Blunt and José Ortega who all do their utmost

to find favour in her eyes. She is "as old as the world," mysterious, elusive, mocking, and adorable. The story begins and ends with two long "Notes," and in the concluding note Mr. Conrad tells us that Monsieur George wins his Rita and afterwards fights a duel with Captain Blunt and is badly wounded. Rita nurses him back to life and then disappears for ever. Mr. Conrad has created a fascinating creature in his Dona Eita, but the other characters also stand out in their individual strength.

Dead ham Hard, by Lucas Malet (Methuen & Co., Ltd.). This novel is set in a period which occupies about five years in the latter part of the nineteenth century and is laid for the most part in a village on the Hampshire Coast. The heroine, Damaris Verity, is in every way attractive, and the book is concerned with her history from the time she is eighteen. Sir Charles Verity, her father, plays a large part in the story, and so does his illegitimate son, Darcy Faircloth, who inherits from Sir Charles a certain charm of manner which places him above his natural surroundings. The shortcomings and idiosyncrasies of the minor characters are most convincingly portrayed and the scenes are vividly depicted.

Mrs. Marden, by Robert Hichens (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). Mr. Hichens' new story tells of the search for comfort of a bereaved mother after the loss of her only son in the war. Mrs. Marden has no religious beliefs, and in her grief she is easily persuaded by her great friend, Lady Terretton, to attend meetings held by the popular medium, Peter Orwyn, and she becomes a convinced spiritualist, although when she allows herself to question the matter she feels she is being comforted by nonsense. Orwyn is exposed as a fraud by the Press, and Mrs. Marden is again bereft of comfort. She then becomes very ill and learns that she will not live long, and it is then that she finds comfort and begins to understand God and her son. Mr. Hichens has made a simple and attractive story.

Heritage, by Violet Sackville-West (Collins & Co., Ltd.). Miss Sackville-West's method of telling her story is a very effective one. The hero Malory tells the story and his listener reflects upon what he hears. The tale has for its subject the influence of a strain of Spanish blood upon two people's lives, a woman and her male cousin. They eventually marry, and although the war comes to separate them for a time, the union of a wild creature like Rawdon Westmacott and the equally high-spirited Ruth Pennistan comes to grief, and the philosophic, refined Malory finds his happiness. The picture of the old grandmother, who was once the gay young Spanish dancer who captured the heart of the serious Englishman, is brought before the reader with great skill. The characters are drawn with striking power, and the style is at once vivid and full of clever thoughts and analogies.

The Splendid Pairing, by Constance Holme (Mills & Boon). This is a book of great creative charm, telling with rare insight a tragic incident in the lives of the common people. There has existed for more than half a century a bitter feud between two women, and from this hatred there suddenly springs a tragedy of heart-rending sorrow. The whole action takes but one day, but into that day is crowded the emotions and changes of a lifetime.

Java Head, by Joseph Hergesheimer (Heinemann). The date of the setting of Mr. Hergesheimer's new novel is the time when the American merchant marine was beginning its great clipper ship era and when Salem's trade with China was passing to Boston. The old head of the firm of Ammidon, Ammidon & Saltonstone—Captain Jeremy Ammidon—has for many years retired and lives at his fine old house, Java Head, but he still remains senior partner and rails against all new-fangled ideas, so that the young partners do not tell him that they are bringing their fleet up to date and have already two schooners in the opium trade. The *Nautilus*, under the command of Gerrit Ammidon, the second son of old Jeremy, is long overdue from China, but when at last the ship arrives, to everybody's surprise Gerrit has brought with him an aristocratic Chinese lady as his wife, Taon Yuen by name. From this moment the story centres round the lives of four people—Gerrit Ammidon, Taon Yuen his wife, Edward Dunsack, who is rotten with opium eating and other vices, and the girl Nettie Vollar, a former love of Gerrit's. The story becomes tense with passion and dramatic episodes, and the end leaves two people only who have gained their desires. Mr. Hergesheimer's grasp of so many details of human passion, and his extraordinary powers of creating the actual scenes of activity, make "Java Head" a notable work.

SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE PRINCIPLE OF RELATIVITY.

THE year 1919 will stand out permanently as one of the most important landmarks in the history of Science. For it witnessed a fundamental revolution in our ideas of the Universe. Philosophical physics had from the outset of the twentieth century led continually to conceptions of the utmost novelty, which seemed often to verge upon total inconceivability. We have endeavoured to set forth the progress of these conceptions in the successive numbers of the ANNUAL REGISTER. At length, in the year now under review, they have reached their climax. We are confronted with the necessity for a total revision of our former philosophy of the Universe. This great revolution in our ideas is by far the most important scientific event of 1919. We shall therefore enter upon the difficult task of endeavouring to explain it, while indicating at the same time how it links up with the general trend of philosophical physics during the present century.

The new theory is generally known as the "Principle of Relativity," and is due to the Swiss *savant*, Einstein. It had indeed been elaborated by Einstein some years previously, and has for a considerable time past been a subject of controversy both in physics and philosophy. The means of testing the theory were few, and no general agreement about it was reached. An opportunity of verifying it would, however, occur at the total eclipse of the sun on May 29, 1919; and it was generally agreed by both sides to accept the results obtained from observation of this eclipse, which was to be regarded as a test-case. If the observations did not bear out the theory of Einstein, that theory would be demolished for good and all. If, on the other hand, the observations were in accordance with Einstein's prophecy, the theory would be—if not conclusively established—at all events immensely fortified, and become beyond question by far the most probable theory of the Universe, that we are capable of attaining in the present state of our knowledge.

The results of the eclipse observations were announced early in November. They were in entire accordance with the prophecy of Einstein: they were not a failure. Hence immediately followed an enormous accession of favour to the new doctrine, which at the present time holds the field, not without question but by a very large consensus of opinion. We shall, therefore, endeavour to describe the implications of the new theory, though it is so far removed from our ordinary conceptions and from our common language, that difficulties of exposition are very great. Language itself implies a theory. Words are invented or evolved to connote things and

relations. The Principle of Relativity brings before us a new set of things and relations, which our language is not adapted to express; it denies the real existence of other things and relations which are assumed as the basis of the words we use. In short, we have to expound the new theory in language moulded upon a contradictory theory. The only words available to express the new conceptions are words which are incompatible with those conceptions. Thus the difficulty of comprehension is not in the thing itself, but in the poverty of a vocabulary which was formed in times of ignorance and philosophic error.

The notion of relativity has steadily advanced for many centuries past. In ancient times, people thought that the sun went round the earth once every twenty-four hours. It seems so obvious; it is what men would be bound to think, when they first began to think at all. But relativity then suggested a rival explanation, which fitted in every way far better with actual observation: namely, that the earth itself is revolving upon its axis, and that the sun is not going round it at all. Thereafter it became clear that the earth itself is going round the sun—once in a year; and further that the sun, earth, and other planets are as a whole travelling with great velocity towards a certain point in the constellation of Hercules. Hence we know of at least three motions which our earth possesses; one round its own axis, another round the sun, and a third in a straight line through space. We know for certain that the earth has these motions; yet it is a matter of inference rather than observation. To unaided observation the earth seems still and motionless; it is the sun, moon, and stars which appear to be moving. And indeed, as far as we are concerned, it might be either; but if the earth is really still, and the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are true motions, then difficulties of every description surge up on all sides; the Universe must be a chaos, for which no laws can be established. Whereas, if it is the earth that is moving, everything becomes simple, the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are just what we should expect. We* adopt the hypothesis of the earth's motion because it immensely simplifies our notion of the Universe.

So it is with Einstein's Principle of Relativity. The barbarian cannot understand that the earth is moving: to him it is much simpler to suppose that the sun goes round it once in twenty-four hours. His feeble imagination cannot attain to the conception that the earth, apparently so still and motionless, is really undergoing extraordinarily rapid locomotion. And we now are having just the same difficulty with Einstein's theory—a difficulty due to unfamiliarity. We think we know well enough the meaning of space and time. There has never come within our experience any kind of space or time but one: and we assume that one to be absolute, we cannot conceive the idea of any other: just as the barbarian assumes that the earth is in a state of absolute rest. But now there *has* come within our experience another kind of space, and another kind of time, and we can no longer assume that with which alone we are familiar to be absolute and rooted fundamentally in the nature of things.

For a long time past there have been indications of some such relativity. The planet Mercury did not move quite as the Laws of Gravitation led us to expect. But a more palpable discrepancy arose when measuring

the velocity of light. Our old theory was that space was rilled with a strange fluid to which the name of aether was given. Light consisted of waves moving at constant velocity through the aether. Now since the earth is also moving through the aether, it is clear that this motion will affect to some extent the apparent velocity of light as measured on the earth. It will seem to move more slowly in some directions than in others. If the earth was at rest in the aether, then the aether-waves would seem to be (as they actually would be) moving with the same velocity in every direction. But if the earth is moving through the aether (as it actually is), then when we come to measure the velocity of the aether-waves they will seem to be more rapid in some directions and less rapid in others. Experiments were therefore carried out to measure the difference of velocity of aether-waves in different directions ; it was hoped thus to detect the drift of the earth through the aether. The result of the experiments was quite definite: no difference of velocity whatever was found in any direction.

It might at first be supposed that this proved that the earth was at rest in the aether. The supposition cannot be sustained however. For in the course of its annual journey round the sun, the earth is constantly changing its direction of motion as it travels along its nearly circular orbit. If at a certain date it is moving round the sun in one direction, then six months later it must be moving in exactly the opposite direction. If it is at rest in the aether on the first date, then it must be moving through the aether on the second date. It cannot always be at rest in the aether, for it is always changing its direction of motion ; and it is not a conceivable proposition that the aether of space precisely follows all the vagaries of motion by the earth. Yet, at all times, the velocity of aether-waves measured on the earth remains constant in every direction. The velocity of light always seems the same. Here then we stumble on a fundamental flaw in our previous conception of the Universe. Some profound modification has to be made.

At this point in the proceedings, the mathematician steps in, and by various operations *secundum, artem* produces a set of equations which makes the discrepancy vanish, so that everything seems quite happy again. But the happiness is exceedingly short lived. It gives place to dismay when we attempt to translate these equations into actual physical conceptions, so as to see what they mean. The mathematician has discarded his old set of equations which corresponded to our old physical ideas of the Universe, which were more or less simple to understand. He has adopted a new set of equations which for him are just as simple as the old ones, and have the additional advantage that they correspond to all the observed facts, including the constant velocity of light, which the old set of equations did not include. But the ordinary human being is not satisfied with mathematical symbolism as an explanation of the Universe; he wants to see the thing in flesh and blood, so to speak, so that he can see for himself what it looks like.

Very well, if he must have it in visual terms, here it is. Every body moving through space becomes flattened in the direction of its motion. The flattening is proportional to the velocity of movement. Furthermore, the standards of time are quite different. Of course, anyone situated on

this moving body would fail to notice the changes that had occurred, since they had happened simultaneously and everywhere within the whole horizon of his observation. He would no more notice them than we notice the motion of our earth, carried along with it as we are. But an observer situated on a body at rest in space would perceive it at once. To him it would seem that the moving body had become flat fore and aft, while right and left it still retained its normal dimensions. Thus a sphere would become an ellipsoid; a cube would become a parallelopiped (or flattened box): in each case the body moves with the flat sides fore and aft, and the unflattened sides to right and left of the direction of motion. A book held sideways to the direction of motion would become much thinner than it was before: held with its top in the direction of motion it would become much shorter. Yet these phenomena would altogether escape the notice of an observer who was on the moving body: for he himself would also become flattened fore and aft like all his surroundings; and his yard-measure would lengthen or shorten in his hands whichever way he turned it, and in such complete harmony with similar changes occurring universally throughout his environment, that there would remain no external standard of length to give him the slightest clue as to any change having occurred.

To take a very rough concrete instance of the sort of thing that happens, let us suppose the moving body to have a very high velocity through space. Then for a person on that body, a mile measured in the direction of motion would in reality only be perhaps an inch. The person who measured the mile would still think it was a mile, because his measuring instruments contracted in that proportion when he turned them that way. The fallacy would only be noticeable to the observer at rest in another part of space.

Furthermore, the standards of time would be affected. On the moving body, a single second might be expanded so much as to appear a whole day. Events would move with incomparable slowness, as judged by the standards of the observer at rest. Time is relative, as well as space. Do Quincey relates in his "Opium Eater" that when under opium, a few hours often seemed like weeks or months. The standards of time were gone. The same thing would happen if, instead of eating opium, he had attached himself to some body flying at high velocity through space.

Thus every portion of matter in the Universe has a private space and time of its own, altogether dependent on the velocity with which it is moving through 'the aether. Space and time have different values on different portions of matter: they are not absolute, all-embracing properties that can be transferred from one portion to another without alteration. The proof that this is the case is mathematical, and need not concern us. It needs only to be said that if it were *not* so, the velocity of light would appear to differ according to the direction in which it was propagated; and it is found experimentally that the velocity of light does *not* differ.

Seeing that space and time have quite different values in different parts of the Universe, the question next arises as to whether there is any true space and time, apart from the apparent space and time which.

every body possesses for itself. We naturally think that our space and time are the true ones. We are convinced that the earth is more or less spherical, and that a mile measured north and south is the same length as a mile measured east and west. It is not we who are flat; it is the other bodies in other parts of space. So we think; but if there are people on those other bodies (which is quite possible), they will be no less convinced that their measurements are the true ones; and when they look at us upon the earth, it will be at once obvious to them that we are flattened and that our time-relations are all wrong. Who, then, is right? And is anybody right at all? There are no possible means of saying. Perhaps even the question itself is delusive, as an analogy may indicate.

Suppose that two express trains are moving in opposite directions at high speed, and that one of them gives a long whistle as it passes the other. The sound of the whistle will be heard by the approaching train as a comparatively high-pitched note; but the moment the trains have passed, and the sound of the whistle recedes in the distance, the pitch will appear to fall to a comparatively low note. The reason is that when the whistling train approaches the sound-waves are compressed close together, owing to the motion of the train in the same direction; but when the train has passed the waves travelling backwards follow one another at greater intervals, thus producing a low note. Meanwhile to a person in the whistling train itself, the pitch appears intermediate between the higher and lower tones heard in the other train. Now can we say that, of these three different tones, the whistle really has one true tone, while the others are mere delusion? In effect it is not true to say that the whistle has one tone more truly than the rest; for the same sound-waves give rise to different actual tones according as the observer is advancing, resting, or receding.

So it is with space and time in different parts of the Universe. They are truly and fundamentally different in different states of velocity through space; and it can hardly be said that one is more accurate than another. Each one considers himself at rest, and regards all other bodies moving relatively to him as being flattened in one or other direction and to one or other extent. But the outlook is quite different in other places; and in those other places the mode in which yet other portions of matter are flattened appears quite different from the mode in which they were flattened from the first point of view adopted. In short, every observer in every part of the Universe regards himself as motionless and all other bodies moving relatively to him as flattened. All observers agree in thinking every body but their own to be flattened, but they disagree altogether among themselves as to the extent and direction of the flattening, this observer thinking it is one plane, and that observer being equally certain that it is in quite a different plane.

The fact is that the Universe consists of a number of different bodies, all moving relatively to one another. The question of absolute rest or motion has no meaning unless there is some outside standard of comparison. Such an outside standard would indeed be afforded by aether, supposing it to be an all-pervasive and motionless medium in which material bodies are suspended. But there is not now the smallest reason

to suppose that there is any real existence answering to our conception of aether. The aether-hypothesis was useful for a time in explaining a number of things, which can now be very well explained without it. Moreover, if there is an aether in a state of absolute rest, the consequences in the light of the principle of relativity become serious. For it would imply that when we turn a yard-measure through a right angle, it does in all absoluteness contract—perhaps to an inch. If there is nothing absolute in existence, then at all events we may feel easier about it. It is merely that the yard-measure *appears* to some one in the depths of space to contract. To some one else in another part of space it *appears* to expand on the contrary. Life, after all, is a snare and a delusion: we need not put ourselves about for mere *appearances*; but if the thing absolutely does happen, then our case is more serious. The Principle of Relativity is much easier swallowed whole than if we retain in the back of our minds a leaning towards something absolute. And so, all we need say is that, just as all motion is relative, so the shapes of bodies are also relative to one another.

As regards time, things perhaps are not so difficult to realise. We all have some experience of the relativity of time in a small way: as when we say that time seems to move rapidly, or *per contra* that it passes slowly. The *ephemeridae* born and dead in a day can scarcely have the same idea of time that we have. And who shall say which is right? Or rather is it not obvious that there *can* be no *absolute* standard of time; relativity is here quite simple to understand.

Nevertheless, there are provoking circumstances about measurements of time according to the gospel of relativity. Two events may happen in different parts of space, which, when viewed by one observer appear to be simultaneous, but when viewed by another in a different region follow one another by an interval. This is not merely due to the greater distance of one of the events from the observer than the other, with a consequently longer period for the light to travel on its journey: for the two events may be equidistant from the observer though in different directions through space. Relativity implies more than that: it implies that simultaneity for one observer reckoning by his own standard of time corresponds to succession by another observer reckoning by his different standard. And a still more remarkable deviation may occur from what our common sense would consider reasonable. Two events which follow one another may have their order inverted for observers in different parts of space: so that for the one observer one event happens first, and for the other observer the other event happens first. We are naturally impelled to inquire which *really* happened first; but this word "really" ceases to have significance under the principle of relativity. Both are equally real; it all depends whether we adopt the standard of time prevalent in one part of the Universe or that prevalent in another.

Thus space and time can no longer be regarded as absolute: they are relative only, in the same way that all motion is relative. If there were no sun, no moon, and no stars, so that we knew of nothing in the Universe except our own earth, then it would never occur to us to imagine that our earth was in motion. The very conception would be

impossible, if we had no outside standard by which the motion might be perceived. And so it has been hitherto with space and time. We have assumed that our own space and time remains the same in all parts of the Universe, simply because there has never been any outside standard of comparison. All our experience falls within our own space and time ; and it is difficult even to conceive that there may be any other. But as soon as experiments were undertaken in order to detect the supposed absolute movement of the earth through æther, the discrepancy is discovered. Time is not an *absolute* form into which all things fit; it is as much a property of matter as its position in space. Hence the principle of relativity abandons the dual conception of space *and* time in favour of a monistic conception of space-time. And since space can be measured in three dimensions, while time can be measured in one dimension, it follows that space-time exists in four dimensions : and that to give an accurate account of the position of a body in space-time, four separate co-ordinates are needed, all at right angles to one another. This mode of description was in general use as a mathematical device ; it has now become a physical reality, and not less a reality in that it is not susceptible of visualisation.

Much comment has been raised on the statement that under the principle of relativity, the laws of Euclid no longer hold good, and some misunderstanding has occurred in consequence. What really happens is this. Supposing that a sphere previously at rest starts into motion. It then becomes flattened (to an outside observer) in the direction of its motion. It follows that straight lines drawn from one point to another on the sphere become curved, as the shadow of a straight pole is curved if it falls on a rounded knoll. Thus the three straight lines which bound a triangle are no longer straight according to the standards prevailing in other parts of space time ; and thus Euclid's propositions cease to be true except relatively to that particular point of space-time in which they are demonstrated. They are true only on the assumption that we are at rest and outside the sphere of gravity ; an assumption which may generally be made with safety for practical purposes.

For the theory of gravitation also is profoundly affected by Einstein's theory. Under the influence of gravity, a body becomes contracted and its standard of time alters in the same way as though it were in motion. Two equal chronometers, placed at unequal distances from the sun would mark time differently from each other : the one nearer to the sun would gain upon that which was farther off. And herein lies one of the earliest tests to be applied to the principle of relativity. Molecular vibration can be made to supply the place of a chronometer ; and molecular vibration in the sun, where gravity is very intense, can be compared by means of the spectroscope with molecular vibration on the earth, where gravity is less intense. The comparison has been made, and the general opinion seems to be that the results of it do not bear out the theory of relativity. This theory is, however, so strongly supported in other ways, that the discrepancy is attributed to other factors not yet ascertained.

The two other main tests have both issued in a conclusion favourable to the theory. The first concerned the orbit of the planet Mercury. The point of its orbit at which Mercury is in perihelion differs slightly at

each of its revolutions round the sun; and this difference could not be accounted for by Newtonian principles, but was necessary according to Einstein's principles.

The second test concerned the deflection of the rays of light coming from a star as they passed within the gravitational influence of the sun. Light, according to Einstein (and for the matter of that, according also to Newton) has a definite weight, and must therefore be attracted by the influence of gravitation. A ray of light coming to us from a distant star and passing on its way close to the sun must be deflected somewhat towards the sun; and the amount of deflection can be calculated. It would be different according to Einstein from what it would be according to Newton. Since stars beyond the sun cannot usually be seen (their light being lost in the light which reaches us from the sun) it was necessary to wait for a total eclipse before observations could be made. Such an eclipse occurred on May 29; the results entirely confirmed Einstein's prophecy; and the subject prominently before the public attention.

The differences between the theories of Newton and Einstein are generally small, as regards their practical effects. The motion of bodies through the Universe relatively to one another takes place at velocities very low by comparison with the velocity of light: and hence the distortion of space and time is comparatively slight.

The Principle of Relativity follows to their logical conclusion some of the more remarkable developments of modern physics. Last century it was supposed that mass was a fixed and constant quantity characteristic of matter. The electron theory has altogether dissipated this notion. The mass of an electron is found to vary in accordance with its velocity, so that if it could travel at the velocity of light, its mass would become infinite. Moreover inertia, previously regarded as an exclusive property of matter, is found to be increased by an electrical charge; and in the case of an electron, it has been calculated that its entire mass is due to its electrical charge: there being no mass left over to indicate any residual basis of crude matter. From this results the "dematerialisation of matter." Matter is resolved into disembodied electrical charges whose mass varies according to their velocity. From this it has been inferred that no body can possibly move at a higher velocity than that of light: for at the velocity of light, its mass would become infinite, and it would be flattened to zero in the direction of its motion.

Inertia is thus found to be a property of energy and not of matter, regarded as something separate from energy. Radiant energy possesses inertia, in the same way as material energy. An electrically charged body is somewhat heavier than an electrically neutral body though the difference is too slight to be detected by experiment. A hot body, in the same way somewhat heavier than a cold body. As it cools, the heat-radiation actually carries away with it a certain portion of its mass. Heat-radiation possesses weight, just as light possesses weight: and a beam of light passing near the sun tends to fall towards it by the action of gravity. Energy is localised outside matter, and we have a "materialisation of energy" at the same time as a "dematerialisation of matter." In short, the Universe ceases to present itself as the

theatre of interaction between matter and energy. These two existences, supposed to be so entirely different, become resolved into one. We still have two dissimilar forms of existence to deal with, no doubt: they are matter and radiation; but since both of these are energy in different forms, great progress has been made towards unification. Matter is energy very highly concentrated in small fragments of space ; radiation is energy spread at large throughout space—and one is convertible into the other. A ray of light falling upon a body loses the form of radiation, with a gain of mass to the body.

These theories are indeed so far removed from the theories of last century as to be very difficult to conceive. The fact remains, however, that they are tolerably well established : and the difficulty of understanding them is due more to their unfamiliarity than anything else. The relativity of space and time is wholly in accordance with philosophic expectation. Moreover, the hypothesis of aether now becomes unnecessary. So long as light was regarded as absolutely non-material, the waves in which it appeared to be propagated demanded the invention of some medium to be thrown into undulation. But when light itself is materialised, no further medium is necessary: and since gravitation is "explained " by relativity, this argument also for the existence of aether is annihilated. There remains no reason for believing in it beyond the inertia of opinion, and the reluctance to abandon a theory long regarded as possessed of high probability.

These changes in our fundamental conceptions constitute one of the most important events in the history of science. For practical purposes they make very little difference. But the alteration in our general outlook is fundamental. They are the quintessence of materialism: they carry the principle of the uniformity of law to a degree never before imagined: in accordance as our knowledge of the properties of matter becomes deeper, we find the materialisation of the Universe to be more extreme.

HUGH ELLIOT.

ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

1. ART.

IF we may judge by the sales at Christie's the appreciation of pictures in England has been increased rather than diminished by the war, for the records of the famous auction rooms show nothing to compare with the season of 1919 for sensation or for high prices. The great sensation of the year was the appearance at King Street of Sir Joshua's full length of Mrs. Siddons as the "Tragic Muse," which was offered for sale by order of the Duke of Westminster.

The "Tragic Muse" is perhaps the best known of English pictures, but its early history is somewhat obscure, and it has only lately been discovered that Sheridan, if he did not actually commission this portrait was at one time its proprietor, wholly or in part. Its first appearance at Christie's was in 1823, when it was bought by the Duke of Westminster's great-great-grandfather for 1837/. 10s., in what is described by a contemporary writer as "an atmosphere of breathless anxiety." "Mr. Christie," he adds, "had properly anticipated such a feeling. There was a general and a sort of systematic silence when he took up his speech as the assistant's long and paper-capped pole rested on the transcendent example of the talents of Reynolds. Mr. Christie addressed the audience in a speech at once ready, apt, and convincing, and the manner in which he knocked it down to its noble purchaser, Lord Grosvenor, was at once felicitous and effective."

Other times, other manners, and when Lord Grosvenor's descendant submitted the picture for sale on July 4, there were no speeches and little excitement, although the room was crowded and the bidding high. Mr. Hannen, the senior partner at Christie's, offered the great Reynolds without any introduction, and the opening bid of 5,000 guineas was followed by advances of hundreds and thousands until the picture was knocked down for 52,000 guineas to "Marshall." The name was not recognised in the auction room; the dealers looked at one another, and it was understood that the reserve had not been reached and that the "Tragic Muse" had been bought in.

On the same afternoon, two Ruysdaels were sold for 12,600l. and 9,975/. respectively, Jan Steen's "Spendthrift" for 17,010l., a chalk drawing by Gainsborough of his "Mushroom Girl," for 934l. 10s., and a delightful portrait of a little girl, by James Ward, E.A., for 7,140l. In June, the Drummond collection, brought from the other side of the Atlantic to be sold at Christie's, was put up. A portrait by Franz Hals of Joseph Coymans realised 26,775/., an interior by De Hooghe, 7,980l., a Daubigny (*Le Retour de Troupeau*), 8,190l., a Corot, 7,140l., and Turner's

"Port Ruysdael," 6,720l. With the exception of the "Tragic Muse,"¹ only one important example of Sir Joshua came under the hammer in the summer. This, a 'fine portrait of Mrs. Freeman, which fetched 15,520l., was sold with other pictures at Lord Redesdale's seat, Batsford Park, Gloucester.

The autumn season is usually quiet at Christie's, but in 1919 it was amazing, and on November 6 the sum total of the sales was nearly 170,000/., which is probably a record. The pictures sold were part of the estate of the twelfth Duke of Hamilton, and included a painting by Romney of two lions on a canvas five feet by four, for which Messrs. Duveen gave 54,600l., a price unapproached at any auction sale in this country. A full length of Beckford by Romney fetched 16,800l., and one by the same artist of Alderman Beckford, 13,125l. Great sums were also given for Hamilton family portraits by Reynolds and Raeburn; but on the other hand, an elaborate and highly finished full length by the Court painter Winterhalter of the wife of the eleventh Duke (Princess Marie of Baden) was knocked down for seven guineas, including the frame. A week after the dispersal of the Hamilton pictures a record for the auction price for a picture by an Italian master was established by the sale of Captain Vernon-Wentworth's *Carpaccio*, "St. Eustace," for 33,600l.

It was said that there was a new class of buyers with new money at Christie's, and certainly, although the Duke of Westminster was offering his Sir Joshua, and the Duchess of Marlborough her tiara, there were plenty of purchasers for rare articles at high prices. The buyers whoever they were had ample funds, or they could not have acquired such items as two Persian rugs for 13,650/., a pair of tapestry panels for 11,600 guineas, and a rope of pearls for 41,500/. The Duchess of Marlborough's tiara fetched 25,000 guineas.

Under its new President, Sir Aston Webb, the Royal Academy showed a generous spirit in lending its galleries for exhibitions over which it had no control. At the beginning of the year Canadian war pictures were shown and attracted large numbers of visitors; and in the autumn, exhibitions were held of designs and models for memorials to those who were killed in the war; of "camouflage" paintings; and of Ruskin relics and pictures.

In December the galleries were lent for an exhibition of war paintings and other records commissioned for or presented to the Imperial War Museum. The exhibition, which filled all the galleries at Burlington House, seemed unduly large, but according to an introductory statement in the catalogue it comprised less than a third of the works of art already in the possession of the Museum. There were many good things in the exhibition, notably among the drawings and the portraits, but visitors accustomed to the regular Royal Academy shows were startled by some of the large pictures painted by men whose names in a few cases were unknown to the crowd. These works, violently attacked and as strenuously defended by rival groups of artists, were received with acclamation by some of the newspaper critics, but fashion in pictures changes rapidly, and it will be curious to see how these manifestations of a phase of current painting will be regarded by the public in a few years' time.

The summer exhibition of the Royal Academy was perhaps as good as could be expected in the conditions that prevailed, but it was still far below the pre-war level, although the increase in the number of works submitted to the Council by non-members suggested that demobilisation had released more artists. The number of works, which in one year before the war rose to 14,000, fell to 7,293 in 1918. It rose again in 1919 to 7,942, and it is worth noting that only forty-three of these works were accepted for exhibition outright. The Committee of Arrangement for oil paintings consisted of Sir Arthur Cope and Messrs. Arthur Hacker, Seymour Lucas, and Alfred Parsons. The water colours were arranged by Mr. Parsons, the engravings by Sir Frank Short, the sculpture by Mr. F. W. Pomeroy, and the architectural works by Sir Reginald Blomfield.

The Chantrey Trustees purchased four works from the exhibition, and in addition several by two deceased artists, Holman Hunt and Burne-Jones. The Holman Hunt was the well-known "Claudio and Isabella," exhibited at the Academy nearly seventy years ago, for which 1,000? was paid. The works by Burne-Jones were seven studies acquired at a cost of 1,000 guineas. Those bought from the exhibition were Mr. Derwent Wood's "Psyche, bronze statue" (1,000l.); Mr. W. E. Dick's "Andromeda" (200l.); "The Line of the Plough" (200l.); and Mr. F. W. Elwell's interior, "The 'Beverley Arms' Kitchen" (210l.).

Academy exhibitors shared in the general prosperity of artists, and nearly two hundred works were sold from the exhibition, including: "The Never, Never Land" (1050l), by Mr. Tom Mostyn; "We Saw You Going but we Knew You would Come Back" (840?.), by Mr. R. Caton Woodville; "Zennor Hill, Cornwall" (350l.), by Mr. Alfred J. Munnings; "The Sound of Kerrara" (525l.), by Mr. D. Y. Cameron; "Lamorna" (350?.), by Mr. S. J. Lamorna Birch; "The Donkey Ride" (500l.), by Mr. G. Spencer Watson; "The Good Samaritan" (420?.), by Mr. Gabriel Nicolet; "The Vale of Mowbray" (350l.) by Mr. Sutton Palmer; "The Becks of Beckermonds" (315l.), by Mr. Bertram Priestman; "And the Fairies Ran Away with their Clothes" (350l.), by Mr. Charles Sims; "The Wounded Captain" (350?.), by Mr. G. A. Storey; and the "Landing of the First Canadian Division at St. Nazaire, February, 1915" (315l.), by Mr. Edgar Bundy.

Several new pictures were added to the National Gallery, including Whistler's famous "Little White Girl" and a large portrait group of the Beaumont Family by Romney. Many of the Gallery's masterpieces reappeared on the walls after a long absence, but it was still impossible to display the national collection as it was seen in 1914. The London Museum was reopened, but the Wallace Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery remained closed; and the Victoria and Albert Museum was still deprived by the Government of a large part of its space. An exhibition of war memorials was held at the Victoria and Albert Museum to which interesting additions of furniture, plate, etc., purchased, or presented by the Duke of Buccleuch, Sir George Donaldson, Mr. Thomas Sutton and others, were made during the year. A large sum of money was bequeathed to the National Gallery of Scotland by Mr. James Cowan

Smith on condition that a portrait of his dog was hung conspicuously in one of the rooms.

The Royal Society of British Artists, whose gallery in Suffolk Street had been taken over by the Government, recovered possession in the autumn, after exhibiting in the spring at the Guildhall Gallery. Of private exhibitions the most notable were those held by Messrs. Agnew; one in the spring, of water-colours, rich in Turners; and the other, in the autumn, of eighteenth-century pictures shown on behalf of St. Dunstan's Home for Blinded Soldiers and Sailors. The autumn exhibition included such masterpieces as Sir Joshua's portrait of the Hon. Mrs. Parker, the full length by Romney of Lady Isabella Hamilton; and the stately presentment by Gainsborough of his friend and champion, Sir Henry Bate-Dudley, the writer of copious and valuable notes on the career of the great Suffolk painter. At the Burlington Fine Arts Club, pictures by Florentine artists were shown; at the Leicester Galleries drawings by Mr. Arthur Rackham and Miss Pamela Bianco, and paintings by Mr. Walter Bayes; and at the rooms of the Fine Art Society, landscapes by Mr. Hughes-Stanton and works by the late Edward Stott. The usual exhibitions of the International and other Societies were held at the Grosvenor Gallery, an appeal for the support of which was made in November, in *The Times*, by Lord Londonderry.

WILLIAM T. WHITLEY.

II. DRAMA.

It would be pleasant to look back upon the first year following the end of the Great War as one that was marked by a renaissance of serious drama, or by some concerted attempt, at any rate, to place our theatres upon a higher artistic level than they had occupied during Armageddon. The plain fact, however, is that, save for one or two isolated efforts in that direction, the year now ended was chiefly remarkable for a continuance of the theatre "boom" which, so far from indicating any desire on the public's part for an improved standard of entertainment, merely meant that the vast majority of London theatre-goers were content with almost anything—provided that it was sufficiently light and frivolous in character. And the managers, on their side, were no less content for the most part to pander to uncritical tastes. Pride of place should be given here to those who provided exceptions to the rule. A notable instance of artistic endeavour was C. B. Cochran's revival at the Garrick (March 28), with the co-operation of Robert Loraine, of Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac," in a version by Gladys Thomas and Mary Guillemand, and in a setting of uncommon beauty and sumptuousness. Loraine achieved a striking success as the protagonist, and happily the enterprise succeeded so well that the run of the play was continued at more than one other theatre after the Garrick was required for other purposes. Thus encouraged, Loraine took up management again towards the close of the year, when he revived at the Duke of York's Bernard Shaw's "Arms and the Man," assuming once again his old part of Captain Bluntschli.

Continuing the meagre list of really "serious" theatrical ventures there is the pleasant fact to record that Shakespeare was not wholly

banished from the London stage. Doris Keane's production at the Lyric (April 12) of "Borneo and Juliet," it is true, was more remarkable for the imaginative beauty and charm of the *mise-en-scene* than for its histrionic qualities, that lady's Juliet proving a singularly ill-judged instance of vaulting ambition. But a very welcome feature was Ellen Terry's portrayal of the nurse, which marked her temporary return to the stage, while Leon Quartermaine's Mercutio was a performance of memorable excellence. J. B. Fagan's revival of "The Merchant of Venice" (Court, Oct. 6) was chiefly notable for its introduction to West-end audiences of Maurice Moscovitch, a young Jewish actor whose Shylock was a creation of extraordinary freshness and interest, wholly individual in conception and arresting in execution. Martin Harvey's revival of "Hamlet" at Covent Garden, on December 26, while worthy of honourable mention, brought with it no performance so likely to be vividly remembered as that just referred to.

But, for various reasons, the most noteworthy success of the year—and probably the least expected—came with the production as far afield as Hammersmith (the Lyric) of "Abraham Lincoln," a play in which John Drinkwater unfolded episodes in the career of the great president. Originally staged early in the year to mark the beginning of a season of the Birmingham Repertory Company, under the management of Arnold Bennett and Nigel Playfair, this absorbingly interesting drama, despite—or because of—its utter unconventionality, and the fact that it was enacted by unknown players on a stage almost barren of "scenery," created widespread discussion and attracted playgoers of every class and from all parts throughout the year. In the very arduous title-role William Rea made a striking impression, and the whole production proved a triumph for the "serious drama."

PLAYS BY POPULAR DRAMATISTS.

From our representative dramatists, however, the year brought us little enough—and that little not of their best. Arnold Bennett's "Judith," inspired by the story in the Apocrypha, and staged by Lilian McCarthy at the Kingsway (April 30), proved hardly interesting enough, regarded merely as a curious experiment, to draw the public, greater success attending the production later in the year, at the Aldwych, of his "Sacred and Profane Love," founded upon one of his early novels. Of unequal merit, the play owed a good deal to the skilful acting in the chief parts of Iris Hoey and Franklin Dyail. And what of other popular playwrights? Pinero and Shaw—to name two whose methods are wide apart as the Poles—were both silent. Alfred Sutro struck lucky, as the saying is, with "The Choice," a piece less patently theatrical than most that have come from him, and presenting an admixture of comedy and stage dialectics which proved very much to the taste of playgoers as interpreted, among others, by Gerald du Maurier, Leon Quartermaine, and Viola Tree (Wyndham's, Sept. 8). Fortune also favoured W. Somerset Maugham, both with his "Cesar's Wife," a deft, pleasantly written variant of the "eternal triangle" theme, and produced at the Royalty (March 27), t

who achieved a striking success by her clever handling of an emotional part; and in "Home and Beauty" (Playhouse, Aug. 29)—an amusing example of the author's gifts in a lighter vein of comedy, and one in which some very thin ice was dexterously skated over by Gladys Cooper, Charles Hawtrey, Lottie Venne, and Malcolm Cherry. Another author of established repute—though more widely known by his novels than his plays—Robert Hichens, entered the lists successfully with "The Voice from the Minaret," a piece of serious, if not uniformly sustained, interest, which found considerable favour at the Globe, where it was produced on August 26 by Marie L(5hr, with herself, Arthur Wontner, and Norman McKinnel in the leading roles. The actor last-named also bore a prominent part in another of the very few serious plays of the year, "The Lost Leader" (Court, June 10), wherein an unknown author, Lennox Robinson, dealt in interesting fashion with the legend that Charles Parnell is still alive.

COMEDY AND FARCE.

Of light comedies and farces there was legion. Though a trifle old-fashioned, Gladys Unger's "Our Mr. Heppiewhite" was among the best in the former category, and met with success at the Criterion, where, in the autumn, Cyril Maude made his reappearance in a farce by Sidney Blow and Douglas Hoare called "Lord Richard in the Pantry," which supplied an effective medium for that popular actor's powers of farcical portraiture. Another comedy founded upon a novel was Ian Hay's "Tilly of Bloomsbury," which, as enacted at the Apollo by Allan Aynesworth, Arthur Bouchier, Marie Illington, and Mary Glynne, proved both entertaining and attractive. From America came any number of productions, mostly in the vein of light or sentimental comedy. Among the more successful were "Uncle Sam" (Haymarket, Feb. 12), which, in the country of its origin, had enjoyed popularity as a war "propaganda" play; "Daddies," staged at the same theatre (Sept. 3), with A. E. Matthews in a prominent part; Austin Strong's "Three Wise Fools," a very agreeable example of its kind, which came to the Comedy on July 12, and Edward Childs Carpenter's "The Cinderella Man," a piece somewhat after the ultra-sentimental pattern of "Pego' My Heart," and staged at the Queen's with Owen Nares and Eenee Kelly as the chief

From America, too, came R. Walton Tully's "The Bird of Paradise," which won considerable acceptance at the Lyric, largely, no doubt, by reason of the uncommon picturesqueness of its setting and "atmosphere," Hawaii, where the scene was laid, affording scope for local colour of which full advantage was taken. Of a more heterogeneous order of picturesque "realism," naturally, were the scenes unfolded in the Drury Lane autumn drama, "The Great Day" (Louis N. Parker and George R. Sims), which calls for mention (though not strictly in place here) as being the first production of its kind on that stage since pre-war days. And in its unsophisticated melodramatic way it proved more stimulating than an unutterably gloomy work, "Reparation," adapted from Tolstoy, with which Henry Ainley signalled his entry into actor-management at the St. James's on September 26,

MUSICAL PRODUCTIONS.

In this category the most welcome novelty of the year was a version of Booth Tarkington's "Monsieur Beaucaire," for which André Messager was commissioned by Gilbert Miller to write the music. In the result we had, at Princes, where it was produced on April 19, a genuine operetta of the romantic type, of which the score was wholly refined and musicianly, as well as delightfully melodious. An American baritone, Marion Green, won praises in the title-part, and a feature of rare charm was Maggie Teyte's dainty singing of music no less dainty. At Drury Lane there was a pleasant revival for a few weeks, in a new English adaptation, of "La Fille de Madame Angot," in which several members of the Beecham Opera company showed to advantage, while in the autumn a series of the Gilbert-Sullivan operas, as revived at Princes by the D'Oyly Carte Repertory Company, proved extraordinarily successful and bore witness to the enduring popularity of those delightful works.

But, for the most part, the musical plays conformed to the conventional pattern. Probably the best of its particular order was the Adelphi's "Who's Hooper?" adapted from Pinero's early farce, "In Chancery," by Fred Thompson, equipped with very pleasant tunes by Howard Talbot and Ivor Novello, and providing ample opportunities for that very popular comedian, W. H. Berry, in the chief part. Another old farce, "Jane," supplied the groundwork for a typical musical comedy, "Baby Bunting," which, with its catchy numbers by Nat Ayer, and a young American comedian, Walter Catlett, "making good" in the principal comic part, achieved success at the Shaftesbury. A French extravaganza, "Afgar" (music by Charles Cuvillier) proved immensely popular in an English version at the Pavilion, and a particularly dainty production was Cosmo Gordon Lennox and Bernard Rolts "Sylvia's Lovers" (founded upon Marivaux)—a miniature "light opera" in a charming miniature setting.

Chief among successful revues was "Joy-Bells," a typically gorgeous Hippodrome production, with George Robey as chief mirth-maker, and, of a more intimate kind, "Bran Pie," a jolly little entertainment which thoroughly deserved the high favour it enjoyed at the Prince of Wales'.

Obituary: Sir Charles Wyndham died in January, at the age of 82, and the year's theatrical obituary also included the names of Weedon Grossmith and H. B. Irving.

ERNEST KUHE.

III. MUSIC.

Rarely in recent years has the "point of view" mattered so much as in 1919 in nearly all that pertained to public music. There was much in opera, for example, sufficient to ear-mark the year, of opera in English more especially; and the fact that a "grand" season, which used to denote a season of opera in any language other than the vernacular, was given at Covent Garden in the spring for the first time since 1914, will be held, by a multitude, doubtless, to be the sovereign ear-mark. But it is almost equally doubtless (so to Bay), more especially among the discern-

ing, that the enormously increased success of operatic performances in English, especially the arrival in England, from Petrograd, of Albert Coates, who, in the short space of some eight or nine months, became a real power in English musical life. During the German and the "grand" seasons of 1914, Coates had conducted at Covent Garden, and in his earlier years he had been conductor at Elberfeld (although he is an Englishman), Dresden, and, for many years, at Petrograd. His experience, therefore, was very wide, and as his musical knowledge, taste, and achievement were on a par, clearly he was the man we had long sought not only to help to uphold the Beecham flag but to instil a new vitality into our active musical life. He arrived in the nick of time. The "grand" season began, at Covent Garden, on May 12, and lasted till August 2, during which period eighty-three performances were given of some twenty operas. Of these operas most were of a thoroughly familiar character: for the obvious reason that in order to hold the season at all the Covent Garden theatrical manage, singers, stage-hands, etc., had to be entirely reconstructed, since it had been completely dispersed, during the five years of war, to the ends of the earth, and moreover restrictions on European travel were stringent. Yet it was found possible to add to the conventional repertory, and if Mascagni's "Iris" (in its 23rd year of existence), "Therese," and "Thais" all failed to prove genuinely attractive, Eavel's delightful one-act opera, "L'Heure Espagnole," quite admirably played, may be expected to maintain its place. To Isidore de Lara's Oriental opera "Nail," done in English after a successful French career, fell the distinction of revival in the autumn season under Beecham. Once more Melba sang fairly frequently, and, incidentally, celebrated her 60th birthday on the opening night of the "grand" season, while with her in the company were Edvina, Ema Destinn, now under the Czechish form of her name, Destinnova, Donald, Mignon Nevada, Eosina Buckman, Berat, Kirkby Lunn, Martinelli greatly improved, Sammarco, Huberdeau, Maguenat, Dinh Gilly, and Malatesta. Equal success attended the debuts in London of Marguerite Sheridan, a young Irish singer who subsequently created something of a sensation at the Del Verme in Milan: Thomas Burke, a Lancastrian; Ansseau, a distinguished Belgian tenor, Lappas, a Greek; and the conductors, were Beecham, Albert Coates, Mugnone, and Percy Pitt.

Earlier in the year from March 19 to May 3 the Beecham Company gave a fine season (in English) at Drury Lane with a truly magnificent repertory in which stood forth "Hovanshchina," "Coq d'or," "Ivan the Terrible," "Boris Godunov," "Figaro," "Tristan," "Falstaff." The singers were those of the Company. During the late spring months Beecham revived Lecocq's "La Fille de Madame Angot" in a new English version. Meanwhile Carl Rosa Company at the Lyceum Theatre. They opened in the middle of July, played usually to crowded houses, and produced two new native operas, Eginald Somerville's "Antoine" and Percy Colson's "Pro Patria." The Company celebrated its jubilee in this season. Two prolonged seasons of Russian Ballet, under Diaghilev's management, were given at the Alhambra and the Empire Theatres respectively, with

Karsarvina, Lopokova, and Miassin as principal dancers, and among their most successful production was "La Boutique Fantasque," a delightful thing composed of oddments from Rossini's notebooks. It is worthy of note that the chief conductor was the Englishman, Adrian C. Boult, who took the place vacated by Anssermet on the latter's return to Geneva. Simultaneously with the latter season came an amazingly successful revival of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas under Rupert D'Oyly Carte and Gilbert Miller at the Prince's Theatre; and as a tremendous climax to the whole operatic year "Parsifal" was played, for the first time in English, by the Beecham Company chiefly under Coates's direction, to entirely sold-out houses some seven or eight times in a season; this brought the operatic year certainly to its most brilliant close. Record should be made in this connexion of the distinction obtained in "Parsifal" by Walter Hyde in the title role, by Norman Aliin as Amfortas, and by Gladys Ancrum as Kundry.

And, as more opera, in English especially, was to be heard in the past year than ever before, so concerts raged. Day after day, at 3, 5, and 8 o'clock, the various smaller halls were devoted to an endless stream of recitals. Chief among the concerts were those of the ancient Royal Philharmonic Society, which carried out its 107th annual season under the conductorship of Landon Ronald, Adrian C. Boult, and Geoffrey Toye; the Society produced Delius's new violin concerto, Gustav Hoist's "The Planets," and played Stanford's second pianoforte concerto, and Edward German's "added Elgar's "Falstaff" to its repertory. Olga Haley, George Baker, Eobert Eadford, Al Moiseivich were the soloists who appeared with the Society. Sir Henry J. Wood conducted the 23rd season of Queen's Hall Symphony Concerts, which were made memorable by the returning, after many days, of Calve and of Cortot. Among new works produced were Delius's orchestral ballad "Eventyr," and Frank Bridge's "Blow out, you Bugles". At various of the concerts D'Alvarez, Muriel Foster, Carrie Tubb, Carmen Hill, Margaret Balfour, and Gervase Elwes sang, while among instrumentalists were Myra Hess, Irene Scharrer, Borwick, de Greef, Moiseivich, Kanevskaya, Sammons, Melba, and Suggia. In May, Eobert Newman gave a Beethoven Festival in Queen's Hall to celebrate the 25th anniversary of his management of orchestral concerts, Sir Henry Wood being the conductor; and on August 16, these two began the 25th annual season of Promenade Concerts which continued with complete success for ten weeks. Meanwhile, the Royal College of Music likewise celebrated the completion of twenty-five years' residence in their present buildings by giving a festival of music composed by past or present pupils of the institution. Almost of greater importance, however, was the placing, at length, of the Patron's Fund (R.C.M.) upon a proper and most useful basis. Hitherto that Fund has led a somewhat precarious existence, but henceforth there can be no doubt of its advantages which are to provide an orchestra (the London Symphony) to perform at a series of public rehearsals such original and unheard works as have been selected for the purpose by a duly appointed committee to whom any native composer of Great Britain may have previously sub-

mitted them. The Royal Choral Society survived its 48th season at the Albert Hall, Sir Frederick Bridge conducting a familiar repertory: the Alexandra Palace Choral Society under Allen Gill, the Strolling Players Orchestra under J. Ivimey, the Bach Choir under Prof. Hugh Allen, the Oriana Madrigal Society under C. Kennedy Scott, all come again into prominence ; and Sunday became the busiest musical day of the week. Thus Hamilton Harty was the regular conductor of the L.S.O. concerts at the Palladium, and LandonEonald of the Albert Hall Sunday concerts until later in the year when other arrangements wore made, and the concerts became largely soloist affairs, Melba, Pachmann, Clara Butt, appearing at them.

There was a great development in chamber music playing, and series of concerts were given during the year by the London String, the Philharmonic, the Catterall Quartets, the Classical Concert Society, the London Chamber Concert Society, the London Trio, the South Place Institute, the Harmonic Trio, and the de Lara British Chamber Music Concerts. Ecitals of all kinds, far too numerous even to enumerate, were given, as well as concerts of the Eclipse-first-and-the-rest-nowhere type. Thus—to name but a few of the more prominent—Melba, Clara Butt, Tetrzzini, D'Alvarez, Muriel Foster, Donalda, Ann Thursfield, Kennedy-Fraser, John Coates (recently demobilised),Eosing, Plunket Greene, Mischa-Leon, among singers ; K. Goodson, Adela Verne, Fanny Davies, Myra Hess, Berthe Bert, Liliias Mackinnon, Frederic Lamond, Harold Samuel, William Murdoch, and Moiseivich, among pianists; Daisy Kennedy, May Harrison, Murray Lambert, Sammons, John Dunn, Joseph Coleman, W. H. Reed, and Dore among violinists: Beatrice Harrison, Suggia, Cedric Sharpe, and Georges Pitsch, from Mons, among violoncellists.

Of individual native compositions there were many. The chief of these will generally be regarded as Elgar's Quartet, Quintet, violin sonata, and violoncello concerto, all new and recently composed; but there was a good deal else by Frank Bridge, Bantock, John Ireland, Stanford, and W. H. Eed. Percy Buck, Adrian Boulton, Albert Coates, Ealph Vaughan W. staff of the E. C. M. by the new director, Prof. Hugh P. Allen. Several new musical magazines appeared in 1919, including "The Musician," "Music and Letters" (quarterly), "The Scottish Musical Magazine," "The Chesterian" (remodelled), "The Bulletin" (of the recently founded British Music Society). Among those of note who died were J. S. Shedlock, E. A. Streetfeild, critics; Horace Petherick, authority on violins; Franklin Taylor, Frye Parker, Leoncavallo, Dr. Eiemann, eminent lexicographer; Patti, Charles Harford Lloyd, John Saunders, J. L. Nicode.

FINANCER AND COMMRRRCR IN 1919.

THE year 1919 witnessed the first phase of reconstruction following the Great War. As was to be expected it was a troublous period, though the public generally had not realised that the transition from war to peace was bound to be a long and painful process. Perhaps if it had realised it in advance, the process of reconstruction would have made less progress than it did, since nervousness and apprehension would have been more general than it was. The transition was bound to be painful because of the methods followed by all the Governments in financing the war. They had created vast credits and manufactured paper money in great quantities in order to pay for the war. Those countries which had paid a larger proportion of war costs out of revenue were in a sounder financial position than others who had paid less. This was strikingly shown in the value of British, French, Italian, and German currencies in 1919. Germany had paid for a large part of her war costs out of created credits, and the value of the mark fell from Is. to a little more than one penny. Italian lire fell to one half of its par value, and French francs to nearly one half. The fall in these currencies eloquently expressed the fact that these countries had left a larger proportion of their war costs to be paid in the future than Great Britain.

The whole economic aspect of the world had been transformed by the war. Debtor nations had been converted into creditor countries and *vice versa*. After nearly five years of hostilities the world was found to be very short of goods, but very plentifully supplied with paper currency, with the result that money was cheap and goods dear. Labour, not realising what had happened, was discontented and restless, and sometimes truculent in its demands for higher wages to meet the increased cost of living. At the beginning of the year unemployment was very marked, as the business world, also not realising the extent and effects of inflation, felt that the level of prices would fall, and acted accordingly, which meant buying from hand to mouth. This augmented the unrest of labour. But though considerable trouble with labour was experienced, particularly in connexion with coal miners and railwaymen, the latter going on strike for ten days with significant unanimity, a fair amount of progress in reconstruction was made.

In the realm of finance, the requirements of the Government continued throughout the year on a large scale, and a considerable addition was made to the National Debt. On March 31, 1919, this amounted to 7,435,000,000l., involving an annual charge for its service of approximately 400,000,000l. and by the close of March, 1920, it was expected to reach 8,075,000,000l. In the year ended March 31, 1919, revenue passed the previous year's record by 181,786,260/. in reaching 889,020,825/., and expenditure amounted

to 2,679,301,188l. against 2,696,221,405l. Excess profits duties yielded 285,028,000l. or 64,814,000l. more than in 1917-18, and income tax 51,677,000l. more at 291,186,000/., or nearly one-third more than the total pre-war Budget figure. Tax revenue yielded 29¾ per cent, of the expenditure against 22¾ per cent, in the previous year. Expenditure for 1919-20 was estimated in Mr. Austen Chamberlain's Budget speech at 1,435,100,000l. (subsequently increased to 1,642,295,000/.), and the revenue at 1,201,100,000/., (afterwards reduced to 1,168,650,000l.), leaving a deficit of 234,000,000l. (afterwards raised to 473,645,000). Despite this huge deficit, dwarfed though it was by war deficits, the Chancellor reduced the excess profits duty from 80 to 40 per cent., because it was represented to him that it was a serious hindrance to business enterprise to retain it at the higher figure. Death duties on estates of over 2,000,000/., were raised to 40 per cent. ; and the tax on higher incomes was screwed up slightly. The tax on beer was raised from 2l. 15s. 6d. per 36 gallons to 3l. 10s., and that on spirits from 1l. 10s. to 2l. 10s. per proof gallon, but the tax on petrol was reduced from 1s. to 6d. per gallon. Here it may be observed that the highest pre-war rate of income tax was 1s. 3d. in the 1l.; in the year of grace 1919-20 it was 6s. The earned income of 600l. in 1914 paid 18l. in income tax ; in 1919-20 it paid 75/., which shows that roughly the income tax had been multiplied by four. A feature of the Budget was the introduction of Imperial Preference in a modest form. In the autumn when it was announced that expenditure was still averaging over 4,000,000/., per day, there was a strong outburst of public feeling, and demands were made for a drastic curtailment of expenditure. This led to the submission of revised estimates in October, showing a debt service of 345,000,000/.. Against the total estimated debt of 8,075,000,000/., on March 31, 1920, the Government estimated that it would hold the following war assets: Loans to Allies, 1,740,000,000/., represented by France, 508,000,000/.; Italy, 467,000,000/.; Eussia, 568,000,000/.; Allies, 79,000,000l.; loans to Dominions, 200,000,000l.; India's obligation, 21,000,000l. ; surplus stores, etc., 425,000,000l. ; arrears of excess profits duty, 240,000,000l. This would reduce the gross debt by 2,626,000,000l. to 5,449,000,000l. The debt charge in a normal year was put at 360,000,000l.; the expenditure on Army and Navy at 135,000,000l., of which 75,00,000l. would be for the Army and Air Force; and the total expenditure at 808,000,000l. or 611,507,000l. over the 1913-14 figures. Revenue in a normal year was estimated at 806,000,000/., or 558,872,000/., over the pre-war figure. The figures presented indicated that in 1920-21, which would be another abnormal year, there would be a surplus, with the proceeds of surplus stores and collection of taxation arrears, of about 500,000,000/., which would be available for debt redemption, etc.

The excess of expenditure over revenue in 1919 was provided for by the issue of a 4 per cent. Funding Loan at 80, and 4 per cent. Victory Bonds at 85. These loans were issued in the period from June 14 to July 12. The fourth and last of the series of National War Bonds was issued in February, 1919, and realised 75,745,151l. These were withdrawn from sale to make way for the issue of the Funding Loan. This was intended to be a great funding operation, but it failed owing chiefly to public alarm at the high level of Government expenditure and evidence of official waste

The total subscriptions for these loans amounted to 780,703,855/., of which 473,000,000l. was in cash, the remainder representing conversions of loans having the option to convert. A feature of the Victory Bonds was that a sinking fund of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, was established to be utilised in redeeming bonds at par by annual drawings. These bonds were also made available at their par value (100) in satisfaction of death duties. The Funding Loan had a similar sinking fund to be applied, however, by purchase below or at par. War Savings Certificates continued to meet with a good demand, and though encashments were on a large scale the results were very satisfactory. From the date of the armistice 95,500,000l. sterling was subscribed in War Savings Certificates. Monthly sales of Certificates averaged 9,000,000/., and withdrawals approximately 10 per cent, of the total issued. By the end of the year the sales of War Savings Certificates had reached a total of about 385,000,000/. On balance during the year a net amount of 11,410,000l. only was borrowed in the form of Treasury Bills, the total on December 31 being 1,106,150,000/. against 1,094,740,000/. On the other hand a net reduction of 212,006,750/. was effected in the amount of Ways and Means advances outstanding which at the end of the year aggregated only 243,174,000/. against 455,180,750/. Thus in 1919 the floating debt was reduced by 200,596,750/. as compared with an increase in 1918 of 212,964, 700/. A much smaller amount was borrowed abroad than in 1918; in fact, issues abroad were chiefly in the nature of replacements. The end of hostilities found the world overburdened with debt. A calculation made of the debts of fifty-eight principal countries showed that the public debts of 1,700,000,000 of people in 1919, amounted to 26,000,000,000l. sterling, equal to 15l. 5s. 10d. per head. Much of this debt represented manufactured credits, and in this fact lay the explanation of the highly unsatisfactory state of international finance at the close of the year.

Monetary conditions were wholly abnormal during the year, but the money market gradually regained a considerable slice of its pre-war freedom. Profit margins were higher than in 1918; the difference between deposit rates and discount rates was 15s. against 10s. 6c./; between deposit rates and short loans 9s. 3d. against 6s. 3c./, and between deposit rates and three months' Treasury Bills 13s. 10d. against 9s. 11d. Moreover, trade advances were on a larger scale in the latter part of the year. This class of business was very remunerative, the margin between deposit rates and rates charged for loans averaging 2/ 15s. per cent. With larger deposits, banks made good profits, but no change was made in dividends as a rule for expenses were higher, and, owing to depreciation in Government loans, large amounts had to be written off or reserved to meet contingencies. Although Government finance dominated the market, certain steps were taken to free the market *from*, war-time control. On July 22 the arrangement whereby banks were able to deposit surplus balances with the Bank of England, at three days' notice was withdrawn, and in October the special rate for foreign money was discontinued, that for Belgian, French, and Italian moneys having been abandoned in January. On November 6 the Bank rate was raised from 5 to 6 per cent., but it failed to achieve its object of reducing the credit structure. The activity of banking business may be gathered from the fact that during the year the turnover of cheques, hills, etc., at the London Bankers' dealing House,

reached the record figure of 28,415,382,000/., an increase of 7,217,870,000l. We subjoin a table giving comparisons of average money rates :—

1914			1915.			1916.			1917.			1918			1919.			
BANK RATE.																		
£	s.	d.	1	£	s.	d.	1	£	s.	d.	1	£	s.	d.	1	£	s.	d.
4	0	9	1	5	0	0	1	5	9	3	1	5	3	0	1	5	0	0
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BILLS).																		
2	17	8	1	3	14	1	1	5	4	3		4	16	2	1	3	11	9
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE.																		
2	2	4	1	2	12	0	(	3	14	4		4	0	0		3	1	3
SHORT LOAN RATE.																		
2	4	3		2	18	4	1	4	12	8		4	8	3		3	5	6

The deposit rate of the banks opened at 3 per cent.; rose to 3½ per cent, on October 6, and to 4 per cent, on November 6. The rate for three months' Treasury Bills on January 1 was 3½ per cent. ; on October 6 it was raised to 4½ per cent.; on November 16 to 5½ per cent. For six months' bills the rates were successively 4, 5, and 5½ per cent.

The year on the Stock Exchange was marked by great activity, especially in speculative securities, and it is doubtful whether in any other year the Stock Exchange was busier. But the appreciation in 1918 of 200,000,000l. in 387 representative securities, as recorded by the *Bankers' Magazine*, was nearly lost in 1919 owing to the rise in the bank rate, and the active competition of new securities. The total value of the 387 securities in December was 2,634,484,000l., a decrease of 166,605,000l., equal to 5.9 per cent. On July 20, 1914, the total was 3,371,000,000l., so that the total decline in the interval was 736,216,000/., or nearly 22 per cent. Of this decrease 610,094,000/., (equal to 82 per cent.) was in respect of 108 fixed interest-bearing stocks, which had a value in 1919 of 1,378,906,000/., against 1,989,000,000/., in 1914. The depreciation in speculative shares was much less, the valuation of 279 such securities on July 20, 1914, was 1,382,000,000/., ; at the close of 1919, 1,255,578,000/., a decrease of 126,422,000l. in the war period, or 9 per cent. In 1919 fixed interest-bearing stocks decreased in value by 196,094,000/., and the speculative investments rose in value by 29,578,000l. The *Bankers' Magazine* calculations, however, do not cover oil and rubber shares, and another calculation made of Stock Exchange values which took account of these shares gave a different result. One hundred standard investment securities were taken as a basis, and on December 31, 1918, these had a value of 2,991,000,000/., By December 31, 1919, they had risen to 3,031,000,000l. an increase on the year of 40,000,000/., or 1.33 per cent. Taking the 1918 figures as 100, the percentage totals of the different classes of investments were as follows:—

	December, 1913.	December, 1918.	December, 1919.
Gilt-edged -	121-5	100	95.7
Investment (fixed interest)	114-1	100	95.3
Investment (varying interest) •	107-4	100	110-4
Semi-speculative	101-3	100	129-2
Speculative -	111	100	145
	118.34	100	101.33

While the aggregate figures showed only a moderate change during the periods covered, this apparent equilibrium resulted from the heavy fall in stocks of an investment type since the outbreak of war having been balanced by the considerable rise in the quotations of the more speculative stocks. As compared with 1913, after making the necessary adjustments for new issues of capital, etc., gilt-edged stocks had fallen by the close of 1919 by nearly 26 percent., while the speculative class had risen 34 per cent., and the semi-speculative 28 per cent. Attention during the year was mainly directed to speculative investments, especially oil, brewery, insurance, shipping, South African gold, and commercial and industrial securities. In the summer various war-time restrictions were removed, with the sanction of the Treasury. The embargo on exports of capital was removed, and this enabled foreign held stocks to be realised in the market once more, but arbitrage transactions continued to be prohibited. The prohibition of any but cash transactions was retained, but it was as much honoured in the breach as in the observance, the five days' grace allowed for settling being taken advantage of to its fullest extent.

With the gradual removal of restrictions, and the restarting of industry, the country's foreign trade expanded very considerably, and both exports and imports reached unprecedented values. The total value was 2,594,000,000/. A very considerable part of this increase was accounted for by higher prices, and adverse exchanges. The former affected both imports and exports, and the latter greatly increased the value of imports. Imports were valued at 1,632,000,000l. against 1,316,000,000l. in 1918. British exports totalled 798,000,000l. against 501,000,000l. and re-exports reached a total of 164,000,000l. against only 31,000,000l. in 1918. Thus while imports increased by 315,750,000l., the expansion in exports was 430,000,000l., the increase in imports being 24 per cent., and in total exports nearly 81 per cent. After allowing for invisible imports and exports, the adverse balance of trade was reckoned by the Board of Trade at 150,000,000/. In order to make a comparison with pre-war figures it is necessary to allow for the increase in prices. In 1913 the index number of the chief articles of commerce was 121.7; in 1919 284.0. As compared with 1913, therefore, the imports in 1919 were less by 13 per cent., and exports less by 53.5 per cent. The *Economist's* Index Number

Basis (being the average of 1901-5).	2,200
July, 1914.	2,565
December, 1915.	8,634
„ 1916.	4,905
1917.	6,846
1918.	6,094
1919.	7,864

The cause of this increase is eloquently expressed in the supply of currency and banking credit at the end of the past two years and at the close of June, 1914 :—

	1919.	1918	1914.
	£	£	£
Deposits of 22 British banks -	2,117,000,000	1,477,000,000	875,000,000
Currency notes outstanding -	356,152,022	323,644,400	
Bank of England note circulation -	91,349,990	70,190,250	29,317,000

Thus after the most expensive war in history, in which wealth was consumed at an extraordinary pace, the deposits at the banks were larger than at any other time, a fact which explains why the pound sterling had depreciated in terms of dollars by something like 25 per cent. This brings us to the question of the foreign exchanges. The world-wide inflation of credit and currency produced a virtual breakdown of the exchanges as regards the devastated countries of Europe, which had a heavy adverse balance of trade, and an enormous public debt. Subjoined is a table showing the extraordinary fluctuations in the foreign exchanges during 1919, comparison being made with the range of quotations during the war :—

	Parity.	During War.		During 1919.		Dec. 31, 1919.	Dec. 31, 1918.
		High.	Low.	High.	Low.		
Paris	25-20	28-98	24-97	45-40	25-96½	40-95	25 97
New York	4-86	5-06	4-52	4.76 ⁶ / ₈	3-67½	3-76½	4.76½
Montreal -	4-86	5-01	4-52	4-86½	4-00	4-09	4.84
Holland -	12 10	12-20	8-97	11-88	9-85	10-09	11 16½
Italy	25-20	45-65	26-50	53-25	80-25	50-07½	30-31¼
Spain	25-20	26-75	16-60	28 78	18-60	26-20	23-68
Portugal -	53½d	35½d.	27½d.	36d.	19¾.	20d.	34½d.
Norway -	18-50	19-63	12-65	1912	16-82	18-60	16-89
Sweden -	18 50	19-75	9-95	18-41	16 16	17-58	16-32
Denmark -	18-50	19-68	12-75	21-40	17-64	19-69	17. 70
Finland -	26-20	—	—	145-00	41-75	126-50	—
Germany -	20-41	—	—	200 00	67 50	188-00	—
Switzerland	25 20	26-40	18-72	25-20	18-95	21-12½	22-98
Belgium -	25-20	—	—	42-80	26-85	40-35	27 65
Greece	25-20	—	—	26-75	22-50	25-65	—
Rio de Janeiro -	16d	14d.	11.	18 ² / ₁₅	12½d.	18 ² / ₁₅ 3½d.	13½d.
Buenos Ayrea -	4 7 d	—	—	64 ³ / ₈	50½d.	62½d.	—
Japan	2/0 ² / ₁₆ .	—	—	2/9	2/1	2/8¼	2/2¼
China	—	—	—	—	—	8/2	5/2
India	1/4	1/6	1/4	2/4¾	1/6	2/4 ¹ / ₁₆ d.	1/5 ³ / ₁₆ d.

Dealing in-exchanges used to be a highly scientific business. It was possible with elaborate trade charts and other statistical information, carefully collated, to anticipate the course of exchanges very accurately, and fluctuations were kept within the limits defined by the gold points. These trade figures, however, were useless after the war. Trade had been disorganised, and new channels were but in the making. Some of the European countries had an enormous import trade but practically no export trade, and as the movement of gold was subjected to regulation or prohibition, the course of the exchanges became a matter of guesswork. Speculation was rampant to a degree, and quotations fluctuated widely and violently. This was a serious hindrance to trade, and led to an influentially supported movement being initiated for the purpose of holding an international conference to consider means for giving some stability to the exchanges. Eventually bankers became very nervous about lending against European currencies.

In trade and industry the chief characteristic was the continuance of the amalgamation movement. In banking alone twelve fusions or alliances were effected. The most important of these arrangements brought the British Linen Bank and the Union Bank of Manchester under the control of Barclay's Bank. Another Scottish bank, the Clydesdale, joined forces with the London Joint City and Midland Bank, and Coutts' Bank was absorbed by the National Provincial and Union Bank of England. Several important amalgamations were effected in the insurance world. The Royal Insurance Co. absorbed the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Co.; the London and Lancashire Fire absorbed the Law Union and Rock; the Guardian absorbed the Legal and General, and the Phoenix joined forces with the Norwich Union Fire. Numerous reinsurance companies made their appearance in order to capture business formerly done by the German and Scandinavian concerns. Life assurance companies, which had marked time during the war, did a very large new business in 1919, and high values caused marine and fire premiums to increase considerably in volume.

Trade generally was active especially in the latter part of the year, when merchants and manufacturers felt that the level of prices, about which they had been very nervous in the spring, was likely to be maintained. Labour troubles loomed large during the year, owing to wages not keeping pace with prices, and disputes and strikes greatly hindered the first phase of reconstruction. Extraordinary prosperity was witnessed in the textile industries, the brewing industry, in fact in all industries, the demand for goods being everywhere greater than the supply. Many amalgamations were effected in the cotton trade, in the iron, coal, steel, and engineering industries, in the shipbuilding business, and in the motor-car industry. One of the most notable fusions was the absorption of the Metropolitan Railway Carriage and Wagon Co. by Vickers. Demand for capital was exceptionally active. Many new companies were floated, but the inflation of values appeared in many cases to be overdone.

Good progress was made in the shipping industry. Output of new ships amounted to 1,574,835 tons against an average in 1910-14 of 1,660,000 tons. During the war 8,000,000 tons of British shipping were destroyed,

so that a good deal of leeway has yet to be made up. Production of coal was very little larger than in 1918 ; the total was 228,000,000 tons against 226,500,000 tons in 1918, and 287,000,000 in 1913. This was due to strikes and shorter hours. Production of iron and steel was also disappointingly small. The output of pig-iron was 7,450,000 tons, and of steel ingots 7,800,000 tons. The former was the lowest output for nearly twenty-five years, and compared with 9,000,000 tons in 1918. The steel ingot output was 1,791,000 tons less than in 1918. •

A fair amount of progress in reconstruction was made in 1919, but much remains to be done. Great Britain, alone of the chief countries, has set a limit to her fiduciary issue of currency notes, which in 1920 will not be allowed to exceed 320,600,000l. Other countries will no doubt be compelled in 1920 also to set a limit to inflation, and this should have the effect of checking the rise in prices of commodities. Meanwhile, the demand for goods is so great that the prospect for industry seems very rosy indeed. When the inevitable reaction in values takes place, many of those companies which have been so busy writing up their capitals (on paper), will find it necessary to reduce them again. That will come about when a free gold market is restored, and the more conservatively financed companies will best be able to surmount the testing-time that lies ahead.

C. J. MILL.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

TEXT OF THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

by the prescription of open, just, and honourable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and

by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 1.—The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion, or Colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval, and air forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2.—The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE 3.—The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

ARTICLE 4.—The Council shall consist of representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the Assembly, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and Greece shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

At meetings of the Council, each member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

ARTICLE 5.—Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council, and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council, shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6.—The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the annex: thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council..

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the members of the

League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 7.—The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connexion with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8.—The members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval, and air programmes, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

ARTICLE 9.—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval, and air questions generally.

ARTICLE 10.—The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11.—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12.—The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13.—The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14.—The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

ARTICLE 15.—If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute,

and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16.—Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17.—In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18.—Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19.—The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world*

ARTICLE 20.—The members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21.—Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22.—To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine

the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE 23.—Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League :—

(a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations;

(b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control ;

(c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs ;

(d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest ;

(e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connexion, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-18 shall be borne in mind ;

(f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24.—There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25.—The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26.—Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives com

No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

ANNEX.

I. *Original Members of the League of Nations Signatories of the Treaty of Peace.*

United States of America.	Haiti.
Belgium.	Hedjaz.
Bolivia.	Honduras.
Brazil.	Italy.
British Empire—	Japan.
Canada.	Liberia.
Australia.	Nicaragua.
South Africa.	Panama.
New Zealand.	Peru.
India.	Poland.
China.	Portugal.
Culm.	Rumania.
Ecuador.	Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
France.	Siam.
Greece.	Czecho-Slovakia.
Guatemala.	Uruguay.

States Invited to Accede to the Covenant.

Argentine Republic.	Persia.
Chile.	Salvador.
Colombia.	Spain.
Denmark.	Sweden.
Netherlands.	Switzerland.
Norway.	Venezuela.
Paraguay.	

II. *First Secretary General of the League of Nations.*

The Honourable Sir James Eric Drummond, K.C.M.G., C.B.

SUMMARY OF THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN THE ASSOCIATED POWERS AND GERMANY.

BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY.

The following are the main geographical clauses of the Treaty :—

ARTICLE 27.—The boundaries of Germany will be determined as follows :—

1. With Belgium: From the point common to the three frontiers of Belgium, Holland, and Germany, and in a southerly direction: the north-eastern boundary of the former territory of neutral Moresnet, then the eastern boundary of the Kreise of Eupen, then the frontier between Belgium and the Kreise of Montjoie, then the north-eastern and eastern boundary of the Kreise of Malmedy to its junction with the frontier of Luxemburg.

2. With Luxemburg: The frontier of August 3, 1914, to its junction with the frontier of France of July 18, 1870.

3. With Prance: The frontier of July 18, 1870, from Luxemburg to Switzerland, with the reservations made in Article-48 of Section IV. (Saar Basin) of Part III.

4. With Switzerland : The present frontier.

5. With Austria: The frontier of August 3, 1914, from Switzerland to Czecho-Slovakia as hereinafter defined.

6. With Czecho-Slovakia: The frontier of August 3, 1914, between Germany and Austria from its junction with the old administrative boundary separating Bohemia and the province of Upper Austria to the point north of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia situated at about 8 kilometres east of Neustadt.

7. With Poland: From the point defined above to a point to be fixed on the ground about 2 kilometres east of Lorzendorf : the frontier as it will be fixed in accordance with Article 88 of the present Treaty; thence in a northerly direction to the point where the administrative boundary of Posnania crosses the river Bartsch : a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places in Poland : Skorischau, Eeichthal, Trem, batschau, Kunzendorf, Schleise, Gross Kosel, Sehreibersdorf, Eippin, Fiirstlich-Niefken, Pawelau, Tscheschen, Konradau, Johannisdorf, Modzenowe, Bogdaj, and in Germany: Lorzendorf, Kaulwitz, Glausche, Dalbersdorf, Eeesewitz, Stradam, Gross Nartenberg Kraschen, Neu Mittelwalde, Domaslawitz, Wedelsdorf, Tscheschen Hammer; thence the boundary of Posnania north-westwards to the point where it cuts the Rawitsch-Herrnsta- trative boundary of Posnania cuts the Reisen-Tschirnau road : a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Triebusch and Gabel and east of Saborwitz; thence the administrative boundary of Posnania to its junction with the eastern boundary of the Kreise of Fraustadt; thence in a north-westerly direction to a point to be chosen on the road between the villages of Unruhstadt and Kopnitz: a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Geyersdorf, Brenno, Fehlen, Altkloster, Klebel, and east of Ulbersdorf, Buchwald, Ilgen, Weine, Lupitze, Schwenten ; thence in a northerly direction to the northernmost point of Lake Chlop: a line to be fixed on the ground following the median line of the lakes; the town and the station of Bentschen, however (including the junction of the lines Schwiebus-Bentschen and Ziillichau-Bentschen), remaining in Polish territory ; thence in a north-easterly direction to the point of junction of the boundaries of the Kreise of Schwerin, Birnbaum, and Meseritz: a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Betsche ; thence in a northerly direction the boundary separating the Kreise of Schwerin and Birnbaum, then in an easterly direction the northern boundary of Posnania and to the point where it cuts the river Netze; thence up-stream to its confluence with the Kuddow: the course of the Netze ; thence up-stream to a point to be chosen about 6 kilometres south-east of Schneidemuhl: the course of the Kuddow: thence north-eastwards to the most southern point of the re-entrant of the northern boundary of Posnania about 5 kilometres west of Stahren : a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the Schneidemuhl-Konitz railway in this area entirely in German territory ; thence the boundary of Posnania north-eastwards to the point of the salient it makes about 15 kilometres east of Flatow; thence north-eastwards to the point where the river Kamionka meets the southern boundary of the Kreise of Konitz

about 3 kilometres north-east of Grunau : a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places to Poland: Jasdrawo, Gr. Lutau, Kl. Lutau, and Wittkau, and to Germany: Gr. Butzig, Cziskowo, Battrow, Boch, and Grumau ; thence in a northerly direction the boundary between the Kreise of Konitz and Schlochau to the point where this boundary cuts the river Brahe, thence to a point on the boundary of Pomerania 15 kilometres east of Rummelsburg; a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following localities in Poland; Konarzin, Kelpin, Adl. Briesen, and' in Germany: Sampohl, Neuguth, Steinfort, and Gr. Peterkati; then the boundary of Pomerania in an easterly direction to its junction with the boundary between the Kreise of Konitz and Schlochau ; thence northwards the boundary between Pomerania and West Prussia to the point on the river Rheda about 3 kilometres north-west of Gohra where that river is joined by a tributary from the north-west ; thence to a point to be selected in the bend of the Piasnitz river about 1½ kilometres north-west of Warschkau : a line to be fixed on the ground; thence this river down-stream, then the median line of Lake Zarnowitz, then the old boundary of West Prussia to the Baltic Sea.

8. With Denmark: The frontier as it will be fixed in accordance with Articles 109 and 110 of Part III. , Section XII. (Schleswig).

ARTICLE 28.—The boundaries of East Prussia, with the reservations made in Section IX. (East Prussia) of Part III. will be determined as follows : From a point on the coast of the Baltic Sea about 1½ kilometres north of Probberrnau Church in a direction of about 159° East from true North: a line to be fixed on the ground for about 2 kilometres; thence in a straight line to the light at the bend of the Elbinger Channel in approximately latitude 54° 19½ North, longitude 19° 26' East of Greenwich ; thence to the easternmost mouth of the Nogat River at a bearing of approximately 209° East from true North ; thence up the course of the Nogat River to the point where the latter leaves the Vistula (Weichsel); thence up the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula then the southern boundary of the Kreise of Marienwerder, then that of the Kreise of Rosenberg eastwards to the point where it meets the old boundary of East Prussia; thence the old boundary between East and West Prussia, then the boundary between the Kreise of Osterode and Neidenburg, then the course of the river Skottau down-stream, then the course of the Neide up-stream to a point situated about 5 kilometres west of Bialutten being the nearest point to the old frontier of Russia; thence in a easterly direction to a point immediately south of the intersection of the road Neidenburg-Mlava with the old frontier of Russia; a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Bialutten; thence the old frontier of Russia to a point on the navigation of the Niemen (Memel) down-stream, then the Skierwieth arm of the delta to the Kurisches Haff; thence a straight line to the point where the eastern shore of the Kurische Nehrung meets the administrative boundary about 4 kilometres south-west of Nidden; thence this administrative boundary to the western shore of the Kurische Nehrung.

ARTICLE 29.—The boundaries as described above are drawn in red on a one-in-a-million map which is annexed to the present treaty (Map No. 1).

In the case of any discrepancies between the text of the treaty and this map or any other map which may be annexed, the text will be final.

ARTICLE 30.—In the case of boundaries which are defined by a waterway, the terms "course" and "channel" used in the present treaty signify: in the case of non-navigable rivers, the median line of the waterway or of its principal arm, and, in the case of navigable rivers, the median line of the principal channel of navigation. It will rest with the Boundary Commissions provided by the present treaty to specify in each case whether the frontier line shall follow any changes of the course or channel which may take place, or whether it shall be definitely fixed by the position of the course or channel at the time when the present treaty comes into force.

POLITICAL CLAUSES FOR EUROPE.

Section I.—Belgium.

ARTICLE 31.—Germany, recognising that the Treaties of April 19, 1839, which established the status of Belgium before the war, no longer conform to the requirements of the situation, consents to the abrogation of the said treaties, and undertakes immediately to recognise and to observe whatever conventions may be entered into by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, or by any of them, in concert with the Governments of Belgium and of the Netherlands, to replace the said Treaties of 1839. If her formal adhesion should be required to such conventions or to any of their stipulations, Germany undertakes immediately to give it.

ARTICLE 32.—Germany recognises the full sovereignty of Belgium over the whole of the contested territory of Moresnet (called Moresnet neutre).

ARTICLE 33.—Germany renounces in favour of Belgium all rights and title over the territory of Prussian Moresnet situated on the west of the road from Liege to Aix-la-Chapelle; the road will belong to Belgium where it bounds this territory.

ARTICLE 34.—Germany renounces in favour of Belgium all rights and title over the territory comprising the whole of the Kreise of Eupen and of Malme'dy. During the six months after the coming into force of this treaty, registers will be opened by the Belgian authorities at Eupen and Malmedy in which the inhabitants of the above territory will be entitled to record in writing a desire to see the whole or part of it remain under German sovereignty. The results of this public expression of opinion will be communicated by the Belgian Government to the League of Nations, and Belgium undertakes to accept the decision of the League.

ARTICLE 35.—A Commission of seven persons, five of whom will be appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Germany, and one by Belgium, will be set up fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to settle on the spot the new frontier line between Belgium and Germany, taking into account the economic factors and the means of communication. Decisions will be taken by a majority and will be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 36.—When the transfer of the sovereignty over the territories referred to above has become definitive, German nationals habitually resident in the territories will definitively acquire Belgian nationality *ipso facto*, and will lose their German nationality. Nevertheless, German nationals who became resident in the territories after August 1, 1914, shall not obtain Belgian nationality without a permit from the Belgian Government.

ARTICLE 37.—Within the two years following the definitive transfer of the sovereignty over the territories assigned to Belgium under the present treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in those territories will be entitled to opt for German nationality. Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age. Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territories acquired by Belgium. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connexion with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 38.—The German Government will hand over without delay to the Belgian Government the archives, registers, plans, title deeds, and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial, or other administrations in the territory transferred to Belgian sovereignty. The German Government will likewise restore to the Belgian Government the archives and documents of every kind carried off during the war by the German authorities from the Belgian public administrations, in particular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Brussels.

ARTICLE 39.—The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia which Belgium will have to bear on account of the territories ceded to her shall be fixed in conformity with Articles 254 and 256 of Part IX. (Financial Clauses) of the present treaty.

Section II.—Luxemburg.

ARTICLE 40.—With regard to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, Germany renounces the benefit of all the provisions inserted in her favour in the Treaties of February 8, 1842, April 2, 1847, October 20-25, 1865, August 18, 1866, February 21 and May 11, 1867, May 10, 1871, June 11, 1872, and November 11, 1902, and in all conventions consequent upon such treaties. Germany recognises that the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg ceased to form part of the German Zollverein as from January 1, 1919, renounces all rights to the exploitation of the railways, adheres to the termination of the regime of neutrality of the Grand Duchy, and accepts in advance all international arrangements which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers relating to the Grand Duchy.

ARTICLE 41.—Germany undertakes to grant to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, when a demand to that effect is made to her by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, the rights and advantages stipulated in favour of such Powers or their nationals in the present

treaty with regard to economic questions, to questions relative to transport and to aerial navigation.

Section III.—Left Bank of the Rhine,

ARTICLE 42.—Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometres to the east of the Rhine.

ARTICLE 43.—In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilisation are in the same way forbidden.

ARTICLE 44.—In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the Powers signatory of the present treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

Section IV.—Saar Basin.

ARTICLE 45.—As compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the north of France and as part payment towards the total reparation due from Germany for the damage resulting from the war, Germany cedes to France in full and absolute possession, with exclusive rights of exploitation, unencumbered and free from all debts and charges of any kind, the coal mines situated in the Saar Basin as defined in Article 48.

ARTICLE 46.—In order to assure the rights and welfare of the population and to guarantee to France complete freedom in working the mines, Germany agrees to the provisions of Chapters I. and II. of the annex hereto.

ARTICLE 47.—In order to make in due time permanent provision for the government of the Saar Basin in accordance with the wishes of the population, France and Germany agree to the provisions of Chapter III. of the annex hereto.

ARTICLE 48.—The boundaries of the territory of the Saar Basin, as dealt with in the present stipulations, will be fixed as follows :—

On the south and south-west: by the frontier of France as fixed by the present treaty.

On the north-west and north: by a line following the northern administrative boundary of the Kreise of Merzig from the point where it leaves the French frontier to the point where it meets the administrative boundary separating the commune of Saarhflzbach from the commune of Britten; following this communal boundary southwards and reaching the administrative boundary of the canton of Merzig so as to include in the territory of the Saar Basin the canton of Mettlach, with the exception of the commune of Britten; following successively the northern administrative limits of the cantons of Merzig and Haustadt, which are incorporated in the aforesaid Saar Basin, then successively the administrative boundaries separating the Kreise of Sarrelouis, Ottweiler, and Saint-Wendel from the Kreise of Merzig, Treves (Trier), and the principality of Birkenfeld as far as a point situated about 500 metres north of the village of Furschweiler (*viz.* the highest point of the Metzelberg),

On the north-east and east: from the last point defined above to a point about 3½ kilometres east-north-east of Saint-Wendel: a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Fursehweiler, west of Rosenberg, east of points 418/329 (south of Rosenberg), west of Lettersweiler, north-east of point 464, and following the line of the crest southwards to its junction with the administrative boundary of the Kreise of Kusel; thence in a southerly direction the boundary of the Kreise of Kusel, then the boundary of the Kreise of Homburg towards the south-south-east to a point situated about 1,000 metres west of Dunzweiler; thence to a point about 1 kilometre south of Hornbach: a line to be fixed on the ground passing through point 424 (about 1,000 metres southeast of Dunzweiler), point 363 (Fuchs Berg), point 322 (south-west of Waldmohr), then east of Jagersburg and Erbach, then encircling Homburg, passes through the points 361 (about 2J kilometres north-east by east of that town), 342 (about 2 kilometres south-east of that town), 347 (Schreiners Berg), 356, 350 (about 1½ kilometres south-east of Schwarzenbach), then passing east of Einod, south-east of points 322 and 333, about 2 kilometres east of Webenheim, about 2 kilometres east of Mimbach, passing east of the plateau which is traversed by the road from Mimbach to Bockweiler (so as to include this road in the territory of the Saar Basin), passing immediately north of the junction of the roads from Bockweiler and Altheim situated about 2 kilometres north of Altheim, then passing south of Ringweilerhof and north of point 322, rejoining the frontier of France at the angle which it makes about 1 kilometre south of Hornbach (see Map No. 2, scale 1/100,000, annexed to the present treaty).

A Commission composed of five members, one appointed by France, one by Germany, and three by the Council of the League of Nations, which will select nationals of other Powers, will be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present treaty, to trace on the spot the frontier line described above. In those parts of the preceding line which do not coincide with administrative boundaries, the Commission will endeavour to keep to the line indicated, while taking into consideration, so far as is possible, local economic interests and existing communal boundaries. The decisions of this Commission will be taken by a majority, and will be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 49.—Germany renounces in favour of the League of Nations, in the capacity of trustee, the government of the territory defined above. At the end of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty the inhabitants of the said territory shall be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they desire to be placed.

ARTICLE 50.—The stipulations under which the cession of the mines in the Saar Basin shall be carried out, together with the measures intended to guarantee the rights and the well-being of the inhabitants and the government of the territory, as well as the conditions in accordance with which the plebiscite hereinbefore provided for is to be made, are laid down in the annex hereto. This annex shall be considered as an integral part of the present treaty, and Germany declares her adherence to it.

[The annex referred to in Article 46 and Section 5, "Alsace-Lorraine," follows.]

Section VI.—Austria.

ARTICLE 80.—Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria, within the frontiers which may be fixed in a treaty between that State and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers; she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

Section VII.—Czechoslovak State.

ARTICLE 8 L — Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognises the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak State which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians. Germany hereby recognises the frontiers of this State as determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the other interested States.

ARTICLE 82.—The old frontier as it existed on August 3, 1914, between Austria-Hungary and the German Empire will constitute the frontier between Germany and the Czecho-Slovak State.

ARTICLE 83.—Germany renounces in favour of the Czecho-Slovak State all rights and title over the portion of Silesian territory defined as follows: starting from a point about 2 kilometres S.R. of Katscher, on the boundary between the Circles (Kreise) of Loebchutz and Ratibor: the boundary between the two Kreise; then, the former boundary between Germany and Austria-Hungary up to a point on the Oder immediately to the south of the Eatibor-Oderberg railway; thence, towards the N.W. and up to a point about two kilometres to the S.R. of Katscher: a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the west of Kranowitz.

A Commission composed of seven members, five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Poland, and one by the Czecho-Slovak State, will be appointed fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line between Poland and the Czecho-Slovak State.

The decisions of this Commission will be taken by a majority, and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

Germany hereby agrees to renounce in favour of the Czecho-Slovak State all rights and title over the part of the Kreise of Loebchutz comprised within the following boundaries in case after the determination of the frontier between Germany and Poland the said part of that circle should become isolated from Germany: from the south-eastern extremity of the salient of the former Austrian frontier at about 5 kilometres to the west of Loebchutz southwards and up to a point of junction with the boundary between the Kreise of Loebchutz and Eatibor: the former frontier between Germany and Austria-Hungary; then northwards, the administrative boundary between the Kreise of Loebchutz and Eatibor up to a point situated about 2 kilometres to the S.R. of Katscher; thence, north-westwards and up to the starting-point of this definition: a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the east of Katscher.

ARTICLE 84. — German nationals habitually resident in any of the territories recognised as forming part of the Czecho-Slovak State will

obtain Czecho-Slovak nationality *ipso facto* and lose their German nationality.

ARTICLE 85.—Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in any of the territories recognised as forming part of the Czecho-Slovak State will be entitled to opt for German nationality. Czechoslovaks who are German nationals and are habitually resident in Germany will have a similar right to opt for Czecho-Slovak nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain their landed property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connexion with the removal of such property.

Within the same period Czecho-Slovaks who are German nationals and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired the foreign nationality, to obtain Czecho-Slovak nationality and lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Czecho-Slovak State.

ARTICLE 86.—The Czecho-Slovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

The Czecho-Slovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the said Powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Germany and Prussia which the Czecho-Slovak State will have to assume on account of the Silesian territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (Financial Clauses) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions not decided by the present treaty which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

Section VIII,—Poland,

ARTICLE 87.—Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognises the complete independence of Poland, and renounces in her favour all rights and title over the territory bounded by the Baltic Sea, the eastern frontier of Germany as laid down in Article 27 of Part I I. (Boundaries of Germany) of the present treaty up to a point situated about 2 kilometres to the east of Lorzendorf, then a line to the acute angle which the northern boundary

of Upper Silesia makes about 3 kilometres north-west of Simmenau, then the boundary of Upper Silesia to its meeting point with the old frontier between Germany and Russia, then this frontier to the point where it crosses the course of the Niemen, and then the northern frontier of East Prussia as laid down in Article 28 of Part I I . aforesaid.

The provisions of this article do not, however, apply to the territories of East Prussia and the Free City of Danzig, as defined in Article 28 of Part I I . (Boundaries of Germany) and in Article 100 of Section X I . (Danzig) of this part.

The boundaries of Poland not laid down in the present treaty will be subsequently determined by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

A Commission consisting of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Germany and one by Poland, shall be constituted fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to delimit on the spot the frontier line between Poland and Germany.

The decision of the Commission will be taken by a majority of votes, and shall be binding upon the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 88.—In the portion of upper Silesia included within the boundaries described below the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote whether they wish to be attached to Germany or to Poland : Starting from the northern point of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia situated about 8 kilometres east of Neustadt, the former frontier between Germany and Austria, to its junction with the boundary between the Kreise of Loebenschutz and Eatibor; thence in a northerly direction to a point about 2 kilometres south-east of Katscher: the boundary between the Kreise of Loebenschutz and Eatibor ; thence in a south-easterly direction to a point on the course of the Oder immediately south of the Ratibor-Oderberg railway ; a line to be fixed on the ground passing south of Kranowitz; thence the old boundary between Germany and Austria, then the old boundary between Germany and Eussia to its junction with the administrative boundary between Posnanian and Upper Silesia; thence this administrative boundary to its junction with the administrative boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia; thence westwards to the point where the administrative boundary turns in an acute angle to the south-east about 3 kilometres north-west of Simmenau : the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia ; then in a westerly direction to a point to be fixed on the ground about 2 kilometres east of Lorzendorf: a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Klein Hennersdorf ; thence southwards to the point where the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia cuts the Stadel-Karlsruhe road : a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Hennersdorf, Polkowitz, Noldau, Steinersdorf, and Dammer and east of Strehlitz, Nassadel, Eckersdorf, Schwirz, and Stadel; thence the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia to its junction with the eastern boundary of the Kreise of Falkenberg; then the eastern boundary of the Kreise of Falkenberg to the point of the salient which is 3 kilometres east of Puschine; thence to the northern point of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia, situated

about 8 kilometres east of Neustadt: a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Zuls.

The regime under which this plebiscite will be taken and given effect to is laid down in the annex hereto.

The Polish and German Governments hereby respectively bind themselves to conduct no prosecutions on any part of their territory and to take no exceptional proceedings for any political action performed in Upper Silesia during the period of the regime laid down in the annex hereto and up to the settlement of the final status of the country.

Germany hereby renounces in favour of Poland all rights and title over the portion of Upper Silesia lying beyond the frontier line fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as this result of the plebiscite

ANNEX.

An annex is inserted here. It consists of six clauses dealing with the plebiscite area. It provides that within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present treaty the German troops shall evacuate the plebiscite area. Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils shall be dissolved, and their members, as well as other specified persons, shall be evacuated.

All military and semi-military unions shall be immediately disbanded.

The plebiscite area shall be immediately placed under the authority of an International Commission of four members to be designated by the United States, France, the British Empire, and Italy, and occupied by troops of the Allied and Associated Powers. The German Government undertakes to give facilities for the transference of troops to Upper Silesia.

The annex also provides for the administration by the Commission of the plebiscite area and for the voting which must take place not sooner than six months nor later than eighteen months after the establishment of the Commission. The right to vote shall be given to all persons without distinction of sex who—

(a) Have completed their twentieth year on January 1 of the year in which the plebiscite takes place :

(b) Were born in the plebiscite area or have been domiciled there since a date to be determined by the Commission, which shall not be subsequent to January 1, 1919, or who have been expelled by the German authorities and have not retained their domicile there.

Persons convicted of political offences shall be enabled to exercise their right of voting. Every person will vote in the commune where he is domiciled or in which he was born, if he has not retained his domicile in the area.

The result of the vote will be determined by communes according to the majority of votes in each commune.

Clause 6 provides that as soon as the frontier has been fixed the German authorities will be notified that they are free to take over the administration of the territory which it is recognised should be German ; a period of one month is allowed. Similarly the Polish Government shall take over the administration of the territory which it is recognised should be Polish.

The cost of the army of occupation, and expenditure by the Commission whether in discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be a charge on the area.

ARTICLES 89 to 93.—These articles deal with transit between East Prussia and the rest of Germany, with mineral products in Upper Silesia, with the right of Germans and of Poles who are German nationals to acquire Polish nationality [in the portion of Upper Silesia submitted to a plebiscite this provision shall only come into force as from the definitive attribution of the territory], with the financial liabilities of Germany and Prussia which are to be borne by Poland [these are determined in Part IX.], with the liquidation of German property in Poland, and provide for the embodiment in a treaty to be made by Poland with the principal Allied and Associated Powers of clauses for the protection of the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

Section IX.—Rast Prussia.

ARTICLE 94.—In the area between the southern frontier of East Prussia as described in Article 28 of Part II. (Frontiers of Germany) of the present treaty, and the line described below, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote the State to which they wish to belong: The western and northern boundary of Regierungsbezirk Allenstein to its junction with the boundary between the Kreise of Oletsko and Angerburg; thence, the northern boundary of the Kreise of Oletsko to its junction with the old frontier of East Prussia.

ARTICLE 96.—In the area comprising the Kreise of Stuhm and Rosenberg and the portion east of the Nogat and that of Marienwerder east of the Vistula, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote, to be taken in each commune (Gemeinde), whether they desire the various communes situated in this territory to belong to Poland or to East Prussia.

ARTICLE 98.—Germany and Poland undertake within one year of the coming into force of this treaty, to enter into Conventions of which the terms, in case of difference, shall be settled by the Council of the League of Nations, with the object of securing on the one hand to Germany full and adequate railroad, telegraphic, and telephonic facilities for communication between the rest of Germany and East Prussia over the intervening Polish territory, and on the other hand to Poland full and adequate railroad, telegraphic, and telephonic facilities for communication between Poland and the free city of Danzig over any German territory that may, on the right bank of the Vistula, intervene between Poland and the free city of Danzig.

Section X.—Memel.

ARTICLE 99.—Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territories included between the Baltic, the north-eastern frontier of East Prussia as defined in Article 28 of Part II. (Frontiers of Germany) of the present treaty, and the former frontier between Germany and Russia. Germany undertakes to accept the settlement made by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in regard to these territories, particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants.

Section XL—Free City of Danzig,

ARTICLE 100.—Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territory comprised within the following limits: From the Baltic Sea southwards to the point where the principal channels of navigation of the Nogat and the Vistula (Weichsel) meet: the boundary of East Prussia as described in Article 28 of Part II. (Boundaries of Germany) of the present treaty: thence the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula down-stream to a point about 6½ kilometres north of the bridge of Dirschau; thence north-west to point 5, 1½ kilometres south-east of the church of Guttland: a line to be fixed on the ground; thence in a general westerly direction to the salient of the Kreise of Berent 8½ kilometres north-east of Schoneck: a line to be fixed on the ground passing between Muhlbanz on the south and Rambeltsch on the north; thence the boundary of the Kreise of Berent westwards to the re-entrant which it forms 6 kilometres north-north-west of Schoneck; thence to a point on the median line of Lonkenauer See: a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Neu Fietz and Schatarki and south of Barenhiitte and Lonken; thence the median line of the Lonkenauer See to its northernmost point; thence to the southern end of Pollenziner See: a line to be fixed on the ground; thence the median line of Pollenziner See to its northernmost point; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point about 1 kilometre south of Koliebkien Church, where the Danzig-Neustadt railway crosses a stream: a line to be fixed on the ground passing south-east of Kamehlen, Krissau, Fidlín, Sulmin (Richthof), Mattern, Schaferei, and to the north-west of Neuendorf, Marschau, Czapielken, Hoch- and Klein-Kelpin, Pulvermühl, Eenneberg, and this stream to the Baltic Sea.

The boundaries described above are drawn on a German map scale 1/100,000, attached to the present treaty (Map No. 4).

ARTICLE 101.—A Commission composed of three members appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, including a High Commissioner as President, one member appointed by Germany, and one member appointed by Poland, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the coming into force of the present treaty for the purpose of delimiting on the spot the frontier of the territory as described above, taking into account as far as possible the existing communal boundaries.

ARTICLE 102.—The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to establish the town of Danzig, together with the rest of the territory described in Article 100, as a free city. It will be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 103.—A constitution for the free city of Danzig shall be drawn up by the duly appointed representatives of the free city in agreement with a High Commissioner to be appointed by the League of Nations. This constitution shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

The High Commissioner will also be entrusted with the duty of dealing in the first instance with all differences arising between Poland and the free city of Danzig in regard to this treaty or any arrangements or agreements made thereunder. The High Commissioner shall reside at Danzig.

ARTICLE 104.—The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to negotiate a Treaty between the Polish Government and the free city of Danzig which shall come into force at the same time as the establishment of said free city, with the following objects:—

(1) To effect the inclusion of the free city of Danzig within the Polish Customs frontiers, and to establish a free area in the port. (2) To ensure to Poland without any restriction the free use and service of all waterways, docks, basins, wharves, and other works within the territory of the free city necessary for Polish imports and exports. (3) To ensure to Poland the control and administration of the Vistula and of the whole railway system within the free city, except such street and other railways as serve primarily the needs of the free city, and of postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication between Poland and the port of Danzig. (4) To ensure to Poland the right to develop and improve the waterways, docks, basins, wharves, railways, and other works and means of communication mentioned in this article, as well as to lease or purchase through appropriate processes such land and other property as may be necessary for these purposes. (5) To provide against any discrimination within the free city of Danzig to the detriment of citizens of Poland and other persons of Polish origin or speech. (6) To provide that the Polish Government shall undertake the conduct of the foreign relations of the free city of Danzig as well as the diplomatic protection of citizens of that city when abroad.

ARTICLE 105.—On the coming into force of the present treaty German nationals ordinarily resident in the territory described in Article 100 will *ipso facto* lose their German nationality, in order to become nationals of the free city of Danzig.

ARTICLE 106.—Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age ordinarily resident in the territory described in Article 100 will have the right to opt for German nationality. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age. All persons who exercise the right of option referred to above must during the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany. These persons will be entitled to preserve the immovable property possessed by them in the territory of the free city of Danzig. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties shall be imposed upon them in this connexion.

ARTICLE 107.—All property situated within the territory of the free city of Danzig belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers for transfer to the free city of Danzig or to the Polish State as they may consider equitable.

ARTICLE 108.—The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia to be borne by the free city of Danzig shall be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (Financial Clauses) of the present treaty. All other questions which may arise from the cession of the territory referred to in Article 100 shall be settled by further agreements.

Section XII. —Schleswig.

ARTICLE 109.—The frontier between Germany and Denmark shall be fixed in conformity with the wishes of the population.

For this purpose, the population inhabiting the territories of the former German Empire situated to the north of a line, from East to West (shown by a brown line on the map No. 3, annexed to the present treaty): leaving the Baltic coast about 13 kilometres east-north-east of Flensburg, running south-west so as to pass south-east of: Sygum, Eingsberg, Munkbrarup, Adelby, Tastrup, Jarplund, Oversee, and north-west of: Langballigholz, Langballig, B6nstrup, Eullschau, Weseby, Kleinwolstrup, Gross-Solt, thence westwards passing south of Frorup and north of Wanderup, thence in a south-westerly direction passing south-east of Oxlund, Stieglund, and Ostenau and north-west of the villages on the Wanderup-Kollund road; thence in a north-westerly direction passing south-west of L5wenstedt, Joldelund, Goldelund, and north-east of Kolkerheide and Hogel to the bend of the Soholmer Au, about 1 kilometre east of Soholm where it meets the southern boundary of the Kreise of Tondern, thence, following this boundary to the North Sea, thence, passing south of the islands of Fohr and Amrum and north of the islands of Oland and Langeness shall be called upon to pronounce by a vote which will be taken under the following conditions:—

1. Within a period not exceeding ten days from the coming into force of the present treaty, the German troops and authorities (including the Oberprasidenten, Eegierungs-prasidenten, Landrathe, Amtsvorsteher, Oberburgermeister) shall evacuate the zone lying to the north of the line above fixed. Within the same period the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils which have been constituted in this zone shall be dissolved; members of such Councils who are natives of another region and are exercising their functions at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, or who have gone out of office since March 1, 1919, shall also be evacuated. The said zone shall immediately be placed under the authority of an International Commission, composed of five members, of whom three will be designated by the principal Allied and Associated Powers; the Norwegian and Swedish Governments will each be requested to designate a member; in the event of their failing to do so, these two members will be chosen by the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

The Commission, assisted in case of need by the necessary forces, shall have general powers of administration. In particular, it shall at once provide for filling the places of the evacuated German authorities, and if necessary shall itself give orders for their evacuation, and proceed to fill the places of such local authorities as may be required. It shall take all steps which it thinks proper to ensure the freedom, fairness, and secrecy of the vote. It shall be assisted by German and Danish technical advisers chosen by it from among the local population. Its decisions will be taken by a majority.

One half of the expenses of the International Commission and of the expenditure occasioned by the plebiscite shall be paid by Germany.

2. The right to vote shall be given to all persons, without distinction of sex, who: (a) Have completed their twentieth year at the date of

the coming into force of the present treaty; and (*h*) were born in the zone in which the plebiscite is taken, or have been domiciled there since a date before the 1st January, 1900, or had been expelled by the German authorities without having retained their domicile there. Every person will vote in the commune (*Gemeinde*) where he is domiciled or of which he is a native. Military persons, officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the German army, who are natives of the zone of Schleswig in which the plebiscite is taken, shall be given the opportunity to return to their native place in order to take part in the voting there.

3. In the section of the evacuated zone lying to the north of a line, from East to West (shown by a red line on map No. 3 which is annexed to the present treaty): passing south of the island of Alsens and following the median line of Flensburg Fjord, thence leaving the fjord about 6 kilometres north of Flensburg and following the course of the stream flowing past Kupfermühle up-stream to a point north of Niehuus, thence, passing north of Pattburg and Ellund and south of Froslee to meet the eastern boundary of the Kreise of Tondern at its junction with the boundary between the old jurisdictions of Slogs and Kjaer (Slogs Herred and Kjaer Herred), thence, the latter boundary to where it meets the Scheidebek, thence the course of the Scheidebek (Alte Au), Suder Au, and Wied Au down-stream successively to the point where the latter bends northwards about 1,500 metres west of Kuttebull, thence, in a west-north-westerly direction to meet the North Sea north of Sieltoft, thence, passing north of the island of Sylt, the vote above provided for shall be taken within a period not exceeding three weeks after the evacuation of the country by the German troops and authorities. The result will be determined by the majority of votes cast in the whole of this section. This result will be immediately communicated by the Commission to the Principal Allied and Associated Governments and proclaimed. If the vote results in favour of the reincorporation of this territory in the Kingdom of Denmark, the Danish Government in agreement with the Commission will be entitled to effect its occupation with their military and administrative authorities immediately after the proclamation.

4. In the section of the evacuated zone situated to the south of the preceding section and to the north of the line which starts from the Baltic Sea 13 kilometres from Flensburg and ends north of the islands of Oland and Langeness, the vote will be taken within a period not exceeding five weeks after the plebiscite shall have been held in the first section.

The result will be determined by communes (*Gemeinden*), in accordance with the majority of the votes cast in each commune (*Gemeinde*).

ARTICLE 110.—Pending a delimitation on the spot, a frontier line will be fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers according to a line based on the result of the voting, and proposed by the International Commission, and taking into account the particular geographical and economic conditions of the localities in question. From that time the Danish Government may effect the occupation of these territories with the Danish civil and military authorities, and the German Government may reinstate up to the said frontier line the German civil and military authorities whom it has evacuated. Germany hereby renounces defini-

tively in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights of sovereignty over the territories situated to the north of the frontier line fixed in accordance with the above provisions. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers will hand over the said territories to Denmark.

ARTICLE 111.—A Commission composed of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Denmark and one by Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the date when the final result of the vote is known, to trace the frontier line on the spot. The decisions of the Commission will be taken by a majority of votes and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 112.—All the inhabitants of the territory which is returned to Denmark will acquire Danish nationality *ipso facto*, and will lose their German nationality.

Persons, however, who had become habitually resident in this territory after October 1, 1918, will not be able to acquire Danish nationality without permission from the Danish Government.

ARTICLE 113.—Within two years from the date on which the sovereignty over the whole or part of the territory of Schleswig subjected to the plebiscite is restored to Denmark: Any person over 18 years of age, born in the territory restored to Denmark, not habitually resident in this region, and possessing German nationality, will be entitled to opt for Denmark. Any person over 18 years of age habitually resident in the territory restored to Denmark will be entitled to opt for Germany. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age. Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State in favour of which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain the immovable property which they own in the territory of the other State in which they were habitually resident before opting. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connexion with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 114.—The proportion and nature of the financial or other obligations of Germany and Prussia which are to be assumed by Denmark will be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (Financial Clauses) of the present treaty. Further stipulations will determine any other questions arising out of the transfer to Denmark of the whole or part of the territory of which she was deprived by the treaty of October 30, 1864

Section XIV.—Russia and Russian States.

ARTICLE 116.—Germany acknowledges and agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all the territories which were part of the former Russian Empire on August 1, 1914. In accordance with the provisions of Article 259 of Part IX. (Financial Clauses) and Article 292 of Part X. (Economic Clauses), Germany accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk treaties and of all treaties, conventions, and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia. The Allied

Russia to obtain from Germany restitution and reparation based on the principles of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 117.—Germany undertakes to recognise the full force of all treaties or agreements which may be entered into by the Allied and Associated Powers with States now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Empire of Russia as it existed on August 1, 1914, and to recognise the frontiers of any such States as determined therein.

PART IV.—GERMAN FOREIGN RIGHTS AND INTERESTS.

ARTICLE 118.—In territory outside her European frontiers as fixed by the present treaty, Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges whatever in or over territory which belonged to her or to her Allies, and all rights, titles, and privileges whatever their origin which she held as against the Allied and Associated Powers. Germany undertakes immediately to recognise and to conform to the measures which may be taken now or in the future by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, in agreement where necessary with third Powers, in order to carry the above stipulation into effect. In particular Germany declares her acceptance of the following Articles relating to certain special subjects.

Section I.—German Colonies.

ARTICLE 119.—Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions.

ARTICLE 120.—All movable and immovable property in such territories belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Government exercising authority over such territories, on the terms laid down in Article 257 of Part IX. (Financial Clauses) of the present treaty. The decision of the local courts in any dispute as to the nature of such property shall be final.

ARTICLE 121.—The provisions of Section I. (Commercial Relations) and Section IV. (Property, Rights, and Interests) of Part X. (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty shall apply in the case of these territories whatever be the form of Government adopted for them.

ARTICLE 122.—The Government exercising authority over such territories may make such provisions as it thinks fit with reference to the repatriation from them of German nationals and to the conditions upon which German subjects of European origin shall, or shall not, be allowed to reside, hold property, trade, or exercise a profession in them.

ARTICLE 123.—The provisions of Article 260 of Part IX. (Financial Clauses) of the present treaty shall apply in the case of all agreements concluded with German nationals for the construction or exploitation of public works in the German oversea possessions, as well as any sub-concessions or contracts resulting therefrom which may have been made to or with such nationals.

ARTICLE 124.—Germany hereby undertakes to pay in accordance with the estimate to be presented by the French Government and approved by the Reparation Commission, reparation for damage suffered

by French nationals in the Cameroons or the frontier zone by reason of the acts of the German civil and military authorities and of German private individuals during the period from January 1, 1900, to August 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 125.—Germany renounces all rights under the Conventions and Agreements with France of November 4, 1911, and September 28, 1912, relating to Equatorial Africa. She undertakes to pay to the French Government, in accordance with the estimate to be presented by that Government and approved by the Separation Commission, all the deposits, credits, advances, etc., effected by virtue of these instruments in favour of Germany.

ARTICLE 126.—Germany undertakes to accept and observe the agreements made or to be made by the Allied and Associated Powers or some of them with any other Power with regard to the trade in arms and spirits, and to the matters dealt with in the General Act of Berlin of February 26, 1885, the General Act of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the conventions completing or modifying the same.

ARTICLE 127.—The native inhabitants of the former German oversea possessions shall be entitled to the diplomatic protection of the Governments exercising authority over those territories.

Section II.—China.

ARTICLE 128.—Germany renounces in favour of China all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final Protocol signed at Peking on September 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes, and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise renounces in favour of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to March 14, 1917.

ARTICLE 129.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them respectively :—

1. The Arrangement of August 29, 1902, regarding the new Chinese customs tariff.

2. The Arrangement of September 27, 1905, regarding Whang-Poo, and the provisional supplementary Arrangement of April 4, 1912.

China, however, will no longer be bound to grant to Germany the advantages or privileges which she allowed Germany under these arrangements.

ARTICLE 130.—Subject to the provisions of Section VIII. of this Part, Germany cedes to China all the buildings, wharves, and pontoons, barracks, forts, arms, and munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations, and other public property belonging to the German Government, which are situated or may be in the German Concessions at Tientsin and Hankow, or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

It is understood, however, that premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices are not included in the above cession, and, furthermore, that no steps shall be taken by the Chinese Government to dispose of the German public and private property situated within the so-called Legation Quarter at Peking without the consent of the Diplo-

matic Representatives of the Powers which, on the coming into force of the present treaty, remain parties to the Final Protocol of September 7, 1901.

ARTICLE 131.—Germany undertakes to restore to China within twelve months from the coming into force of the present treaty all the astronomical instruments which her troops in 1900-1 carried away from China, and to defray all expenses which may be incurred in effecting such restoration, including the expenses of dismounting, packing transporting, insurance, and installation in Peking.

ARTICLE 132.—Germany agrees to the abrogation of the leases from the Chinese Government under which the German concessions at Hankow and Tientsin are now held.

China, restored to the full exercise of her sovereign rights in the above areas, declares her intention of opening them to international residence and trade. She further declares that the abrogation of the leases under which these concessions are now held shall not affect the property rights of nationals of Allied and Associated Powers who are holders of lots in these concessions.

ARTICLE 133.—Germany waives all claims against the Chinese Government or against any Allied or Associated Government arising out of the internment of German nationals in China and their repatriation. She equally renounces all claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of German ships in China, or the liquidation, sequestration, or control of German properties, rights, and interests in that country since August 14, 1917. This provision, however, shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 134.—Germany renounces in favour of the Government of His Britannic Majesty the German State property in the British concession at Shameen at Canton. She renounces in favour of the French and Chinese Governments conjointly the property of the German school situated in the French concession at Shanghai.

Section V.—Morocco.

ARTICLE 141.—Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges conferred on her by the General Act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906, and by the Franco-German Agreements of February 9, 1909, and November 4, 1911. All treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts concluded by her with the Sherifian Empire are regarded as abrogated as from August 3, 1914.

In no case can Germany take advantage of these instruments, and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Morocco which may take place between France and the other powers.

ARTICLE 142.—Germany having recognised the French Protectorate in Morocco, hereby accepts all the consequences of its establishment, and she renounces the regime of the capitulations therein.

This renunciation shall take effect as from August 3, 1914.

ARTICLE 143.—The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty

of action in regulating the status of German nationals in Morocco and the conditions in which they may establish themselves there.

German protected persons, semsars, and " associes agricoles " shall be considered as having ceased, as from August 3, 1914, to enjoy the privileges attached to their status and shall be subjected to the ordinary law.

ARTICLE 144.—All property and possessions in the Sheriflan Empire of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Maghzen without payment.

For the purpose of this clause, the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire, or States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in the Sheriflan Empire belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic Clauses) of the present treaty.

Mining rights which may be recognised as belonging to German nationals by the Court of Arbitration set up under the Morocco Mining Regulations shall be requested to make, and these rights shall then be treated in the same way as property in Morocco belonging to German nationals.

ARTICLE 145.—The German Government shall ensure the transfer to a person nominated by the French Government of the shares representing Germany's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco. The value of these shares, as assessed by the Reparation Commission, shall be paid to the Reparation Commission for the credit of Germany on account of the sums due for reparation. The German Government shall be responsible for indemnifying its nationals so dispossessed.

This transfer will take place without prejudice to the repayment of debts which German nationals may have contracted towards the State Bank of Morocco.

ARTICLE 146.—Moroccan goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to French goods.

Section VI.—Egypt.

ARTICLE 147.—Germany declares that she recognises the Protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on December 18, 1914, and that she renounces the regime of the capitulations in Egypt.

This renunciation shall take effect as from August 4, 1914.

ARTICLE 148.—All treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts concluded by Germany with Egypt are regarded as abrogated as from August 4, 1914.

In no case can Germany avail herself of these instruments, and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Egypt which may take place between Great Britain and the other powers.

ARTICLE 149.—Until an Egyptian law of judicial organisation establishing courts with universal jurisdiction comes into force, provision shall be made, by means of decrees issued by His Highness the Sultan, for the exercise of jurisdiction over German nationals and property by the British Consular Tribunals.

ARTICLE 150.—The Egyptian Government shall have complete liberty

of action in regulating the status of German nationals and the conditions under which they may establish themselves in Egypt.

ARTICLE 151.—Germany consents to the abrogation of the decree issued by His Highness the Khedive on November 28, 1904, relating to the Commission of the Egyptian public debt, or to such changes as the Egyptian Govern

ARTICLE 152.—Germany consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to His Britannic Majesty's Government of the powers conferred on His Imperial Majesty the Sultan by the Convention signed at Constantinople on October 29, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

She renounces all participation in the Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt and consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to the Egyptian Authorities of the powers of that Board.

ARTICLE 153.—All property and possessions in Egypt of the German Empire and the German States shall be deemed to be subject to the German Government without payment.

For this purpose, the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire, or the States.

All movable and immovable property in Egypt belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 154.—Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods.

Section VII.—Turkey and Bulgaria.

ARTICLE 155.—Germany undertakes to recognise and accept all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers may make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, interests, and privileges whatever which might be claimed by Germany or her nationals in Turkey and Bulgaria and which are not dealt with in the provisions of the present treaty.

PART VII.—PENALTIES.

ARTICLE 227.—The Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William II. of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties. A special tribunal will be constituted to try the accused, thereby assuring him the guarantees essential to the right of defence. It will be composed of five judges, one appointed by each of the following powers, namely, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

In its decision the tribunal will be guided by the highest motives of international policy, with a view to vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality. It will be its duty to fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed. The Allied and Associated Powers will address a request to

the Government of the Netherlands for the surrender to them of the ex-Emperor in order that

ARTICLE 228.—The German Government recognises the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war. Such persons shall, if found guilty, be sentenced to punishments laid down by law. This provision will apply notwithstanding any proceedings or prosecution before a tribunal in Germany or in the territory of her Allies. The German Government shall hand over to the Allied and Associated Powers, or to such one of them as shall so request, all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war, who are specified either by name or by the rank, office, or employment which they held under the German authorities.

ARTICLE 229.—Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before the military tribunals of that Power. Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of more than one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before military tribunals composed of members of the military tribunals of the Powers concerned. In every case the accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

ARTICLE 230.—The German Government undertakes to furnish all documents and information of every kind, the production of which may be considered necessary to ensure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of offenders, and the just appreciation of responsibility.

PART VIII.—REPARATION.

Section I.—General Provisions.

ARTICLE 231.—The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies.

ARTICLE 232.—The Allied and Associated Governments recognise that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present treaty, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage.

The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany by such aggression by land, by sea, and from the air, and in general all damage as defined in Annex I. hereto.

In accordance with Germany's pledges, already given, as to complete restoration for Belgium, Germany undertakes, in addition to the compensation for damage elsewhere in this chapter provided for,

as a consequence of the violation of the treaty of 1839, to make reimbursement of all sums which Belgium has borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to November 11, 1918, together with interest at the rate of five per cent. (5 per cent.) per annum on such sums. This amount shall be determined by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government undertakes thereupon forthwith to make a special issue of bearer bonds to an equivalent amount payable in marks gold, on May 1, 1926, or, at the option of the German Government, on May 1 in any year up to 1926. Subject to the foregoing, the form of such bonds shall be determined by the Reparation Commission. Such bonds shall be handed over to the Reparation Commission, which has authority to take and acknowledge receipt thereof on behalf of Belgium.

ARTICLE 233.—The amount of the above damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany shall be determined by an Inter-Allied Commission, to be called the Reparation Commission and constituted in the form and with the powers set forth hereunder and in Annexes II. to VII. inclusive hereto. This Commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard. The findings of the Commission as to the amount of damage defined as above shall be concluded and notified to the German Government on or before May 1, 1921, as representing the extent of that Government's obligations.

The Commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging the entire obligation within a period of thirty years from May 1, 1921. If, however, within the period mentioned, Germany fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may, within the discretion of the Commission, be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the Allied and Associated Governments, acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this Part of the present treaty, shall determine.

ARTICLE 234.—The Reparation Commission shall after May 1, 1921, from time to time, consider the resources and capacity of Germany, and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date, and to modify the form of payments, such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 233; but not to cancel any part, except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented upon the Commission.

ARTICLE 235.—In order to enable the Allied and Associated Powers to proceed at once to the restoration of their industrial and economic life, pending the full determination of their claims, Germany shall pay in such instalments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities, or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may fix, during 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921, the equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks.

Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the armistice of November 11, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to

enable Germany to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of the said Governments, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned towards liquidation of the amounts due for reparation. Germany shall further deposit bonds as prescribed in Paragraph 12 (c) of Annex II. hereto.

ARTICLE 236.—Germany further agrees to the direct application of her economic resources to reparation as specified in Annexes III., IV., V., and VI., relating respectively to merchant shipping, to physical restoration, to coal and derivatives of coal, and to dyestuffs and other chemical products; provided always that the value of the property transferred and any services rendered by her under these annexes, assessed in the manner therein prescribed, shall be credited to her towards liquidation of her obligations under the above articles.

ARTICLE 237.—The successive instalments, including the above sum, paid over by Germany in satisfaction of the above claims will be divided by the Allied and Associated Governments in proportions which have been determined upon by them in advance on a basis of general equity and of the rights of each.

For the purposes of this division the value of property transferred and services rendered under Article 243, and under Annexes III., IV., V., VI., and VII., shall be reckoned in the same manner as cash payments effected in that year.

ARTICLE 238.—In addition to the payments mentioned above, Germany shall effect, in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Reparation Commission, restitution in cash of cash taken away, seized, or sequestered, and also restitution of animals, objects of every nature and securities taken away, seized, or sequestered, in the cases in which it proves possible to identify them in territory belonging to Germany or her Allies. Until this procedure is laid down, restitution will continue in accordance with the provisions of the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and its renewals and the protocols thereto.

ARTICLE 239.—Germany undertakes to make forthwith the restitution contemplated by Article 238 and to make the payments and deliveries contemplated by Articles 233, 234, 235, and 236.

ARTICLE 240.—Germany recognises the Commission provided for by Article 233 as the same may be constituted by the Allied and Associated Governments in accordance with Annex II., and agrees irrevocably to the possession and exercise by such Commission of the power and authority given to it under the present treaty.

The German Government will supply to the Commission all the information which the Commission may require relative to the financial situation and operations and to the property, productive capacity, and stocks and current production of raw materials and manufactured articles of Germany and her nationals, and further, any information relative to military operations which in the judgment of the Commission may be necessary for the assessment of Germany's liability for reparation as defined in Annex I. The German Government will accord to the members of the Commission and its authorised agents the same rights and immunities as are enjoyed in Germany by duly accredited diplomatic agents of friendly Powers. Germany further agrees to provide

for the salaries and expenses of the Commission and of such staff as it may employ.

ARTICLE 241.—Germany undertakes to pass, issue, and maintain in force any legislation, orders, and decrees that may be necessary to give complete effect to these provisions.

ARTICLE 242.—The provisions of this Part of the present treaty do not apply to the property, rights, and interests referred to in Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty, nor to the product of their liquidation, except so far as concerns any final balance in favour of Germany under Article 243 (a).

ARTICLE 243.—The following shall be reckoned as credits to Germany in respect of her reparation obligations : (a) Any final balance in favour of Germany under Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (Economic Clauses) and Section V. (Alsace-Lorraine) of Part III. (Political Clauses for Europe), (b) Amounts of Part IX. (Financial Clauses), Part XII. (Ports, Waterways, and Railways), and Section IV. (Saar Basin) of Part III. (Political Clauses for Europe), (c) Amount of the Commission should be credited to Germany on account of any other transfers under the present treaty of property, rights, concessions, or other interests. In no case, however, shall credit be given for property restored in accordance with Article 238.

ARTICLE 244.—The transfer of the German submarine cables which do not form the subject of particular provisions of the present treaty is regulated by Annex VII. hereto.

THE ANNEXES.

Annex I gives the categories of damage under which compensation may be claimed, including (4) damage caused by any kind of maltreatment of prisoners of war; (8) Damage caused to civilians by being forced by Germany or her Allies to labour without just remuneration; and (10) damage in the form of levies, fines, and other similar exactions imposed by Germany or her Allies upon the civilian population.

Annex II. provides for the appointment of a Commission to be called "The Reparation Commission." It provides, section 10, that the Commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard, but not to take any part whatever in the decisions of the Commission. The Commission shall not be bound by any particular code or rules of law or by any particular rule of evidence or of procedure, but shall be guided by justice, equity, and good faith. Section 12 provides that the Commission shall in general have wide latitude as to its control and handling of the whole reparation problem as dealt with in this part of the present treaty and shall have authority to interpret its provisions. Subject to the provisions of the present treaty, the Commission is constituted by the several Allied and Associated Governments as the exclusive agency of the said Governments respectively for receiving, selling, holding, and distributing the reparation payments to be made by Germany under this part of the present treaty. The Commission must comply with the following conditions and provisions :—

(a) Whatever part of the full amount of the proved claims is not paid

in gold, or in ships, securities, and commodities, or otherwise, Germany shall be required under such conditions as the Commission may determine, to cover by way of guarantee by an equivalent issue of bonds, obligations or otherwise, in order to constitute an acknowledgment of the said part of the debt;

(b) In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the Commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first, to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and secondly, so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the Powers represented on the Commission.

(c) In order to facilitate and continue the immediate restoration of the economic life of the Allied and Associated countries, the Commission will, as provided in Article 235, take from Germany by way of security for and acknowledgment of her debt a first instalment of gold bearer bonds free of all taxes and charges of every description established or to be established by the Government of the German Empire or of the German States, or by any authority subject to them; these bonds will be delivered on account and in three portions, the marks gold being payable in conformity with Article 262 of Part IX. (Financial clauses) of the present treaty as follows :—

(1) To be issued forthwith, 20,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest. There shall be specially applied towards the amortisation of these bonds the payments which Germany is pledged to make in conformity with Article 235, after deduction of the sums used for the reimbursement of expenses of the armies of occupation and for payment of food-stuffs and raw materials. Such bonds as have not been redeemed by May 1, 1921, shall then be exchanged for new bonds of the same type as those provided for below (Paragraph 12, c. 2).

(2) To be issued forthwith, further 40,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds, bearing interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, per annum between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter at 5 per cent, per annum with an additional 1 per cent, for amortisation beginning in 1926 on the whole amount of the issue.

(3) To be delivered forthwith a covering undertaking in writing to issue when, but not until, the Commission is satisfied that Germany can meet such interest and sinking fund obligations, a further instalment of 40,000,000,000 marks gold 5 per cent, bearer bonds, the time and mode of payment of principal and interest to be determined by the Commission.

The dates for payment of interest, the manner of applying the amortisation fund, and all other questions relating to the issue, management, and regulation of the bond issue shall be determined by the Commission from time to time. Further issues by way of acknowledgment and security may be required as the Commission subsequently determines from time to time.

(d) In the event of bonds, obligations, or other evidence of indebtedness issued by Germany by way of security for or acknowledgment of her reparation debt being disposed of outright, not by way of pledge, to persons other than the several Governments in whose favour Germany³

original reparation indebtedness was created, an amount of such reparation indebtedness shall be deemed to be extinguished corresponding to the nominal value of the bonds, etc., so disposed of outright, and the obligation of Germany in respect of such bonds, shall be confined to her liabilities to the holders of the bonds, as expressed upon their face.

(e) The damage for repairing, reconstructing, and rebuilding property in the invaded and devastated districts, including installation of furniture, machinery, and other equipment, will be calculated according to the cost at the dates when the work is done.

(f) Decisions of the Commission relating to the total or partial cancellation of the capital or interest of any verified debt of Germany must be accompanied by a statement of its reasons.

Section 19 enacts that payments required to be made in gold or its equivalent on account of the proved claims of the Allied and Associated Powers may at any time be accepted by the Commission in the form of chattels, properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, within or without German territory, ships, bonds, shares, or securities of any kind, or currencies of Germany or other States, the value of such substitutes for gold being fixed at a fair and just amount by the Commission itself.

Annex III. sets forth the machinery by which Germany is to replace ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class, all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war.

Annex IV. dealing with "physical restoration," provides for lists of animals, machinery, equipments, tools, and like articles of a commercial character, which have been seized, consumed, or destroyed by Germany or destroyed in direct consequence of military operations, and which the Allied and Associated Governments, for the purpose of meeting immediate and urgent needs, desire to have replaced by animals and articles of the same nature which are in being in German territory at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty. In reaching a decision on this matter the Commission shall take into account such domestic requirements of Germany as it deems essential for the maintenance of Germany's social and economic life.

As an immediate advance on account Germany undertakes to deliver in equal monthly instalments in the three months following the coming into force of the present treaty the following quantities of live stock :—

(1) To the French Government.—500 stallions (3 to 7 years); 30,000 fillies and mares (18 months to 7 years)—type, Ardennais, Boulonnais, or Belgian; 2,000 bulls (18 months to 3 years); 90,000 milch cows (2 to 6 years); 1,000 rams; 100,000 sheep; 10,000 goats.

(2) To the Belgian Government.—200 stallions (3 to 7 years), large Belgian type; 5,000 mares (3 to 7 years), large Belgian type; 5,000 fillies (18 months to 3 years), large Belgian type; 2,000 bulls (18 months to 3 years); 50,000 milch cows (2 to 6 years); 40,000 heifers; 200 rams; 20,000 sheep; 15,000 sows.

PART XIV,—GUARANTEES.

Section L—Western Europe.

ARTICLE 428.—AS a guarantee for the execution of the present treaty by Germany, the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 429.—If the conditions of the present treaty are faithfully carried out by Germany, the occupation referred to in Article 428 will be successively restricted as follows :—

(i) At the expiration of five years there will be evacuated : the bridgehead of Cologne and the territories north of a line running along the Euhr, then along the railway Julieh, Duren, Euskirehen, Eheinbach, thence along the road Rheinbach to Sinzig, and reaching the Rhine at the confluence with the Ahr; the roads, railways, and places mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(ii) At the expiration of ten years, there will be evacuated: the bridgehead of Coblenz and the territories north of a line to be drawn from the intersection between the frontiers of Belgium, Germany, and Holland, running about 4 kilometres south of Aix-la-Chapelle, then to and following the crest of Forst Gemund, then east of the railway of the Urft Valley, then along Blacknhoim, Valdorf, Dreis, Ulmen to and following the Moselle from Bremm to Nehren, then passing by Kappel and Simmern, then following the ridge of the heights between Simmern and the Rhine and reaching this river at Bacharach; all the places, valleys, roads, and railways mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(iii) At the expiration of fifteen years there will be evacuated : the bridgehead of Mainz, the bridgehead of Kehl, and the remainder of the German territory under occupation.

If at that date the guarantees against unprovoked aggression by Germany are not considered sufficient by the Allied and Associated Governments, the evacuation of the occupying troops may be delayed to the extent regarded as necessary for the purpose of obtaining the required guarantees.

ARTICLE 430.—In case either during the occupation or after the expiration of the fifteen years referred to above, the Reparation Commission finds that Germany refuses to observe the whole or part of her obligations under the present treaty with regard to reparation, the whole or part of the areas, specified in Article 429 will be reoccupied immediately by the Allied and Associated forces.

ARTICLE 431.—If before the expiration of the period of fifteen years Germany complies with all the undertakings resulting from the present treaty, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

ARTICLE 432.—All matters relating to the occupation and not provided for by the present treaty shall be regulated by subsequent agreements, which Germany hereby undertakes to observe.

SUMMARY OF THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN THE ASSOCIATED
POWERS AND AUSTRIA.

THE FUTURE AUSTRIAN FRONTIERS.

The new frontiers, which are described in detail, may be roughly summarised as follows :—

1. NORTHERN FRONTIERS. (Frontier with Czecho-Slovakia.) The existing administrative boundaries formerly separating the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia from those of Upper and Lower Austria. These boundaries will be subjected to certain minor rectifications, notably in the regions of Gmund and Feldsberg and along the River Morava.

2. WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIERS. (Frontier with Bavaria.) The existing frontier to be maintained.

3. WESTERN FRONTIERS. (Frontier with Switzerland.) No change in these frontiers is provided for by the Treaty of Peace.

4. SOUTHERN FRONTIERS.—With Italy a line starting from the Col de Reschen and following in general the watershed between the basins of the Inn and the Drave to the north and the Adige, Piave, and the Tagliamento to the south. The line passes by the Col du Brenner and includes the Sexton Valley and the height of Tarvis within the Italian frontiers. On the western part of the frontier with the Serb-Croat-Slovene State a line to be fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers at a later date.

In the eastern part the line, passing just east of Bleiburg, crosses the Drave just above its confluence with the Lavant and thence will pass north of the Drave so as to leave to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State Marburg and Radkersburg, just to the north of which latter place it will join the Hungarian frontier.

5. EASTERN FRONTIER. NO alteration is made in the Treaty of Peace with regard to the former frontier between Austria and Hungary.

Various detailed provisions for facilitating the work of the Commission to be engaged in fixing the exact frontier are appended.

POLITICAL CLAUSES:EUROPE.

The High Contracting Parties recognise and accept the frontiers of Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and the Czecho-Slovak State, as at present determined, or as they may be ultimately determined, and Austria renounces in favour of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over territories formerly belonging to her, which, though outside the new frontiers of Austria, have not at present been assigned to any State undertaking to accept the settlement to be made in regard to these territories.

ITALY.

Under the heading of "Italy" the political clauses provide for the conditions under which ex-Austrian territories pass to Italy now or in virtue of frontier delimitations which will eventually take place. They

will deal in particular with the conditions under which ex-Austrian nationals will be able to acquire Italian nationality.

Reserving the financial clauses (Part IX.) the Italian Government takes over all the obligations and rights of the Austrian State on all the lines of railways managed by the administration of the said State in the territories transferred to Italy. Italian rolling stock seized by Austria at the beginning of hostilities will be restored. It is finally stipulated that no sum will be due from Italy on account of her entering into possession of the Palazzo di Venezia [the Embassy to the Vatican] at Rome.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK STATE.

Austria recognises the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak State, including the autonomous territory south of the Carpathians, and renounces all rights and titles over her former territories included therein, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers. The exact boundary between Austria and the new State is to be fixed by a Field Commission of seven members, five nominated by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, and one each by Austria and Czecho-Slovakia.

Czecho-Slovakia agrees to embody in the treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary to protect racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, and to assure freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

RUMANIA.

Rumania, in a special article, agrees to a similar treaty as to the protection of minorities and freedom of transit.

RUSSIA.

Austria is to recognise and respect the full independence of all the territories which formed part of the former Russian Empire. She is to accept definitely the annulment of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and of all treaties or agreements of all kinds concluded since the Revolution of November, 1917, with all Governments or political groups on territory of the former Russian Empire.

The Allies reserve all rights on the part of Russia for restitution and satisfaction to be obtained from Austria on the principles of the present treaty.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

Austria is to consent to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839 (by which Belgium was established as a neutral State, and her frontiers, etc., fixed), and to accept in advance any Convention with which the Allies may determine to replace them.

Austria adheres to the abrogation of the neutrality of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, and accepts in advance all international agreements as to it reached by the Allied and Associated Powers.

Austria accepts all arrangements which the Allied and Associated

Powers make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, privileges, or interests claimed in those countries by Austria or her nationals and not dealt with elsewhere.

Austria accepts all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers made with Germany concerning the territories whose abandonment was imposed upon Denmark by the Treaty of 1864.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

In a series of special clauses Austria undertakes to bring her institutions into conformity with the principles of liberty and justice, and acknowledges that the obligations for the protection of minorities are matters of international concern over which the League of Nations has jurisdiction. She assures complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Austria, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion, together with the right to the free exercise of any creed.

All Austrian nationals, without distinction of race, language, or religion, are to be equal before the law. No restrictions are to be imposed on the free use of any language in private or public, and reasonable facilities are to be given to Austrian nationals of non-German speech for the use of their language before Courts.

Austrian nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, are to enjoy the same protection as other Austrian nationals, in particular with regard to schools and other educational establishments; and in districts where a considerable proportion of Austrian nationals of other than German speech are resident, facilities are to be given in schools for the instruction of children in their own language, and an equitable share in public funds is to be provided for the purpose.

These provisions do not preclude the Austrian Government from making the teaching of German obligatory. They are to be embodied by Austria in her fundamental law as a Bill of Rights, and provisions regarding them are to be under the protection of the League of Nations.

AUSTRIAN RIGHTS OUTSIDE EUROPE.

Outside Europe Austria renounces all rights, titles, and privileges as to her own or her Allies' territories to all the Allied and Associated Powers, and undertakes to accept whatever measures are taken by the principal Allied Powers in relation thereto.

EGYPT.

Austria recognises the British Protectorate over Egypt declared on December 18, 1914, and renounces, as from August 4, 1914, the capitulations and all the treaties, agreements, etc., concluded by her with Egypt. She undertakes for jurisdiction over Austrian nationals and property, and for Austrian consent to any changes which may be made in relation to the Commission of Public Debt. Austria consents to the transfer to Great Britain

of the powers given to the late Sultan of Turkey for securing the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

Arrangements for property belonging to Austrian nationals in Egypt are made similar to those in the case of Morocco and other countries, all property of the Crown or other Imperial personages to pass to Egypt without compensation. Anglo-Egyptian goods entering Austria shall enjoy the same treatment as British goods.

MOROCCO.

Austria renounces all her rights, titles, and privileges under the Act of Algeciras and the Franco-German Agreements of 1909 and 1911, and under all treaties and arrangements with the Sherifian Empire. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations as to Morocco between France and other Powers, accepts all the consequences of the French Protectorate there, and renounces the capitulations. All Austrian State property passes to the Maghzan without compensation, Austria also relinquishing her interests in the State Bank of Morocco. Moroccan goods entering Austria shall have the same privilege as French goods.

CHINA.

Austria renounces in favour of China all privileges and indemnities resulting from the Boxer Protocol of 1901 and all buildings, wharves, barracks, forts, munitions of war, ships, wireless plants, and other public property, except diplomatic or consular establishments, in the Austrian concession at Tientsin and in other Chinese territory. China will, however, take no measures for disposal of Austrian property in the Legation quarter at Peking without the consent of the Powers signatory to the Boxer Protocol.

Austria accepts the abrogation of the concession at Tientsin, China agreeing to open it to international use. She renounces all claims against China or any Allied and Associated Government for the internment or repatriation of her citizens in China, and for the seizure or liquidation of Austrian interests there since August 14, 1917. China is not to be bound to grant to Austria the privileges held by the former Austrian Government, under the Chinese Customs Tariff arrangement of 1902 and the Whang Poo agreements of 1905 and 1912.

SIAM.

Austria recognises that all agreements between herself and Siam, including the right of extra-territoriality, ceased July 22, 1917. All Austrian public property except consular and diplomatic premises passes without compensation to Siam. Austrian private property to be dealt with in accordance with the Economic clauses. Austria waives all claims against Siam for liquidation of her property, or internment of her nationals.

MILITARY CLAUSES.

The Austrian Army shall not exceed 30,000 men, including officers and depot troops.

Within three months the Austrian military forces shall be reduced to this number. Universal military service is abolished and voluntary enlistment substituted as part of the plan "to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of armaments of all nations."

All officers must be regulars, those of the present army to be retained being under the obligation to serve till 40 years old, and those newly appointed agreeing to at least twenty consecutive years of active service. Non-commissioned officers and privates must enlist for not less than twelve consecutive years, including at least six years with the colours.

Within three months the armament of the Austrian Army must be reduced according to detailed schedules and all surplus surrendered. The manufacture of all war material shall be confined to one single factory under the control of the State, and other such establishments shall be closed down or converted. Importation and exportation of arms, munitions, and war materials of all kinds is forbidden.

NAVAL CLAUSES.

The naval terms provide that from the date of the coming into force of the treaty all Austro-Hungarian warships, including submarines and all vessels of the Danube Flotilla, are declared to be finally surrendered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. Auxiliary cruisers, etc., to the number of twenty-one, are to be disarmed and treated as merchant ships.

All warships (including submarines) now under construction in ports which belong or have belonged to Austria-Hungary to be broken up. Articles and materials arising therefrom may not be used except for industrial purposes, and may not be sold to foreign countries.

The construction or acquisition of any submarine, even for commercial purposes, is forbidden.

All naval arms, ammunition, and other war material belonging to Austria-Hungary at the date of the armistice are to be surrendered to the Allies.

The Austrian wireless station at Vienna is not to be used for naval, military, or political messages relating to Austria or her late Allies without the assent of the Allied and Associated Governments during three months, but only for commercial purposes, under supervision. During the same period Austria is not to build any more high-power wireless stations.,

AIR CLAUSES.

The air clauses provide that the armed forces of Austria must not include any military or naval air forces. The entire-personnel of the air forces in Austria is to be demobilised within two months.

The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers are to enjoy full liberty of passage and landing over and in Austrian territory until January 1, 1923, unless prior to that date Austria is admitted to the League of Nations or is permitted to adhere to the International Air Convention.

The manufacture of aircraft and parts of aircraft is forbidden for six months.

All military and naval aircraft (including dirigible and aeronautical material) are to be delivered to the Allied and Associated Governments within three months.

GENERAL.

General articles provide for the modification of Austrian laws in conformity with the preceding clauses.

Austria agrees not to accredit or send any military, naval, or air mission to any foreign country, nor to allow Austrian nationals to enlist in the army, navy, or air service of any foreign Power.

PRISONERS OF WAR.

The repatriation of Austrian prisoners and interned civilians is to be carried out by a Commission composed of representatives of the Allies and the Austrian Government, together with local sub-commissions. Austrian prisoners of war and interned civilians are to be returned without delay by the Austrian authorities at their own cost. Those under sentence for offences against discipline committed before May 1, 1919, are to be repatriated without regard to the completion of their sentence, but this does not apply in the case of offences other than those against discipline.

The Allies have the right to deal at their own discretion with Austrian nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, and all repatriation is conditional on the immediate release of any Allied subjects still in Austria.

The Austrian Government is to accord facilities to Commissions of Inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war, and in imposing penalties on Austrian officials who have concealed Allied nationals. The Austrian Government is to restore all property belonging to Allied prisoners, and there is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

GRAVES.

The Allies and the Austrian Government are to respect and maintain the graves of all soldiers and sailors buried in their territories and to recognise and assist any Commissions appointed by the Allies in connexion with them, agreeing also to give any practicable facilities for removal and reburial.

PENALTIES.

Military tribunals are to be set up by the Allies to try persons accused of acts of violation of the laws and customs of war, and the Austrian Government is to hand over all persons so accused. Similar tribunals are to be set up by any particular Allied Power against whose nationals criminal acts have been committed. The accused are to be entitled to name their own counsel, and the Austrian Government is to undertake to furnish all documents and information the production of which may be necessary.

REPARATION.

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm, and Austria accepts the responsibility of Austria and her Allies for causing loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Austria and her Allies.

While recognising that Austria's resources will not be adequate to make complete reparation, the Allied and Associated Governments require, and Austria undertakes, that she will make compensation for damage done to civilians and their property in accordance with categories of damages similar to those provided in the Treaty with Germany.

The amount of damage is to be determined by the Reparation Commission provided for in the Treaty with Germany, which is to have a special section to handle the Austrian situation. The Commission will notify Austria before May 1, 1921, of the extent of her liability and of the schedule of payments for the discharge thereof within a period of thirty years. It will bear in mind the diminutions of Austria's resources and capacity of payment resulting from the treaty.

IMMEDIATE REPARATIONS.

As immediate reparation Austria shall pay during 1919-20 and the first four months of 1921, in such manner as provided by the Reparation Commission, a reasonable sum which shall be determined by the Commission. Three bond issues shall be made, the first before May 1, 1921, without interest, the second at 2½ per cent, interest between 1921 and 1920, and thereafter at 5 per cent., with an additional 1 per cent, for amortisation beginning in 1926, and a third at 5 per cent, when the Commission is satisfied that Austria can meet the interest and sinking fund obligation. The amounts shall be divided by the Allies and Associated Governments in proportions determined upon in advance on a basis of general equity.

The Austrian section of the Reparation Commission shall include representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Greece, Poland, Eumania, the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State, and Czecho-Slovakia. The first four shall each appoint a delegate with two votes, and the other five shall choose one delegate each year to represent them all. Withdrawal from the Commission is permitted on a twelve months' notice.

Austria, recognising the right of the Allies for ton-for-ton replacement of all ships lost or damaged in the war cedes all merchant ships and fishing boats belonging to nationals of the former Empire, agreeing to deliver them within two months to the Reparation Commission. With a view to making good the losses in river tonnage, she agrees to deliver up to 20 per cent, of her river fleet.

The Allied and Associated Powers require, and Austria undertakes, that in part reparation she will devote her economic resources to the physical restoration of the invaded areas. Within sixty days of the coming into force of the treaty, the Governments concerned shall file

with the Reparation Commission lists of animals, machinery, equipment, and the like destroyed by Austria, and which the Governments desire replaced in kind and lists of materials which they desire produced in Austria for the work of reconstruction, and which shall be reviewed in the light of Austria's ability to meet them.

ANIMALS TO BE DELIVERED.

As an immediate advance as to animals, Austria agrees to deliver within three months after ratifications of the treaty 4,000 milch cows to Italy and 1,000 each to Serbia and Rumania, 1,000 heifers to Italy, 300 to Serbia, and 500 to Rumania; 50 bulls to Italy and 25 each to Serbia and Rumania; 1,000 calves to each of the three nations; 1,000 bullocks to Italy and 500 each to Serbia and Rumania; 2,000 cows to Italy, and 1,000 draught horses and 1,000 sheep to both Serbia and Rumania.

Austria also agrees to give an option for five years as to timber, iron, and magnesite in amounts as nearly equal to the pre-war importations as Austria's resources make possible. She renounces in favour of Italy all cables touching territories assigned to Italy and in favour of the Allied and Associated Powers other cables.

Austria agrees to restore all records, documents, objects of antiquity and art, and all scientific and bibliographical material taken away from the invaded or ceded territories. She will also hand over without delay all official records of the ceded territories and all records, documents, and historical material possessed by public institutions and having a direct bearing on the history of the ceded territories which have been removed during the past ten years, except that for Italy the period shall be from 1861.

As to artistic, archaeological, scientific, or historic objects formerly belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Government or Crown, Austria agrees to negotiate with the State concerned for an amicable arrangement for the return to the districts of origin on terms of reciprocity of any object which ought to form part of the intellectual patrimony of the ceded districts and for twenty years to safeguard all other such objects for the free use of students.

RESTORATION OF JEWELS AND PAINTINGS.

As for special objects carried off by the House of Hapsburg and other dynasties from Italy, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, a Committee of three jurists appointed by the Reparation Commission is to examine within a year the conditions under which the objects were removed, and to order restoration if the removal were illegal. The list of articles includes, among others: For Tuscany the Crown jewels and part of the Medici heirlooms; for Modena a Virgin, by Andrea del Sarto, and three manuscripts; for Palermo twelfth century objects made for the Norman kings; for Naples ninety-eight manuscripts carried off in 1718; for Belgium various objects and documents removed in 1704; for Poland a gold cup of King Ladislas IV. removed in 1772; and for Czecho-Slovakia various documents and historical manuscripts removed from the Royal Chateau of Prague.

FINANCIAL.

The first charge upon all the assets and revenues of Austria shall be the costs arising under the present treaty, including, in order of priority, the costs of the armies of occupation, reparations, and other charges specifically agreed to, and, with certain exceptions as granted by the Reparation Commission, the total cost of the armies of occupation from the armistice of November 3, 1918, so long as maintained, and may export no gold before May 1, 1921, without consent of the Reparation Commission.

Each of the States to which Austrian territory is transferred and each of the States arising out of the dismemberment of Austria, including the Republic of Austria, shall assume part of the Austrian pre-war debt, specifically secured on railways, salt mines, and other property, the amount to be fixed by the Reparation Commission on the basis of the value of the property so transferred. Similarly, the unsecured bonded pre-war debt of the former Empire shall be distributed by the Reparation Commission in the proportion that the revenues for the three years before the war of the separated territory bore to those of the Empire, excluding Bosnia and Herzegovina.

FORMER GOVERNMENT'S WAR DEBT.

No territory formerly part of the Empire, except the republic of Austria, shall carry with it any obligation in respect of the war debt of the former Austrian Government, but neither the Governments of those territories nor their nationals shall have recourse against any other State, including Austria, in respect of war debt bonds held within their respective territories by themselves or their nationals. The war debt held outside the former Empire shall be a charge on the Republic of Austria alone. All war securities shall be stamped within two months with the stamp of the State taking them up, replaced by certificates, and sent to the Reparation Commission.

The currency notes of the former Austro-Hungarian Bank circulating in separated territory shall be stamped within two months by the new Governments of the various territories with their own stamp, replaced within twelve months by a new currency, and turned over within fourteen months to the Reparation Commission. The bank itself shall be liquidated as from the day after the signature of the treaty by the Reparation Commission.

States to which Austrian territory is transferred, and States arising from the dismemberment of Austria, shall acquire all property within their territories of the old or new Austrian Governments, including that of the former Royal family. The value is to be assessed by the Reparation Commission and credited to Austria on the reparation account.

Property of predominant historic interest to the former kingdoms of Poland, Bohemia, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, the Republic of Ragusa, and the County of Trient and Bressanone may be transferred without payment.

Austria renounces all rights as to all international, financial,* or commercial organisations in Allied countries, Germany, Hungary,

Bulgaria, Turkey, or the former Russian Empire. She agrees to expropriate on demand of the Reparation Commission any rights of her nationals in any public utility or concession in these territories in separated districts and in mandatory territories, to transfer them to the Commission within six months, and to hold herself responsible for indemnifying her nationals so dispossessed. She also agrees to deliver within one month the gold deposited as security for the Ottoman Debt, to renounce any benefits accruing from the treaties of Bukarest and Brest-Li to vsk, and to transfer to the Allied and Associated Governments all claims against her former Allies.

Any financial adjustments, such as those relating to banking and insurance companies, savings banks, postal savings banks, land banks, or mortgage companies in the former Monarchy necessitated by the dismemberment of the Monarchy, and the resettlement of public debts and currency, shall be regulated by agreement between the various Governments, failing which the Reparation Commission shall appoint an arbitrator or arbitrators whose decision shall be final.

Austria shall not be responsible for pensions of nationals of the former Empire who have become nationals of other States.

QUESTION OF THE RAILWAYS.

RAILROADS.—The conditions under which the railways of the ancient Monarchy are granted to private companies are regulated in a special Article. An agreement must be made in the case of each railway between the concessionaire and the State under the sovereignty of which the line in question passes.

In case an agreement cannot be reached, the question shall be submitted to arbitration by the Council of the League of Nations.

With regard to the South of Austria Railway Company (the Lombard Railways), such administration of the company or by a committee representing the holders of the stock.

ECONOMIC CLAUSES: CUSTOMS.

The treaty contains detailed provisions for securing that Austria shall not discriminate, directly or indirectly, against the trade of Allied and Associated countries.

These provisions will remain in force for five years, unless extended by the Council of the League of Nations, but will not be invoked in the case of any arrangements made between Austria and Hungary or Czecho-Slovakia in respect of certain natural products originating in and coming from those countries during the five years period. The Austrian import tariff applicable at the outset to Allied goods will not exceed the lowest rates of 1914 for a period of six months, after which the restriction shall apply to agricultural produce only for a further period of three months.

SHIPPING.

Provision is made for the recognition by Austria of ships' certificates, and of the places of registry of ships belonging to any contracting party without a seaboard.

UNFAIR COMPETITION.

Austria undertakes to protect the trade of the Allies against unfair competition, and, in particular, to suppress the use of false markings and indications of origin, and, on condition of reciprocity, to respect the laws and judicial decisions of Allied and Associated States in respect of regional appellations of wines and spirits.

TREATMENT OF NATIONALS.

Austria is not to impose on the nationals of the Allied States or their property any restrictions which were not in force before the war or any taxes, unless those restrictions and taxes are applied to her own nationals. She is also prevented from imposing restrictions in regard to the exercise of occupations which are not applicable to all foreigners. These provisions are to be in force for a period of five years, and, if a majority of the Council of the League of Nations so decides, for an additional period not exceeding five years. Austrian nationality shall not continue to attach to a person who has become a national of an Allied or Associated State.

MULTILATERAL CONVENTIONS.

A series of multilateral Conventions are re-applied as between Austria and the Allies who are parties thereto, but special conditions are attached to Austria's re-entry to several. For example, as to postal and telegraphic Conventions, Austria must not refuse her consent to special arrangements concluded by the new States. She must agree as respects the Radio-telegraphic Convention to fulfil the provisional rules to be communicated to her and adhere to a new Convention when formulated. Austria undertakes, within twelve months of the coming into force of the treaty, to adhere to the Literary and Artistic Copyright Conventions, and, pending her adhesion, to protect Allied copyrights according to the principles of these Conventions.

BILATERAL TREATIES.

Each Allied State may, if it desires, renew any of its treaties with Austria, in so far as consistent with the Peace Treaty, by giving notice within six months. Treaties entered into by Austria since August 1, 1914, with other enemy States, and before or since then with Rumania, Russia, or Germany, are abrogated, and concessions granted under pressure to Austrian nationals annulled. The Allies are to enjoy the privileges conferred under treaties entered into by Austria with other enemy States before August 1, 1914, and under treaties entered into by Austria with neutral States during the war.

PRE-WAR DEBTS.

Clearing offices are to be established within three months in Austria and in each Allied or Associated State which adopts the plan, and the settlement of pre-war debts and other specified pecuniary obligations

will take place through these offices, direct settlement being prohibited. The adjustment of the proceeds of the liquidation of enemy property will also be made through these offices. Each participating State is to take responsibility for obligations of the kinds referred to on the part of its nationals towards nationals of the opposing States, except in cases where at the outbreak of war the debtor was insolvent.

Claims are to be discussed between the Clearing Offices of the two countries concerned, and failing agreement are to be submitted to arbitration or to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal referred to below. The sums due to the nationals of each country are to be paid by the Clearing Office in that country and the sums owing by such nationals are to be debited to it.

Debts are to be paid in the currency of the Allied country concerned, and the rate of exchange to be adopted, failing specific provision in the contract, is to be the average cable transfer rate prevailing in that country during the month immediately preceding the outbreak of war between the country in question and Austria. It is optional with any Allied Power to participate in the above system.

ENEMY PROPERTY.

The action of liquidation, control, etc., taken in the Allied countries and in Austria in regard to enemy property and businesses under exceptional war measures is confirmed, subject to compensation in respect of loss to the property, etc., of Allied nationals, to be determined by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal and charged upon the property of Austrian nationals which is under the control of the claimant's State. Any compensation due to her own nationals is to be paid by Austria.

All action of liquidation, control, etc., in Austria is to be stayed, and the Allied property, if not completely liquidated, is to be restored. Nationals of countries which did not make any general liquidation of Austrian property may require the restoration, if possible, of their actual property by the Austrian Government, in whose hands it may now be. Stipulations are included for the protection of returned property and business in Austria in the future.

The Allies reserve the right to retain and liquidate all Austrian property within their territory. The net proceeds of sales of such property, both during and after the war, are to be credited to Austria, and to be applied by each State to the satisfaction of claims by its nationals with regard to their property in Austria or debts owing to them by Austrians.

CONTRACTS.

Pre-war contracts between Allied nationals and Austrian nationals are in general cancelled as from the date at which the parties became enemies. Exception is made in the case of agreements for the transfer of real or personal property, where the property therein had already passed, leases of land and houses, contracts of mortgage, pledge, or lien, mining concessions, contracts with Governments and public bodies, and insurance contracts. In regard to the last-named class of contracts detailed provision is made, as indicated below,

Powers are reserved for the maintenance of contracts, the execution of which is regarded by an Allied State as in the general interest, subject, if necessary, to the payment of equitable compensation to be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

Having regard to the constitutional difficulties in the case of the United States of America, Brazil, and Japan, these countries are excepted from the provisions relating to pre-war contracts.

Fire insurance contracts are not considered dissolved by the war, even if premiums have not been paid, but lapse at the date of the first annual premium falling due three months after the Peace.

Life insurance contracts are not dissolved merely by reason of the war, but where they have lapsed the surrender value may be claimed, or if the lapse was due to payment of premiums being prevented by the enforcement of measures of war, the contract may be restored on payment of premiums with interest.

-Marine insurance contracts are dissolved by the outbreak of war, except where the risk had already attached. Where the same risk was again insured against after war had begun the new policy is to be considered as substituted for the old. Where the risk had not attached at the outbreak of war, premiums paid are recoverable.

The insurance treaties are abrogated unless invasion has made it impossible for the reinsured to find another re-insurer. Any Allied or Associated Power, however, may cancel all the life insurance contracts running between its national and an Austrian insurance or re-insurance company, the latter being obliged to hand over the proportion of its assets attributable to such policies.

A Mixed Arbitral Tribunal is to be established between each of the Allies and Austria, consisting of one member appointed by each of the two Governments, and a President to be chosen, failing agreement, by the Council of the League of Nations, or until this is set up, by the present President of the Swiss Federal Council. This tribunal is to decide all disputes relating to contracts made before the date of the Treaty of Peace between nationals of the Allied States and Austrian nationals, so far as they do not fall within the jurisdiction of Allied or Associated or Neutral Courts.

INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY.

Rights in industrial, literary, and artistic property are re-established, but subject, in the case of Austrian-owned rights, to the effect of the special war measures of the Allies, the right of imposing on Austrian patents and copyrights conditions in the public interest or to secure the fulfilment of Austria's obligations is reserved.

Extensions of time are given for the accomplishment of formalities, for the working of patents, and for securing rights under the international conventions. Except as between the United States, of America and Austria, pre-war licences are cancelled, subject to the right of the old licensee to demand a new licence on terms to be specially settled; and except as between the same countries the right to sue for infringement committed during the war is not recognised,

SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR FORMER AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN NATIONALS
ACQUIRING AN ALLIED NATIONALITY.

These provisions are similar to those in the German treaty relating to the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. Their contracts are maintained subject to cancellation by their Governments. Austria undertakes to recognise any agreement or convention made by the Allies to safeguard the interests of their nationals in any undertakings constituted under Austro-Hungarian law which operate in territories detached from the former Austrian Empire and to transfer any necessary documents and information in regard to them.

AERIAL NAVIGATION.

Aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in Austrian territory, equal treatment with Austrian planes as to use of Austrian airdromes, and with most-favoured-nation planes as to internal commercial traffic in Austria. Austria agrees to accept Allied certificates of nationality, airworthiness, or competency and licences, and to apply the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers to her own aircraft over her own territory. These rules apply until 1923, unless Austria has since been admitted to the League of Nations or to the above convention.

PORTS, WATERWAYS, AND RAILWAYS.

Austria is required to grant freedom of transit and full national treatment to persons, goods, vessels, rolling-stock, etc., coming from or going to any Allied or Associated State and passing in transit through Austrian territories. Goods in transit are to be free of Customs duties. Rates of transport depend directly or indirectly on the flag of the vessel. Provisions are made against discrimination by control of trans migrant traffic ; and all kinds of indirect discrimination are prohibited.

International transport is to be expedited, particularly for perishable goods. There is to be no discrimination in transport charges and facilities against Allied ports.

The Danube, below Ulm, is declared international, together with portions of its navigable affluents and lateral canals. Nationals, property and flags of all States are to be treated on a footing of perfect equality with subjects, etc., of the riparian States, and various conditions are imposed to ensure facilities and reasonable charges and the maintenance of navigation, under the supervision of the League of Nations.

Austria is to hand over within three months from notification a proportion of its river shipping, tugs, and material.

The former Danube Commission is to resume its pre-war powers, but only Great Britain, France, Italy, and Roumania are to be represented on it. From the point where the competence of the Commission ceases, an International Commission is to be appointed to administer the whole Upper Danube, until a definite statute is arrived at. The former rights of Hungary to carry out works at the Iron Gate are abrogated ; and the

other riparian States are granted certain rights on the Austrian bank of the river.

Provision is also made for an international deep-draught Rhine-Danube Canal, should it be decided to construct it within twenty-five years.

RAILWAYS.

Austria is to have free access to the Adriatic, with rights to freedom of transit over territories and in ports severed from former Austria-Hungary; this freedom extends to postal and kindred services.

Goods consigned from or to Allied States to or from Austria, or in transit through Austria, are entitled generally to the most favourable conditions available.

Certain railway tariff questions are dealt with.

If a new Railway Convention has within five years replaced the Berne Convention of 1890, it will be binding on Austria; in the meantime she is to follow the Berne Convention.

Austria is to co-operate in the establishment of passenger and luggage services with direct booking between Allied States over her territory, under favourable conditions, as well as emigrant train services.

Austria is to fit her rolling-stock with apparatus allowing of its being incorporated in Allied goods trains, and *vice versa*, without interfering with the brake system. Provision is made for the handing over of the installations of lines in transferred territory, and of an equitable proportion of rolling-stock for use therein. Commissions are to settle the working of lines linking up two parts of one country and crossing another, or branch lines passing from one country to another.

In the absence of particular agreements Austria is to allow such lines to be built or improved as may be necessary to ensure good services between one Allied State and another, if called upon to do so within twenty-five years with the concurrence of the League of Nations, the Allied States concerned paying the cost.

Austria is to allow the Czecho-Slovak State to run its own trains over sections of railway leading to Fiume and Trieste through Austrian territory. The rights of the Czecho-Slovak State in this connexion are specified and limited; conditions are to be determined by a Convention and any points of difference are to be decided by an arbitrator nominated by Great Britain.

As a temporary arrangement, Austria is to execute instructions given in the name of the Allies as to transport of troops, material, munitions, etc., transport for revictualling of certain regions, and re-establishment of normal transport, postal, and telegraphic services.

Finally, Austria is to agree to subscribe to any General Conventions regarding the international regime of transit, waterways, ports, or railways which may be concluded by the Allies (with the approval of the League of Nations) within five years.

Differences are to be settled by the League of Nations. Certain specified articles—*e.g.*, those providing for equal treatment in matters of transit and transport, are subject to revision by the League of Nations after five years. Failing revision, they will only continue in force in relation to any Allied State which grants reciprocal treatment.

THE LABOUR CONVENTION.

Under the provisions of the Labour Convention :—

1. An international Conference is to be held annually, to propose Labour reforms for adoption by States composing the League of Nations.

2. There is to be a governing body to act as executive and to prepare the Agenda for the Conference, and an International Labour Office for the collection and distribution of information and reports. The head of this office will be responsible to the governing body.

3. The Annual Conference will consist of four representatives from each State, two for the State and one each for employers and employed. Each delegate may vote. The Conference may have power to adopt by a two-third majority recommendations or draft conventions on labour matters. Recommendations or draft conventions so adopted must be brought by each State before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment for legislation or other action.

If a draft convention receives the approval of the competent authority the State in question is under obligation to ratify it and to carry it into effect. Should any State fail to observe the above obligations, it will be open to the governing body to appoint a Commission of Inquiry, as a result of whose findings the League of Nations may take economic measures against the offending State.

4. Special provision is made to prevent any conflict with the Constitution of the United States or other Federal States.

5. To meet the case of countries where climate, imperfect industrial development, or other special circumstances render labour conditions substantially different from those obtaining elsewhere, the Conference must take the difference into account in framing any convention.

A protocol attached to the convention provides that the first meeting shall be at Washington in the present year, and sets up an International Organising Committee for that purpose. The protocol also contains the agenda for the first meeting, which include the principle of the eight-hours' day, the question of unemployment, and of the employment of women and children, especially in dangerous trades.

Appended to the section containing the Labour Convention is an affirmation by the High Contracting Parties of the methods and principles for regulating labour conditions, which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply so far as their special circumstances permit. Amongst these are that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce ; the right of association for all lawful purposes for the employer as well as for the employed; the payment to the employed of a wage implying a reasonable standard of life, as understood in their time and country. The adoption of an eight-hours' day or a forty-eight-hours' week where it has not already been attained ; the adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, including Sunday where practicable. The abolition of child labour and the limitation of the labour of the young, so as to permit the continuance of their education and proper physical development. The principle of equal pay for men and women for equal work. Any legal standard for

conditions of labour to have regard in each country to the equitable economic treatment of all workers resident therein. The provision by each State of a system of inspection for the protection of the employed, in which women should take part.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Austria agrees to recognise the Conventions made or to be made by the Allied and Associated Powers as to traffic in arms and in spirituous liquors and kindred subjects. The High Contracting Parties note the treaty of July, 1918, between France and the Principality of Monaco and the agreement reached between the French and Swiss Governments as to the neutralised zone of Savoy.

They agree that chairmen of Commissions shall in certain circumstances have a casting vote.

The work of religious missions maintained by Austrian Societies in territory transferred to or belonging to the Allied or Associated Powers is to be continued under trustees appointed by those Powers.

In a Barrer Clause, Austria undertakes not to put forward any pecuniary claim against any Allied Power signing the present treaty, based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Austria accepts all decrees, etc., as to Austrian ships and goods made by any Allied Prize Court, and the Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of Austrian Prize Courts.

The present treaty, of which the texts in French and English are both authentic, shall be ratified, and the deposit of ratification made in Paris, as soon as possible. The treaty shall come into force when it has been ratified by Austria, and by any three of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. The treaty is to enter into force in all respects for each Power on the date of deposit of its ratification.

SUMMARY OF THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN THE ASSOCIATED
POWERS AND BULGARIA.

THE FUTURE FRONTIERS OF BULGARIA.

On the North, the frontier with Rumania remains unchanged.

On the West, the frontier with the Serb-Croat-Slovene State for the most part follows the line of the old frontier with Serbia. Small portions of territory are ceded to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, of which the most important is the town of Strumnitza and the surrounding district.

A modification is introduced into the Southern frontier with territories to be subsequently attributed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the new boundary follows a line which may be drawn roughly from a point about eight miles south-west of Bashmakli to Kilkik, passing close to Ardabashi and Daridere, which remain in Bulgarian territory and crossing the Kartal Dag and the Tokatjik Dag.

On the South-East line a slight modification taking in a small piece of Turkish territory north-west of Mustafa Pasha is introduced. The Black Sea forms as before the Eastern frontier.

POLITICAL CLAUSES.

Section 1.—Serb-Croat-Slovene State.—Bulgaria recognises the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and renounces in favour of that State all rights and title over the territories of the Bulgarian Monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Bulgaria, as defined by the present treaty or by any treaties concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement. A Commission, consisting of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and one by Bulgaria, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line. Bulgarian nationals who became resident in the territories assigned to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State after January 1, 1910, will require a permit from the Serb-Croat-Slovene State to acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality. All other Bulgarian nationals resident in those territories will acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality *ipso facto* and lose their Bulgarian nationality.

Section 2.—Greece.—Bulgaria renounces in favour of Greece all rights and titles over the territories of the Bulgarian Monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Bulgaria as laid down in the sections dealing with frontiers and recognised by the present treaty as forming part of Greece. Bulgarian nationals habitually resident in the territories assigned to Greece in accordance with the present treaty will obtain Greek nationality *ipso facto* and will lose their Bulgarian nationality. They will, however, be entitled within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present treaty, if over 18 years of age, to opt for Bulgarian nationality, a similar privilege being accorded to Greeks over 18 years of age who are Bulgarian nationals habitually resident in Bulgaria who may wish to opt for Greek nationality. The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Bulgaria which Greece will assume on account of the territory placed under her sovereignty will be determined in accordance with the financial clauses of the present treaty.

Section 3.—Thrace.—Bulgaria renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territories in Thrace which used to belong to the Bulgarian Monarchy and which being situated outside the new frontiers of Bulgaria have not at present been assigned to any State. Bulgaria undertakes to accept whatever settlement may be made by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in regard to these territories and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake, on the other hand, to ensure economic outlets for Bulgaria to the AEgean Sea under the conditions which will be fixed at a later date.

Section 4.—Protection of Minorities.—The provisions for the protection of minorities reproduce exactly those laid down in the Austrian Treaty, adding the proviso that all persons not nationals of any other State habitually resident in Bulgaria at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, as well as all persons born in Bulgaria who are not born nationals of another State, *ipso facto* become Bulgarian nationals.

Section 5.—General Provisions.—Bulgaria undertakes to recognise all

treaties or agreements which may be entered into by the Allied and Associated Powers with States now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Empire of Russia as it existed on August 1, 1914, and to recognise the frontiers of any such States as determined therein.

Bulgaria accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties and of all Treaties, Conventions, and Agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia.

The Allied and Associated Powers formerly reserve the rights of Russia to obtain from Bulgaria restitution and reparation based on the principles of the present treaty. Bulgaria undertakes to recognise the Treaties of Peace and additional Conventions which have been or may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the Powers who fought on the side of Bulgaria.

Bulgaria declares that she recognises the Protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on December 18, 1914, and that she will make no claim on behalf of herself or her nationals to the benefits or immunities derived from the regime of the capitulations in Egypt regarding all treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts concluded by Bulgaria with Egypt as abrogated as from October 11, 1915.

Bulgaria declares that she recognises the French Protectorate in Morocco, and that she will make no claim on behalf of herself or her nationals to the benefits or immunities derived from the regime of the capitulations in Morocco regarding all treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts concluded by Bulgaria with Morocco as abrogated as from October 11, 1915.

MILITARY, NAVAL, AND AIR CLAUSES.

MILITARY CLAUSES.

The military terms fix the total number of effectives of the Bulgarian Army, the sole function of which shall be to maintain internal order and control frontiers, at 20,000, including officers, and it is provided that there will be no other military forces raised outside this figure. This army shall be recruited both as regards officers and men on a voluntary basis ; in the case of officers (who shall not be retired before the age of 40), for not less than twenty years' service, and, in the case of non-commissioned officers and men, for not less than twelve years' service. The number of Customs', forestry, or police officials shall be fixed by a military Inter-Allied Commission of Control, and in no case shall the number of these officials who are armed with rifles exceed 10,000, so that the total number of rifles in use in Bulgaria shall not exceed 30,000.

The proportion of officers, including personnel, staffs, and special services, shall not exceed one-twentieth of the total effectives with the colours, and that of non-commissioned officers shall not exceed one-fifteenth of the total effectives with the colours. The effectives of units shall be compulsorily fixed between the maximum and minimum figures laid down in the treaty.

On the expiration of three months of the coming into force of the present treaty, there must only exist in Bulgaria one military school for

the sole purpose of the recruitment of officers for the authorised units. The number of students admitted to instruction in the school shall be strictly in proportion to the vacancies to be filled in the officer cadres, and both cadres and students shall be reckoned as part of the effectives of the Bulgarian Army.

Within three months of the coming into force of the present treaty, the Bulgarian Government shall deposit in places notified by the Allied and Associated Powers any surplus of armament and munitions exceeding the figures fixed per thousand men in the present treaty, and no other stock, depot, or reserve of munitions shall be formed. The number and calibre of guns constituting the fixed normal armament of fortified places existing at present in Bulgaria shall constitute the maximum amount which may not be exceeded. Within three months of the coming into force of the present treaty, the maximum stock of ammunition for these guns will be reduced to and maintained* at the rates of 1,500 rounds per gun of the calibre of 105 mm. and under, and 500 rounds per gun of higher calibre.

No new fortifications shall be constructed in Bulgaria. No poisonous gas or liquid fire shall be manufactured or imported, nor any tanks nor armoured cars, and within three months of the coming into force of the present treaty, all arms, munitions, and war material of whatever origin or kind existing in Bulgaria in excess of the authorised quantity shall be handed over to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers at such point in Bulgarian territory as they may appoint. The Allied and Associated Powers shall also decide on the disposal of such material.

The manufacture of arms, munitions, and of war material shall only be carried on in one single factory, controlled by and belonging to the State, whose output shall be strictly limited to such manufacture as is sanctioned above.

NAVAL CLAUSES.

The naval terms provide that from the date of the coming into force of the treaty, all Bulgarian warships, including submarines existing or under construction, are finally to be surrendered to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers or broken up. Submarines may not be constructed or acquired even for commercial purposes. All naval arms, munitions, and other war material belonging to Bulgaria at the date of the armistice must be surrendered to the Allies. The Bulgarian wireless station at Sofia will be under Allied supervision and may only be used for commercial messages during the three months after the coming into force of the present treaty. Nor during the same period may Bulgaria build any more high-power wireless stations.

AIR CLAUSES.

The air clauses provide that the armed forces of Bulgaria must not include any military or naval air forces. The entire personnel of the air forces in Bulgaria is to be demobilised within two months.

The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers is to enjoy full liberty of passage and landing over and in Bulgarian territory until the

complete evacuation of that territory by the Allied and Associated troops. The manufacture of aircraft and parts of aircraft is forbidden for six months. All military and naval aircraft, including dirigible and aeronautical material, are to be delivered on the ratification of the present treaty.

INTER-ALLIED COMMISSION OF CONTROL.

All Military, Naval, and Air Clauses contained in the present treaty for the execution of which a time limit is prescribed shall be executed by Bulgaria under the control of Inter-Allied Commissions appointed for this purpose by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

The Inter-Allied Commissions of Control may establish their organisations at Sofia and shall be entitled to proceed as often as they think fit to any point in Bulgarian territory or to send sub-commissions to any such point. The Bulgarian Government must furnish to the Inter-Allied Commissions of Control all such information and documents as the latter may think necessary to ensure the execution of their mission, and all means (both in personnel and material) which said Commissions may need to ensure complete execution of the Military, Naval, or Air Clauses. The Bulgarian Government must also attach a qualified representative to each Inter-Allied Commission of Control with the duty of receiving the communications which the Commission may have to address to the Bulgarian Government and of furnishing it with or procuring all information or documents demanded.

The upkeep and cost of the Inter-Allied Commissions of Control and the expense involved by their work shall be borne by Bulgaria.

PRISONERS OF WAR AND GRAVES.

This section follows the similar one in the Austrian treaty, except for one article, which, in the case of Bulgaria, provides for an Inter-Allied Commission of Inquiry into offences against the laws of war committed by the Bulgarian Authorities and to search for non-repatriated Allied and Associated nationals.

REPARATION AND FINANCIAL CLAUSES.

Reparation.—The Allied and Associated Governments, while recognising that the resources of Bulgaria are insufficient to enable adequate reparation to be made, agree to accept from Bulgaria such reparation as she can make, and fix the sum of 2,250,000,000 (two-and-a-quarter milliards) of francs, in gold, which amount (except as hereinafter provided) shall be discharged by a series of half-yearly payments on January 1 and July 1 in each year, beginning on July 1, 1920. The payments on July 1, 1920, and January 1, 1921, shall represent interest at the rate of 2 per cent, per annum on the total sum from January 1, 1920. Thereafter each half-yearly payment shall include payment of interest at 5 per cent, per annum on the amount of the capital sum outstanding, and the provision of a sinking fund sufficient to extinguish the total amount on January 1, 1958.

The sums shall be remitted through the Inter-Allied Commission referred to in this treaty to the Reparation Commission created by the Treaty of Peace with Germany on June 28, 1919 (hereinafter referred to as the Reparation Commission), in accordance with the arrangements already made. The Reparation Commission shall have power at any time to dispose, either by sale or otherwise, of gold bonds based on the payments to be made by Bulgaria, the nominal amount of which bonds shall be fixed by it in consultation with the Inter-Allied Commission, but shall in no case exceed the total capital sums then outstanding. In such case Bulgaria undertakes to deliver to the Reparation Commission through the Inter-Allied Commission the necessary bonds in such form, number, and denominations and terms as the Reparation Commission may determine. Bonds so delivered shall be direct obligations of the Bulgarian Government, but all arrangements for the service of the bonds shall be made by the Inter-Allied Commission. The Inter-Allied Commission shall pay all interest, sinking fund, and other charges connected with the bonds out of the half-yearly payments to be made by Bulgaria in accordance with this treaty. Any surplus shall continue to be paid to the order of the Reparation Commission.

The Inter-Allied Commission shall have discretion to recommend to the Reparation Commission either the reduction of any particular payment due or a reduction of the total capital sum to be paid by Bulgaria, and the Reparation Commission shall have power by a majority of votes to make any such reduction or postponement up to the extent recommended by the Inter-Allied Commission. Bulgaria, on the other hand, shall have power at any time to make immediate payments in reduction of the total capital sum due over and above the half-yearly payments.

While Bulgaria recognises the transfer to the Allied and Associated Powers of any financial claims which her late Allies may have against her, particularly those derived from the execution of undertakings entered into during the war, the Allied and Associated Powers agree not to require any payment in respect of those claims which have been taken into account in fixing the amount of the financial reparation to be paid by Bulgaria.

Bulgaria undertakes to return to Greece, Rumania, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State respectively all records, archives, and articles of archaeological, historic, or artistic interest which have been taken away from the territories of these countries during the present war, and live stock of the descriptions and in the numbers set out in the treaty, in restitution for the animals taken away by her during the war from the territories of the countries named. Bulgaria undertakes by way of special compensation for the destruction caused to the coal mines situated on Serbian territory by the Bulgarian armies to deliver to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State during five years from the coming into force of the present treaty 50,000 (fifty thousand) tons of coal a year from the output of the State mines at Pernik, provided these deliveries are sanctioned by the Inter-Allied Commission, which will require to be satisfied that such deliveries of coal will not unduly interfere with the economic life of Bulgaria.

The Inter-Allied Commission above referred to shall be established

at Sofia as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present treaty. It shall consist of three members, to be nominated respectively by the Governments of the British Empire, France, and Italy. Bulgaria shall be represented at the Commission by a Commissioner who shall take part in the sittings whenever invited by the Commission to do so, but shall not have the right to vote.

In the law relating to the Commission there shall be laid down a list of the taxes and revenues (now existing *et* hereafter to be created) estimated to be sufficient to produce the sums above referred to. This list shall include all revenues or receipts arising from concessions made or to be made for the working of mines or quarries, or for the carrying on of any works of public utility, or of any monopolies for the manufacture or sale of any articles in Bulgaria. This list may be altered from time to time with the unanimous consent of the Commission.

In case of default by Bulgaria in the performance of her obligations the Commission shall be entitled to the extent, and for the period it may determine, to assume the full control of and undertake the collection of such taxes and sources of revenue, and to hold and disburse the proceeds thereof, and to apply any net proceeds after meeting the cost of administration and collection to the satisfaction of reparation obligations of Bulgaria, subject to any priorities laid down in this treaty.

Financial.—Bulgaria is required to make the following payments in the following order of priority.—

1. Cost of military occupation.
2. The service of such part of the external Ottoman Public Debt as a Commission appointed for the purpose may attribute to Bulgaria.
3. The cost of reparation as prescribed by the present treaty.

ECONOMIC CLAUSES.

The Economic Clauses are virtually identical with those in the Austrian treaty.

In the section on property, rights, and interests, a modification has been introduced. The Bulgarian Government is required to revoke all the exceptional war measures affecting the property of Allied nationals, whereas similar measures put into operation by the Allied and Associated Powers are declared final and binding. Bulgaria, in a series of new provisions, is made responsible for certain obligations incurred by her owing to her acquisition of certain property after the Balkan Wars.

PORTS, WATERWAYS, AND RAILWAYS.

The section dealing with ports, waterways, and railways follows almost exactly the lines of the Austrian treaty.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

This section follows the similar one in the Austrian treaty, except for a few minor points.

REPORTS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION SET UP UNDER THE
COAL INDUSTRY COMMISSION ACT, 1919. [Cmd. 210.]
(Published June 23.)

THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT.

Report by the Honourable Mr. Justice Sankey, G.B.R. (Chairman)

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

I have the honour to present a further Report in pursuance of the Coal Industry Commission Act, 1919.

1. RECOMMENDATIONS.

I. I* recommend that Parliament be invited immediately to pass legislation acquiring the Coal Royalties for the State and paying fair and just compensation to the owners.

II. I recommend on the evidence before me that the principle of State ownership of the coal mines be accepted.

III. I recommend that the scheme for local administration hereinafter set out, or any modification of it adopted by Parliament, be immediately set up with the aid of the Coal Controller's Department, and that Parliament be invited to pass legislation acquiring the coal mines for the State, after the scheme has been worked for three years from the date of this Report, paying fair and just compensation to the owners.

IV. The success of the industry, whether under private or State ownership, depends upon productivity and upon everyone doing his best. The alarming fall in output has convinced me that at present everyone is not doing his best. I am not able to say whether this is the fault of the management or of the workers or of both. Each blames the other. The cause must be investigated, but, whatever it may be, it is hopeless to expect an improvement in the present atmosphere of distrust and recrimination. * My prescription is the old proverb, "Plenty of work and a heart to do it."

V. I make this Report because I believe that the workers at present employed can and will maintain an output of 250,000,000 tons a year at least, which was the figure adopted in the Interim Report of March 20 last, presented by me and my three colleagues. I rely upon the honour of the men's leaders and of the men and of all others concerned to achieve this result. In my opinion it can and ought to be done. If the output per man continues to go down the supremacy of this country is in danger.

VI. I recommend the continuance of the Coal Control for three years from the date of this Report.

VII. I repeat paragraph XIX. of the Interim Report of March 20 above referred to. The question of State ownership is one of policy to be determined by Parliament in which all classes, interests, and industries are represented. [Paragraph XIX., to which Mr. Justice Sankey

refers, is as follows : " It must not, however, be forgotten that after all the question of nationalisation or a method of unification by national purchase and/or by joint control, is ultimately one of policy to be determined by Parliament, and not by this Commission, although this Commission will be able to consider and report upon the various schemes or suggestions which may be put forward as a final solution of the problem."]

2. REASONS FOR THE STATE OWNERSHIP OF COAL ROYALTIES.

VIII. Coal is our principal national asset, and as it is a wasting asset it is in the interest of the State that it should be won and used to the best advantage.

IX. The seams of coal are now vested in the hands of nearly 4,000 owners, most of whom are reasonable, but some of whom are a real hindrance to the development of the national asset.

X. In certain areas the ownership of the seams of coal is in the hands of many small owners, some of whom cannot be found, and this causes great delay and expense in acquiring the right to work the mineral.

XI. Barriers of coal are left unworked between the properties of various owners to an extent which, in many cases, is not necessary for safe and proper working of the individual concern, and millions of tons of the national asset are thereby wasted.

XII. Drainage and pumping are carried on in individual pits at heavy unnecessary expense instead of under a centralised plan covering a whole area. Further, lack of co-operation in drainage has in the past been, and is at the present time, conducive to the abandonment of coal and collieries.

XIII. Boundaries of undertakings are arbitrary and irregular and make coal in certain places difficult to work or not worth working.

XIV. Plots of land are let for building, and the law allows this to be done without the right of underground support, so that the coal is worked from underneath, houses are damaged, and no compensation is payable; this is not consistent with the public well-being.

XV. Under State ownership there will be one owner instead of nearly 4,000 owners of the national asset, and the difficulties caused under the present system in regard to barriers, drainage, pumping, boundaries, and support will largely disappear.

XVI. The State ownership should be exercised through a Minister of Mines.

XVII. The Interim Report of the Acquisition and Valuation of Land Committee has pointed out at least 14 defects arising from the present system of ownership of the seams of coal and proposes to create a new sanctioning authority vested with power to issue compulsory orders from time to time to remedy these defects as and when they are in different cases found to exist.

XVIII. I regard as preferable to this extensive piece-meal machinery that the seams of coal should be acquired by the State once and for all in one final settlement, together with all usual or necessary easements and rights incidental thereto, together with power to procure all such

easements and rights in the future. If the State only acquires the seams from time to time it means many arbitrations, many intermediate settlements, enhanced delay, and increased cost of administration.

3. METHOD OF PURCHASE OF COAL ROYALTIES.

XIX. The value of each individual royalty owner's interest should be assessed by Government valuers with an appeal to a specially constituted tribunal.

XX. Such valuers should take into consideration—

(a) The properties where coal has been developed ;

(b) Potential properties where coal is known to exist and is awaiting development;

(c) Surface wayleaves and shaft rent in certain cases which destroy the amenities of the neighbouring property ;

(d) The usual royalty charged in the district for the class of coal in question ;

but not—

(c) Properties in which the existence of coal is uncertain but suspected ; and

(f) Underground wayleaves.

XXI. I also suggest that Parliament in laying down the principles of valuation should consider whether it is not possible to fix a total maximum sum which would form a pool to be allocated between the various individual royalty owners in accordance with the foregoing or any other principles which Parliament may adopt. The advantage of this plan would be that the State would at once know its total maximum liability,

4. REASONS FOR STATE OWNERSHIP OF COAL MINES.

XXII. Coal mining is our national key industry upon which nearly all other industries depend. A cheap and adequate supply of coal is essential to the comfort of individuals and to the maintenance of the trade of the country. In this respect, and in the peculiar conditions of its working, the coal-mining industry occupies a unique and exceptional place in our national life, and there is no other industry with which it can be compared.

XXIII. The other industries and consumers generally are entitled to have a voice in deciding the amount of coal to be produced and the price at which it is to be sold, which they have not had in the past.

XXIV. The export trade in coal has greatly increased, and the system of competition between many private colliery owners and exporters to obtain orders frequently prevents the industry getting the full value for the article.

XXV. The inland trade in coal has greatly increased, and the system of distribution through the hands of many private individuals prevents the consumer getting the article as cheaply as he should do. It has been estimated that there are 28,000 retail distributors of coal in the United Kingdom.

XXVI. In other words, there is underselling in the export trade and overlapping in the inland trade.

XXVII. Passing to another phase of the difficulties, the lack of capital in some mines and the lack of proper management in others prevent the development of coal-fields and the extraction of coal to the best advantage for the benefit of the nation.

XXVIII. There are in the United Kingdom about 3,000 pits owned by about 1,500 companies or individuals. Unification under State ownership makes it possible to apply the principles of standardisation of materials and appliances and thereby to effect economies to an extent which is impossible under a system where there are so many individual owners.

XXIX. It may be argued that the foregoing defects in the present system could be removed by changes in the direction of unification falling short of State ownership.

XXX. But a great change in outlook has come over the workers in the coal-fields, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to carry on the industry on the old accustomed lines. The relationship between the masters and workers in most of the coal-fields in the United Kingdom is, unfortunately, of such a character that it seems impossible to better it under the present system of ownership. Many of the workers think they are working for the capitalist and a strike becomes a contest between labour and capital. This is much less likely to apply with the State as owner, and there is fair reason to expect that the relationship between labour and the community will be an improvement upon the relationship between labour and capital in the coal-fields.

XXXI. Half a century of education has produced in the workers in the coal-fields far more than a desire for the material advantages of higher wages and shorter hours. They have now, in many cases and to an ever-increasing extent, a higher ambition of taking their due share and interest in the direction of the industry to the success of which they, too, are contributing.

XXXII. The attitude of the colliery owners is well expressed by Lord Gainford, who, speaking on their behalf as a witness before the Commission, stated: "I am authorised to say on behalf of the Mining Association that if owners are not to be left complete executive control they will decline to accept the responsibility of carrying on the industry, and, though they regard nationalisation as disastrous to the country, they feel they would in such event be driven to the only alternative—nationalisation on fair terms."

XXXIII. It is true that in the minds of many men there is a fear that State ownership may stifle incentive, but to-day we are faced in the coal-fields with increasing industrial unrest and a constant strife between modern labour and modern capital.

I think that the danger to be apprehended from the certainty of the continuance of this strife in the coal-mining industry outweighs the danger arising from the problematical fear of the risk of the loss of incentive.

XXXIV. The object to be aimed at under State ownership is national co-ordination of effort in respect of the production of the national asset and of its export and inland supply.

5. METHOD OF PURCHASE AND CARRYING ON OF THE COAL MINES.

XXXV. It is suggested that the State should purchase all the collieries, including colliery buildings, plant, machinery, stores, and other effects in and about the colliery at a fair value subject to the next paragraph.

XXXVI. In addition, expenditure on development of the collieries (including the provision of houses) incurred after a date to be fixed and with the consent of the Controller of Coal Mines should be repaid with interest at the rate of 6 per cent, per annum from the date of the expenditure provided that if such expenditure has become remunerative before the date of the purchase, the amount of the sum payable by way of interest should be reduced by the amount of the profits earned thereon.

XXXVII. In further addition the State should take power to purchase real and movable property directly associated with the working of the colliery not comprised in paragraph XXXV., other than the assets at the colliery, at a fair value.

XXXVIII. In the case of composite undertakings the owners should have a right to compel the State to purchase, and the State should have the right to compel the owner to sell the whole undertaking if, in the opinion of an arbitrator, the severance of the undertaking cannot be economically or commercially effected. By composite undertaking is meant an undertaking where a company or firm is carrying on a colliery in addition to and in conjunction with another works, *e.g.*, a colliery and a steel works.

XXXIX. Without prejudice to the powers recommended by the last paragraph, it is a matter for careful consideration whether the coke and by-product industry, which is at present only in its infancy, should not be allowed to remain in private ownership.

XL. It is suggested that the bulk of the present officials engaged in the coal-mining industry, including the managing directors of companies, should be offered an opportunity of remaining on at their present salaries on a five years' agreement together with any increases awarded from time to time.

XLI. The civil servant has not been trained to run an industry, but the war has demonstrated the potentiality of the existence of a new class of men (whether already in the service of the State or not) who are just as keen to serve the State as they are to serve a private employer and who have been shown to possess the qualities of courage in taking initiative necessary for the running of an industry.

XLI I. Hitherto, State management of industries has on balance failed to prove itself free from serious shortcomings, but these shortcomings are largely due to the neglect of the State to train those who are to be called on for knowledge and ability in management.

XLI 11. The experience of the last few years has, however, shown that it is not really difficult for the British nation to provide a class of administrative officers who combine the strongest sense of public duty with the greatest energy and capacity for initiative. Those who have this 'kind of training appear to be capable in a high degree of assuming

responsibility and also of getting on with the men whom they have to direct.

XLIV. Finally, under State ownership it is always possible to lease a mine to particular persons on terms agreeable to those who are engaged in the production of coal thereat, and this principle can be applied not only to a mine or a group of mines contained in a particular district, but to a composite undertaking.

N.B.—If and when the coal mines are acquired by the State any just claims of pioneer boring companies should be recognised, and the State should take power to carry out exploratory borings.

6. THE SCHEME FOR LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

N.B.—The propositions put forward in this scheme must not be regarded as recommendations, nor does the scheme aim at being comprehensive. The time at my disposal only allows me to make suggestions which it is hoped will be useful to Parliament.

Index to Scheme.

	Paragraphs.
(i) Local Mining Council -	- XLV.-LIII.
(li) District Mining Council	- LIV.-LXIV.
(hi) National Mining Council -	LXV.-LXXII.
(iv) Finance and Publicity	- LXXIII.-LXXVIII.
(v) Safety, Health, and Research	- LXXIX.-LXXXV.
(vi) Admiralty Coal -	LXXXVI.
(vii) Export Trade -	LXXXVII.-LXXXIX.

(i) THE LOCAL MINING COUNCIL.

N.B.—The object of this part of the scheme is to take advantage of the knowledge of the workers by allowing them to sit on the Councils for the purpose of advising the manager and to give them an effective voice in all questions where their own safety and health are concerned.

XLV. Every mine shall be under one duly certificated manager who shall be responsible for the control, management, direction, and safety of the mine and the extent and method of working, provided always that such manager shall not be personally liable for conforming to any lawful order for safety made by the District Mining Council.

XLVI. There shall be established at each mine a Local Mining Council who shall meet fortnightly, or of terner if need be, to advise the manager on all questions concerning the direction and safety of the mine.

XLVII. The Council shall consist of ten members of whom the manager, under-manager, and the commercial manager shall be *ex-officio*. Four members shall be elected by ballot by the workers in or about the mine and the remaining three members shall be appointed by the District Mining Council. The members shall hold office for two years.

XLVIII. It shall be the duty of the Council to report fortnightly to the Minister of Mines and to the District Mining Council any fall in output and the cause thereof.

X L I X . If the manager refuses to take the advice of the Local Mining Council on any question concerning the safety and health of the mine, such question shall be referred to the District Mining Council.

L. The contracts of employment of workmen shall embody an undertaking to be framed by the District Mining Council to the effect that no workman will, in consequence of any dispute, join in giving any notice to determine his contract, nor will he combine to cease work, unless and until the question in dispute has been before the Local Mining Council and the District Mining Council, and those Councils have failed to settle the dispute.

L I . There shall be a commercial manager of the mine or group of mines (which office, if the District Mining Council think fit, shall be vested in the mine manager) whose duty it shall be, subject to the control of the manager, to arrange for the purchase and supply of stores in the mines and to take steps subject to the control of the district commercial manager for the disposal of its output.

N B —It is thought that some of the present managing directors of companies might be appointed the commercial managers.

L I I . Each mine shall send in a costing account in the approved form to the District Mining Council.

L I I I . The workers at each mine shall be entitled to an output allowance to be ascertained in an approved manner, and divided among them half-yearly.

(li) THE DISTRICT MINING COUNCIL.

N.B.—The object of this part of the scheme is to prevent the bureaucratic running of the industry by causing it to be controlled locally by a Council of fourteen, upon which there is equal representation for the miners, for the consumers, and for the persons acquainted with the commercial and technical side of the industry.

L I V . There shall be established in each mining district a District Mining Council upon whom shall rest the main executive responsibility of taking measures to secure the health and safety of the workmen, and the production of coal in the district.

N.B —It is suggested that the mining districts be;—

1. Scotland, East.
2. Scotland, West.
3. Northumberland.
4. Durham.
5. Cumberland.
6. Yorkshire.
7. Lancashire and Cheshire.
8. North Wales.
9. Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire.
10. Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Shropshire.
11. Warwickshire.
12. South Wales and Monmouthshire.
13. Gloucestershire, Somersetshire.
14. Kent.

L V . The District Mining Council shall conform to any order for safety

made by the Chief Inspector of Mines, or by a Divisional Mines Inspector, and shall not make an order in respect of safety which is contrary to any Act of Parliament or regulations thereunder.

LV1. Subject to the direction of the Minister of Mines the District Mining Council shall manage in its district the entire coal extraction, the regulation of output, the discontinuance of or the opening out of mines, trial sinkings, the control of prices and the basis of wage assessment, and the distribution of coal.

LVII. In fixing the pit-head price under State ownership the following items shall be provided for:—

- (a) A fair and just wage for all workers in the industry.
- (b) The cost of materials, etc.
- (c) Upkeep and management, and development work.
- (d) Interest on the Bonds to be issued as the purchase price of the coal royalties and coal mines.
- (e) The contribution towards a sinking fund to redeem the Bonds.
- (f) A profit for national purposes.

LVIII. The District Mining Council shall be entitled to make arrangements with local authorities or with private persons (including in such term co-operative societies, companies, firms, and individuals) and in country districts, if permissible, with the local railway station master, for the sale and distribution of inland coal, and with private persons, firms, and companies for the sale and distribution of export coal, and shall have power to fix from time to time the price above which coal may not be sold for household and industrial purposes.

LIX. The District Mining Council shall consist of a Chairman and Vice-Chairman, appointed by the Minister of Mines, and twelve other members. Four members shall be elected by ballot by the workers, and the remaining eight members shall be appointed by the National Mining Council as follows:—

Four to represent consumers (of whom in iron and steel districts two, at least, shall represent the iron and steel trades, and in shipping districts two, at least, shall represent recognised coal exporters).

Two to represent the technical side of the industry, *e.g.*, mining engineering, and

Two to represent the commercial side of the industry—purchase of material and sale of output.

LX. All members shall hold office for three years, and shall be paid a salary.

LXI. The District Mining Council shall meet at least monthly, and oftener if need be.

LXII. The District Mining Council shall appoint all mine managers and all commercial mine managers within its own district.

LXIII. The District Mining Council shall appoint a commercial committee, and a commercial manager whose duty shall be, subject to the control of the commercial committee, to arrange for the purchase and supply of stores for any mine, and to take steps for the disposal of the output of coal from his district.

LXIV. The contracts of employment of workmen shall embody an undertaking to be framed by the District Mining Council to the effect

that no workman will, in consequence of any dispute affecting a district, join in giving any notice to determine his contract, nor will he combine to cease work, unless and until the question in dispute has been before the District Mining Council and the National Mining Council and those Councils have failed to settle the dispute.

(iii) THE NATIONAL MINING COUNCIL.

N.B.—The object of this part of the scheme is to get a body composed of members of the District Mining Councils who shall meet at stated intervals to discuss and advise the Minister of Mines on all questions connected with the industry. The Minister of Mines will be assisted by a Standing Committee of eighteen members elected from and by the National Mining Council, who will meet regularly for the purpose of superintending the operations of District Mining Councils. The Minister of Mines will sit in and be responsible to Parliament.

LXV. There shall be established a National Mining Council, which shall meet from time to time to discuss with and advise the Minister of Mines upon all questions connected with the operation and management of the industry.

LXVI. The Minister of Mines shall be appointed by the Government, and shall sit in and be responsible to Parliament. Such Minister shall superintend the operation of the District Mining Councils and shall preside over the National Mining Council.

LXVII. The National Mining Council shall be formed as follows

:Each District Mining Council shall elect one member for every 5,000,000 tons of output, provided that every district shall elect at least one member.

LXVIII. The members shall be elected for three years, and shall meet once a year in London, once a year in Edinburgh, and once a year in Cardiff, and at such other times as summoned by the Minister of Mines. Members shall be entitled to their travelling expenses.

LXIX. There shall be elected from and by the members of the National Mining Council a Standing Committee of eighteen, six of whom shall retire each year, and shall not be eligible for re-election for the next year. Six shall represent the workers, six shall represent consumers, and six the technical and commercial side of the industry.

LXX. The Minister of Mines shall be entitled, after consulting the Standing Committee, to veto any resolution come to either by a Local Mining Council or a District Mining Council, and in the event of his so doing he shall state publicly his grounds for so acting.

LXXI. No national alteration of wages shall be made without the consent both of the Minister of Mines and the Standing Committee.

LXXII. The contracts of employment of workmen shall embody an undertaking to be framed by the District Mining Council to the effect that no workman will, in consequence of any national dispute, join in giving any notice to determine his contract, nor will he combine to cease work, unless and until the question in dispute has been before the National Mining Council and that Council has failed to settle the dispute ; provided that on the written request of fifteen members of the National Mining Council the Minister of Mines shall convene a meeting of the Council within one month.

(iv) FINANCE AND PUBLICITY.

L X X I I L. The finances of each district shall be kept entirely separate, and a return in the approved form shall be sent to the Minister of Mines once a quarter.

L X X I V. An approved system of auditing shall be established for all accounts.

L X X V. The Treasury shall not be entitled to interfere with or to have any control over the appropriation of moneys derived from the industry. The said moneys shall be kept entirely separate and apart from other national moneys, until the profit accruing from the industry is periodically ascertained and paid into the Exchequer.

L X X V I. It being of vital importance that the mines department should be managed with the freedom of a private business, the present Civil Service system of selection and promotion by length of service, of grades of servants, of minuting opinions and reports from one servant to another, and of salaries and pensions, shall not apply to the servants attached to the mines department.

L X X V I T. The Minister of Mines shall cause the following statistics to be made public :—

- (a) The quarterly financial return from each district;
- (b) The output from each district;
- (c) The number of persons employed above and below ground ;
- (d) The cost per ton of getting and distributing coal, showing proportion due to wages, material, management, interest, and profit;
- (e) The amount of coal produced per man per shift;
- (f) The amount of absenteeism.

L X X V I I I. Pending the acquisition of the coal mines by the State, the colliery owners shall continue to have and be subject to the rights and liabilities conferred and imposed upon them by the Coal Mines Control Agreement (Confirmation) Act, 1918, or any statutory provision that may be substituted therefore as suggested in the Interim Report of March 20 presented by me and my three colleagues, or otherwise. [The reference apparently is to paragraph 8 of the Report of March 20, namely: " It will therefore be seen that to meet the decreased hours and the increased wage a sum of 43,000,000/. is required this year. To meet this it is proposed, through the machinery of the Coal Mines Control Agreement as amended for the purpose, to allow the coal-owners to retain *1s. 2d.* per ton of coal raised."]

(v) SAFETY, HEALTH, AND RESEARCH.

L X X I X. For providing for safety, health, and research there shall be a corps of officers, as set out in the following paragraphs.

L X X X. For safety, the present system of Chief Inspector and Divisional Inspectors shall be continued, and such inspectors shall continue to perform the same duties as their predecessors, but the number of inspectors shall be increased and shall be in proportion either—

- (i) to the area, or
- (ii) to the number of men employed, as for example, one inspector to, say, 5,000 men.

LXXXI. The appointment of such safety inspectors shall be made by the Minister of Mines, to whom the inspectors shall report and be responsible.

LXXXII. For health, there shall be appointed central and local inspectors of health as distinguished from safety, who shall be charged with the superintendence of the health and convalescence of colliery workers.

LXXXIII. The appointment of such health inspectors shall be made by the Minister of Mines, to whom the inspectors shall report and be responsible.

LXXXIV. For research, there shall be attached to the Ministry of Mines a Research Section for the purpose of carrying out departmental research work in safety, health, and economies in mining.

LXXXV. The appointment of such research staff shall be by the Minister of Mines.

(vi) ADMIRALTY COAL.

LXXXVI. The Admiralty and the War Office shall be entitled to requisition coal at any mine at a pit-head price equal to the lowest price charged to any consumer.

(vii) THE EXPORT TRADE.

LXXXVIT. Any person shall be entitled to purchase coal for export from any mine in the same way as he would have been entitled had such mine remained in private ownership.

LXXXVIII. The State shall not make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to, or in favour of, any particular persons desirous of purchasing coal for export, nor shall the State subject any particular person desirous of purchasing coal for export to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage whatsoever.

LXXXIX. Any exporter to whom coal is sold for export shall divide all profits over 1* per ton equally with the District Mining Council.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Interim Report of March 20 last presented by me and my three colleagues (paragraph 15) outlined certain units of economy and of improvement which it was suggested should receive the attention of the Commission in the near future. Having regard to the magnitude and complexity of the question of nationalisation, it has been barely possible to touch upon these other matters, but I desire very briefly to report upon them as follows :—

(1) *Housing*.—This matter is in the hands of the Local Government Board and (for Scotland) the Scottish Office, with whom we have conferred and who are fully alive to the peculiar urgency of the problem in certain mining districts. I associate myself with the remarks of my friend Sir Arthur Duckham in paragraphs XI. and XII. of his Report.

(2) *Baths and Drying of Clothes*.—I recommend that the Home Secretary should promote the necessary amendment in Section 77 of the Coal Mines Act, 1911, to make these facilities universal at collieries, and

I have reason to believe that the Miners' Federation of Great Britain would exert very strong pressure to make their use almost as universal.

(3) *Continuity of Transport from the Colliery, and Pooling of Wagons.*—I recommend that these matters should receive the earliest possible attention from the Minister-Designate of Ways and Communications (Sir Eric Geddes) as soon as his Department is fully constituted.

(4) *Clearance.*"

(5) *Reduction of Voluntary Absenteeism,*

(6) *Use of Machinery in Mines.*

Coal-cutting.

Coal-conveying.

Underground transit.

(7) *Elimination of Unnecessary Distribution Costs.*—I recommend that these matters should receive the early attention of an authority having the necessary technical and commercial qualifications such as the Advisory Board of the Controller of Coal Mines and his Department.

This Report does not apply to Ireland.

The evidence will be published separately.

The learned counsel who watched the proceedings on behalf of the royalty owners and of the Mining Association of Great Britain on page 6 of his printed speech formulated the question awaiting our decision as follows :—

"What changes should in the national interest be made, and when, by legislation or otherwise, in the organisation of the coal-mining industry?"

I agree that the question is a proper one, and have endeavoured to answer it.

I desire to express my personal thanks, and the obligation I am under, to Sir Richard Redmayne and Sir Arthur Lowes Dickinson, two of our Assessors, and to Mr. Arnold McNair, our Secretary, and Mr. Gilbert Stono, our Assistant Secretary, for the great help I have received from them in the preparation of this report and throughout the inquiry. They are Government officials, and the Report does not necessarily express their views.

All of which I humbly report for Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

JOHN SANKEY.

ARNOLD D. MCNAIR,

Secretary.

GILBERT STONE,

Assistant Secretary.

June 20, 1919. „

THE LABOUR MEMBERS.

REPORT BY MR. FRANK HODGES, SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY, MR. EOBERT SMILLIE, MR. HERBERT SMITH, MR. E. H. TAWNEY, AND MR. SIDNEY WEBB :—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

WE have the honour to present a further Report in pursuance of the Coal Industry Commission Act, 1919..

As we are in substantial agreement with the Chairman's Report, we think it unnecessary to set forth any separate statement of our views. But in assenting to that Report we wish to emphasise the following points, namely :—

(1) We suggest that, with a view to securing the cordial co-operation of the workers in the success of the industry, it is necessary to provide for a fuller representation of the workers on the District and National Councils, on the lines indicated in the scheme submitted by Mr. W. Straker.

(2) Whilst fully recognising the necessity of working rules, and the importance of preventing unnecessary stoppages, we feel that the provisions of Paragraphs L., LXIV., and LXXII. may be used to impose upon the workers by law a particular form of contract, without their consent—an innovation to which we think it will be difficult to gain agreement* and which we believe to be not the best calculated to attain the object.

(3) We are of opinion that all coke and by-product plant attached to collieries should be treated as part of the coal mines and should be acquired by the State with the coal mines.

(4) We think it important that whatever payment is made to the owners pending the general acquisition of the mines should not be computed upon the tonnage gotten.

(5) Whilst recognising, with regret, that the output from the mines has not yet satisfactorily recovered from the adverse circumstances which have depressed it during the war, we wish to emphasise the fact that no evidence has been produced to show that the men are refraining from doing their best. We believe that this is not the case, and that other causes are at work. The miners demand an immediate inquiry, and we support this demand. During the period that must necessarily elapse before the institution of the machinery for the administration of the mines proposed by the Chairman, we think that it is of the utmost public importance that there should be no deficiency of tubs, no lack of wagons, no shortage of materials, and no obstacle to prompt clearance from pit-head, all of which are reported now to exist.

(6) Three among us (F. Hodges, E. Smillie, and Herbert Smith) do not agree that any compensation whatever should be paid to the present mineral owners for the mineral rights to be acquired by the State. But this must not be taken to imply that there would be objection to the grant of compassionate allowances in cases in which small royalty owners are expropriated in such a way as to deprive them of their means of livelihood.

We cordially associate ourselves with the Chairman in his tribute of thanks to the Assessors and Secretaries for the invaluable help they have given the Commission in conducting the inquiry.

Ail of which we humbly report for Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

ROBERT SMILLIE.

LEO CHIOZZA MONEY.

FRANK HODGES.

R. H. TAWNEY.

HERBERT SMITH.

SIDNEY WEBB.

June 20, 1919.

REPORT BY MESSRS. ARTHUR BALFOUR, E. W. COOPER, SIR ADAM NIMMO, K.B.R., SIR ALLAN M. SMITH, K.B.R., AND MR. EVAN WILLIAMS :—

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

WE have the honour to present our Report in pursuance of the Coal Industry Commission Act, 1919.

1. The second stage of the inquiry which began on April 23 last involved the examination of 116 witnesses.

2. The main questions with which we have to deal are those set forth in paragraphs (f), (g) and (h) of Section 1 of the Act by which we are required to inquire into :—

- (1) Any scheme that may be submitted to or formulated by the Commissioners for the future organisation of the coal industry, whether on the present basis, or on the basis of joint control, nationalisation or any other basis ;
- (2) The effect of the present incidence of and practice in regard to mining royalties and wayleaves upon the coal industry and the cost of coal and whether any and what changes in these respects are desirable ;
- (3) The effect of proposals under the above heads upon the development of the coal industry and the economic life of the country.

The Future Organisation of the Coal Industry.

3. The schemes which have been submitted involve the fundamental question of whether the coal industry is to be organised on the basis of private ownership or on the basis of nationalisation.

Three definite schemes have been submitted in evidence. The first scheme is in substance the same as that contained in a pamphlet put in evidence before us entitled " The Nationalisation of the Coal Supply," which originally constituted a chapter of a book called " How to Pay for the War," published in July, 1916. One of the authors of this book is Mr. Sidney Webb, one of the Commissioners, who gave evidence before us, repeating in substance the proposals contained in the pamphlet.

4. The second scheme is contained in a draft of a proposed Parliamentary Bill prepared on behalf of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

5. The third scheme was submitted by Lord Gainford in his evidence on behalf of the Mining Association of Great Britain.

The Scheme of Mr. Sidney Webb.

6. By this scheme it is proposed to put an end to the private ownership and working of coal by vesting the coal and the collieries in the State and paying compensation to the owners by means of an issue of Government Stock.

7. The scheme proposes that the State should buy out all persons interested, whether as lessees or workers of coal or as lessors or royalty owners, and this was practically repeated in the evidence given by Mr. Sidney Webb, who treats the fair selling value based on pre-war income of the properties as the price to be paid by the State to the expropriated owners.

The Bill of the Miners' Federation.

8. This Bill, like the scheme of Mr. Sidney Webb, proposes to put an end to the private ownership and working of coal, but there are essential differences between the two schemes, which may shortly be described as follows :—

The Bill proposes :—

- (a) To expropriate the owner not only of the coal mines but also of other mines.
- (6) To confiscate without compensation all mining royalties and wayleaves and only pay to lessees or owners of collieries a limited amount of compensation.
- (c) Instead of vesting the mines in the State, to vest them in a special body to be created and to be called the Mining Council, consisting of a President appointed by Your Majesty and twenty members, of whom one half are to be appointed by Your Majesty and the other half by the Miners' Federation.
- (d) To transfer to the Mining Council all powers of the Secretary of State under the Acts for the regulation of Coal Mines.
- (e) To give the Mining Council at its option power to take over and carry on iron, steel, and other works carried on in connexion with coal mining.
- (f) To postpone indefinitely the exercise of this last-mentioned option, and, meanwhile, either to prevent the carrying on of these works absolutely or to permit them to be carried on upon such terms as may be prescribed by the Council, and ultimately, at the discretion of the Council, to take over the works at their then value.
- (g) To authorise the Mining Council to carry on the business of ship, owners and to prevent any increase in the rates now charged for the conveyance of coal by railway.

The Mining Association Scheme.

9. This scheme is based upon the principle that private enterprise must be maintained and that nationalisation of the coal industry would be prejudicial to the economic welfare of the country.

10. The authors contend that want of knowledge with respect to

prices, costs, and profits, and the absence of machinery conferring upon the workers opportunities for obtaining information and influencing the conditions under which they work have been to a great extent the cause of the existing discontent.

11. The authors propose that, in future, fluctuations of the wages of the workers in each mining district, over and above the minimum rates, should, instead of being regulated solely as in the past by selling prices, be regulated by reference also to costs and profits in that district.

For this purpose, average prices, costs, and profits in each district are to be jointly ascertained, so that the workers may be able in future to discuss questions of wages with a complete knowledge of the results of the industry in that district.

12. The authors propose that by means of joint committees of employers and workers full opportunity should be given to the workers in each district and at each colliery to make suggestions with respect to the methods and conditions of their work, without impairing the authority of the owner, agent, or manager of the mine, upon whom the law imposes responsibility for their control, management, and direction of the mine.

THE COAL INDUSTRY.

13. Neither past experience of State enterprise nor any evidence submitted to the Commission gives any reasonable ground for belief that the coal industry could or would be as efficiently conducted by the State in the future as by private enterprise in the past.

14. It is of the essence of success in industry that those who conduct it should not hesitate to take responsibility and incur commercial risks. When this is done in the coal industry, what is placed at risk is the capital—or profits of capital—made available for the very purpose of being used in a risky undertaking. On the other hand, the only justification for a Government official taking risks is grave national emergency.

15. It is an inseparable feature of departmental Government that each man instead of taking responsibility for any proposed action should pass it on to his superior; and the final responsibility of the Department must always be to Parliament. Its actions are thus inevitably governed by political considerations and the interests of political parties. We have the greatest admiration for the work which individual outsiders who joined the Government Departments during the war have performed for the country, but the system in a Government Department has the effect of depressing rather than exciting imagination, initiative, and activity. Should the State engage in industry, particularly in the mining industry, which is so vitally connected with the destiny of the nation, the result would be nothing short of disaster.

16. No evidence which has been submitted to the Commission would justify us in coming to the conclusion that the benefits claimed by those who advocate nationalisation would result from any form of State ownership of the mines.

17. The danger due to political influence has been frankly admitted,

but it is claimed that adequate safeguards can be provided against political interference in industry or commerce. However feasible this may appear in theory the democratic system of Government makes safeguards impossible when the exigencies of a political situation dominate a question. We have therefore come to the conclusion that the provision of safeguards against political interference is not within the region of practical politics.

18. The evidence submitted to the Commission affords no ground for belief that nationalisation would have the effect of reducing the price of coal.

19. With regard to the question of increased output and the question of avoidance of strikes, it appears to us that the attitude freely expressed on behalf of the Miners' Federation against co-operation with the other Trade Unions, with the employers, and with the State with respect to the proposals made by the recent National Industrial Conference creates a regrettable impression.

Without co-operation, nationalisation, even if otherwise advisable would in no way secure increase of output or continuity of production. The evidence has clearly shown that strikes are not prevented by State ownership and management.

20. It is regrettable that during the whole of the proceedings emphasis has been laid on a state of antagonism which is alleged to exist between the employers and the workpeople in the coal industry. To such an extent is this feeling alleged to exist that it is stated that the only means of overcoming it is to nationalise the industry and to substitute the State for private enterprise.

From the evidence submitted, which is confirmed by our own knowledge, no foundation exists for such an assertion. In certain cases owing to the action of individuals, few in number but active in agitation, local unrest has been created, but we are convinced that the relations between the employers and the vast majority of the workpeople in the coal-mining industry do not call for the drastic proposals that have been advanced.

21. The personal and human element which exists under present conditions, would be almost entirely eliminated should the State take over the industry.

22. From the evidence submitted it is clear that the mine owners are prepared to increase the facilities for enabling the workpeople to acquire a greater knowledge of and interest in the industry.

23. We think it is only right that the community should realise the extent to which success has attended the efforts of private enterprise in the coal industry, and we would specially refer to the following extract from Lord Gainford's evidence before the Commission :—

" Coal owners have not been slow to risk their capital in the development of coal, and have taken risks which the State never could have undertaken, wherever there appeared to be any possible expectation of success. The development in output during the past thirty years prior to the war from 128,000,000 tons to 288,000,000, and an increase in the men employed from 492,422 to 1,118,452, is eloquent testimony to the enterprise, initiative, and skill which coal owners and their managers have

brought to bear upon the industry. So far from necessary development having been retarded in the hands of the present owners, all available evidence shows that the full quantity of coal required from time to time by the nation has always been forthcoming, and an export trade has been steadily built up. (N.B.—16,000,000 tons in 1873 to 82,000,000 tons in 1913.)"

24. The advantages and disadvantages of nationalisation have been discussed at great length in the course of the evidence. Widely different and often wholly unconnected reasons have been put forward. Some of the more advanced Socialists object to industry being conducted for private profit and favour the nationalisation of all industry. Nationalisation of the coal mines is openly advocated as a step towards nationalisation of all industry.

25. The support given in the evidence to the claim for nationalisation comes mainly from Socialists and theorists who seem profoundly convinced that it is their prerogative to lead the nation in the direction of thought considered by them to be good for the nation. *

It is noteworthy, however, that not all the theorists are of one mind on this subject.

20. The better housing of the miners, the increase of provisions for safety, and the lowering of the present high rate of infantile mortality are matters which every one will agree should receive immediate attention. but each and all of these matters can be dealt with without resort to nationalisation of the mines, and call for careful and organised investigation and scientific and practical consideration.

27. The continued efforts to obscure the real issues" involved in nationalisation by a special reference to these matters, which, while most important in themselves, are not necessarily bound up with nationalisation, coupled with the fact that nationalisation is not so much a request in the interest of the nation, as a demand under threat of a strike, by a relatively small section of the community, give the impression that nationalisation of the mines is more of the nature of a political move and not a policy based on altruistic motives on the part of those who direct the policy of the Miners' Federation.

28. Nationalisation in terms of the proposals of the Miners' Federation would amount, on State purchase, to such an amount of control by the Miners' Federation as would remove the industry from the control of the community on whose behalf presumably nationalisation is claimed.

29. The credit of the nation from an international point of view has rested to a great extent on the nation's sound and consistent policy in maintaining the stability and security of private rights. If these private rights are assailed and subverted in accordance with certain of the extreme views expressed during the proceedings of the Commission, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the national credit will be seriously affected and that this will be reflected in the industries of the country by very serious consequences.

30. We have carefully weighed the whole of the evidence, and have come to the conclusion that the nationalisation of the coal industry in any form would be detrimental to the development of the industry and to the economic life of the country.

31. It is clear that the present economic position of the coal industry cannot continue.

Wages in any industry can only continue to be paid to the extent that the industry can bear.

It is economically unsound to pay wages either—

(a) By repayment, in the form of a wage subsidy, of taxes previously collected from an industry, or

(b) By subsidies from monies collected from the taxpayer.

If the coal industry is to be resumed on an economic basis it is inevitable that one of two things must happen :—

(a) There must be a large increase in the output of coal and a decrease in the cost of production, or

(b) The price of coal to the consumer must be increased and the consequences of this increase upon other industries and on the community generally must be faced.

Without expressing any opinion on the subject, we feel very strongly that in view of the statements made before the Commission the causes which have contributed to the fall in output should be the subject of immediate and complete investigation.

32. We also feel strongly that no action which will vitally affect the nation as a whole or will result in granting preferential treatment to any section of the community should be taken without first referring the question to the community.

33. Having expressed our judgment upon the issue between nationalisation and private ownership, we now beg to offer the following suggestions with respect to matters affecting the coal industry under private ownership, including the safety and well-being of the miners.

Safety.

34. There is no justification whatever for any suggestion that the mine-owners have been slow to take precautions for the safety of the workers, or that considerations of profit have restricted the adoption of measures to ensure the safety of those working in the mines. Statistics furnished by the Home Office prove that the rate of accident in the coal mines in this country is lower than the rate in the coal mines of any of the other principal coal-producing countries.

35. The State has prescribed the duties of the owners in these respects, and the owners have conformed to the State's requirements.

36. The initiative in invention and adoption of safety precautions has come in the past from individual collieries. The State has followed the practice of the most progressive collieries and has adopted their standard of safety and their improvements and prescribed them for the remainder of the collieries.

37. We suggest that Mines Inspection should be strengthened by an increase in the number of inspectors and that greater attention than has hitherto been given should be paid by the Government to research, investigation, and provision of safety appliances.

•38. We are strongly of opinion that the existing system of reporting and tabulating information as to injuries in the mines is not sufficient.

Complete statistics should be procured by the Government showing the numbers and causes of accidents and the nature and extent of injuries. These statistics should be regularly and frequently published.

Housing.

39. The general question of the housing of the working classes has been for some years past engaging the serious attention of the community as a whole. This has now materialised on a national basis in the Housing and Town Planning Bill presented by the Government. It is urgently necessary that the housing of the working classes should be brought into accordance with modern ideas. The older classes of houses should be improved ; new houses should be built and a greater number of houses should be provided. Particular attention should be paid to sanitary conditions and considerations affecting the amenities of life. This, however, is a national question and includes all working-class houses, whether in colliery villages or not. We think it is regrettable that the coal trade should, in a matter of a national character and demanding national attention, have been singled out for particular reproach. We are satisfied that as a special industry the colliery proprietors have done much and would, but for the war and the consequent difficulties, have done more with regard to the housing of the workpeople employed.

Baths at Pit-head and Accommodation for Clothes Drying.

40. We are of opinion that baths and accommodation for drying clothes should be provided and maintained at or near the pit-head, so far as this may be possible, having regard to the practicability of obtaining a suitable supply of water.

41. We recommend the repeal of the proviso to Section 77 (1) of the Coal Mines Act, 1911, which has the effect of relieving the mine-owner from the obligation to provide this accommodation if the estimated total cost of maintenance exceeds 3d per week per person employed.

Research and Investigation.

42. In view of the setting up by the Government of a Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and the possibility that the activities of this Council may justify the setting up of a Department of State to deal with this matter, a branch of such Department should be set up for the purpose of arranging for and co-ordinating the research and investigation so far as affecting the working and use of coal.

It is essential that there should be the closest co-operation between the mining authority as such and the research authority as such.

It should be borne in mind that there exist at this moment many institutions and organisations set up by private enterprise which have done exceedingly useful work. It is essential that the Mining Department and the Research Department should utilise and co-ordinate the facilities afforded by these institutions and organisations.

Mines Department.

43. We recommend that a Mines Department should be set up having at its head a responsible official thoroughly acquainted with the mining industry.

44. This Department should exercise the functions of State so far as regards the ownership of coal, with which subject we deal hereinafter.

It should also have the administrative functions, including the functions which are at present exercised by the Mines Department at the Home Office, and it should have jurisdiction over all questions relating to the coal mines except the adjustment of labour disputes and wages, which are appropriate subjects for the jurisdiction of the Minister of Labour. For example, it should deal with questions of safety and technique ; should collect and publish statistics relative to accidents, output, export, and consumption, it should be a record office for data relating to the coal industry, and should deal with questions affecting new coal-fields and the development of existing ones.

45. In the exercise of its duty the Mines Department should be assisted by a National Advisory Council consisting of representatives of (a) the Department; (b) the colliery owners ; (c) the mine workers ; (d) mining engineers ; and (e) other scientific experts.

Co-operation in the Coal Industry.

46. While it is essential, even in the interests of the mine workers themselves, that the Executive Authority of the Management should not be impaired, we recommend that full and regular opportunity should be given to each party to bring forward for discussion any question of mutual interest.

47. We, therefore, recommend that the following procedure should be established:—

(1) *Pit Committees*.—There should be established at each colliery a Pit Committee, consisting of equal numbers of representatives of the management and of the mine workers. The numbers will probably vary in different mines, but in no case should they exceed seven on each side.

Each side should have its own chairman. The representatives of the mine workers should be appointed by and from all the workers employed at the colliery.

The Committee should meet as occasion demands, but not less frequently than once a month, for the consideration of questions of which previous notice has, if possible, been given.

The purpose of the Pit Committee is to afford an opportunity of discussion of any question relating to the working of the mine, or the conditions under which the miners work, and any other questions in the settlement of which both parties are directly concerned.

It is hoped that through personal touch at the mine, and free and friendly interchange of views, harmonious relations will be promoted and maintained.

(2) *District Councils*.—District Councils, consisting of representatives of the coal owners and representatives of the Trade Unions in the district" should be established for the purpose of dealing with any questions

of a district character which, in the opinion of the Council, it is in the mutual interest of the parties to discuss. The District Council should also deal with questions of which settlement has not been arrived at by the Pit Committee. #

Where Conciliation Boards exist for the purpose of dealing with questions on a district basis, the procedure of the Conciliation Board and the District Council might with advantage be co-ordinated or the Conciliation Board might act as the District Council for the district.

(3) *National Council*—A National Council should be established consisting of the representatives of mine owners and mine workers appointed by the districts, for the purpose of dealing with any question of national interest which may be referred to it.

48. We have confined ourselves to indicating in general terms the lines upon which the Pit Committees, District Councils, and National Council should be instituted. We recognise that the varying circumstances of the different districts and different collieries may involve variations in the constitution and procedure, but we recommend that the parties should immediately proceed to discuss a scheme of this description on the basis of the terms of the Interim Report on Joint Standing Industrial Councils by the Reconstruction Sub-Committee on Relations between Employers and Employed to which two members of this Commission are signatories.

Distribution.

49. The evidence shows that considerable saving is possible in the distribution of household coal.

An extension of dealing in household coal by co-operative effort will no doubt take place automatically.

50. We recommend that local authorities should be given statutory powers to deal in household coal, not as a monopoly, but in competition with private dealers or co-operative effort, subject to the provision that any losses sustained in such dealing shall not be chargeable to the rates.

51. Wherever consolidation of the present distributing agencies is possible it should be effected, but not so as to result in combinations or trusts to the detriment of the consumer.

52. We recommend that in order that all parties interested should be afforded the opportunity of understanding and appreciating the cost and difficulties of the distribution of coal, a Consultative Committee should be set up by the Mines Department consisting of representatives of colliery owners, mine workers, consumers, and distributors. This Committee should meet regularly, and discuss any points of common interest which may be brought forward by persons concerned. It may also be desirable that similar Committees similarly constituted and with similar functions should be set up in the principal mining districts.

Export Trade.

53. Many witnesses have referred to the urgent necessity of the maintenance and extension of the coal export trade, as having a most important bearing upon the international money exchange and upon, the food supply of the country.

64. Even if the State did not itself engage in the export trade, a State monopoly in the production of coal would not permit that freedom of action and flexibility of decision on the part of the private coal exporter which are essential to the conduct of the trade.

55. We are satisfied that it is impracticable for the State to carry on an export trade in coal.

MINING ROYALTIES.

The Effect of the Incidence of and Practice in regard to Mining Royalties upon the Coal Industry and the Cost of Coal.

56. There is in our judgment a radical difference between the mere ownership by the State of a national asset like coal and the conduct by the State of an industry like the coal industry, whether with or without its export trade.

57. Coal is our principal national asset, and as it is a wasting asset it is in the interests of the State that it should be worked to the best advantage.

58. The ownership of the seams of coal is now in the hands of several thousand persons, most of whom have exercised their rights in a reasonable manner, but some of whom have not assisted in the development of the national asset.

59. The effect of mining royalties (including wayleaves) on the cost of coal has been, in our judgment, slight. In 1913 they amounted to 5 per cent, of the selling value at the pit-head, and in 1918 to about 2½ per cent, of that value.

60. The Third Report of the Acquisition and Valuation of Land Committee appointed by Your Majesty's Minister of Reconstruction has pointed out a number of defects arising from the present system of ownership and proposes to create a new sanctioning authority invested with power to issue compulsory orders from time to time to remedy those defects as and when they are found to exist.

61. The defects as set forth by that Committee may be briefly summarised as follows *—

- (1) Owners unwilling to sell or lease.
- (2) Owners demanding exorbitant terms.
- (3) Minerals under copyhold or enfranchised land.
- (4) Minerals in small separate ownerships.
- (5) Legal disability of owners.
- (6) Cases of unknown owners.
- (7) Difficulties in working arising from surface support.
- (8) Coal unnecessarily left unworked as barriers.
- (9) Refusal of owners to grant wayleaves on reasonable terms.
- (10) Difficulty in obtaining surface powers for working or carrying minerals.
- (11) Restrictive conditions impeding development of minerals.
- (12) Onerous conditions of leases.
- (13) Absence of power to regulate the lay-out of a mineral field.
- (14) Loss of minerals in working.

62. In certain cases boundaries are arbitrary and irregular and make some coal difficult to work or not worth working.

63. We have carefully considered the evidence submitted to us, and have come to the conclusion that the most effective method of dealing with the problem in the national interest would be for the State to acquire the ownership of the coal.

64 Under State ownership there would be one owner instead of several thousand owners, and the difficulties caused under the present system will be effectively dealt with.

65. For this purpose it will be desirable to set up a controlling authority to deal with such of these difficulties as the mere change of ownership will not affect.

For example :—

- (a) coal held by one lessee could not be worked by an adjoining lessee without the consent of the first lessee ;
- (b) if a barrier is comprised in a lease it cannot be worked ;
- (c) a change of ownership cannot place the State in any better position with respect to support for the surface than that of a private owner ;
- (d) some authority must settle the question of any future pits, railways, or other surface works and surface wayleaves in the fixing of which the owner of the surface ought to have a voice.

66. It must be a condition of any vesting of coal in the State that the existing owners of royalties shall receive fair and just compensation, and that the owners and occupiers of the surface shall be protected by suitable conditions and restrictions imposed upon the State.

67. The coal should only vest in the State subject to the existing leases or tenancies and in any case where an existing lease or tenancy is held for a term of years of which less than sixty are unexpired, the lessees or tenants must have the option of requiring the term to be extended upon reasonable conditions as to rent and otherwise up to the full term of sixty years

68. As regards those cases where the coal is being worked by the owner as colliery owner it should only vest in the State subject to the granting to him of a lease for such a number of years not exceeding sixty years, as he may require upon such conditions as to rent or otherwise as may be customary in the district, fair and just compensation being paid to him.

69. There must be conferred on the State all usual or necessary mining easements over the surface, together with power to procure all such easements in the future, subject to proper provision for payment of compensation for land occupied, and generally for all damage caused to the owner or occupier of the surface.

70. The powers and provisions herein referred to would require to be carefully defined, and it is only necessary in this report to indicate generally their character.

71. Provision will require to be made for dealing in the absence of agreement with questions arising between the State and the colliery proprietors as to the terms of either existing or future leases and to avoid preferential treatment.

Underground Wayleaves.

72. We have given some consideration to this subject and have met with much difficulty. The time at our disposal has been too short to enable us to investigate and come to a detailed conclusion on what we recognise is a complex problem.

73. Underground wayleaves may be divided broadly into two categories: (1) wayleaves through an area which is not at the time being worked, and (2) wayleaves through an area which is at the time being worked.

74. It has to be kept in view that according to our recommendations the State is to purchase only the seam of coal.

75. An area which is not at the time being worked may have been exhausted so far as the known seams of coal are concerned. On the other hand, in the area, certain seams only may have been exhausted. In either of these cases the wayleave might be through an exhausted seam. In the case of an area which is being worked, the wayleave may be in respect of conveyance of coal through a seam, a portion of which is at the time being worked, or it may be in respect of conveyance through a seam which has been completely exhausted.

76. As already explained, the State will acquire the seams of coal. There is no coal for the State to acquire in an exhausted seam.

77.* The State as owner of the workable coal must have the right of access to the coal and the right of bringing the coal to the surface through any area.

78. On principle we consider that private rights, of whatever description, if acquired by the State, should be the subject of compensation to the owner of these rights, and we recommend that the question of underground wayleaves should be the subject of careful investigation.

Other Minerals.

79. This Report refers merely to the acquisition of the co'. We are, however, not ignoring the question of other minerals got by underground mining, whether worked in conjunction with coal or not.'

The extension of the principle of acquisition in such cases may require consideration.

Purchase of Coal,

80. The State should pay fair and just compensation.

81. In this respect there is, in our judgment, no ground for regarding the owners of mining royalties differently from the owners of any other form of property recognised by the State.

82. We are of opinion that the general basis of such compensation should be fifteen years' purchase of the amount received by the owners for coal rents and royalties on the average of the last five pre-war years, less Mineral Rights Duty; the valuation being subject to such variation as the Assessing Tribunal may think fit, having regard to the present condition and future prospects of the area which forms the subject of the particular assessment. Each case must be dealt with on its merits.

Where the area was not worked or fully developed prior to the war, the compensation should be ascertained on the present condition and future prospects of the area.

Subject to the foregoing provisions, the valuation should be made in accordance with the recognised rules in such cases.

83. A tribunal should be established in each district for the purpose of assessing the amount payable to each royalty owner in that district. The tribunal should consist of a mining engineer appointed on behalf of the State, a mining engineer on behalf of the owners, and a legal chairman appointed by the Lord Chancellor in England or the Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland.

84. These tribunals should have power to obtain any necessary information by oral or written evidence and by personal inspection, and the number of expert witnesses who would be employed on behalf of the owner and the State respectively should be limited. Parties should be entitled to appear by counsel or solicitor, and a lessee should also be entitled to appear similarly in the event of any question arising affecting his interest. The decision of the Tribunal should be final and should not be subject to appeal except on a question of law.

85. The risk of excessive claims or expenses should be guarded against by providing that where the amount awarded by the tribunal does not exceed the sum, if any previously offered in writing on behalf of the State, the costs incurred by the claimant after the date of such offer shall be borne by the claimant. Subject to this proviso the State shall pay the costs and the expenses of and incidental to the assessment of the compensation and in all cases the costs and expenses in connexion with the transfer.

Conclusion,

86. Having concluded our labours, we desire to express our high appreciation of the services rendered to us by Mr. Arnold D. McNair, C.B.R., Secretary of the Commission, and Mr. Gilbert Stone, Assistant Secretary, and also by the Staff of the Commission.

Their able and courteous assistance has been of the greatest value.

All of which we humbly report for Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

ARTHUR BALFOUR.

ALLAN M. SMITH.

R. W. COOPER.

EVAN

WILLIAMS.

ADAM NIMMO.

June 20, 1919.

MEMORANDUM BY SIR ADAM NIMMO, K.B.R., AND SIR ALLAN M. SMITH, K.B.E.

With reference to the foregoing Report :—

1. As the first stage of the inquiry was concluded and the three Interim Reports of March 20, 1919, were issued before we became members of the Commission, we are not responsible for anything that was done up to that date, or for anything contained in any of the Interim Reports. It is necessary for us to point this out, because in our opinion it is regrettable that the Chairman's Report was not confined to the two matters

on which an Interim Report was promised by March 20, 1919, by the Prime Minister, viz., "the two issues of wages and hours." It was on these two points only that the witnesses were invited to give evidence at that stage of the proceedings. This is clearly indicated in the letter of February 27, 1919, from the Secretary of the Commission to the Coal Owners' Associations, which stated that the first part of the inquiry would be confined to a preliminary investigation into the questions of wages and hours.

2. The recommendation in favour of nationalisation or unification by purchase and/or by joint control in the Chairman's Report of March 20, 1919, to which we refer, has made the consideration of these problems in the second stage of the inquiry more difficult for us than would otherwise have been the case.

ADAM NIMMO.

ALLAN M. SMITH.

June 20, 1919.

REPORT BY SIR ARTHUR DUCKHAM, K.C.B., M.I.C.R.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

I have the honour to present my Report in pursuance of the Coal Industry Commission Act, 1919, on the subjects which fell to be considered during the second stage of the inquiry.

I find myself unfortunately in disagreement with the rest of my colleagues on points both of principle and detail. It appeared to me therefore necessary to submit a separate Report.

I divide my Report into two parts :—

- (i) The opinions upon which my recommendations are based.
- (ii) My recommendations.

Having listened to the whole of the evidence given before the Commission and having assimilated, so far as time has permitted, the many important and interesting documents that have been circulated to the members, I have formed the following opinions :—

I. *Ownership of Minerals.*—The private ownership of minerals has not been and is not in the best interests of the community.

II. *Proving of Minerals.*—The proving of the country's mineral resources should not be left to private enterprise.

III. *Disadvantages of Private Ownership.*—The working of over 3,000 collieries by more than 1,500 separate interests has resulted in heavy losses of coal and inefficient working, and unnecessary difficulties in the winning of the coal.

IV. *Distribution.*—The system of distribution of coal to small users and householders has not been and is not satisfactory. The system of distribution of coal to large users and for export in vogue before the war safeguarded the large consumers and encouraged the export trade.

During the war the control of coal supplies has undoubtedly—

(a) Kept the price of coal within limits.

(b) Ensured as far as possible an even distribution of the quantity of coal available.

On the other hand control has—

(c) Resulted in grave inefficiencies in the use of coal, owing to the kind of coal delivered to the user being in many cases unsuitable for his purposes.

(d) Caused unnatural conditions in the coal trade.

(e) Been responsible for many errors which naturally occur when an enterprise of such magnitude is ruled by a central and more or less makeshift organisation.

V. *Decrease in Output.*—There is at the present time a serious decrease in the output of coal. This is caused partly by the general state of disturbance in industry, owing to the change over from war to peace conditions, and partly by a general slackening of effort on the part of all workers. Higher remuneration to labour has not resulted in larger output.

VI. *State Enterprise.*—It has not been shown that there is an increased output per worker or less industrial strife when undertakings are owned and controlled by the State for the benefit of the community.

VII. *Aspirations of Labour.*—The workers desire and should have full opportunity to improve their status by—

(a) Co-operating in the general conduct of the industry.

(b) Obtaining a proper and sufficient return for their work.

(c) The improvement of their general conditions of living.

(d) Having sufficient leisure to devote time to their family circle and their own betterment.

VIII. *Cost of Coal.*—It is essential, in order to safeguard the trade and industry of this country, to increase output and reduce costs by practising every economy and improvement in methods.

IX. *Need for Cheap Coal.*—Cheap coal is vital to the industrial prosperity of this country and to the comfort of its citizens.

X. *Multiple Shifts.*—The evidence has shown that only in a few areas is a multiple shift system of getting coal in operation. The multiple shift ensures the working of the coal face for the maximum number of hours per day by relays of workers. In the majority of collieries, therefore, the best results are not obtained. The objections of the workers form the chief difficulty in putting this desirable system into practice in all suitable places.

XI. *Housing.*—The general housing conditions of the workers throughout the country leave much to be desired, but it has not been shown that miners are worse housed than other great classes of the industrial population. In many cases miners are badly housed. Some owners have consistently and successfully endeavoured to improve conditions. But for the war, many more suitable houses would have been built.

XII. *Pit-head Baths.*—Mining is a dirty occupation, and the condition of the miners' houses has been made worse and the lives of the miners' wives and families made harder by the dirt being carried into the houses. Pit-head baths and drying rooms for pit clothes should have been the rule long ago. Both owners and men have been at fault.

XIII. *Health.*—It has not been shown that the health of miners or their families is worse than the health of the workers in other industries.

XIV. *Safety*.—The standard of safety in British mines compares most favourably with that in mines in other countries. It has not been shown that nationalisation in other countries has improved safety conditions.

XV. *Private Enterprise*.—The development of the coal industry (the chief source of the wealth and industrial success of this country) has been entirely due to private enterprise. On the other hand grave losses to the community have been caused by lack of co-ordination in the efforts of private enterprise.

XVI. *Friction between Owners and Workpeople*.—In some of the districts there has been a failure on the part of the owners and workers to realise that their interests should be made common. The result has been continual and gradually increasing friction and mistrust, which have caused decreased efficiency in the working of the mines. The refusal of the Miners' Federation to co-operate with other unions of workers with the employers, and with the State to obtain general industrial agreement is much to be regretted.

XVII. *Poor Collieries and Areas*.—The prosperity of collieries and coal areas varies greatly. There is grave danger under present conditions of many collieries and even some areas going out of production.

XVIII. *Nationalisation*.—National ownership and control of collieries does not offer a real solution of the problems. Many advantages have been claimed for nationalisation: practically none has been sustained. Many cogent objections have been advanced against nationalisation, the majority of which have not been refuted. The nationalisation of the coal-mining industry would be an unprecedented and colossal experiment. A mistake would result in a national calamity.

XIX. *Bureaucratic Control*.—There is a general agreement that bureaucratic control would be unsuited to the proper conduct of the coal industry. Incentive and freedom of action are necessary; bureaucracy stifles both.

XX. *Miners' Federation Bill*.—The Bill drafted and submitted on behalf of the Miners' Federation does not offer a satisfactory solution. Among many points which make this scheme unworkable are the following:—

1. The Minister is responsible both to Parliament and a Mining Council.

2. The impracticable proposals for the control of the industry.

3. The predominance of the Miners' Federation; the disregard of the many other interests concerned in the industry.

4. The proposed confiscation of property.

5. The very wide powers of acquisition to be granted to the Mining Council, coupled with a disclaimer clause which might paralyse industry.

XXI. *Mine Owners' Proposals*.—The mine owners' proposals show a desire to meet the aspirations of the workers, but a profit-sharing scheme, under which bonuses form part of the wages, and the failure to include workmen's representatives on the board of directors as a necessary adjunct to the scheme render the main proposals unacceptable. Further, there are no suggestions for the unification of the working of collieries in the¹ same district.

XXII. *Research*.—Research and experiment to improve methods and conditions of working and dealing with coal have not, in the majority of collieries, received sufficient attention. No evidence is forthcoming, except in a few specific instances, of serious co-operative effort between owners to carry out research and to pool idea and experience.

XXIII. *Fuel Conservation*.—An enormous amount of fuel is being wasted in this country. The collieries are offenders, but every industry is wasting fuel by using it uneconomically. A very substantial saving could rapidly be made if the question of economy were made a national one. The generation of electricity in central stations is only one line of advance. Similar and even greater savings could be made if proper action were taken in other spheres.

XXIV. *Unsettled Position of Industry*.—Control and special war conditions have disturbed the whole industry. The appointment of the Coal Commission, the issue of the interim reports, and the publication of evidence in the Press have unsettled the industry still further, and are preventing all development. It is essential that the future of the industry be decided at an early date. Conditions in the industry should be changed as little as possible, compatible with the attainment of efficiency, better conditions, and satisfactory supplies to the consumers.

Having briefly stated my opinions as to what are the salient facts of the present situation, I make the following recommendations. The time left for the preparation of reports after the completion of evidence has been so short that it is only possible to make recommendations on the broadest lines.

XXV. *Acquisition of Mineral Rights*.—The whole of the mineral rights of Great Britain should be acquired by the State, the value of such rights being estimated in each case on the same basis as adopted by the Inland Revenue in assessing ownership of minerals for death duties (the evidence of the witnesses from the Inland Revenue Department clearly show the principles), due regard being given to the change in value of money owing to the war increased taxation (with the exception of the

Excess Mineral Rights Duty), etc. No increased value should be given in cases where it can be shown that mineral owners have used improper pressure to obtain royalties above those commonly obtained, or in the case of sliding scale royalties which have become excessive through war conditions. Compensation should preferably be paid in the form of annuities, as suggested in Mr. Walter Leaf's evidence.

XXVI. *Ministry of Mines*.—A. Ministry of Mines should be set up, which should, at a later date, form one of a group of Ministries attached to a Ministry of Industry. The duties of the Ministry of Mines should be (*inter alia*)—

(a) To supervise and control all mineral rights throughout Great Britain and to ensure the proper working of all minerals.

(b) To ensure the making of a complete geological survey (including the systematic proving of all coal areas) of the whole country.

(c) To be responsible, through its inspectors, for the proper equipment and running of mines to ensure safety.

(d) To initiate and, if necessary, carry out research for the improve.

ment in the conditions of those working in and about mines, better methods of winning coal, etc.

(e) To undertake the study of the special diseases of underground workers and to initiate special treatment.

(J) To exercise any control of the industry which a national emergency may render necessary.

(g) To advise the Minister of Labour as to the special conditions present in the coal industry.

(h) To co-operate with any Government Department set up for the conservation of fuel.

XXVII. Area Commission.—A. Commission assisted by experts acquainted with the various districts should at once be set up to decide the areas into which the country should be divided (all mining interests in each of such areas being amalgamated) in order to obtain the best economies and efficiencies in the winning and working of coal. The areas should not be larger than necessary to ensure—

(a) The most efficient draining and pumping for the whole area.

(6) The most rapid transport of the coal to the surface and the miner to his work.

(c) The obtaining and distribution of power from one centre.

(d) The prevention of waste of coal by artificial barriers, etc.

(e) The proper handling of the various classes of coal produced in the area.

XXVIII. Unification.—It is essential that all the colliery interests in the areas specified should be amalgamated in order to obtain proper working. The amalgamated interests would be granted a lease by the Crown to work coal and other necessary minerals.

XXIX. Method of Unification.—It is possible to prepare a variety of schemes to attain the primary object of unification in areas, but the following proposals are made to illustrate the intention. The proposals assume the discontinuance of the present system of control.

The whole of the mining and mineral interests in each area should be amalgamated into a Statutory Company (hereinafter called "a District Coal Board").

(a) The total par value of the shares issued by any Board shall not be greater than the total value of the various amalgamated interests as going concerns at the present time, but valued at 1914 prices, due allowance being made for the capital expenditure since that date at enhanced prices.

(6) The shares of the District Coal Board should be of one class only and should be entitled to a minimum rate of dividend of 4 per cent, which should be guaranteed by the Government.

(c) Profits in excess of those necessary to pay the 4 per cent, dividend and usual depreciations may be utilised :—

(I) To form such reserve funds as may be approved by the Minister of Mines.

(ii) To pay a further 2 per cent, dividend.

Of the remaining profits one-third may be utilised for paying further dividend on shares, but the other two-thirds must be used to reduce the price of coal.

The above proposals for the division of profits do not preclude a bonus on profits being paid to the managerial and clerical staff. This would correspond to the bonus in output proposed below for the manual workers.

XXX. *Government Right to take over a District Coal Board*.—The Government shall have the right to take over the shares of any District Board, should the Board have called upon the Government in four years out of a consecutive seven years to make advances to pay the guaranteed dividend and the Board failed to repay within the seven years any advances made. The compensation to be paid by the Government for the shares so acquired should be based upon the profits earned by the undertaking during such seven years.

XXXI. *Board of Directors*.—The number of directors on each Board should be not less than seven. All except three of the directors should be appointed in the ordinary way by the shareholders. Of such three directors, one should be elected by ballot of the agents, managers, and under-managers, and two by ballot of the workpeople engaged in the area.

XXXII. *Government Representative*.—The Government, as owner of all minerals in the area, should appoint a competent mining engineer to safeguard the interests of the State. He should have the right to attend directors' meetings when he desires to do so, but should have no voting power.

XXXIII. *Agents, Managers, and Under-managers Representatives*.—The agents, managers, and under-managers have and will continue to have legal obligation for the proper and safe running of mines. They, therefore, should be represented on the board of directors. Their expert advice would be invaluable.

XXXIV. *Workmen's Representatives*.—Labour has a special claim for representation in the directorate as wages form the predominant item in the cost of production and the conditions of the industry are necessarily hazardous. The other directors would benefit greatly by having actual workers on the board with a close knowledge of conditions, and the workmen would have a definite voice in the conduct of the industry.

XXXV. Each director must have full power of taking decisions and voting without reference.

XXXVI. *Minimum or Standard Wages*.—The minimum or standard wages for mine workers should be considered and settled together with the general wages of the country. Whatever machinery may be set up by the Minister of Labour for this purpose should be utilised.

XXXVII. *Committee for Settling Rates and Wages*.—Special rates and wages should be settled for the area of each District Board. The basis should be the agreements at present in force, which have been arrived at after years of experience. Conciliation Boards on similar lines to those now existing shall deal with special wages and disputes.

XXXVIII. *Payment by Results*.—The wages of all workpeople and employees should be guaranteed by minimum or standard rates. An equitable system of payment on increased output and efficiency should be arranged and made applicable, as far as possible, to all manual workers in addition to the system of piece-work rates at present in force.

XX XIX. *Associated Undertakings.*—Where a colliery undertaking is attached to other industrial undertakings, such as iron, steel-works, by-product ovens, etc., the value of the colliery undertaking should be separated and included in the holding of the District Coal Board. The colliery should then be leased back to the original owners, who would have the right to raise and use all coal necessary for their own purposes, but they should have no powers to sell coal as such except through the District Coal Board.

XL. *Responsibility of Manager.*—At each colliery, as now, the manager should be responsible for and have complete control of the running of the pit. The District Coal Board will have managing directors, consulting engineers, and technical experts who will naturally discuss matters with the managers and lay down general policy.

XLI. *Pit Committees.*—At each colliery a pit committee should be set up with the manager as chairman and representatives of each main class of workmen employed in or about the mine. The pit committees should meet at definite intervals and would be competent to discuss and make proposals on—

- (a) Safety of the mine ;
- (b) Conditions of working ;
- (c) Improvement in methods ;
- (d) Comfort and well-being of the workers while in the mine or colliery premises;

(e) Any disputes that may arise other than wages disputes.

Wages would not be discussed at pit committee meetings.

XLII. *Multiple Shifts.*—The general extension of multiple shifts, as the most ready means of increasing output, reducing costs, and improving wages to the workpeople as a whole, should be immediately considered by a joint committee of the Government, owners, and miners.

XLIII. *Housing.*—Housing is a national question. The present great Government scheme will prevent any other general scheme going forward as all available building facilities will be fully utilised.

XLIV. *Pit-head Baths.*—The 1d. per ton levy proposed in the Interim Report presented by the Chairman, myself, and my two colleagues should be immediately used for setting up pit-head baths and drying rooms. This will do much to improve housing conditions.

XLV. *Distribution.*—Municipalities and local authorities should be given powers to undertake the distribution of coal in their areas, either by setting up their own organisations, purchasing existing businesses, or employing existing contractors.

XLVI. *Coal Traffic.*—The question of economy of coal traffic and private ownership of wagons should be dealt with by the Minister of Ways and Communications in conjunction with the Minister of Mines. The interests of the consumer must be safeguarded, and the consumer must be given free choice of fuel to ensure proper economy in its utilisation.

XLVII. *Accounts and Costing.*—A standard form of accounts should be adopted for all District Boards,

XLVIII. *Publicity.*—It is essential that there should be complete publicity as to the operations and financial results of the coal industry.

The Ministry of Mines should be expressly charged with the duty of publishing, not less than once a year, figures showing the cost of getting coal in each of the districts of the country, and the proportion chargeable to materials, wages, general expenses, interest, profits, and other general items.

X L I X. *Meeting of Chairmen of District Boards.*—The Minister of Mines should hold a meeting of the Chairmen of all District Boards quarterly (and at such other times as may be required by the Minister).

L. *Commission for Heat, Light, and Power.*—Commissioners for Heat, Light, and Power should be appointed, who should undertake a full inquiry into the wastage of fuel and the best methods of effecting economies throughout the country.

I desire to associate myself with the Chairman in his expression of thanks and appreciation to the Assessors and Secretaries for the invaluable help they have given to the Commission throughout the inquiry, and for the great assistance I have received from them in the preparation of my Report.

All of which I humbly report for Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

ARTHUR DUCKHAM.

June 20, 1919.

OBITUARY

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1919.

JANUARY.

1. The Right Rev. George Alfred Lefroy, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, was in his 65th year. His father was Dean of Dromore and his grandfather was Chief Justice Lefroy. The future Bishop was educated at Marlborough and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a first class in the Theological Tripos. In 1879 he was ordained, and he joined the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, subsequently becoming its head. In 1899 he became Bishop of Lahore, and in 1918 he was appointed to the See of Calcutta. Thus his whole ministerial life was spent in India, and his knowledge of the problems, ecclesiastical and social, of that country was far-reaching and profound. The Bishop was also learned in Indian languages and native religions, and was highly respected by the Mohammedan religious leaders. His rule as Metropolitan was wise and statesmanlike, and his death much regretted.

3. Lieutenant - General Sir James Hills-Johnes, V.C., G.C.B., was in his 86th year, and was the oldest holder of the V.C., having won that distinction in the Indian Mutiny. Of British-Italian parentage (his father was Mr. James Hills of Bengal), he was educated at Edinburgh and Addiscombe, and in 1853 he received his Commission in the Bengal Artillery. He fought at the siege and storming of Delhi, where one of his comrades was Lord Roberts, with whom he formed a lasting friendship. The Victoria Cross was bestowed upon him at this time for an act of conspicuous bravery, in defence of two guns of the

Horse Artillery. When he had recovered from the wound received on this occasion the young officer, now a Brevet-Major, served at the siege and capture of Lucknow and in other campaigns, and was mentioned in despatches, and also in an order of the Governor-General of India in Council. Major Hills then served as A.D.C. to Lord Canning, and as Assistant Resident in Nepal and in the Eusofzai Expedition, and in 1867 he took command of a mortar battery in Abyssinia. For his usefulness in this capacity at the capture of Magdala, Lord Napier mentioned him in despatches, and he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, receiving the C.B. three years later, after the Lushai campaign. In the Afghan War of 1878 he was, successively, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Kandahar Field Force, Military Governor of Kabul, Commander of the North Afghanistan Field Force, and was at the defence of Kandahar, being promoted Major-General and receiving a vote of thanks from the Houses of Parliament. He was created a K.C.B. in 1881 and also received a distinguished service reward. In 1882 Major-General Hills married Miss Johnes of Dolaucothy, Carmarthenshire, whose name and arms he assumed in addition to his own by royal licence in 1883, during which year he attained the rank of Lieutenant-General. He retired in 1888, and was made a G.C.B. in 1893. In the South African War Sir James Hills - Johnes accompanied Lord Roberts, as a private comrade, from the time the latter assumed command in the field until the occupation of Pretoria. In Carmarthenshire he

was very popular, and held several public positions, including that of Deputy-Lieutenant, and he received the honorary degree of LL.D. of the University of Wales in 1917.

4. **Miss Matilda Bet ham - Edwards** was the daughter of a Suffolk farmer by his marriage with Barbara Betham, the friend of Mary Lamb. She published her first novel, "The White House by the Sea," in 1857, when she was little over 20 years of age. After some years spent in school-teaching in London, and in studying French and German on the Continent, she returned to Suffolk after the death of her father, and assumed, with her sister, the management of the farm. At this time she contributed to *Household Words* with the encouragement of Charles Dickens. The death of her sister decided Miss Betham-Edwards to live in London, where she continued to write novels, and made many friends distinguished in the literary world, including George Eliot. But Miss Betham-Edwards found her real vocation in forwarding, by her books on French life and manners, the better understanding of each other by the English and French peoples. Some of the best known of her works are "East of Paris," "Anglo-French Reminiscences," "Home Life in France," and "Literary Rambles in France." She travelled widely in France, and was received in provincial society in that country in a way rarely accorded to Englishwomen. Her sympathies were politically of an advanced Radical type, and her religion she declared to be "the religion of Voltaire."

— **Count Hertling**, who was in his 76th year, was Chancellor of the German Empire from the beginning of November, 1917, to the end of September, 1918. He was a Bavarian and a Catholic, and as such his appointment to the Chancellorship was an unprecedented event. As a young man he held a lectureship at Bonn and afterwards a Professorship of Philosophy at Munich University. When he was about 30 he obtained election to the Reichstag, and subsequently became leader of the Centre (Catholic) Party in that House. In 1912 he became Prime Minister of Bavaria, which post he vacated when he was appointed Chancellor. Whilst he was Chancellor, he was also nominally Prime Minister of Prussia, an anomaly which rendered it necessary to appoint a Prussian (Herr Friedberg)

I as Vice-Premier. Count Hertling was an extreme clerical, and belonged to the more Conservative wing of the Centre Party. As Chancellor, his constant endeavour was to obtain peace with the Entente by negotiation, on the basis of a compromise, but in foreign affairs he gave considerable independence to Baron von Kuhlmann, who was his Foreign Minister until July, 1918, and was largely responsible for the treaties of peace with Russia and Rumania in the spring of that year.

5. **Lady Webb** was the wife of Colonel Sir Henry Webb of Wynarthton, Cardiff, ex-M.P. for the Forest of Dean, and was the daughter of the late W. P. Williams of Cardiff. She was well known for her philanthropy and her activities on behalf of the I soldiers during the war.

— **Thomas Buzzard, M.D., F.R.C.P.**, was in his 88th year, and was the son of a London solicitor. He was educated in London at King's College School and College, won the I University gold medal, and was University Medical Scholar. He was eventually elected a Fellow of King's College, and was Vice-President of King's College Hospital, and at one time was consulting physician to the National Hospital for the Paralysed and Epileptic in Queen's Square. Dr. Buzzard was surgeon on the British Medical Staff during the Crimean War, was present at Sebastopol, and managed a base hospital at Trebizond. J For these services he was awarded the I Crimean and Turkish medals, and the Order of the Medjidieh. At different times he was President of the Clinical, Neurological, and Harveian Societies, and was a corresponding member of the Societe de Neurologie, Paris. He published much work on the subject of nervous diseases. His wife was Miss Wass of Lea, Derbyshire, and he had four sons and two daughters.

— **Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President of the United States**, was born in 1858, and was descended on his father's side from a Dutch family of good position, and on that of his mother from the stock which produced the revolutionary Governor of Georgia. He was educated at Harvard, where he gained no special distinction, and suffered from rather delicate health, and at an early age he married Miss Alice Hathaway Lee, a member of a New England family. For a time he studied law at Columbia

University, and in a relative's office, but his attention soon turned to politics. In 1881 he represented a New York City constituency in the State Assembly at Albany, and quickly showed that high moral sense and force of character which distinguished him through life. He demanded, in the face of a corrupt and scoffing majority, the impeachment of a judge involved in a scandal, and, thanks to sound public opinion, he gained his point. In 1884 Mr. Boosevelt was elected a delegate at large for the State of New York to the Republican National Conference, and headed his delegation in Chicago. But James Blaine was nominated as presidential candidate, though he was defeated by Cleveland in the election of 1885. Mr. Eoosevelt, who had recently lost his wife and mother, found himself out of sympathy with his party at this period, and he spent the next two years upon a ranch in North Dakota, after which he contested, unsuccessfully, the election for the mayoralty of New York as the candidate of the Independents — the Reform Party. Shortly after this event, he married in London a lady he had known for many years, Miss Edith Kermit Caw, an American of Huguenot extraction.

In 1889 Mr. Eoosevelt was appointed a Civil Service Commissioner in Washington, and held that post for six years. His duties were not easy, for the Commission stood as a protest against the employment of patronage as a means of defraying political debts by members of Congress and of the Administration. But in spite of the enemies which he made by his many reforms, Mr. Eoosevelt was honoured by right-minded politicians for his courage, and his next post, that of Police Commissioner, gave him further opportunities of fighting corruption. In 1897 he became Assistant Secretary of Navy, and in this office he prepared with vigour for the intervention in Cuba, and war with Spain, which he believed to be inevitable. His military ardour when hostilities commenced was not to be balked, and he recruited a regiment of his own which he commanded at the front during the trying campaign before the fall of Santiago.

Eventually he published a protest, which succeeded in rousing public opinion, when an inert administration left the Army lingering in Cuba much longer than was necessary. The larger part of the corps (including himself and his Rough Riders) were speedily recalled home.

The Republican Party in New York State were then forced by their weak position to accept Mr. Roosevelt's candidature or to submit to defeat. He won by a narrow majority, and was inaugurated Governor at Albany early in 1899; but his searching reforms caused the politicians to contrive his nomination to the Vice-Presidency as "running mate" to McKinley in the election of 1900. Mr. Roosevelt had no desire for this position, but his great popularity forced it upon him. Six months later his enemies had the chagrin of seeing him President, after the assassination of McKinley. He announced that he wished to continue his predecessor's policy, and, contrary to expectations, he quarrelled with no party, but set out with tact and caution to purge the Government Departments. He steered a middle course between the unbridled attacks on monopoly favoured by the Democrats, and the inertia of the Republicans. He established a new Commerce and Labour Department of the Government, with authority to investigate trusts, and he carried through the Cuban reciprocity treaty, and the prosecution of the Post Office graft cases. His position of influence in the country was confirmed by his share in the dissolution of the Northern Securities railway combine, and in the settlement of the great coal strike in 1902. In 1904 the Republican politicians had no other candidate strong enough to take the field against Mr.

Roosevelt at the Presidential Election, and the Democratic candidate, Mr. Justice Alton, B. Parker, had no striking personal policy to offer. The President therefore retained his office, and during his second term continued his multifarious activities in the causes of education and reform. He said of himself, "My problems have been moral problems, and my teaching has been plain morality." He initiated those reforms which had for their object the adaptation of the Constitution to modern needs, and the deliverance of the United States from the tyranny of a plutocracy which had grown up with the industrial advance of the nineteenth century. The President also devoted himself to the education of the people whose rights and responsibilities he was thus increasing. In 1912 it was his following who formed the Progressive Party to whose separate intervention the Democrats owed their power. The reforms he had at heart were therefore carried out by his successors, as were also his great schemes for the conser-

vation of the country's natural resources

Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy was quite as remarkable as were his achievements at home. His astonishing personal intervention in the war between Russia and Japan, when he assisted in the conclusion of peace by persuading the Japanese to renounce their claim to an indemnity, was a striking instance of his force of character and influence. His relations with Latin America were difficult of adjustment, owing to the dislike felt in these great republics to the pretence of the United States to suzerainty. He was also obliged to deal with the question of the building of the Panama Canal by America; a difficult proposition in the face of the disagreements between Congress, the

Executive, the French Panama Canal Company, and Columbia. Mr. Roosevelt solved the problem by lending his aid to the creation of the Panama Republic, and in spite of the criticisms of his enemies in this regard, the fact remains, that the much-needed canal owes its existence largely to him. Together with his distinguished Foreign Secretary, Mr. Root, he placed the relations of the United States with Latin America on the sound footing of equality with the great southern communities, making his own country at the same time responsible for the financial and political good behaviour of the weaker republics.

With regard to European affairs Mr

Roosevelt generally stood aloof; but he desired that the United States, whose Army he partly reorganised and whose Navy he doubled, should be recognised as a first-class Power. When the European War broke out his sympathies were at once on the side of the Entente, and early in November, 1914, in an article in the *New York Times*, he severely criticised the non-committal attitude of the Government. As the war progressed, his policy became more and more emphatically in favour of intervention. He declined nomination as Progressive candidate at the Presidential Election of 1916, preferring to support the Republican, Mr. Hughes, in the hope that the feud between the two wings of his party, might, at this crisis, be healed. When America entered the war Mr. Roosevelt supported the Government with all his power, only regretting that his offer to lead a volunteer force of his own raising was declined. His friendship for Great Britain, which had always been remarkable, was even more strikingly manifested in his war

speeches, and his "spotting spirit," which was so much in accord with British instincts and traditions helped to give him great influence in England. For the last two years of his life he struggled against much painful ill-health and devoted his powers of advocacy to the Allied cause. His unsparing labours hastened his end. The Republicans hoped that he might be induced to stand as their candidate at the Presidential Election, in 1920, but on the very day of his death, Washington despatches announced that he was preparing a statement declining this offer. Mr. Roosevelt passed away at his home in Oyster Bay, the cause of his death being pulmonary embolism. The simple funeral was in accordance with the rites of the Episcopal Church of which he was a devout member. Mr. Roosevelt's family life was regarded as a model one, and this fact gave him great influence when speaking, as he frequently did, on matters affecting the homes of the people. He had one daughter by his first wife, and four sons and one daughter by his second. All his sons served in the war, one being killed and two others wounded. The greatest regret was expressed by all public speakers at the death of the distinguished statesman, and Senator Johnson of California voiced the opinion of millions of his fellow-countrymen and others, when he pronounced Mr. Roosevelt to be "the greatest American of our generation."

5. **Surgeon-General Sir James Howard Thornton, C.B.**, was in his 85th year. He graduated B.A. of King's College, London, in 1854, and M.B. in 1885, attaining a Fellowship in 1898. His life was spent in the Indian Medical Service, and he served in the Indian Mutiny and the China War, and was wounded in the Khasia and Jynkia Hills campaign. He was Chief Medical Officer in the Suakin and Harkara expeditions, aid was altogether mentioned five times in despatches, and received four medals with seven clasps, the Khedive's Star, and the C.B. in 1885. He married, in 1861, Miss Mary Astor of Jersey.

7. **Herbert Stern, Baron Michelham of Hellingly, K.C.V.O.**, was a son of the well-known banker Baron Herman de Stern of London, Paris, and Belgium. He inherited from his father a fortune of about two million sterling, which he increased considerably as a member of the firm of Stern Brothers. In 1898 he married Aimee

Geraldine, a daughter of Octavius Bradshaw, J.P., D.L., of Powderham Castle, Devon, and in 1905 he was created a Peer. In 1911 Lord Michelham retired from his firm, and started a new banking business in his own name, but he personally never took a prominent part in financial affairs in the City. He was well known as a great public benefactor, and during the war he and his wife established a Convalescent Home for Officers at Cimiez. They also acquired the Hotel Astoria in Paris for the purpose of using it as a British Hospital, and assisted in the care of the sick in other places. Lord Michelham also provided a sum of £10,000, to be given in amounts of £1,000 to airmen who destroyed Zeppelins. He was also well known for his interest in art, having presented to the nation the quadriga surmounting the arch on Constitution Hill, and he was liberal in his subscriptions to the purchase of pictures for the National Gallery. His fine private collection of pictures included the famous portrait of Lady Pole, by Romney. Lord Michelham was equally well known on the Turf, his horses running at great race meetings in England and France. The Ascot Derby was won by his William the Fourth in 1907. Lord Michelham left two sons, the elder of whom was the Hon. Herman Alfred Stern, born in 1899.

7. **Sir Thomas Sebastian Bazley**, J.P., D.L., was in his 90th year. He was well known as an astronomer and published star charts and books on geometric training. He married Miss Elizabeth Gardner of Chaseley, Manchester, in 1855, and succeeded his father as second baronet in 1885. His family consisted of five daughters, and he was succeeded by his grandson Thomas Stafford, who was born in 1907.

— **W. S. Howson** was Headmaster at Gresham's School, Holt, from 1900 until his death. He was appointed at a time when the old Grammar School, founded in 1554, was reconstituted under the Endowed Schools Act, and during his rule the numbers in the school increased from 50 to nearly 250. Mr Howson's influence over the boys was very remarkable, both as it affected their school work (which reached a high level) and the moral tone prevailing among them. He inculcated a strong sense of their duties as citizens, and he maintained his interest in a large circle of old boys

to whom their school became a home. Mr. Howson gave liberally to all the projects set on foot for the good of the school.

8 **Her Highness Nandkunvarba, C.I., Maharani of Bhavnagar, Kathiawar**, was the daughter of the Chief of Khirasa. She was married to the Thakur Sahab in 1905, and at once adopted a modern and progressive manner of life. Highly educated and accomplished, she became her husband's companion on his travels in his State, where her influence accomplished much in the causes of female education and medical and sanitary work. During the war she edited a weekly Gujarati paper which she caused to be distributed at her own expense among Indian troops and the general public of Western India. This journal helped greatly to dissipate alarmist reports which obtained currency in the bazaars. The Maharani also published biographies of Lady Hardinge of Penshurst, and of Lord Kitchener, and was the recipient of the Order of the Crown of India in 1911, and the Kaisar-i-Hmd medal in 1917. A few days before her death she completed a translation into Gujarati, Hindi, and Urdu of a selection from the war speeches of Mr. Lloyd George. The Maharani left three sons.

— **The Rev. Canon Maurice Byles Cowell** was in his 85th year. He was the son of Mr. Charles Cowell of Ipswich, and a brother of Professor Cowell, the Oriental scholar, with whom he went up from Ipswich Grammar School to Wadham College, Oxford. He was ordained in 1858, and became Vicar of Ashbocking in 1862, holding that benefice until his death. He was made an honorary Canon of Norwich in 1911. He was a close friend of Edward Fitzgerald, and had travelled in the East. One of his private pupils was General Lord Alleoboy.

9. **C. G. Milnes Gaskell** was in his 77 th year, and was a member of a well-known Yorkshire family. He was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1866. Mr. Gaskell represented the Morley Division of Yorkshire in the House of Commons from 1893 to 1910, and was Chairman of the West Riding County Council. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1908. He married in 1876 Lady Catherine Henrietta, daughter of the fifth Earl of Portsmouth, and he left a son and daughter.

9. **John South Shedlock** was born in 1843, and graduated B.A. in London in 1864. He then went to Paris, and pursued his musical studies, one of his teachers being Eaquard Lalo the composer. His friendship with Ebenezer Prout inclined him towards the work of musical criticism and research, and for many years he filled with distinction the post of critic to the *Academy* and the *Athenceum*. He was also well known on the Continent for his researches with regard to Beethoven's sketch-books, and he discovered in Berlin the book of Cramer's studies annotated by Beethoven. Mr. Shedlock also published a highly scholarly work, "The Pianoforte Sonata."

— **Etienne Victor Lamy**, Secretary of the Academic Française, was born in 1845 at Champignolle, Jura. At 25 years of age he represented that Department in the National Assembly, and there his forcefulness and eloquence brought him to the fore, and a report in connexion with the Marine Budget, which he produced in 1876, established his position and prospects. But M. Lamy was a Catholic, and was therefore compelled to break with his party over the Church question in 1881, after which he was not re-elected to the Chamber. He made his mark in literature in the "Revue des Deux Mondes." He first published anonymously "La Republique en 1883," and this was followed by "La France du Levant," "Les Memoires d'Aimeede Coligny," and "La Femme de Domain." In 1905 M. Lamy became a Member of the Academie, and its Secretary in 1913.

— **The Right Hon. Sir Andrew Marshall Porter, Bart.**, was born in 1837, and was educated at Queen's University, Belfast. In 1860 he was called to the Irish Bar, and he took silk in 1872, being elected in 1880 a Bencher of the King's Inns. In 1881 he became Liberal Member for Co. Londonderry and Solicitor-General for Ireland, and during the same year he conducted, on behalf of the Crown, the prosecution of the Phoenix Park murderers. He was made Attorney-General in 1882, and Master of the Rolls in Ireland the following year, when he retired from Parliament. Sir Andrew retained his position for twenty-three years, retiring in 1906 in consequence of ill-health. He was remarkable for the soundness of his knowledge of Chancery law, and re-

I ceived the honorary degree of L.L.D. from Dublin University. He married Miss Agnes Horsburgh in 1869, was created a baronet in 1902, and was succeeded by his son, Mr. John Scott Porter.

9. **Sir James Innes, Bart.**, of Edengight, Banffshire, was in his 73rd year. He succeeded the twelfth holder of the baronetcy in 1912, and his heir was his nephew, James Bourohier.

10. **Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., LL.D.**, was born in 1841, and lost his parents before he was 10 years of age. He was educated at various private schools, and when he was about fifteen he resolved to devote his life to study. With this end in view he spent five or six years, first at Glasgow, then at Edinburgh University, occupying himself chiefly with ethics and metaphysics. During this time he spent his long vacations on the Continent, and became proficient in several modern languages. For a year he studied law in Pans, and then devoted himself for four years more to the same subject in Berlin and Heidelberg, taking the degree of L.L.D. at the last-named University when he was 28. He then intended to settle in Germany as a professor of Comparative Law, but an invitation from a friend in Russia to visit that country, in which he had always been interested, changed his plans. Mr. Wallace remained for six years in Russia, making a thorough study of its language and institutions, and compiled a treatise on this subject in the German style, which no London publisher would accept, on the ground that it was too heavy for the ordinary reader. In 1876, however, the revival of the Eastern question consequent on Russia's interference in Turkey, inspired Messrs. Cassell with the desire to publish a popular work on the former country. Mr. Wallace was commissioned to produce this, and in four months he succeeded in utilising the vast materials in his possession to such good effect that his two volumes on "Russia" were not only received with applause in England, but were republished in America, translated into many European and Asiatic languages, and "crowned" by the French Academy. The book was revised by its author in 1905, and again in 1912. Shortly after its publication Mr. Wallace became the Correspondent of *The Times* in St. Petersburg, but his friendship for Russia did not save I him from suspicion as an English-

man, and in 1878 he was transferred to Berlin. From there he went to Constantinople where he had his headquarters for six years, still acting as *The Times* Correspondent, and after the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir he went for that journal on a special mission to Egypt. During all this period Mr. Wallace continued his private studies, and he became possessed of much valuable knowledge concerning the Balkan peoples. He also formed a friendship with Lord Dufferin, then British Ambassador to the Porte, and Special Commissioner for the reorganisation of Egypt, and this resulted in the appointment of Mr. Wallace as Lord Dufferin's private secretary, when he went to India as Viceroy. Here Mr. Wallace's unremitting labours and great tact gained him high appreciation, and in 1887 he received the K.C.I.E.

After the retirement of Lord Dufferin he returned from India, and in 1890-91 he was appointed as political officer to accompany the Tsarevitch (afterwards Nicholas II.) on his tour in India and Ceylon, and on the conclusion of the tour he became Director of the Foreign Department of *The Times*, a post which he filled with great success for eight years. He then undertook the editorship of some extra volumes of the tenth edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," after which he retired from his formal association with *The Times* and returned to a life of study. Sir Donald was unmarried, and was a man of many friendships, made in all parts of Europe. He was honoured by being a frequent guest of King Edward and Queen Alexandra, and accompanied the then Duke of Cornwall and York as his Assistant Private Secretary on his tour of the Dominions in 1901. He held the post of Extra Groom-in-Waiting under King Edward and King George.

12. **Sir Charles Wyndham**, the well-known actor-manager, was in his 82nd year. He was the son of a London doctor and was educated at St. Andrews, in Germany, and at King's College, London, to follow his father's profession. He served as a surgeon with the Federal Army in the American Civil War, and in 1865 he returned to England and adopted the stage as a means of livelihood. He played light parts in London and Manchester with such success that he became a member of the famous company at the Queen's, Long Acre, in which were included Irving, Toole, and Lionel Brough. In 1869 he went to America, where he remained for

four years, playing in repertory, and at this time he discovered the play "Saratoga" which, adapted for the English stage as "Brighton," founded his fortunes. He played the part of "Bob Sackett" in London with great success, and in 1875 he took it to the Criterion, at which theatre he remained for twenty-three years, during three of which he also conducted the Crystal Palace Matinees. Wyndham produced many popular farces, including "The Pink Domino" and "Betsy," and an occasional serious play such as "The Candidate" in 1884. In 1886 Miss Mary Mooie became his leading lady and business partner, and in that year he produced the famous play "David Garrick," in which he played the title-role with immense success at many different periods. He also translated the play into German, and took it to Berlin, and also to Russia, where he gave, as in England, command performances before Royalty. Wyndham built a theatre which he called by his own name, and which he opened in 1899 with a revival of "Rosemary," and at this house he also produced "Mrs. Dane's Defence" and "Mrs. Gorrings Necklace." He was knighted in 1902, and in 1903 he opened the "New" theatre (which he had built) with another revival of "Rosemary." Sir Charles was a popular actor in every sense of the word. His equipment consisted largely of a handsome person and a great vivacity and lightness of touch, which in farce were invaluable to him. After his youth he turned his attention to comedies in which he played the part of the middle-aged man of the world, every one's friend and adviser, and a right-minded humorous personage, whose popularity with the audience was unquestioned. Mr. H. A. Jones supplied him with plays in which he was seen at his best, notably, "The Case of Rebellious Susan" and "The Liars." He was interested in the charitable organisations of the theatrical profession, and was twice married, first to Miss Silberrad, and secondly to Miss Mary Moore.

15. **Kari Liebknecht**, the famous German Socialist, was killed by soldiers in Berlin, whilst attempting to escape from his guards after he had been arrested for his instigation of the Spartacist riots in the Prussian Capital. No German Socialist's name was better known in England than his. He had always been an extreme politician, and in his attitude towards the war he stood alone in the Reichstag. He de-

nounced the German Government as being mainly responsible for the outbreak of hostilities, and almost from the first he opposed all the war measures which were introduced in Parliament. His indictment of his own Government was sufficiently violent to satisfy any adherent of the opposing countries. Kari was born in Leipzig in 1871, and he was the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht, who, with August Bebel, was one of the founders of the German Socialist Party. Karl, however, always lacked his father's balance of mind. He was a qualified barrister, served his time in the Prussian Guards, and was elected to the Prussian House of

Representatives in 1908. Four years later he was elected to the Reichstag. After war broke out he became the leader of the revolutionary group (then composed exclusively of extremists), and his policy should not be confounded with that of the regular Minority Socialist Party (led by Herr Haase) who held that Russia was largely, even mainly, responsible for the war, and who did not oppose the war measures until after the great

Russian defeats of 1915. (This confusion was widespread in England at the time.) In 1915 Liebknecht was called to the colours, and he served in a Labour Battalion. Early in 1916 he was formally expelled from the Socialist Party owing to his anti-patriotic attitude. After the May Day Labour celebrations in Berlin in 1916, in which he took part, Liebknecht was arrested for attempted high treason, and he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. A general amnesty issued in October, 1918, by Prince Max of Baden, the Emperor William's last Chancellor, set Liebknecht free, and he immediately placed himself at the head of the Bolshevik or Spartacist faction. In conjunction with Rosa Luxemburg, he agitated against the new Moderate Socialist Government, and advocated an alliance with Bolshevik Russia, in order to oppose the so-called "bourgeois" Governments of Western Europe, with a view to causing a general proletarian revolution all over the world. Liebknecht was in favour of using any violent means which might be necessary for the establishment of a "dictatorship of the proletariat." He met a violent death, after having been the prime mover in the sanguinary riots in Berlin at the beginning of January. (See Germany.)

15. Eosa Luxemburg was Karl Liebknecht's coadjutor in the German Spartacist Party, and she was lynched

by the Berlin mob on the same day that Liebknecht met his death. She was by birth a Russian Polish Jewess, and she was said to have married a German solely in order to obtain German citizenship, and thus to be able better to agitate against the Hohenzollern regime. She was even more violent than Liebknecht, and was imprisoned by the authorities on more than one occasion. She was consumed with hatred of the "bourgeoisie," and, like Liebknecht, she advocated a violent revolutionary movement. She was about 55 years of age at the time of her death. (See Germany.)

15. Henry Arthur Merdington Wellesley, third Earl Cowley, was born in 1866 and succeeded his father in 1895. He saw service with the Imperial Yeomanry in the South African War in 1900, and was formerly a Captain of the 3rd Battalion of the Wiltshire Regiment. He was succeeded by Christian Arthur, Viscount Dangan, the son of his marriage with Lady Violet Nevill, daughter of the Marquess of Abergavenny.

— **Senhor F. de P. Rodriguez Alves**, who was formerly President of Brazil, was 70 years of age. In the time of the Empire he was a Deputy, and the period of his Presidency, 1902-6, was marked by great improvements in the Country generally, and especially in its great ports. Rio de Janeiro was absolutely transformed by him. He drained its swamps, and thus stamped out yellow fever, and he raised many public buildings, including a palace, an art gallery, and a theatre. In 1918 he was re-elected to the Presidency, but he resigned in November owing to ill-health. Senhor Alves showed great friendliness to the Allied cause during the war.

16. J. B. Moffat, who was Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, died just after the announcement of his appointment as Secretary for the Native Affairs of the Union of South Africa. In 1890 he joined the service of the Cape of Good Hope, and he was rapidly promoted to the magistracy. In 1904 he became Commissioner of Taxes in Cape Town, and four years later Civil Commissioner of the Cape. In 1910, when the Cape Service was absorbed in that of the Union, Mr. Moffat was made Director of Census, and in 1914 Commissioner of Taxes.

18. H. R. H. Prince John Charles Francis, the fifth son and youngest

child of King George V. and Queen Mary, was 13 years of age. He had suffered all his life from epileptic fits, which had recently become more severe and frequent, and had necessitated his living a very quiet life. The Prince was much loved by his own family and immediate circle. His funeral took place very quietly at Sandringham, and the King and Queen received numerous tokens of sympathy from all parts of their dominions.

19. **Miss Mary Clifford**, whose age was 76, was the daughter of the late

Eev. J. B Clifford, sometime Vicar of St. Matthews, Cotham, Bristol. She was a pioneer of women Guardians of the Poor, having served on the Board of Barton Regis from 1882 to 1898, and then for another nine years on that of the City and County of Bristol. Miss Clifford was a strong advocate of individual dealing with the poor, and at the same time she possessed gifts of organisation which enabled her to initiate far-reaching reforms in the administration of the Poor Law. She took a special interest in child-welfare, and in dealing with feeble-minded women and girls, and from 1903 to 1905 she was President of the National Union of Woman Workers. She was a good public speaker, but disliked any kind of notoriety. She was a devout member of the Church of England, which she served faithfully and unobtrusively all her life.

— **Major-General Alexander A. Kinloch, C.B., J.P., D.L.**, was 80 years of age. He was educated at Woolwich, and entered the Eifle Brigade in 1855. In 1871 he exchanged into the King's Royal Rifle Corps. He served in India, in the Afghan War, and commanded the 1st Brigade of the Ohitral Relief Force. He was decorated for service in the field, and retired in 1895. General Kinloch married, in 1867, Miss Constance Emma Mary Long, and had six children.

— **Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Brooke Rawlinson, C.I.R.**, who was 52 years of age, was the son of the late Canon Rawlinson of Canterbury, who was formerly Camden Professor at Oxford. He was educated at Marlborough, and received his commission in 1885, subsequently entering the Indian Political Department. From the year 1889 onwards he was successively Assistant Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, and Political Agent in the Punjab, and, lastly, Eevenue Com-

missioner, North-West Frontier Province. He retired in 1917.

19. **Major Sir Bryan B. M. Leigh ton, Bart.**, was in his 51st year. He commanded the Westmorland and Cumberland Yeomanry, and in 1915 served with the Royal Flying Corps in France. He married Miss Margaret Frances Fletcher in 1890, and succeeded his father, the eighth Baronet, in 1897. His heir was his son, Captain E. T. Leigh ton.

23. **General Sir John Watson, V.C., G.C.B.**, was in his 90th year. At the age of 19 he received his commission in the Bombay Army, and after taking part in the campaign in the Punjab that same year, and accompanying the Bozdar Expedition, he served in the Indian Mutiny where he gained the V.C. in 1857. He was also awarded the medal with three clasps, and the O.B., and received brevet promotion in 1858. He, with a brother officer, raised the 4th Eegiment of Sikh Irregular Horse at Lahore in 1858, and after serving in expeditions against Hill tribes he became a Brevet Colonel in 1870, and held for eleven years an appointment as Aide-de-Camp to Queen Victoria. Colonel Watson commanded the two regiments of Central Indian Horse from 1871 to 1877, and held the post of Political Agent for Western Mabwa, becoming subsequently Resident and Agent to the Governor-General at Gwahor, and Agent for Central India. In 1878 he took command of the Cavalry Brigade of the Malta Expeditionary Force, and later in that and the following year, he commanded the Punjab Chiefs' Contingent in the Afghan War. He then took political charge of the district of Kuram, and commanded the Kuram Field Force, receiving the thanks of both Houses of Parliament at the conclusion of the campaign. He was promoted Major-General in 1881, and in 1882 was made Resident and Agent to the Governor-General, Baroda. General Watson retired from the Foreign Department of the Government of India in 1886, was made a K.C.B. during the same year, a Lieutenant-General in 1887, and a General in 1891. He was promoted G.C.B. in 1902, and in 1904 became Colonel of his old regiment (Watson's Horse), re-named the 13th Duke of Connaught's Lancers. In 1860 he married Miss E. J. Davies of Cranbrook Park, Essex, who died in 1892. Sir John was survived by two sons, both distinguished soldiers.

24. General Sir Alexander Montgomery Moore, K.C.B., who

was a descendant of Lord Nelson, was 85 years of age. He was educated at Eton, and in 1850 he entered the 7th Dragoon Guards. In 1858-60 he served on the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, was Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 4th Hussars in 1868-70, and became Assistant Adjutant-General, Dublin District, 1880-85. Later on he was Colonel of the 18th Hussars and the 4th Hussars successively, and also held the appointments of G.O.C. Belfast District, Dover District, in Canada, and at Aldershot. He was actively engaged on war work up to the time of his last illness. In 1857 he married the Hon. Jane Colborne, daughter of the late Field-Marshal Lord Seaton.

25. Charles Fairfax Murray was born in 1849, and showed artistic talent while still a boy. He became known to Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and William Morris, and was employed by the Morris firm, and later by Huskin who sent him to Italy to copy Old Masters, and who thought very highly of his work. Mr. Murray first exhibited a picture at the Royal Academy in 1867, and his works were displayed later at the Grosvenor Gallery where they attracted much attention. As he grew older Mr. Murray became an art expert and a collector. He was associated with Messrs. Agnew & Son, and had a home in Italy where he spent much of his time among his art treasures and books. He was a generous benefactor of the National and other Galleries, and during the last years of his life he sold many of his collections, including his drawings by Old Masters, which were acquired by Mr. J. P. Morgan.

— **Sir Robert H. Inglis Palgrave, F.R.S.**, was in his 92nd year. He was the son of Sir Francis Palgrave, historian, and Deputy Keeper of Public Records, and was educated at Charterhouse. He became a prominent country banker in the firm of Gurneys, Birkbeck, Barclay, Buxtons, & Orde, of Great Yarmouth. In 1875 he gave evidence on banks of issue before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, and from 1877 to 1888 he was editor of the *Economist*. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was created a knight in 1909.

Sir Robert published several works on banking, including "Bank Rate and the Money Market in England, France, Germany, Holland, and Bel-

gium, 1844-90," and he also edited the *** Dictionary of Political Economy*." He was on the Council of the Royal Economic Society, and was a Member of the Bankers' Institute, and of the Royal Statistical Society. He married Miss Sarah Brightwen in 1859.

25. Mrs. Rowan Hamilton, the widow of Captain Archibald Rowan Hamilton, and mother of Lady Duffenn, was in her 99th year. She was a Miss Caldwell, an Englishwoman, grand-daughter of Sir George Oockburn who took Napoleon to St. Helena, and she married in 1842. Mrs. Rowan Hamilton resided in Ireland, her husband's country, and retained her great powers of conversation and her keen interest in life until the last.

— **George S. Corstorphine, B.Sc., Ph.D.**, was born in 1868. He was educated at the Universities of Edinburgh and Munich, gaining a Fellowship at the former which he held from 1892 to 1895. He was also Assistant to Professor Geikie in Edinburgh, and in 1895 he was appointed Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in the South African College, and keeper of the Geological Department of the South African Museum in Cape Town. In 1913 he became Principal of the South African School of Mines in Johannesburg. Dr. Corstorphine was President of the Geological Society of South Africa for some years, and was an eminent consultant and writer on geological subjects. In 1896 he married Fraulein Hoffmann of Munich, by whom he had one daughter.

26. J. Byam Shaw, the well-known artist, was 46 years of age, and died from the effects of an illness contracted while on duty as a Special Constable. His art was that of the pre-Raphaelite school, and he was a popular Academy painter. One of his best-known works was the ** "Triumph of Love,"* and his future promised greater achievements.

28. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Arthur Cresswell was educated at Bideford Grammar School, and at Woolwich, and received his commission in the Royal Artillery in 1866. From the Madras Staff Corps he joined the Burma Commission, and was Deputy-Commissioner at Thyetmyo during the Burmese War of 1886-87, and later became President of the Eangoon Municipality and Sessions Judge of Lower Burma. He had a remarkable knowledge of the

Burmese language, and a great influence over the Burmese people whom he liked and understood.

29. **Signor Ermete Novelli** the Italian actor, was 68 years of age. He was the son of a prompter in a travelling troupe of actors, and began his stage career as a player of comic parts at the age of 16. He became well known as a comic actor in his own country and in France, Spain, Portugal, and South America, and this brought him the means with which to essay tragic roles. His physical appearance was against him in this branch of art, but he conquered opposition and derision, and proved himself great. His interpretations were on broad and simple lines, and were entirely devoid of self-consciousness. He founded the Casa Goldom, the "Comedie Francaise" of Borne.

— **The Hon. Lionel Arthur Tollemache**, who was born in 1838, was the son of the first Lord Tollemache. He was afflicted with extreme short-sight, and a bad stammer, and was also lame as the result of an accident when he was a boy. These physical disabilities, however, did not prevent his becoming a scholar and a man of note in the literary world. He received his education at Harrow, and gained one of the only two open classical scholarships at Balliol College, Oxford. In 1880 he took a first class in Lit. Hum., after which he read for the Bar. But his disadvantages for the legal profession turned his mind

to literature, and he contributed biographical sketches and essays to the *Spectator*, *Macmillan's* and other journals of repute. These essays afterwards appeared in book-form under the titles of "Stones of Stumbling" and "Safe Studies,*" while his later publications included biographical sketches of W. E. Gladstone and Jowett, and a book of "Old and Odd Memories.*" Mr. Tollemache married, in 1870, a daughter of Lord Egerton of Tatton, who herself became an authoress.

30 **Major-General Sir Samuel Benfield Steele, K.C.M.G.**, was born in 1849 in Canada, in which country he was educated, receiving his commission in the Simcoe Foresters in 1866. After serving in the Red River Expedition of 1870 he joined the Canadian Regular Artillery in 1871, and the North-West Mounted Police in 1878, becoming, in 1885, Superintendent of that body. He served with distinction in North-West Canada that year, and later in British Columbia, and during the South African War, 1899-1901, he was Commandant of Lord Strathcona's Corps. He received the M.V.O., the C.B., and the Queen's medal with three clasps for his services. In 1914 he was made Inspector-General of Forces, Western Canada, and in 1915 he organised the Canadian Division. He married Mane Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Harwood, a Seigneur of Vaudreuil, P. Q., Canada, in 1890, and had one son and two daughters. He was knighted in 1918.

FEBRUARY.

1. **The Rev. William Tuckwell**, who was 80 years of age, was the son of an eminent Oxford surgeon. He was educated at Winchester, and at New College, Oxford, where he afterwards held a Fellowship. He was ordained in 1854, and became at one time a master at New College School, which he left to assume the Headmastership of Taunton College in 1877, after which he held two country benefices. He was well known as a social historian of Oxford, his "Reminiscences of Oxford" and "Pretractan Oxford" being widely recognised as accurate and interesting pictures of the times they present. Mr. Tuckwell published reminiscences of Winchester, and also an edition of "Lycidas."

- **George Cuming, J.P.**, whose age was 48, was the Belfast Managing

Director of Messrs. Harland & Wolff, Ltd., whose engine works he entered as a pupil at 16 years of age. He was a remarkably able marine engineer and shipbuilder, an expert on internal combustion engines, and the supervisor of the design and construction of the machinery for the largest Atlantic liners, and of the construction of the latest types of engines for the Navy, including that of one of the renowned "hush" boats.

2. **Dan Scott**, Chief Sub-Editor of *The Times*, was in his 50th year. He was born and educated in Glasgow, and while studying at Glasgow University he was also occupied with journalistic work on the *Echo* and the *Daily Record*. He then came to London where he worked for the *Tribune* and later for the *Evening News* and the

Daily Graphic, and in 1912 he joined the staff of *The Times* of which he soon became chief Sub-Editor. He retained the post, filling it with marked success, until about a year before his death, when the strain of work during the war compelled him to retire for a prolonged rest to his native city,

2. **The Rev. Sir Edmund Lionel Mowbray, Bart.,** was in his 60th year. He was the third son of the first baronet, and he succeeded his elder brother in 1916. He was educated at Eton and at New College, Oxford, was ordained in 1888, and after holding a curacy at St. John's, Westminster, he went to St. Bartholomew's, Dover, being preferred to the living of Durlay three years later. He subsequently held various benefices, and was Vicar of Mortimer, Berks, when he died while visiting an orphanage founded by him at Reading.

8. **Maria-Teresa, ex-Queen of Bavaria,** was 70 years of age. She was an Archduchess of Austria and Princess Royal of Hungary and Bohemia, and was married in 1868 to the Prince who afterwards became King Louis of Bavaria. The ex-Queen was the representative of the Royal Stewart line of England. She had nine children.

— **James Dolphin Watson** was in his 79th year. When he was quite young he wrote for the *Corrhill Magazine*, then edited by Thackeray, and he became one of the original staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which he sub-edited. He subsequently occupied a similar position on the staff of the *St. James's Gazette*. Mr. Watson was regarded as a sound journalist of the old school and was a widely-travelled and cultured man, with a special knowledge of music and musical instruments.

4. **Sir Edward Montague Nelson, K.C.M.G.,** who was Mayor of Warwick, was 78 years of age. He was the son of a Warwick manufacturer, and came to London where most of his business life was spent. He was the first Mayor of Baling, and in politics was a Tariff Reformer, and contested Warwick unsuccessfully against Mr. Peel in 1885. With his brother, he became a pioneer in the development of the frozen meat trade in Australasia, in Great Britain, and on the Continent, and received a knighthood for his services to Australia. He was chairman of several companies

connected with this trade. In 1866 he married Miss Wallis of Bexhill, and he left a widow and four children.

5. **Edrich Sims Donkin** was born in 1886. He represented the Tyne-mouth Division in the House of Commons from 1895 to 1900 as a Conservative. He was a member of the Chamber of Shipping, and a Director of the Suez Canal Company.

— **George Martineau, C.B.,** was in his 85th year. He was a great authority on sugar, and was adviser to the British Delegates at several international conferences on sugar bounties. He was also Assistant British Delegate at the International Sugar Commission from 1903 to 1905.

8. **Professor Raphael Anatole Blanchard,** the founder of the French Colonial Institute of Medicine, and of the French Society of the History of Medicine, was 62 years of age. He was Professor of Parasitology to the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, and was a member of many learned societies of his own and other countries. He was General Secretary of the Zoological Society of France for more than twenty years, and a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. He published many scientific works, those on parasites and parasitic diseases being the most important.

9. **Professor George Carey Foster** was in his 84th year. He was the son of Mr. George Foster, J.P. for Lancaster, and after being educated at private schools, he went to University College, London, where he took his B.A. degree in 1855. He then studied chemistry on the Continent, and he was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy at Anderson's College, Glasgow, in 1862. His appointment as Professor of Physics in University College, London, followed in 1865, and he retained it for thirty-three years, after which he became Principal of the College, retiring in 1904. Professor Foster did a great work for the cause of the teaching of physics in London. He it was who proposed the founding of the physical laboratory of University College, and he was one of the founders of the Physical Society of London, becoming its President from 1877 to 1879. In 1898 he was made General Treasurer of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and held that post for six years. His wife was Miss

Mary Anne Muir of Greenock, and he had eight children.

9. **Robert Bowes, M. A.**, the well-known bookseller and bibliographer of Cambridge, was born in 1885. At the age of 11 he joined his uncles Daniel and Alexander Macmillan in that town, and in 1858 he took charge of the publishing branch of the firm which they had established in London. The whole of the publishing business was removed to London five years later, and Mr. Bowes then managed the bookselling at Cambridge as his uncle's partner, being joined in partnership by his own son in 1899. He was an ardent antiquarian and bibliographer, his best-known publications on the subjects being "Biographical Notes upon Cambridge Printers, from the earliest times down to the end of the Eighteenth Century," and his "Catalogue of Books Printed at or Relating to the Town and County of Cambridge from 1521 to 1893." The University of Cambridge conferred the honorary degree of M.A. on Mr. Bowes in 1918. His wife, whom he married in 1868, was Fanny, daughter of Mr. A. G. Brimley, Mayor of Cambridge, and sister of the Librarian of Trinity College.

18. **Charles Lancelot Shad well, D.C.L.**, formerly Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, was born in 1840, and was the son of a barrister and grandson of Sir Lancelot Shad well, Vice-Chancellor of England. He was a Queen's Scholar at Westminster, and then went to Christ Church, Oxford, where in 1861 he took a first-class in Moderations, and in 1863 a first-class in Lit. Hum., and a second-class in the Law and History School. The following year he became a Fellow of Oriel, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1872; but instead of practising, he finally established himself in Oxford as Lecturer and Treasurer of Oriel. For many years he did good service for his College and University in different capacities, as Senior Proctor, Delegate of the Press, a Curator of the Chest and of the Botanic Garden, and as Controller of Lodging Houses. In 1905 he became Provost of Oriel, a post which he filled with dignity and broad-mindedness until his health obliged him to resign in 1914. Dr. Shadwell was devoted to his College, and gave generously for its decoration, and under his rule the new buildings, which owed their origin to Mr. Cecil Rhodes, were opened. Dr. Shadwell

had a wide knowledge of history, classics, and botany, and published a history of Oriel College.

13. **Lord Frederick Fitzroy**, who was the third son of the fifth Duke of Grafton, was born in 1823. At the age of 13 he entered the Navy, but he left that service in 1840 and joined the Grenadier Guards. He served in the Crimea, and in Canada in 1861-62, retiring with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1863-65 he was Liberal Member for Thetford. Lord Frederick married, in 1853, Miss Catherine Sarah Wilhelmina Westcomb, and had five children, three of whom died in infancy.

— **Lieutenant-Colonel William Temple, V.C., M.B.**, was in his 86th year. He served on the Army Medical Staff from 1858 to 1889, being an Assistant-Surgeon in the New Zealand Wars, 1860-65. He won the V.C. for his courage in assisting the wounded at the storming of Rangirin in 1863.

14. **Stephen Reynolds**, who was in his 38th year, was educated at Bloxham, at Manchester University, and in Paris. In 1903, in consequence of an illness spent at Sidmouth among the fishing people, he began to write books on their industry and mode of life, and the difficulties which beset them. These works, and his articles to *The Times* on the same subject, brought him in 1913 the position under Government of Adviser on Inshore Fisheries to the Development Commission. During the war he was accredited to the Devonport Command, and gave great assistance in the inauguration of that era of prosperity enjoyed by the fisheries of Cornwall and Devon. Mr. Reynolds was a member of the Harmsworth Committee, and the Inshore Fisheries Committee, and was foremost in the movement for installing motor-power in the fishermen's sailing-craft. His best known books were "Alongshore," "A Poor Man's House," and "A Working Class View of Politics." He lived among the people whom he served with such devotion.

— **Lieutenant-Colonel William Alfred Littledale Fletcher, D.S.O.**, the famous Oxford Bowing Blue and Coach, was in his 60th year. He was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1890 he stroked the winning crew in the University Boat Race. Mr. Fletcher also rowed in the victorious Oxford boat in the three

following years, and gained some remarkable successes at Henley, winning the "Grand" for three successive years as a member of the *Leander* crew, and the "Goblets" in 1892 and 1893 in partnership with Mr. Vivian Nickalls. Mr. Fletcher was a coach of first-class excellence for many years. He served in the South African War, where he gained the D.S.O., and he commanded the 2/6th (Rifles) King's Liverpool Regiment in France during part of the European War.

14. **Tighe Hopkins**, the novelist, was 62 years of age. He wrote popular stories in his earlier life, and then turned his attention to criminology, and produced works dealing with the subject of prison life and penal reform. **The Romance of Fraud*," and *"Prisoners of War*," are well known.

15. **Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.**, was in his 80th year. He was educated at Plymouth and Mannam College, and at Exeter College, Oxford, where he graduated in double classical and mathematical honours. He then became Government Professor of Political Economy in the State Colleges of the Calcutta University, and was Secretary of the Simla Education Commission in 1877, and Indian Political Agent in 1878. He received the C.L.E. in 1877. On returning to England he entered Parliament as the Conservative Member for North Kensington in 1885, retiring in 1892. He then spent much time on his estate in Devonshire, taking a great interest in county affairs. Sir Roper was a founder of the Imperial Federation League, and Vice-President of the Tariff Reform League, and he published books and articles on Indian education. He was twice married, first to a granddaughter of the eleventh Lord Teynham, and secondly to Mrs. Frederick Burbidge.

16. **Miss Eva Luckes, C.B.E.**, the Matron of the London Hospital, was 63 years of age, and had held her position since she was 26. She was educated at Cheltenham, and was trained as a nurse at Westminster Hospital, becoming later a sister at the London Hospital, and being chosen matron in 1880. Miss Luckes found that instant and searching reforms were necessary, both in the training and discipline of the nurses, and also in the arrangements for their well-being and comfort. She set to work immediately to deal with the

unsatisfactory state of things, and her whole life was devoted to the hospital. She increased the number of nurses, arranged for lectures for them on medical and surgical subjects, and for their training in sickroom cookery, and she also improved their accommodation, opening the Eva Luckes Home for them in 1905. She also arranged a system of pensions. She was the friend of all who worked under her, and her unremitting toil was publicly recognised by the distinctions bestowed on her, e.g., the first-class of the Royal Red Cross, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (Lady of Grace), and the C.B.E. Miss Luckes was an intimate friend of Miss Nightingale.

17. **Sir Wilfrid Laurier**, the great Canadian statesman, was born at St. Lin, Quebec, in 1841. He was educated at L'Assomption College, and at McGill University. He also attended a Protestant school in order to acquire English, which language he subsequently spoke with great facility. In 1864 he was called to the Bar, he married Miss Zoe Martineau four years later, and in 1880 he was created Queen's Counsel. Laurier was at this time regarded with considerable distrust by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church to which he belonged, owing to his Liberal opinions and his membership of the clerically condemned "Institut Canadien" of Montreal. In 1871 he entered the Quebec Legislature, where he urged upon French Canadians the desirability of industrial competition with their English fellow-countrymen, and he also showed a tendency to Protectionism. In 1874 he resigned his seat in the Provincial Diet and entered the Dominion Parliament, where his Protectionist sympathies became more strongly marked, and in 1877 he was appointed Minister of Inland Revenue in the Mackenzie Government, and, though defeated in his old constituency, he was returned for Quebec East. In 1878 the Government fell, and Laurier found himself for many years a member of the Opposition, first with Mackenzie as his Leader, and from 1880 to 1891 as a follower of Blake, with whom his relationship, political and private, was most cordial. In 1891 he was elected Leader of the Liberal Party, an event which caused some misgiving among those who doubted whether a French Canadian Roman Catholic would prove acceptable to the English Provinces. Laurier, however, knew how to deal wisely, both with the extreme French nationalism

and with the clerical interference in politics that were resented by the English element in the country. On broad and sane lines he welded the Party into one, and when his lack of means made his position almost untenable, a fund was raised for his support. He led his party to declare for unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, and he leaned towards a possible separation on friendly terms between Canada and Great Britain. Sir John Macdonald's appeal to Imperial sentiment in the General Election of 1891 brought the Conservatives back to power, and after his death they continued in office first under Sir John Thompson, and then under Sir Charles Tupper until 1896; but in that year Laurier came into power with a majority of forty.

The new Premier had to deal with education difficulties in Manitoba, and with tariff revision, in connexion with which he introduced British Preference, a measure which was well received both in Canada and in Great Britain. In 1897 he visited England for the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, and received expressions of great goodwill in the Mother Country, while being himself impressed by Imperial ideals. He retained his office until 1911, steering successfully through the difficult period of the South African War. Though he hesitated at its commencement, he eventually acquiesced fully in Canada's participation in the

Empire's struggle. His administration was marked by the development of Canada's natural resources and by progressive Labour measures, and his sense of the desirability of Canadian autonomy was always kept in check by loyalty to the Imperial Government.

Laurier accepted his great defeat in 1911 with courage, and as Leader of the Opposition throughout the

European War he played his part nobly. The conscription controversy in 1917 (when, owing to his opposition to compulsion, he was deserted by many of his followers) did not really cause him to lose his prestige, and his moderation in the General Election of that year was gratefully recognised. As a man, Laurier was universally esteemed for his dignity, courage, personal charm, and abstemiousness of life. He was given a State funeral in the Basilica Cathedral, at which orations in French and English were delivered, and all Canadians united in mourning the loss of a great and upright servant of their country.

17. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Mark

Sykes, Bart., M.P., was born in 1879, and was educated at Beaumont College, Monaco, Brussels, and Jesus College, Cambridge. At a very early age he began the travels in the East which occupied so much of his time in later years, and when, from 1905 to 1907 he was an honorary Attache* at the British Embassy at Constantinople, he extended his knowledge of Turkey by long and solitary expeditions into that country. He published several books as the result of his travels, including, "Through Five Turkish Provinces" and "Dar ul Islam." After he had accompanied the Turkish Expeditionary Force, and had mapped out the north-west region of Mesopotamia and the desert south of Jerusalem, he received in 1906 the thanks of the Foreign Office and the Army Council.

In 1911 he became Unionist Member of Parliament for Central Hull, and for a time served with Mr. Wyndham in Ireland, showing a conciliatory spirit in regard to the questions affecting that country. He had served with distinction in the South African War, with the 5th Yorkshire Regiment, and when the European conflict broke out he raised a battalion of his old regiment, but he was not allowed to accompany it to France, being sent by Lord Kitchener as a special emissary to Russia and Mesopotamia.

Sir Mark succeeded to the baronetcy on his father's death in 1918, and proved himself to be a good landlord with progressive ideas for the improvement of the lot of his tenants, and he maintained the traditions of the famous Stedmere Racing Stud. He married, in 1903, Edith Violet, third daughter of Sir John Gorst, and had six children. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

17. **Sir Lionel E. Darell, Bart.**, was in his 74th year. He was Deputy-Lieutenant for Gloucestershire, and was at one time High Sheriff. In 1870 he married Miss Helen Marsland of Henbury Park, Cheshire, and had eight children. He succeeded his father, the fourth baronet, in 1888. His heir was his eldest son, Major L. E. M. Darell, 1st Life Guards, the well-known big-game hunter.

18. **Sir Charles Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart.**, who was 77, was educated at Eton and Oxford, and was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1868. He did not practise, but devoted himself to political and other public work, and in 1882 he entered

Parliament as Liberal member for the old Bast Cornwall Division, being subsequently elected to represent the Launceston Division. In 1886 he became Secretary to the Board of Trade, and retired from Parliament in 1892. Sir Thomas was a member of the Canterbury House of Laymen, and took a keen interest in all questions affecting religion, education, and social reform. He married Gertrude, sister of Lord Waleran, in 1879, and, having no children, was succeeded by his brother, Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland.

19. Frederick Du Cane Godman, D.C.L., F.R.S., a Trustee of the British Museum, was born in 1834 and was educated at Eton, privately, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he made friends with Osbert Salvin and the brothers Newton, whose scientific tastes he shared. This group of young men started informal meetings which led to the foundation in 1858 of the Ornithological Union. In 1861 Godman accompanied Salvin on a collecting expedition to Guatemala, and the result of that and subsequent expeditions was the Godman-Salvin Museum, which contained an enormous collection of the fauna and flora of Central America. The collection, which was moved several times, was eventually transferred to the British Museum in 1907. In 1876 the two friends decided to publish an account of their collections, and three years later the first part of the "Biologia Centrali-Americana" appeared, and the work was completed in 1915. Consisting of sixty-three quarto volumes, it contained descriptions of over 19,000 new species. Dr. Godman, who produced many smaller works on zoology, was possessed of a technical knowledge of printing and plate making, and was an expert rifle-shot. He married, firstly, Miss Elwes of Colesborne, Gloucestershire, and secondly, Miss Alice Chaplin, who, with two daughters, survived him. He was for many years Vice-President of the Zoological Society, and was elected to the Royal Society in 1882.

20. The Ameer Habibullah of Afghanistan, who was assassinated in camp in Laghman, was born in 1872, in Samarkand, in Central Asia. His father was in exile at that time, and had married a daughter of the King and Mir of Badakshan who became the mother of the future Ameer. He succeeded his father in 1901, and in 1904 Sir Louis Dane went to Kabul to arrange a treaty between Afghan-

istan's young ruler and the British Government. The Ameer adopted a very haughty attitude, and the treaty was drafted in accordance with his wishes. But a visit which he subsequently paid to India impressed him so profoundly with the extent of British power, that his policy was thereafter fundamentally affected by the considerations resulting from this experience.

The Anglo-Russian Convention, which contained five articles relating to Afghanistan, and about which he had not been consulted, angered him, but caused no break between the Governments. When the war broke out in 1914 he was loyal and friendly to the Entente, preserving the strict neutrality advised by Great Britain, though the entrance of Turkey into the struggle made his position difficult. A few weeks before his death he had concluded an alliance with other Central Asian rulers with the intention of resisting the spread of Bolshevism. The Ameer was an extremely clever and talented man, popular in society, and an excellent linguist.

20. The Very Rev. John Brown, D.D., ex-Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, was 68. He graduated at Edinburgh University, which afterwards conferred upon him the degree of D.D., and he served as a minister in Stornoway, Galstoun, Ayrshire, and Bellahouston, Glasgow, successively. His pastoral gifts were very great, and his sound judgment and sagacity won him recognition in the Courts of the Church. He became Moderator in 1916, and always showed his sympathy with those in the humbler places of the Ministry, and also with liberal views in the Assembly. His wife was the daughter of the late Very Rev. John Rankine, a former Moderator, and she, with three daughters, survived him. Dr. Brown had the great sorrow of losing all his four sons in the war.

23. Sir Calthrop Guy Spencer Calthrop, Bart., the Coal Controller, was 48 years of age. In 1886 he joined the staff of the superintendent of the line at Euston, and remained for over thirty years in the railway service. He became successively General Superintendent of the Caledonian Railway, rising to General Manager, and in 1910 General Manager of the Buenos Ayres and Pacific Railway, and in 1914 General Manager of the London and North-Western. In 1916, when the Government took over the coal

mining industry, he was placed at the head of the new department which was then created, with the title of Controller of Coal Mines. His extensive knowledge of the workings of the railway systems stood him in good stead. He re-organised the distribution of coal in such a manner as to promote economy, and his system of fuel rationing was successful in insuring fair treatment to all consumers alike. In 1917 he was created a Baronet in recognition of his services. Sir Guy was married, but left no heir.

23. The Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D., was in his 76th year. He was educated at Repton and Queen's College, Oxford, and held successively the benefices of Barton-le-Street, and Holdenby. He was a keen archaeologist, and published some fifty volumes dealing with Church history. In 1917 he was received into the Church of Rome. Dr. Cox had a family of ten children.

24. Sir Bertram Lewis Lima, who was 35 years of age, was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the *Daily Mirror*, the *Sunday Pictorial*, the *Leeds Mercury*, and the *Glasgow Daily Record*. He was educated privately, and started work, while still very young, on the staff of the Amalgamated Press. He subsequently became Private Secretary to Lord Rothermere, and he rose rapidly in his profession, receiving the honour of knighthood in 1918 in recognition of his services at the Ministry of Information during the war.

— **The Rev. William Hawker Hughes,** who was born in 1845, was the Senior Fellow, Tutor, and Estates Bursar of Jesus College, Oxford. He was a Welshman, and went to Jesus College as a scholar in 1863, taking a first class in Classical Moderations in 1864 and a second in the final classical school two years later. He became a Fellow of his College in 1873, and Tutor in 1895. Mr. Hughes also held one or two clerical appointments in Wales. He was very popular in the University, and during the long interregnum which followed the death of his Principal, Sir John Rhys, he did much to keep the affairs of the College in a satisfactory condition.

— **Major H. Graeme Gibson, R.A.M.C.,** who accomplished much valuable work in connexion with research into the cause of the influenza epidemic, died at Abbeville of that

disease at the very moment when his indefatigable labours were resulting in important advances of knowledge.

25. John Edward Nutt Mackenzie, the son of a clergyman, was educated at Bristol Grammar School, and at Trinity College, Oxford, where he held an exhibition, in 1895. He took a second class in Classical Moderations in 1897, and a third class in Lit. Hum. in 1899. An illness, and the subsequent loss of the sight of one eye, turned him from the Indian Civil Service, which was his first ambition, to journalism. For some time he was on the staff of the *British Times and Mirror*, and his strong desire to become a foreign correspondent then moved him to study in Germany and France. He subsequently went to the second Hague Conference as assistant to Mr. Saunders, *The Times* correspondent in Berlin, to whose post he succeeded in 1908. Mr. Mackenzie had an intimate knowledge of Germany and of its people, and when he left that country on the outbreak of war, he became the contributor of a series of articles in *The Times* entitled "Through German Eyes." These were published during the whole course of the conflict. He also edited *The Times* "History of the War."

— **The Very Rev. Dr. H. C. Beeching, Dean of Norwich,** was 59 years of age. He was educated at the City of London School, and was an exhibitioner of Balliol College, Oxford. After serving as a curate in Liverpool he was preferred to the benefice of Yattendon, Berks, and in 1900 became Professor of Pastoral Theology at King's College, London, and Preacher at Lincoln's Inn. Two years later he was appointed to a Canonry at Westminster, and in 1911 he became Dean of Norwich. Dr. Beeching published some volumes of poetry, and was an adept at producing humorous verse. He also wrote three volumes of essays, and edited Milton's poems for the Oxford Press. He left a widow and three daughters.

26. Anne, Lady Ritchie, was the daughter of William Makepeace Thackeray, and widow of Sir Richmond Ritchie. She was born in 1837, and in consequence of her mother's mental breakdown was sent to Paris as a young child to live with her father's mother. In 1846 she and her sister were brought back by their father to Kensington, and a singularly happy intimacy existed between the great

novelist and his children until his death in 1863. Miss Thackeray married her cousin in 1877, and had a son and daughter; her husband died in 1912. Lady Ritchie inherited a share of her father's literary genius. She published "The Story of Elizabeth" in 1863, and several other novels followed of which the best is probably "Old Kensington." Her reminiscences were the most characteristic of her writings. She had mixed with great and notable people all her life, in Paris and London, and she had in a remarkable degree the power of conveying her own impressions of them to others. Lady Ritchie was imaginative and sympathetic, a charming conversationalist and companion. She would probably have produced even greater work had she possessed the heavier qualities of order and concentration.

26. **Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.Litt.**, was in his 71st year. He was the son of an Indian missionary, and was educated at Edinburgh. He passed the Indian Civil Service ex-

amination in 1869, and after two years he was sent to the Central Provinces. He was Secretary to successive Chief Commissioners, a member of the Hemp Drugs Commission in 1893-94, then Home Secretary at headquarters, and was from 1899 to 1902 himself Chief Commissioner. He was next chosen by Lord Curzon to preside over the Commission upon the Police Service, and was knighted in 1903.

From that year until 1908, Sir Andrew was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He held this office through a difficult period, as Lord Curzon's schemes for the partition of the Province roused much opposition among its inhabitants. On five occasions the Lieutenant-Governor's life was attempted, in spite of his mildness towards the Bengali people.

After his retirement Sir Andrew settled in Edinburgh, where he took a great interest in the proceedings of the World Missionary Conference in 1910, and in its subsequent activities. He was twice married, and left a widow, four sons, and one daughter.

MARCH.

2. **Eginald Charles Edward Abbot, 3rd Lord Colchester**, was in his 78th year. He was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he gained a first class in the Final Classical School in 1863, and also a first class in the Law and History School. He had previously won the Stanhope Prize for an essay on "The Eise of the Swiss Democracy," and in 1868 he became President of the Oxford Union Society. He held a Fellowship at All Souls' College from 1864 to 1869. In 1865 he contested East Sussex as a Conservative, but without success, and in 1866 he stood unsuccessfully for Devonport. In 1867 he succeeded his father, and two years later he married Lady Isabella Grace Maude, eldest daughter of Lord De Montalt. Lord Colchester was at one time Private Secretary to Sir Stafford Northcote, and at another to Lord Derby, and from 1891 to 1904 he was a member of the London School Board. He left no heir.

— **Miss Fanny Coleman**, the famous comedy actress, was 85 years of age. She made her debut in 1857 at the old Haymarket, and during her long stage career she played with almost every manager of note in London.

Miss Coleman was at her best in elderly women parts, her talents being displayed to their fullest advantage in such roles as those of "Mrs. Malaprop," "Mrs. Candour," or, to take a modern instance, that of "Lady Brocklehurst" in "The Admirable Crichton." She celebrated her stage jubilee in 1907 at a matinee in which Sir John Hare, Sir Charles Wyndham, Mrs. Patrick Campbell, and many other leading actors and actresses took part.

3. **Lieutenant-Colonel William Watson, D.Sc., F.R.S., C.M.G.**, was before the war a Professor of Physics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London. He had for some years been engaged in scientific investigations on the theory of the internal combustion engine. For this purpose he designed and fitted a motor laboratory at the Imperial College. In 1915 a Central Laboratory was established in connexion with the British Expeditionary Force in France, in order to deal with the problems raised by the poison gas attacks made by the Germans. Of this laboratory Colonel Watson was made director. He worked unsparingly at his dangerous task, which included the collecting and examination.

of gas shells in order that measures of defence might be taken. Colonel Watson himself was often gassed, and his health finally gave way. Until he was absolutely compelled to stop work he laboured at the collection of German shells, fuses, etc., to be preserved at Woolwich. He was 51 years of age.

6. Lieutenant - Colonel A. T. Gordon, M.P., acted during the war as head of the Forage Department of the War Office for the Scottish District. In December, 1918, he was returned for Central Aberdeenshire as a Coalition Unionist.

8. Horace William Petherick was 80 years of age. He was an artist of repute who exhibited at the Royal Academy on several occasions, and whose drawings for the *Illustrated London News* and other periodicals were well known. Mr. Petherick was a connoisseur of violins, and published lives of Joseph Guarnerius, and of Antome Stradivari, and also a book on the reparation and restoration of the violin.

— Professor A. H. Frazer Lefroy, K.C., Professor of Law at Toronto University, was born in 1852, and was the son of the then President of the Canadian Institute, who afterwards became successively Governor of Bermuda and of Tasmania. He was educated at Rugby and at New College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1877, and in Canada in 1878. He was well known as an authority on Canadian Constitutional Law, and was the editor of the *Canadian Law Times*.

9. Leonard Upcott Gill was born in 1846, and was educated at the City of London School. After serving on the staff of the *Queen* and the *Field*, (journals of which his uncle, Sergeant Cox was the proprietor), he became in 1868 manager and editor of the *Bazaar*, and manager of the *Country*. In course of time Mr. Gill discontinued the *Country* and proceeded to develop the *Bazaar Exchange and Mart* until it was issued three times a week, and contained articles by specialists in every subject affecting home life. He also published books on similar topics and eventually owned the London and County Printing Works in Drury Lane.

10. Sir James Patten Mac - Dougall, who was Keeper of the records of Scotland, Deputy Clerk Register, and Registrar-General for

Scotland, was born in 1849. His father was Mr. John Patten, W.S., and his mother, whose name he assumed in 1891, was Miss Mac-Dougall of Gallanach, Oban. He was educated at Edinburgh Academy, and at Christ Church, Oxford, and was called to the English Bar by the Inner Temple in 1873. In the following year he was called to the Scottish Bar, and in 1886 he became Legal Secretary to the Lord Advocate, an appointment which he held again in 1892-94. In the latter year he was the legal member of the Local Government Board for Scotland, and later he became its Chairman, an office which he filled until 1909. Sir James held various other public appointments, was created a C.B. in 1906, and was promoted K.C.B. in 1914. He married Miss Alice Mary Home of Stirkoke, Caithness, in 1864.

16. Theresa Sussey Helen, Marchioness of Londonderry, was married to the Viscount Gastlereagh in 1875. Her husband succeeded to the family honours in 1884. She was the elder daughter of the of Shrewsbury, and was remarkable for her beauty and social talents. In 1886 Lord Londonderry became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and at Dublin Castle his wife was absolutely in her element. She was an ardent Unionist, and numbered among her friends Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Balfour, and Sir Edward Carson. She supported the role of vicereine to perfection, and interested herself deeply in the promotion of Irish industries. In later life Lady Londonderry entered with keenness into her husband's concerns, both public and private. She was devoted to Wynyard, her North-country home, and there her activities on behalf of the charitable organisations for the benefit of the Durham colliers were immense. In 1915 Lord Londonderry died, and his widow, though she suffered from recurring attacks of illness, maintained to the last her interest in charitable and patriotic work. She was a great lady, whose loss was severely felt in many different circles, for her hospitality was as wide as it was generous, and she had friends in every rank of life.

Lady Londonderry left two children, the seventh Marquess, and the Countess of Ilchester. She lost her younger son in 1899.

17. The Right Hon. G. W.E. Russell, P.C., was 66 years of age. He was the youngest son of Lord

Charles Russell and grandson of the sixth Duke of Bedford. Soon after his birth his father, who was then Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons, went into the residence in Speaker's Court, and the boy's early years were thus passed under the shadow of the House of Commons, in an atmosphere which influenced his whole after life. He was delicate and, being lame, was unable to play games; but he went to Harrow, and his love of study was fostered under the care of such masters as Dr Butler, Farrar, and Dr. Westcott. He gained a scholarship at University College, Oxford, in 1872, and there he came under the influence of Dr. Pusey, Dr. Liddon, and Dr. King, and he added to an already deep-seated personal religion, implanted in an Evangelical home, a keen sense of Churchmanship which dominated his whole life.

On leaving Oxford, Mr. Russell's political career began to occupy his mind. He was a devoted admirer of Gladstone, and in the General

Election of 1880 he became Liberal Member for Aylesbury. Three years later he was made Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board. In 1885, on the break up of the Liberal Party, he lost his seat, but in 1892 he successfully contested North Bedfordshire. That same year he was appointed Under-Secretary for India, and he exchanged into the Home Department two years later. In 1895, however, he retired from Parliament and devoted himself to literature. He published articles in various Liberal and Church papers, and volumes embodying his experiences in the worlds of society and politics, which were a delight to the general reader. In "Politics and Personalities" he enunciated his political creed, which was that of the old Whig Party.

20. Sir Edward Charles Stirling, C.M.G., F.R.S., who had been since 1900 Professor of Physiology in the University of Adelaide, was born in South Australia in 1848. He was the son of the Hon. Edward Stirling, M.L.O., and received his education at St. Peter's College, Adelaide, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. * He took honours in Natural Science, and the degrees of M.B. and M.D., and after his medical education was completed at St. George's Hospital, London, he became F.R.O.S. This was in 1874, and after gaining further experience at St. George's, he returned in 1881 to Australia. He held appointments as

Senior Surgeon in Adelaide Hospital, and Lecturer in Adelaide University, became President of the South Australian branch of the British Medical Association in 1889, and of the Royal Society of South Australia in 1890. Among other positions he filled that of President of the Australasian Medical Congress in 1905, and he was Member of the House of Assembly for North Adelaide from 1883 to 1886. He was Ethnologist to the Horn Scientific Exploration Expedition to Central Australia in 1894, and the Queen of Holland bestowed a gold medal upon him in recognition of his services to science. In 1877 he married Miss Gilbert, of Pewsey Vale.

21. Brigadier-General H. L. Foster, who died in New South Wales, was in command of the Australian Royal Military College since 1918. He was 63 years of age, and was educated at Harrow and Woolwich, passing out first in 1875. He served with the E.R. in the Egyptian campaign of 1882, and from 1883 to 1888 in the Intelligence Department of the War Office. As Quartermaster-General he re-organised the Canadian Militia in the South African War, equipping and despatching the two Canadian contingents. He subsequently became Commanding Officer of the Royal

Engineers in Guernsey, and was for a time Acting-Governor, and he then became Military Attaché to the Embassy at Washington. In 1907 he received the appointment of Director of Military Science in the University of Sydney, and from 1915 to 1917 was Chief of the General Staff of the Australian Army. He published some military works, and was an excellent linguist.

22. Colonel Edmund Baron Hartley, V.C., C.M.G., was in his 72nd year. The V.C. was bestowed upon him in the South African War of 1877-79, for his courage in succouring the wounded under fire in Basutoland. He also served in the same country in 1880-81, in Bechuanaland in 1897, and in the second South African War when he received the C.M.G. His wife was the daughter of James Eose Innes, C.M.G., of Cape Town.

23. Sir Hugh Munro, Bart., F.G.S., was born in 1856, and succeeded his father as fourth baronet in 1913. He was a well-known Scottish Conservative politician and held various public appointments, including that of Chairman of the Divisional

Committee of the National Union of Conservative Associations of Scotland. He was Private Secretary to Sir George Colley, Governor of Natal in 1880, and served in the Basuto Campaign of that year as a Volunteer. He contested the Kirkcaldy districts of burghs as a Conservative in 1885. Sir Hugh published many articles on mountaineering, and a catalogue, which was generally accepted as the standard, of all Scottish mountains. He married Selina Dorothy, daughter of Major-General Byrne, E.A., m 1882, and he left a son, who succeeded him, and two daughters.

25. **Dr. Ealph W. Leftwich** was the author of "An Index of Symptoms" and other medical works, and was an enthusiastic student of Shakespeareana. He published a paper showing that St. Saviour's, Southwark, was Shakespeare's Parish Church, and the Memorial erected there was the result of his conclusions.

27. **Major-General F. W. Ward, C.B.**, who was 78, was Colonel Commandant, E.A., and Master Gunner, St. James's Park. He was educated at Addiscombe, and received his commission in the Bengal Artillery in 1857. He served during the Indian Mutiny on the North-West Frontier, and in the Afghan War, 1879-80. He married Miss Alice MacMullen in 1862.

— **Dr. W. Allen Sturge, M.V.O., F.R.C.P.**, was formerly physician to the Eoyal Free Hospital, and Lecturer on Pathology to the Women's Medical School. After practising for twenty-seven years in Nice, where his wife's health obliged him to live, Dr. Sturge settled at Icklingham in Suffolk. He devoted himself to prehistoric archaeology, and became a great collector of flint implements dating from the Stone Age. Dr. Sturge was the first President of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia, and published several papers on prehistoric man. He bequeathed his collection of stone implements to the British Museum, and a collection of objects of ancient Greek art was destined for Toronto Museum. He was married twice, but had no family.

28. **Sir James Eeading Fairfax** was the great newspaper proprietor of Sydney. His father established the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1831, and he himself joined the staff of the paper twenty years later as an apprentice. In 1856 he became a partner in the

firm, and continued his active work in it until within a short time of his death. Sir James was also the senior proprietor of the *Sydney Mail*. His papers bore a high reputation, the impress upon them of his personal character. His charitable activities were very many, and he held various public posts, including that of President of the National Art Gallery of New South Wales.

29. **Alderman J. Makeague, Lord Mayor of Manchester,** was

70 years of age. He started his business career as an offioe boy in his uncle's warehouse at the age of 14, and he eventually became the principal member of the firm of F. W. Hunter & Co., butter importers. He was for fifteen years a member of the City Council, and for three years before his death was Chairman of the Watch Committee. He was a noted breeder of hackney horses.

— **Brigadier-General E.E.**

Courtenay, C.B., C.M.G., was born in 1853. He was educated at Charterhouse and entered the 20th Hussars. He commanded the 11th Hussars from 1896 to 1900. He served in the Zulu War, the Nile, and Egyptian Frontier Campaigns, and on the North-West Frontier of India. He had also been on the Staff at home, and when the European War broke out he rejoined and was appointed D.A.G. on the Staff of the 52nd Army in France. He received the C.M.G. for his services in the war."

30. **Major-General Sir F. H. E. Drummond, C.B., K.C.I.R.**, was educated at Wellington, and received his commission in the Indian Army. He served in the Afghan War of 1878-80 with the 109th Foot, and was a member of the Afghan Boundary Commission from 1884 to 1886. Latterly he was Inspector-General of Imperial Service Troops.

31. **Sir James Mackenzie Davidson** was born in 1856. He was educated at Buenos Ayros and in London, and studied medicine at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and London. He graduated at Aberdeen where he subsequently held appointments as Assistant to the Professor of Surgery, and Lecturer on Ophthalmology, and he filled other surgical posts. He came to London in 1897 and became a noted specialist in X-Ray treatment, accomplishing much important work, including the invention of a method for the localisation

of bullets. He was Consulting Surgeon to the Roentgen Ray Department of Charing Cross Hospital, Consulting Surgeon in charge of the X-Ray Department of the Royal London

Ophthalmic Hospital, and Consulting Radiologist to the London district Military Hospitals. He was knighted in 1912. His wife was Miss Henderson of Aberdeen.

APRIL.

4. **Sir William Crookes, O.M., F.E.S.**, the eminent Chemist and Physicist, was 86 years of age. In 1848 he entered the Royal College of Chemistry, and became assistant to Dr. Hofmann, the Director. In 1854 he was appointed Meteorological Director of the Radcliffe Observatory at Oxford, and the following year was Professor of Chemistry at Chester Training College. He did not remain out of London for long, however, but returned there, and engaged upon research work. In 1861 he discovered the metal which he named "Thallium," and eleven years later he began a series of researches into radiant matter, with the assistance of the radiometer invented by himself in 1875. In 1880 he was awarded a gold medal and a prize of 3,000 francs by the French Academy of Science in recognition of his discoveries. In addition to publications on this subject, he spoke with authority on such matters as the wheat supply of the world, the water supply of towns, and town sewage. Also he became an investigator of the phenomena alleged to take place at Spiritualistic Stances, which he declared to be produced in certain cases by some unknown intelligence. Sir William married Miss Ellen Humphrey of Darlington in 1856, and had four sons and one daughter. He was knighted in 1897. Among other important positions he held that of President of the British Association in 1898, and was Secretary of the Royal Institution in 1900, and for several succeeding years. The Order of Merit was conferred on him in 1910. His published works include "A Practical Treatise on Metallurgy," "Select Methods in Chemical Analysis," and volumes on dyeing and calico printing, and the manufacture of beet-root sugar in England.

— **J. E. Patterson**, poet and novelist, was a Yorkshireman of farmer stock, who ran away from home at the age of 13. For seventeen years he was in the Merchant Service, and during this time he began to write adventure stories which afterwards had considerable success. He was subsequently on the staff of the *Westminster Gazette*.

His works include "Epistles from Deep-Seas," "The Story of Stephen Compton," and "The Lure of the Sea" (poems).

6. **Charles William Mills, second Baron Hillingdon**, was born in 1855. He was a partner in the banking firm of Glyn, Mills, Currie & Co., and from 1885 to 1892 he represented West Kent in the Conservative interest in the House of Commons. In 1886 he married the second daughter of Lord Suffield. His eldest son was killed in the war, and he was succeeded by the Hon. Arthur Mills, his second son.

8. **Brigadier-General Lord Basing, C.B.**, was born in 1860, and entered the Army in 1882. He served with distinction in the South African War, and received the C.B. in 1902. He rejoined in 1915 and was given command of a brigade, and became later Staff Officer for Volunteer Services. He married, in 1889, a daughter of the late Colonel Hargreaves of Maiden Erlegh, and succeeded his father as second Baron in 1894. His heir was his son, Captain the Hon. John L. E. Sclater-Booth, and he had two daughters.

— **Major-General Herbert Charles Borrett, C.B.**, was 77 years of age. He entered the 4th Foot in 1858, and served in the Abyssinian

Expedition of 1867-68. He was sometime Inspector-General of Recruiting, and retired in 1903. His wife, whom he married in 1867, was the daughter of Major John Bennett. He had seven children.

9. **Sir John Fowke Lancelot Rolleston** was 71. He was educated at Repton and King's College, London, and became a Surveyor and Land Agent. He was a keen Conservative and the leader of his party in Leicester, where, after being twice defeated at the poll, he was elected in 1900. He sat for this constituency until the General

Election of 1906 when he was again defeated by the Liberal-Labour coalition, but he became Member for East Herts in 1910. Sir John retired in

1916 owing to ill-health. He was knighted in the 'nineties for his services in municipal, charitable, and political affairs. He was twice married.

9. **Francis Storr**, who was 80 years of age, was for nearly fifty years the editor of the *Journal of Education* which was amalgamated with Macmillan's *School World* in 1918. He was educated at Harrow, and at Tiimty College, Cambridge, where he held a scholarship, and was 6th in the Classical Tripos in 1861. He then held a Mastership at Marlborough, and in 1875 became Master of the Modern Side of the Merchant Taylor's School, a post which he retained until, in 1890, he retired, in order to devote himself more entirely to the general cause of education through the agency of journalism.

13. **Eowland Winn, second Baron St. Oswald**, was born in 1857. He was educated at Eton, and entered the Coldstream Guards, serving in the Sudan Expedition of 1885. During that same year he became Conservative Member of Parliament for Pontefract, and in 1893 he succeeded to the Barony on the death of his father, and retired from the Army. His wife (who predeceased him by two months) was Mabel Susan, daughter of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart. He had four sons (of whom his successor, the Hon. Rowland George Winn, born in 1893, was the eldest), and one daughter.

— **The Rev. John Neville Figgis, D.D., Litt.D.**, of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, was born in 1866, and was educated at Brighton College and St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. He was a well-known writer on religious and historical subjects, and was an excellent speaker. His best-known works are *Divine

Eight of Kings" and "From Gerson to Grotius."

15. **Sir William Cusack-Smith, Bart.**, was in his 97th year. He was an Irishman, and a great traveller on the Continent, having served for a time in his youth in the Wurtemberg Lancers. He was the fourth baronet and was a bachelor, his successor being his first cousin once removed, Sir Thomas Berry Cusack - Smith, K.C.M.G., formerly British Consul-General for Chile.

18. **George Murray Smith**, who had been Chairman of the Midland

Railway since 1911, was born in 1859, and was the son of the head of the firm of Smith, Elder & Co., publishers. He was educated at Harrow and Cambridge, and was for ten years in his father's firm. He was a Unionist, and contested the Rushcliffe Division of Nottinghamshire unsuccessfully in 1895. In 1885 he married the Hon. Ellen Strutt, daughter of the first Lord Belper. They had three sons, two of whom were killed in the war, and one daughter.

18. **The Rev. Dr. Timothy Eichard**, who was 74, had been for forty-five years a missionary in China, in connexion with the Baptist Missionary Society, and the Christian Literature Society for China. He held the title of Mandarin of the first rank, and after the Boxer massacres he was chosen by the Chinese plenipotentiaries to assist in arranging the settlement.

21. **The Right Hon. Sir Henry Barge Deane** was born in 1846, and was the only son of the Right Hon. Sir James Parker Deane. He was educated at Winchester, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he won the International Law Essay Prize in 1870 for an essay on "The Law of Blockade." After being called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in that same year, he joined the South-Eastern Circuit, where he practised for twelve years. From 1892 onwards his practice lay almost entirely in probate and divorce work. He took silk in 1896, and was raised to the Bench in 1905. He possessed great experience and knowledge of practice, which gave him an immense advantage in dealing with witnesses in the Divorce Court, especially when he had reason to suspect collusion. As a strong Churchman Sir Henry was by conviction opposed to all divorce; but as the principle had been adopted he considered that various reforms of the existing law should be introduced, including the principle of equality of the sexes. Sir Henry acted as official to the Archdeacons of Middlesex, Rochester, and St. Albans, and from 1885 to 1905 was Recorder of Margate. He retired owing to ill-health in 1917. He married Miss Edith Mary Scott of Mollance, Kirkcudbrightshire, in 1875, and left one son.

22. **Kenelm Charles Edward Pepys, fourth Earl Cottenham**, was 45 years of age. He succeeded to the title when he was 7, and was educated at Eton and at Christ

Church, Oxford. He was at one time Master of the Bicester and Warden Hill, and was Captain of the City of London Motor Volunteer Corps during the war. Lord Cottenham was twice married, firstly, in 1899, to Lady Rose Nevill, daughter of the first Marquess of Abergavenny, and secondly, to Miss Patricia Burke, of California. He had three sons by his first marriage, the eldest of whom, Viscount Crowhurst, born in 1901, succeeded him.

22. The Rev. W. Spotswood Green, C.B., was formerly Chief Inspector of Fisheries in Ireland, and was 70 years of age. He was ordained in 1872, and was incumbent for many years of Carrigaline, County Cork. He was a great traveller in his youth, and was the first person to climb Mount Cook in New Zealand. He published books of travel, including «The High Alps of New Zealand.»

— **Madame La Comtesse de Paris**, who died in Spain, was born in 1848, and was the daughter of the late Due de Montpensier, the youngest son of King Louis Philippe, and of the Infanta Louise of Spain. Her husband was the head of the Royal Family of France, a position which descended in 1894 to her son, the Due d'Orleans. The Comtesse spent most of her life in England and her husband she made her home in France. She had six children, the Due d'Orleans, the Due de Montpensier, Queen Amelie of Portugal, the Duchesse d'Aosta, the Duchesse de Guise, and the Infanta Carlos de Bourbon Siciles.

26. Sir Arthur Reginald Thomas Maxwell-Willshire, Bart., was born in 1850, and succeeded his father, the first baronet. He served in the Egyptian Expedition of 1882, and was present at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. His wife was the daughter of the late Sir Stanford Freeling, K.C.M.G., and he was succeeded by his son, Gerard Arthur.

— **Sir John Jar dine, Bart. K.C.I.E.,** who was 74, was a member of a Scottish border clan. He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and in 1864 he won the Chancellor's gold medal for English verse. In the same year he entered the Bombay Civil Service, and held successively the posts of assistant political officer in the Kathiawar States, Secretary of

the Commission for the trial of the Gaekwar of Baroda, and Secretary to the Government Delegates for the commercial treaty with Portugal respecting that country's possessions in Western India. He then became Political Secretary to the Bombay Government, and in 1878 he went to Rangoon as Judicial Commissioner, having the powers of a High Court for British Burma. He collaborated with Dr. Forohammer in a translation of the Buddhist Law Book, and interested himself greatly in the course of education. He became a Judge of the High Court of Bombay in 1885 and retired in 1897, when he received the K.C.I.E. Sir John stood without success for Roxburghshire as a Liberal in 1900, but was elected six years later to represent that constituency in the House of Commons. He was made a baronet in 1916, and retired from Parliament in 1918. He married, in 1880, the eldest daughter of Mr. Jabez Hogg, the well-known surgeon, and had six sons, four of whom served in the war. His successor was his eldest son, Captain John Eric Jardme, 5th Queen's West Surrey Regiment.

29. Charles Geake, who was 51 years of age, was formerly a Scholar and Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar in 1884, and he became a contributor to *Punch* and the *Westminster Gazette*. He was the founder and secretary of the Liberal Publication Department, and editor of the *Liberal Magazine* and the *Liberal Year Book*.

— **Sir Prank Crisp, Bart., B.A., LL.B. (Lond.),** was the senior partner in the firm of Ashurst, Morris, Crisp & Co., Solicitors, one of the largest firms in the City of London. He was in his 77th year, and had been educated privately, and at University College School, and was admitted a Solicitor in 1869. He was a great authority on Company Law, and a member of the Board of Trade Committee which was appointed in connexion with the Amendment of Companies Act. Sir Frank, who was created a Baronet in 1913, was a great connoisseur of rock-gardens, one of the most famous being that constructed by him at Friar Park, Henley-on-Thames. He was Honorary Secretary of the Royal Microscopical Society from 1878 to 1889, and Vice-President and Treasurer of the Linnean Society of London from 1881 to 1906. His successor was his eldest son, Mr. Frank Crisp, who was born in 1872.

80. The Rev. Sir John Pentland Mahaffy, Q.B.E., C.V.O., D.D., Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, was born in Switzerland in 1839. He was the son of the Rev. Nathaniel Mahaffy, and passed most of his childhood on the Continent, where he learned to speak French and German perfectly. At the age of 17 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he won high honours, both in scholarship and sport. He was first Senior Moderator in Classics and Logic, with the second gold medal in 1859. He received the Madden Prize in 1862 and in 1863, and was made a Fellow in the following year, when he took Orders and became a Tutor of his College. He very soon became noted for his great knowledge of Ancient History, and in 1871 he was appointed Professor of that subject in Dublin University. He visited Greece, and published the "History of Classical Greek Literature," and in 1890 "The Greek World under Roman Sway," which he renamed in 1906 "The Silver Age of the Greek World." Dr. Mahaffy also won fame as a decipherer of Greek papyri, and his work "The Petrie Papyri Deciphered and Explained," gained for him honours from learned bodies all over the Continent, as well as from Oxford and St. Andrews, and marks of favour from Royalty, British and Foreign. Dr. Mahaffy also published works on the history of

Ireland in general, and of Dublin and Trinity College in particular, and he was President of the Royal Irish Academy from 1911. His services to the music of his College gained for him the degree of Mus. Doc. in 1891. In 1913 Dr. Mahaffy became Vice-Provost, and a year later Provost of Trinity College. His services and those of the College during the war brought him in 1918 the Grand Cross of the British Empire, when, also, he was the first clergyman to be knighted. He was a convinced Unionist, but he invited the Irish Convention, of which he was a member, to hold its meetings in the Regent House of Trinity College. His hopes of a settlement of the Irish question on an adaptation of Swiss Federal lines were, however, thwarted by extremists on both sides, and his support was thereafter given entirely to the Union. Dr. Mahaffy married Miss MacDougall of Howth in 1865, and had four children. Among the honours he received were the Knight Commandership of the Order of the Saviour from the King of Greece, and the Commandership of the Royal Victorian Order.

30. Alexander William Hall, who was 80 years of age, was Member of Parliament for Oxford City from 1874 to 1880, and again from 1885 to 1892.

1. Sir John James Briscoe, Bart., who was 83 years of age, contested King's Lynn unsuccessfully in 1886. He was created a baronet in 1910. His wife was Miss Charlton of Oakfield, Altrincham, and he had seven children, his successor being his son, Mr. Alfred Leigh Briscoe.

3. Sir William Hood Treacher, K.C.M.G., was born in 1849. After holding various Colonial and Consular appointments, including that of first Governor of British North Borneo, he became, in 1902, Resident General of the Federated Malay States. He retired in 1904. His wife was the daughter of the Rev. J. Rumsey, and he had two daughters.

— **Major - General Henry Thomas Arbuthnot, C.B.,** late R.A., was 84 years of age. He entered the Army in 1853, and served in the Crimean War, being present at the battles of Alma and Inkerman, and

at the Siege of Sebastopol. He took part also in the Indian Mutiny campaign and subsequently held various home appointments. He retired from the Army in 1887.

8. William Blagden Gamlen, M.A., who was born in 1844, was educated at Blundell's School, and at Exeter College, Oxford, where he took honours in Classics in 1868. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1870, but three years later he returned to Oxford as Secretary to the Curators of the Oxford University Chest, an appointment which he held until his death. His position entailed much hard work, especially under Lord Ourzon, when the Endowment Fund and the Board of Finance came into existence. Mr. Gamlen took a great interest in various sides of University life, religious and secular. He married Florence, daughter of Captain Owen, sometime Chief Constable of Oxford, and had a family.

8. Sir Hervey Bruce, Bart., owned large estates near Nottingham, and in Ireland. He was born in 1843 and entered the Army when he was 19 years of age, retiring after sixteen years' service with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was in the Coldstream Guards. In 1872 he married, and in 1907 he succeeded his father as fourth Baronet. His heir was Captain Hervey Ronald Bruce, formerly of the Irish Guards.

9. Sir Dudley Stewart-Smith, KX., whose age was 62, was Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was educated at London University, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple in 1886. From 1906 to 1910 he was Liberal M.P. for the Kendal Division of Westmorland, and in the latter-named year contested East Nottingham unsuccessfully.

— **The Right Hon. Sir John Hay Athole Macdonald, G.C.B., F.R.S.,** who was Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, and Lord President of the Second Division of the Court of Session from 1888 to 1915, was born in 1836. He was a descendant of the Lairds of Scalpa, one of the Hebrides, and was educated at Edinburgh Academy and University and at the University of Basel. In 1859 he was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates, and soon became known as a clear and forceful speaker. In 1874 he contested Edinburgh City as a Conservative, unsuccessfully, but he was subsequently appointed Sheriff of Ross and Cromarty, and two years later, Solicitor-General for Scotland. In 1879 he contested Haddington Burghs without success, and after his party's defeat was made Sheriff of Perth, and in 1880 he became a Q.C. He was made Dean of the Faculty of Advocates in 1882, and three years later he entered Parliament as member for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews. Lord Salisbury's Government appointed him Lord Advocate in 1885, and he was reappointed to this office in the following year when the Conservatives were again returned to power. In 1888 he became Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, and presided over the Second Division of the Court of Session from that time for twenty-seven years. One of his greatest achievements was the passing of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1887.

Sir John Macdonald was devoted to the cause of Volunteering, becoming at the age of twenty-five Lieutenant-

Colonel commanding a battalion of the Queen's Edinburgh Rifle Volunteer Brigade. All through his life he held important positions and accomplished valuable work for the Volunteer Forces, especially in the Boer War, and he eventually became Ensign-General of the Royal Company of Archers. He was the author of a number of works on soldiering, including a well-known book, "Fifty Years of it," an account of his career as a Volunteer. His wife was Miss Jeannette Doran, and he left two sons.

9. Mrs. Edith Alice Maitland, who was said to be the original of Lewis Carroll's "Alice," was the daughter of the late Rev. E. A. Litton, a Fellow of Oriol College, Oxford, and Bampton Lecturer. She married first the late Captain J. W. Coventry, and secondly, Mr. John Maitland, sometime M.P. for Kirkcudbrightshire. She was a well-known contributor of articles and poems to magazines, and published "Childish Memories of Lewis Carroll." Mrs. Maitland was also an artist, and a great traveller on the American continent.

10. William McKay, who was for many years head of the firm of P. D. Colnaghi & Co., was well known for the part he took in the purchase of Old Masters, as a connoisseur of fine art, and a collaborator in a monograph on John Hoppner. He was in his 68th year.

12. Robert Edward Francillon, who was 78, was educated at Cheltenham and Cambridge. He was called to the Bar, and was the author of several novels, and of a volume of "Mid-Victorian Memories." He was on the staff of the *Globe* for many years.

13. Charles Goring, B.Sc., M.D., who was Principal Medical Officer of Manchester Prison, was the author of a "Statistical Study of the English Convict" which was published by the Government in 1913. It dealt in a striking manner with the problem of the causes of crime.

— **Judge Henry Dawes Bonsey,** who was 69, was educated at Cambridge, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1875. He became Recorder of Bedford in 1910, and the following year he was appointed a County Court Judge.

13. Judge Philip Howard Smith was in his 75th year. He was educated at St. Paul's School and at Cambridge, and was called to the Bar in 1870. He was appointed Recorder of Bridgenorth in 1900, and became a County Court Judge five years later.

20. Sir Charles Abercrombie Smith, M.A., LL.D., was born in 1884. He was educated first at Glasgow University, and in 1854 he went up to Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he gained scholarships, and was Second Wrangler in 1858. From 1861 to 1897, when he married Miss Home, he was a Fellow of his College, and subsequently he became an Honorary Fellow. He passed most of his long life in South Africa, where he held various public appointments, including those of Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, and Controller and Auditor General successively. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Cape University from 1877 to 1879, and again from 1905 to 1909.

27. Brigadier-General Alfred Crowdy Lovett, C.B., was born in 1862, and joined in 1883 the Gloucestershire Regiment of which he rose to the command in 1911. He served in India and in France in 1914, and won the C.B. for distinguished service in the field. He was an artist of consider-

able note, and frequently exhibited at the Royal Academy.

29. Colonel Robert Bacon, who was born at Boston, Mass., in 1860, became a member of the firm of J. P. Morgan. He was appointed First Assistant Secretary of State by Mr. Roosevelt in 1905 and became Secretary of State four years later. From that year until 1912 he was U.S.A. Ambassador in Paris, and he served in France with the American Expeditionary Force.

31. Sir Victor Buxton, Bart., who was born in 1865, succeeded his father Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, as fourth Baronet in 1915. His mother was Lady Victoria Noel, daughter of the Earl of Gainsborough. He was educated at Harrow, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and became known as a promoter of the welfare of African natives. He was President of the "Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society," and he took a great interest in missionary work. His recreation when travelling in Africa was big-game shooting, and he was also a keen sportsman at home, and a prominent county magistrate in Essex. His wife, whom he married in 1888, was Miss O'Rorke, and he had six sons and a daughter. His eldest son, Thomas Fowell, who was born in 1889, succeeded him.

JUNE.

4. Sir Boverton Redwood, Bart., who was born in 1846, was the son of Theophilus Redwood, Professor of Chemistry to the Pharmaceutical Society for over forty years. Boverton Redwood was educated at University College School, and after assisting for a time in his father's laboratory he became, in 1869, Secretary to the Petroleum Association. He quickly became known as an authority on petroleum, giving evidence on the testing of it in 1872 before a Select Committee of the House of Lords, being associated with Sir Frederick Abel in connexion with the close testing of the fluid for the flash point, and still later producing the "Redwood Viscometer."

In 1888 and 1886 he travelled in Europe and America to study the use of petroleum, and he advised the Government and the Naval authorities on the subject, both before and during the War, when he held successively the posts of Director of Petroleum Re-

search at the Ministry of Munitions, and Director of Technical Investigations in the Petroleum Executive.

Sir Boverton Redwood was a founder and the first President of the Institution of Petroleum Technologists, and published a treatise and other works on petroleum. He was knighted in 1905, and created a baronet in 1911. He married Miss Letchford in 1878, and left two daughters. His successor was his grandson, Thomas Boverton Redwood.

5. Professor R. P. Karkaria, who had held the Chair of History at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, from 1891 until his death, was 50 years of age. He was educated at the College (of which he became the Senior Fellow), and he mastered Western methods of scientific historical research to a remarkable degree. His published works include, "India—Forty Years of Progress and Reform," which appeared in 1896; and he edited and annotated the

Anstey MS. of Carlyle's lectures on "European Literature and Culture."

7. **Sir Barclay Josiah Baron**, who was Lord Mayor of Bristol, 1915-17, was born in 1857. He was educated at Edinburgh, Berlin, Strasburg, and Vienna, and became in 1883 a specialist for the treatment of diseases of the nose and throat. He founded a department for this branch of medicine at the General Hospital, Bristol, and he became President of the British Laryngological Society. He was knighted in 1918 for his services to the City of Bristol. Sir Barclay was versed in social questions, and held an appointment on his Division of the Ministry of Labour. He married Miss Jane Robmson, of Ivybndge, and left four children.

11. **The Rev. the Hon. Arthur Gordon, D.D.**, was born in 1854. He was the son of Lord Gordon of Drumcarn, and was educated at Edinburgh. For two years he was Parliamentary Secretary to his father, who was Lord Advocate in Mr. Disraeli's Government, and he then became a Minister of the Church of Scotland. He was well known, both as a zealous opponent of disestablishment, and as a remarkably learned historian, his most important published work being "The Biography of Dr. Chartens," which appeared in 1912. Dr. Gordon married Miss Constant in 1893, and had three children.

12. **T. J. Williams, M.P.**, who was Coalition Liberal Member for East Swansea, was 47 years of age. He was educated at University College School, London, and at Firth College, Sheffield. He practised as a barrister on the South Wales Circuit for some years, but latterly he retired from the Bar and became interested in various commercial undertakings, notably the tinplate industry. He contested West Glamorgan unsuccessfully as a Liberal in 1905, and in 1916 was elected M.P. for Swansea District, retaining his seat until 1918 when he was elected for Swansea East. He married Miss Marlow of Southport and had one daughter.

14. **Weedon Grossmith**, the well-known actor, was 66 years of age. He was in early life attracted to the art of painting, and had some considerable success with his pictures, exhibiting at the Royal Academy on many occasions. But in 1885 he adopted the stage as a profession, joining Rosina

Vokes's oompany in the provinces and in America, where his first appearance was made in "A Pantomime Rehearsal." Subsequently he became a member of Irvimg's famous Lyceum company, and then he joined Tree and Mrs. John Wood successively. He achieved great successes as "Archibald Bennick" in "The New Boy," "Hamilton Preedy" in "Mr. Preedy and the Countess," and "Jimmy Jinks" in "Baby Mine." He first entered on management on his own account at Terry's Theatre in 1894, and his own play, "The Night of the Party," which he produced and in which he played "Mr. Crasbie," was a remarkable success in every way. Mr. Grossmith had a wonderful gift of quiet humour which made him an extremely popular figure in farcical comedy. In 1913 he published his autobiography under the title of "From Studio to Stage." He married Miss May Palfrey.

14. **The Hon. Lady Montgomery-Moore**, who was over 90 years of age, was the daughter of the first Lord Seaton, of Waterloo fame. She married the late Sir Alexander Montgomery-Moore, whom she only survived a few months.

— **Major-General Henry Cardew** was in his 86th year. He served with distinction in the Crimean War, and was at one time in command of the Auxiliary Artillery, Southern District, Portsmouth. He retired from the Army in 1888. His wife was Miss Catherine Lambert.

17. **Baron Alphonse Chodron de Courcel**, who was born in Pans in 1835, entered the French Diplomatic Service in 1859. After acting as Secretary to the Embassies at Brussels and St. Petersburg, and at the French Foreign Office, he became Minister Plenipotentiary in 1869, and Chief de Tetary at the Quai d'Orsay in 1881. Later in that year he was appointed Ambassador at Berlin where he remained for five years after which he retired temporarily from diplomacy, and in 1892 he became Seuator for the Department of Seine et Oise. In 1894 he was recalled to the Diplomatic Service and became Ambassador in London until 1895 when at the height of the Fashoda Crisis he was succeeded by tf. Paul Cambon. He was the holder of many distinctions, including the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and was a member of the French Academy. He married in 1866 Mile. Texier.

20. **Eva, Countess of Harrington**, was the daughter of the second Lord Carrington, and married in 1869 Charles, eighth Earl of Harrington. She was well known as a follower of the South Notts Hounds of which her husband was Master for many years.

22. **D. H. Macdonald, M.P.**, who was 61 years of age, was returned as Coalition Unionist Member for the Bothwell Division of Lanarkshire in 1918.

27. **Sir John McCall, K.C.M.Q.**, was born in 1860 in Tasmania, and having completed his education at Glasgow University, he returned there to practise as a medical man. In 1888 he became a Member of the Tasmanian House of Assembly, and in 1908 was appointed Chief Secretary in the Propsting Ministry. In this position he did much useful work for the Health Department. In 1909 he was made Agent-General for Tasmania in London, and during the war he took charge of the First Australian Hospital for Officers in England. He was knighted in 1911, and made a K.C.M.G. in 1918. He was twice married, and left a widow and two sons, and also a daughter by his first marriage.

— **Mr. R. D. Purefoy**, who was born in 1847, was well known in Dublin as a physician and surgeon, and was at one time President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. He was Master for many years of the Rotunda Hospital, and a Member of the Royal Irish Academy.

28. **The Rev. Michael Gavin, S.J.**, who was born in 1843, entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus at 21 years of age, and was ordained Priest in 1877. For twenty-six years he was the Director of the Farm Street Sodality, from which office he retired in 1908.

— **William Philip Schreiner, K.C., C.M.G.**, High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, and formerly Prime Minister of Cape Colony, was 61 years of age. He was born in Cape Colony and was the son of a missionary. Mr. Schreiner was educated in South Africa and at Cambridge, where he gained the Chancellor's medal for Law in 1881, and in the following year was senior in the Law Tripos. He returned to the Cape and became an Advocate of the Supreme Court, being appointed Parliamentary Draughtsman for Cape Colony in 1885,

and Legal Adviser to the High Commissioner in 1887.

In 1893 he entered the House of Assembly and became Attorney-General in Cecil Rhodes's second Ministry. He resigned very shortly, but took office again in 1894, and held it until the fall of the Rhodes Ministry two years later. Mr. Schreiner's policy was marked by extreme honesty and an intense devotion to principles, which led him to detest political catch-words. His influence in Parliament was very great, and in 1898 he moved the vote of No Confidence in the Sprigg Ministry which brought about the downfall of that Administration. He became Prime Minister that same year, and remained in office until he resigned in 1900, owing to Ministerial differences of opinion.

He held no high office in South African politics after that year, and when the Union question came to the fore he strongly advocated federation rather than the unification which ultimately prevailed.

Mr. Schreiner's triumphant career at the Bar, where his great abilities had full scope, was terminated by his self-sacrificing acceptance of the post of High Commissioner in London. He filled this office with great devotion to his native country, and with little regard to his own health, overwork being a contributory cause of his death. He married Miss Reitz, a sister of a President of the Orange Free State, in 1884; and his wife and two sons and two daughters, survived him.

29. **Lady Pinero**, who was married to Sir Arthur Pinero the dramatist in 1888, was at one time on the stage. She was a Miss Moore, and was previously married to Captain J. A. L. Hamilton, by whom she had two children. Her son was a well-known author and war correspondent, who died in 1918.

30. **Sir Edward Ebenezer Parkes**, who was 70 years of age, represented the Central Division of Birmingham in Parliament for many years. He entered the House in 1895 as a Liberal-Unionist, and was known as a great authority on all matters affecting the iron and steel trade. He was knighted in 1916, and retired from Parliament in 1918. He was married and had four children.

— **John William Strutt, third Baron Rayleigh, O.M.**, was born in 1842. He became a Fellow Commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge*

in 1861, and was Senior Wrangler in 1865, winning the first Smith's Prize that year. He became a Fellow of Trinity, but in 1871 he resigned his Fellowship on his marriage with Evelyn, sister of Mr. Arthur Balfour, and in 1873 he succeeded his father, the second Baron. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in the same year, and in 1879 he was appointed Professor of Experimental Physics at Cambridge, and Director of the Cavendish Laboratory.

This institution he developed as a training ground for students of physics, where his system attracted greatly increased numbers of pupils.

In 1884 he was President of the British Association at Montreal, and he then became a Secretary of the Royal Society, a post he retained until 1896. From 1887 to 1905 he was Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution, and in the latter year was

made President of the Royal Society. Three years later these honours were crowned by his election to the Chancellorship of Cambridge.

Lord Rayleigh's researches in the realm of physics resulted in works on resonance, on optical questions, and on photography. In 1894 he announced the discovery of the element named argon. He published four volumes of collected scientific papers in 1899-1903.

He was also President of the Society for Psychical Research, and was greatly and personally interested in agricultural questions, owning some 7,000 acres of land.

Lord Rayleigh was the recipient of numerous degrees and honours, both British and foreign, and became a Privy Councillor in 1905.

He had two sons, the elder of whom, the Hon. Robert John Strutt, succeeded him.

JULY.

1. **Sir John Tomlinson Brunner, Bart., P.C.**, was born in 1842, and was of Swiss extraction. When, at 20 years of age, he was works-manager to Messrs. Hutchinson & Earles, Chemical Manufacturers of Widnes, he became friends with Dr. Ludwig Mond, in partnership with whom he bought the Wmington Hall Estate, near Northwich, and made alkali under the Solvay system. They had a great and lasting success, their works being among the largest of their kind in existence. Sir John Brunner was created a baronet in 1895, and became a Member of the Privy Council in 1906. In politics he was a progressive Liberal. He represented Northwich in Parliament in 1885, and from 1887 to 1909 when he retired. He was greatly interested in education, and was liberal in his gifts to Liverpool University. He was twice married, first, in 1864, to Miss Salome Davies, by whom he had three sons and three daughters, and secondly, in 1875, to Miss Jane Wyman, who survived him. His successor was his son, Mr. J. F. L. Brunner, who was M.P. for Northwich from 1910 to 1918.

3. **Sir William Macgregor, P.C., G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.Sc.**, was 72 years of age. He was the son of an Aberdeenshire farmer, and after graduating in Medicine at Aberdeen University, he practised in that city, and in Glasgow, until, in 1873, he was appointed Assistant Government Medical

Officer for the Seychelles. From there he went to Mauritius the following year, and in 1875 he became Chief Medical Officer at Fiji. His next appointment was that of High Commissioner and Consul-General for the Western Pacific, and from 1888 to 1899 he was Administrator in British New Guinea, his status being raised to that of Lieutenant-Governor in 1895. He was made Governor of Lagos in 1899, and from there he was sent to Newfoundland where he remained until, in 1909, he succeeded Lord Chelmsford as Governor of Queensland. Sir William retired in 1914, and purchased an estate in Scotland where he resided until his death. He was a man of great administrative ability, and an authority on the life of the natives of West Africa and New Guinea. He married in 1883, and had four children.

4. **The Rev. Canon Richard John Knowling, D.D.**, who was born in 1851, was the son of a clergyman, and was educated at Blundell's School, Tiverton, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he held a Blundell Scholarship. He took honours in Theology and in Lit. Hum., and was ordained in 1875. After serving curacies at Wellington, and at St. Marti n's-in-the-Fi elds, he became, in 1884, Censor and Lecturer of King's College, being appointed Vice-Principal in 1890, and Professor of New Testament Exegesis in 1894. In 1908 he became Examining Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury,

and to the Bishop of Exeter, and in 1905 he was appointed Professor of Divinity in Durham University, and Canon of the Cathedral. Canon Knowling retired shortly before his death. His published works included "The Witness of the Epistles," and other commentaries on the New Testament. He married, in 1893, Miss Ellen Raban, who predeceased him.

4. Agnes Elizabeth, Viscountess Halifax, who was born in 1838, was the daughter of the eleventh Earl of Devon. She married Lord Halifax in 1869, and had four sons, of whom only one survived her, and two daughters. She was a woman possessed of great musical and social talent, and her devout nature well fitted her position as the wife of a leading layman of the Church of England.

9. James Leslie Wanklyn, who was 50 years of age, was Liberal-Unionist Member of Parliament for Central Bradford from 1895 to 1906. He was a South American merchant and railway director, and was greatly concerned in the maintenance of British commercial prestige.

10. Sir Robert Uniacke-Penrose-Fitzgerald, Bart., who died on his 80th birthday, was educated at Westminster, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. After contesting unsuccessfully Youghal, Co. Cork, he became, in 1885, Conservative Member for Cambridge, and retained his seat until 1906. He owned 6,000 acres of land in Co. Cork, 1,000 of which he farmed himself. He was created a Baronet in 1896. Sir Robert was a prominent member and director of the Property Defence Association, and was well known on the Cork Defence Union. In 1867 he married Miss Codrington, but he left; no heir to the Baronetcy.

12. Albert Vickers, who was in his 81st year, was the son of one of the partners in a Sheffield steel-making business, which he entered at the age of 16. He subsequently spent a few years in Boston, U.S.A., and then returned to attend to the commercial side of the family business, his brother, Colonel Vickers, devoting himself to its technical development. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Hiram Maxim's introduction to the firm in 1888, resulted in the formation during the following year of the Maxim Gun Company, of which Mr. Vickers was chairman, and in 1888 the amalgamation with the Nordenfolt Company was accomplished.

During that same year the British Government had given Mr. Vickers an order for the manufacture of big guns, and for the construction of armour-plate, and he then proceeded* to organise a technical staff for the purpose of designing warships, and also to absorb already equipped establishments. The firm was thus able itself to produce great warships, and the great work for the British and other Navies which it accomplished can hardly be over-estimated.

Mr. Vickers received the Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Naval Merit from the King of Spain, and the Order of the Rising Sun from the Emperor of Japan. He was married first, in 1861, to Miss Gage of Boston, U.S.A., and secondly, in 1875, to Miss Edith Foster. He had three children.

12. Major-General Guy Annesley Prendergast was 85 years of age. He received his commission in the 6th Bengal Cavalry in 1850, and, his regiment being disbanded in the Mutiny, he was given command of a squadron of Mooltani Cavalry in 1858, and was sent to the aid of the Rajah of Powani who was attacked by rebels. He also served in the Oude campaign of 1858-59, and from 1864 to 1883 was the Commandant of the 15th Bengal Cavalry. He commanded the Thai Chotiali Field Force in the Afghan War of 1879, and subsequently the Vitkari Field Force in Baluchistan. He was promoted Brevet-Colonel in 1881, commanded at Ferozpur from 1883 to 1886, and became Major-General in 1891. In 1904 he was made Colonel of the 15th Bengal Lancers. General Prendergast married Miss Catherine Anderson in 1858. He had no children.

14. Lieut.-General J. T. Dalzell was in his 93rd year. He served with the Royal Scots Fusiliers in the Crimea, and retired with the rank of Major-General many years later. He became Colonel of the Royal Scots Fusiliers. General Dalzell was the son of an officer who fell in the Indian Mutiny, and his own five sons gave their lives for their country.

16. Major-General Sir Henry J. M. Macandrew, K.C.B., D.S.O., was born in 1866. He joined the Cameron Highlanders in 1884, was transferred to the Lincoln Regiment in 1886, and entered the 5th Indian Cavalry in 1888. He served in the Tirah campaign as Brigade Transport Officer in 1897-98, gaining the frontier medal with two clasps, and he also

served with great distinction in the South African War, receiving the King's medal and two clasps, and the South African medal and four clasps for his services. He was also awarded the D.S.O. From 1903 to 1905 he was Brigade-Major to the Inspector-General of Cavalry in India, and he served on the Staff of the Indian Cavalry Divisions in France from 1914 to 1917. He was then promoted Major-General and given command of the 6th Cavalry Division. He subsequently served under General Allenby in Palestine, and was mentioned in despatches. He received the K.O.B. for his services in France. In 1892 he married Miss Cooper of Ballindalloch, Stirlingshire, and he left a daughter.

17. **William Wray Skilbeck, LL.B.**, was born in 1864, and was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1886. He was admitted a solicitor in 1890, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1898. In 1893 he became Private Secretary to Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Knowles, who founded and edited the *Nineteenth Century*. In 1894 he married Miss Knowles, and on the death of his father-in-law in 1908 he became editor of the *Nineteenth Century and After*. Mr. Skilbeck was a man of great mental and physical energy, and was deeply imbued with the public school tradition—a very typical Englishman, whose untimely death was greatly regretted.

— **T. M. Nair, M.D.**, who was 53 years of age, came to England from India as a young man, and took his medical degree at Edinburgh University. He was for some years House Surgeon at the Sussex Hospital, Brighton, and became thoroughly conversant with English politics before returning to Madras. He then served as a member of the Madras Municipal Corporation, and of the Provincial Legislature, and also on the Indian Factory Commission of 1907-8. When Mrs. Besant began her advocacy of Home Rule for India, Dr. Nair organised the opposition non-Brahmin movement. He edited the English daily paper, *Justice*, and one or two weekly organs, and gained great influence with his fellow-countrymen. The non-Brahmin party regarded him as their representative, and he arrived in England only six weeks before his death, intending to submit their claims to Parliament through the Joint Select Committee which sat to consider the

Indian question. Dr. Nair published a treatise on diabetes, a book on * The Theory and Practice of Local Self-Government," and an account of " The Evolution of Mrs. Besant."

23. **Professor Qustaf Retzius**, the great anatomist, was born at Stockholm in 1842. He was educated at Upsala, and took his medical degree there in 1870. In 1876 he was appointed Professor of Histology at Stockholm, and in 1889 he became Professor of Anatomy. From 1881 onwards he published works on his special subjects which were received with great respect by the scientific world.

I — **Sir Edward Hopkinson Holden, Bart.**, the Chairman and Managing Director of the London Joint City and Midland Bank, was born in 1848 at Manchester. He began life as a clerk in the Manchester and County Bank, and while thus engaged he contrived to study political economy, law, and logic at Owens College. In 1881 I he became Accountant of the Birmingham and Midland Bank, and passed through various stages of promotion in its service, until, in 1898, he was appointed Managing Director. In the meantime the Bank had been opened in London in 1891, when it absorbed the Central Bank of London, and in 1898 it acquired the City Bank, finally amalgamating with the London Joint Stock Bank in 1918. In all these amalgamations and extensions Sir Edward Holden was the moving spirit, and British Banking in general owed much to his enterprise. He sat as Liberal Member for the Heywood Division of South-East Lancashire in the House of Commons from 1906 to 1910, when he did not seek re-election. In 1909 he was created a Baronet, and during the war he rendered valuable services to the Allied cause, especially when he went to the United States in 1915 as a member of the Special Commission which was to stabilise the American exchange. Sir Edward married Miss Cassie of Aberdeen in 1877, and had two sons, the elder of whom, Mr. H. C. Holden, succeeded him.

— **Frank Potter**, who was 63 years of age, had been General Manager of the Great Western Railway since 1912. From the time when he was employed as a junior clerk in the Paddington goods office at the age of 18, he was in the Company's service. He took an I active interest in the various societies

and associations for the promotion of the welfare of those employed by the Company, and was a member of the Railway Executive Committee. Mr. Potter left a widow, two sons, and two daughters.

25. **Nathaniel (Nat) Gould**, the popular sporting novelist, was born in 1857 in Manchester. He spent a great part of his life in Australia. He wrote more than 130 novels, and his stories of the Turf were widely read and immensely popular with a large public. One of the most notable of his works was "The Double Event" which was published in 1891.

— **Captain Frederick Harvey, R.N.**, was in his 89th year. He entered the Navy at an early age, becoming Sub-Lieutenant in 1851, Commander in 1861, and retiring with the rank of Captain in 1873. In collaboration with Captain John Harvey he invented the first torpedo apparatus supplied to the ships of the British Navy for use while in motion. In 1886 he was awarded a good service pension.

26. **Sir Edward John Poynter, Bart.**, who was President of the Royal Academy from 1896 to 1918, and Director of the National Gallery from 1894 to 1905, was born in Pans in 1836. He was the son of a well-known architect, and his great-grandfather on his mother's side was the eminent sculptor, Thomas Banks, R.A. His parents lived in London, and the boy, whose health was delicate, had a somewhat chequered youth from the educational point of view. He was for a short time at Westminster School, then at Brighton College, and at Ipswich successively. In 1853 he met, and formed a friendship with, Leighton which naturally stimulated his love of art. Accordingly young Poynter studied for a time at the Royal Academy Schools and in London studios, but he wanted more than London could give him, and in 1857 he went to Paris to work in Gleyre's studio where among his fellow-pupils he made friends with Du Maurier and Whistler. Some of the experiences of this group appear in "Trilby." After having worked for a time in a studio which he set up with certain of his friends, Poynter returned to London. The first picture by him to be hung at the Royal Academy was a little pen-and-ink drawing in 1861.

In the 'sixties Poynter began to exhibit pictures which placed him in the front rank of English artists. His

"Faithful unto Death," "Israel in Egypt," and "The Catapult" attracted very favourable notice, and shortly after the last named was exhibited, Poynter was elected A.R.A. He continued to show his predilection for the Ancient World by painting such pictures as "Atalanta's Race," and "Nausicaa and her Maidens" for Lord Wharncliffe, and in 1880 he reached what was probably the highest point of his artistic attainment in the "Visit to Aesculapius" which eventually found its way to the Tate Gallery.

Sir Edward Poynter was knighted in 1896, created a Baronet in 1902, and he received the K.C.V.O. in 1918. He was a famous teacher and lecturer, and his "Ten Lectures on Art" published in 1879, contain his views on many important matters. He married, in 1866, Miss Agnes Macdonald, whose sisters were Lady Burne-Jones, and the mother of Mr. Rudyard Kipling. He left two sons, the elder of whom, Mr. Ambrose Poynter, the well-known architect, succeeded to the Baronetcy.

26. **Major-General John Ruggles**, who was in his 93rd year, was educated at Addiscombe, and entered the Indian Army in 1846 as an Ensign in the 41st Native Infantry. He was at the siege and capture of Kote Kangra, and he was one of the defenders of the Residency at Lucknow. He also saw service in 1864 in the campaign against the Bhutaneses as second in command of the 19th Punjabees, the regiment of which he was appointed honorary Colonel by King Edward VII., twenty-six years after his retirement.

27. **Sir John Edward Denniston**, ex-Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, went to that country from Scotland as a boy. He became a bank clerk, but after studying law at Otago University, he was called to the New Zealand Bar in 1874. His ability quickly brought him to the front rank as an advocate, and he was raised to the Bench in 1894. He retired in 1918.

— **Professor Arthur William Ward, D.Sc., M.A.**, who was 60 years of age, had been Professor of Physics at Canning College, Lucknow, for thirty years. He was educated at Liverpool College and Institute, and subsequently at St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he was a Scholar. He took his degree in 1882, and after working in London he went in 1885 to Southern India as Lecturer on Physical Science at the Kumbakonam College.

He went to Lucknow in 1889, and was a member of the Senate and of the Syndicate Of the University of Allahabad, which he also represented on the United Provinces Legislature. He married twice, and left one son.

29. George Adolphus Storey, R.A., was born in London in 1834. In early life he was known as belonging to the Pre-Raphaelite School, and was at one time regarded as a possible rival to Millais. His first picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1852, and "The Bride's Burial" attracted a great deal of notice. But Mr. Storey changed his style, owing, he himself said, to the fact that Pre-Raphaelitism did not pay, and he painted fanciful pictures of domestic life in Tudor and other bygone times. He will probably be remembered chiefly by his excellent portrait painting. A portrait by him of his mother was acquired by the Tate Gallery. Mr. Storey left a widow and one daughter.

30. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M.P., who was born in 1847, had represented the Osgoldcross

Division of Yorkshire in Parliament as a Coalition-Liberal since 1918, having previously held that seat as a Liberal since 1906. He was educated at King Edward VI. School at Bath, and he entered the coal business, founded by his father, which later became known as Rickett, Cockerell & Co. He first entered Parliament as Liberal Member for Scarborough in 1895, and was extremely punctual and exact in the performance of his legislative duties. He was knighted in 1907, and became Paymaster-General without salary in 1916. Sir Joseph was a Congregationalist and a prominent figure in Nonconformist religious work.

31. Sir Humphrey Napier Sturt, K.C.V.O., second Baron Alington, was born in 1859, and was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford. He served at one time as a Lieutenant in the Dorset Yeomanry, and succeeded his father in 1904. From 1891 until that time he had been Conservative Member of the House of Commons for East Dorset. His successor was his eldest surviving son, the Hon. Napier George Henry Sturt, R.A.F.

AUGUST.

5. Dr. Thomas Roberts, the Principal of University College of Wales, Aberystwith, was 59 years of age. He was educated first at that College, and in 1875 he won a classical scholarship at Lincoln College, Oxford. After graduating (taking firsts) in Classical Moderations, and Final Schools, he became Professor of Greek at South Wales University College, and in 1881 he was appointed Principal of University College, Aberystwith. He held this position with distinction and success.

7. Herbert Ward, the explorer, artist, and sculptor, who died in Paris from heart failure brought on by overstrain during the war, was 57 years of age. He was educated at Mill Hill, and on leaving there at the age of 16 he went in an emigrant ship to New Zealand. Three years later, after many adventures, he completed his voyage round the world as an A.B. He went on two other sea voyages, led a military expedition into Borneo, and in 1884 he travelled to the Congo. In 1887 he, with 400 natives, set out to meet Stanley, and for two and a half years he served with that famous explorer. In 1890 Mr. Ward married Miss Sanford of New York, and he

then began to devote himself to art. He had great success as a sculptor, and settling near Paris in 1900, he exhibited frequently at the Salon, winning two gold medals, and receiving the Cross of the Legion of Honour in 1911. During the war he did his utmost to cement the friendship between England and France by serving with a British ambulance section attached to the French Army, and also, latterly, by collecting large sums of money to relieve distress in France. He did this partly by lecturing in England and America, and partly by the publication of a book entitled "M. Poilu." Mr. Ward had two sons serving in the war, the elder of whom fell in 1916, while the younger had a remarkable escape from a German prison.

8. Professor Ernst Haeckel, the eminent zoologist and expounder of the theory of evolution, was 85 years of age. He was born at Potsdam and in his youth showed an interest in botany. Eventually he studied medicine at Wurzburg and in Berlin, and, after taking his doctor's degree, he went to Vienna to practise. But his real interest was in zoology, and in 1861 he was appointed a lecturer in Jena University, where a year later

he became Extraordinary Professor of Zoology, and Director of the Zoological Institute. In 1865 he received the appointment of full Professor which he held for a great number of years, remaining in Jena until his death. Haeckel devoted a great deal of time to travel, and the results of his research work in various parts of the world were published in learned monographs. He also wrote three volumes of travel of a very readable and interesting nature.

Haeckel's name was at a very early date associated with the spread of Darwinism. In 1860 he read the "Origin of Species," and, becoming an ardent convert to the theory expounded in that work, he proceeded to apply it in all its aspects to every department of human and animal life in a far more dogmatic manner than Darwin had done. Where the facts did not sufficiently bear out his theories, Haeckel supplied what was wanting, as in the case of missing links in the animal kingdom. Later and more exact science has proved the existence of many flaws in his work, but he achieved a great success in popularising the doctrine of evolution in the face of much ignorance and prejudice. His philosophical and religious opinions were also deduced from his theories of natural science, and in the crude form in which he gave them to the public they roused much opposition on account of their materialism. Haeckel's published works included volumes on "Siphonophora," on "Arabian Corals," and on "The Radiolaria." To the *H.M.S. Challenger Reports*, he also contributed "Deep Sea Medusae" and "Deep Sea Keratosa." He was a clever artist, and illustrated many of his works with his own hand.

9. Ruggiero Leoncavallo, who

was the son of a magistrate of Naples, was born in 1858. His earliest efforts at musical composition were unsuccessful, owing to no fault of his own, and for many years his life as an obscure accompanist was a hard one. In Paris, however, he was "discovered" by an agent, who brought him into touch with operatic singers. Leoncavallo then began once more to compose, having in his mind an operatic trilogy on the stories of Italian historical personages. The first of these, "I Medici," was ready in 1889, but three years passed and it was still not produced, when Mascagni's "Cavalleria Rusticana" had its success. Leoncavallo then set to work on "Pagliacci," writing the words and music in five months, and it was produced in

1892. Its success was immediate and lasting, and its composer's name was made. His earlier and later works never became so well known or popular, though some of the smaller ones were well received.

10. George Arnulph Montgomerie, fifteenth Earl of Eglinton and Winton,

was in his 72nd year. He was educated at Eton, and at one time held a commission in the Grenadier Guards. In 1873 he married Miss Janet Lucretia Cumminghame, and in 1892 he succeeded his brother, the fourteenth Earl. Lord Eglinton was hereditary Sheriff of Renfrewshire, had been Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Ayr since 1897, and was President of the Ayrshire Territorial Force Association. He was Master of the Eglinton Foxhounds, and had at one time his own cricket eleven. He had three sons and two daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Lord Montgomerie.

11. Andrew Carnegie, the multi-millionaire, who was over 80 years of age, was born in Dunfermline. His father was a hand-loom weaver of linen, whose business was immed by the introduction of the power loom. In 1848 the family therefore emigrated to America, and settled near Pittsburg, where the lad Andrew was employed as bobbin-boy in a cotton factory at 4s. 10d. a week.

His next work was that of feeding the furnace and tending the engine in a small factory where he was eventually employed in the office. He then became successively a telegraph messenger and operator of the Ohio Telegraph Company, passing, by the help of a benevolent friend, Colonel Scott, to the telegraphic service of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He remained in the Company's employ for eleven years, taking advantage of the growing activity of the district to invest his savings in various enterprises. In 1864 he bought his first interest in iron works, and he and his brother, with a few old friends, formed the Union Iron Mills Company.

In 1878 Carnegie went into the steel business, contributing a capital of 50,000l. to the company known as Carnegie, McCandless & Co. Twenty-six years afterwards, when the business was sold, his share was worth over 45,000,000l.

Carnegie's methods were all his own. His part of the work was that of the travelling and publicity manager, who took wide views, and steered the

business to success with hie eyes on the great world. He was never satisfied with present attainments, but worked his partners and his subordinates to the very limit of their powers. In spite of his democratic views in theory, in practice he was a hard master, though he paid high wages. He fought strikes to the death, and in 1892 the great Homestead Strike, in which he was opposed to the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, amounted almost to a petty war.

Mr. Carnegie's charitable benefactions were immense. He spent millions, in Europe and in America, on education, public libraries, etc. He propounded his theories on this subject in his "Gospel of Wealth," and among his other published works on business and economics, "Problems of To-day," which appeared in 1908, may be mentioned.

He married Miss Whitfield of New York when he was 50 years of age and had one daughter. His private life was simple and quiet, but he loved to entertain distinguished people. His Scottish residence, Skibo Castle, in Sutherlandshire, was his home for many years, but he died in America. Mr. Carnegie's will was proved at the end of August. This showed that although at one time he possessed 70,000,000l., he died worth only 5,000,000l., all the remainder having been given away to different charities and such-like. He left annuities of 2,000l. each to Mr. Lloyd George, Ex-President Taft, and Lord Morley, and an annuity of 1,000l. to Mr. John Burns.

12. Judge James Alexander Rentoul was born in Ireland in 1854, and was educated at Queen's College, Galway, the Royal University of Ireland, and the Universities of Berlin and Brussels. He was for some years a Presbyterian Minister at Woolwich, but in 1884 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, gaining a Scholarship in his final examination. He took silk in 1895, and was appointed a Judge of the City of London Court in 1901. His decisions were rather frequently commented upon adversely, but he was kind and patient on the Bench.

From 1890 to 1901 he represented the Eastern Division of County Down in the House of Commons as a Conservative, and he was a member of the first London County Council. Judge Ben toul resigned his seat on the Bench about six weeks before his death.

12. Professor William Greenfield, whose age was 72, held the Chair of Pathology at Edinburgh University from 1881 to 1912. Previously to that date he had been Professor of Pathology at London University where he had graduated. He was well known for his research on anthrax.

14. The Right Rev. Edward Lee Hicks, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln, was born in Oxford in 1843. He was educated at Magdalen College School, and gained a scholarship at Brasenose College. He graduated with a first class in Moderations, and subsequently took a first in Lit. Hum., became a Craven Scholar in 1867, and won the Chancellor's Latin Prize in 1868. He was a Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College from 1866 to 1873, when (having been ordained in 1870), he left Oxford on his preferment to the benefice of Fenny Compton, where he remained until 1886. He was then appointed first Principal of Hulme Hall, which was subsequently affiliated to Owens College, Manchester, and he was at the same time made Lecturer in Classical Archeology in the University. His work in Greek epigraphy had made him famous, his "Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions" becoming recognised as a classic on that subject. After some years of enthusiastic service of the University, Dr. Hicks was appointed to a Canonry in Manchester Cathedral to which the poor parish of St. Philip's, Salford, was attached.

In 1910 Mr. Asquith appointed him to the See of Lincoln, vacant by the death of the revered Bishop King. It was an extremely difficult task to follow such a man, and Dr. Hicks differed in many respects from his predecessor. But in spite of his political views, which told against him, particularly in the Welsh Church controversy, the Bishop won the affection and respect of his diocese.

He married Miss Agnes Mary Trevelyan-Smith who survived him; he also left two sons and two daughters. His eldest son died in the war.

16. Lieut.-General Boyce William Dunlop Morton, who was nearly 90 years of age, entered the Indian Army in 1848, and shortly afterwards was appointed junior assistant to the Commissioner of Assam. He retired in 1884 (after a service as an officer in civil employ of over 85 years) with the rank of Major-General. He was subsequently Lieut.-General on the supernumerary list.

16. **James Cleland Burns, third Baron Inverclyde**, was born in 1864, and was the second son of the first Lord Inverclyde. For thirty-four years he was connected with the firm of Messrs. G. & J. Burns, Ltd., and was actively interested in many shipping undertakings. He succeeded to his elder brother's title in 1905. His wife was Miss Charlotte Mary Emily Nugent-Dunbar, and he had a son who succeeded him, and two daughters. Lord Inverclyde was President of the Glasgow Shipowners Association from 1895 until his death. He was also a director of the Cunard Steamship Company, a member of the Executive Council of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, and Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Dumbar-tonshire. He held a commission in the R.N.V.R. and was President of the Dumbar-tonshire Volunteer Force.

— **The Rev. Thomas Joseph Lawrence, LL.D.**, Canon of Salisbury, was born near Cambridge in 1849, and received the first part of his education at the Perse Grammar School in that town. In 1868 he gained one of the first Whewell Scholarships of International Law, and entered Downing College in 1869. In 1871 he was Senior in the Moral Sciences Tripos, and in 1872 he, with Mr. T. S. Little, was bracketed at the head of the Law and History Tripos. Dr. Lawrence was the only man who had ever been Senior in two Triposes at Cambridge. He became a Fellow of his College, and Lecturer on Law and History, and he devoted much time to the foundation of the University Extension movement.

In 1888 he was appointed Deputy-Professor of International Law to the University, by the Professor, Sir William Harcourt.

In 1892 he went to Chicago as Professor of History and International Law at that University, remaining there for two years.

Dr. Lawrence then returned to England and received the appointment of Lecturer on International Law at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, from whence he passed to the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth. He instructed Naval Officers of all ranks for twenty-five years, and published many works, of which "Principles of International Law" and the "Hand-book of Public International Law" became famous. Dr. Lawrence was ordained in 1874, and held several small benefices. His wife was Miss Ed~ of Plymouth, and he left a son and a daughter.

16. **Alexander Petrovitch Isvolsky**, the Russian diplomatist, was born in 1856, and entered the Diplomatic Service in 1876. He served in Borne, Philippopolis, Bukarest, and Washington, and after a period at the Vatican was appointed Minister at Belgrade in 1897. He remained there until, in 1899, he was sent to Tokyo. Here he laboured strenuously to avoid war with Japan, but other counsels prevailed and M. Isvolsky's next appointment was to Copenhagen. There he met the Kaiser Wilhelm II., who was at that time anxious to conclude a triple alliance with Russia and France. On this scheme M. Isvolsky looked with disavour, feeling that France would not be agreeable to the proposal. He was not aware of the secret Treaty between the Kaiser and the Tsar which in reality caused his own appointment in 1906 to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The retiring Minister, Count Lamsdorff, had vacated his post owing to his anxiety on the subject of that same Treaty.

For more than four years M. Isvolsky held his post, during which period the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, which paved the way for the Triple Entente, was concluded.

In 1910 he was appointed Ambassador to Pans, and remained there until the Revolution in Russia when he retired to Nice. His wife was Marguerite Cirlova, Countess Toll, and he had one son.

17. **Sir Augustus Henry Oakes, C.B.**, was born in 1839, and entered the Foreign Office in 1858. After serving for many years under the late Sir Edward Hertslet he succeeded him as Librarian and Keeper of the Papers, and as editor of "British and Foreign State Papers," and Hertslet's "Commercial Treaties," in 1896. He was exceedingly accurate and painstaking in his work, and received the C.B. in 1902, and a knighthood in 1905 in recognition of his services. He retired in 1904. Sir Augustus married a daughter of Dr. Cane of Uxbridge in 1871, and had three children.

18. **Major-General Nathaniel Walter Barnardiston, C.B.**, M.V.O., was born in 1858, and entered the army at the age of 20, receiving his commission in the Middlesex Regiment. After being Adjutant of the 2nd Battalion from 1882 to 1886 he was promoted Captain, and in 1896 he became Major. In 1902 he was appointed Military Attache at Brussels, and the Hague, becoming Lieutenant-

Colonel in 1904, and being appointed second in command of the Royal Military College in 1906.

He was with various Legations in Europe, and served in the South African War, where he won the Queen's medal with four clasps. In the Great War he commanded the British Expeditionary troops in North China before the fortress of Tsing-tau, and in 1915 he was made a Major-General for his services, and received from the Emperor of Japan the Order of the Rising Sun.

General Barnardiston's last appointment was that of Military Attache to the Legation in Lisbon in 1917. His M.V.O. came to him in 1904, and his C.B. in 1918.

His wife, who predeceased him, was the daughter of the Hon. D. R. Floyd-Jones, sometime Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of State of New York. He left one daughter.

18. Sir William Henry St. John Hope, Litt. D., D.C.L., was educated at Peterhouse College, Cambridge. He devoted himself to the study of Archaeology, and was one of the greatest authorities of his time on Mediaeval England. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and its Assistant Secretary from 1885 to 1910. He was also Director of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

His many published works included "The Stall Plates of the Knights of the Garter," various monographs on Mediaeval Religious Houses and Churches, and an architectural history of Windsor Castle which he undertook at the command of Queen Victoria and King Edward VII.

Sir William, who was knighted in 1914, married, first, the daughter of Major-General Perkins, and secondly, Miss May Jefferies.

19. The Hon. Mark Napier, who was born in 1852, was the fourth son of the tenth Baron Napier and Ettrick. He took his degree at Cambridge in 1878, was a director of Reuter's for over thirty years, and sat in Parliament as Member for Roxburgh from 1892 to 1895. His wife was the youngest daughter of the seventh Viscount Ranelagh, and he had three sons, the eldest of whom fell in the South African War.

22. Hugh Lawrence Doherty, the famous lawn-tennis player, was born in 1876, and was educated at Westminster and Cambridge. He won the Renshaw Cup for boys at Scarborough at the age of 15; and in the years 1896-98 he played for Cam-

bridge. In 1898 he also won the All-Comers Singles at Wimbledon, and he won the Singles Championship five times, from 1902 to 1907. With his brother he held the Doubles Championship from 1897 to 1901 and from 1903 to 1905.

Mr. Doherty had many other triumphs, and played for four years, 1908-6, in the Davis Cup competition without losing a match.

His play was conspicuous for its high level of excellence rather than for sensational shots, and he was an extremely popular personage in the lawn-tennis world.

22. David Robert Plunket, first Baron Rathmore of Shanganagh, was 81 years of age. He was the third son of the third Lord Plunket and inherited his gift of oratory from his famous grandfather. He took his B. A. degree at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1859, and his University career was notable chiefly for his speeches in the Historical Society, where his budding gifts had an opportunity of showing themselves. He was called to the Bar in 1862, joined the Munster Circuit, and became well known as a barrister, being appointed Law Adviser to the Castle in 1868 by the Conservative Government. But his ambition was to sit in Parliament. In 1870 he became member for his own University and held his seat until he was raised to the Peerage twenty-five years later.

Mr. Plunket's eloquence soon brought him to the fore in the House of Commons. He was a keen Unionist and as such was a powerful opponent of Mr. Gladstone.

From 1874 to 1877 he was Solicitor-General for Ireland, and in 1880 he became Paymaster-General for a short time.

In 1885 when the Conservatives were for a short time in power he was First Commissioner of Works, and he resumed the post when the Party were returned to Office in 1886. His abilities were recognised by both friends and opponents, and in private life he was extremely popular.

— **Dr. Leonard William King** was 49 years of age, and was one of the best-known Assyriologists in Europe. He was educated at Rugby and at King's College, Cambridge, and subsequently obtained an appointment in the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum. He was also sometime Professor of Assyrian and Babylonian Archaeology

at King's College, London. He travelled much in the Near East and worked on excavations of the palaces of the Assyrian kings. His published works included the "« Letters of Hammurabi" and " Babylonian Magic and Sorcery."

23. Professor Augustus George Vernon Harcourt, M.A., F.R.S., was 84 years of age. He was the elder son of Admiral F. E. Vernon Harcourt and was grandson of Edward Vernon Harcourt, one time Archbishop of York. He was educated at Harrow and Balliol. He was one of the first undergraduates who ever studied scientific chemistry in Oxford University. He afterwards became demonstrator in Chemistry in Oxford, and through a period of nearly forty years his laboratory was a centre of chemical research in the old university. His researches included investigations into the compounds of potassium and sodium and into the essential nature of chemical combination. He also did work on applied chemistry, including tests of the best methods of purifying coal-gas. He was President of the Chemical Society (to which he had been elected as early as 1859) in the year 1895. He obtained his F.R.S. in 1868 and was on the Council of the Society from 1878 to 1880. Professor Harcourt married, in 1872, Rachael Mary Bruce, daughter of Mr. H. A. Bruce, who afterwards became Lord Aberdare.

24. Herr Friedrich Naumann, the German Liberal politician and writer, was born in 1860 in Saxony. He was educated at Leipzig University and became a Pastor of the Lutheran Church. In the days of the empire he was regarded as an advanced Radical, and published many works on political subjects. He was also Editor of the well-known weekly periodical *Die Hilfe*. He was for some years a member of the Reichstag. He was best known to the world, however, through his book "« Mitteleuropa," which was published in April, 1915, and which advocated, with all the force which the author's literary gifts made possible, the formation of a great Central European Bloc, which should be strong enough to withstand any pressure, either from the east or from the west. After the revolution Herr Naumann became President of the newly constituted Democratic Party.

27. General Louis Botha, the

famous South African statesman, who was for many years Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, was born at Grey town, Natal, in 1862. His father was a wealthy fawner, and Louis was one of six brothers. At a very early age Botha showed evidence of those military gifts which so distinguished him during the great Boer War. At the age of seventeen he was one of a Boer commando which went to the assistance of Dimzulu during a civil war in Zululand. He then became a citizen of the little republic of Vryheid, which was absorbed by the Transvaal in 1888. Eight years later Botha was elected a member of the Volksraad, and in the brief period between his election to the legislature and the outbreak of the South African War, Botha showed himself a determined opponent of President Kruger's extremist policy. Like Joubert and Lukas Meyer he was in favour of a conciliatory policy towards the British population of the Transvaal; and during the last negotiations with the British Government he was earnestly desirous of preserving peace. At the outbreak of hostilities Botha at first joined his old Vryheid commando as an ordinary citizen soldier, but before many weeks had passed he was given command of the division of which the Vryheid commando formed a part. Thereafter he greatly distinguished himself as Commander of a Boer force which held up General Buller's Army on the line of the Tugela for many weeks. And when Joubert, the Commander-in-Chief, died, there was never any question but that Botha would be his successor. After the Boer resistance had been prolonged for many months, Botha, and also his great friend General Smuts, realised at last that they would have to accept the inevitable, though some "die-hards" such as Hertzog, Beyers, and President Steyn himself, were in favour of continued resistance. At the time of the Treaty of Vereeniging, few people in England realised the character of the man who was putting his signature to that document. Louis Botha was the soul of personal honour. He regarded the Treaty of Vereeniging as binding him in honour to Great Britain, and how he kept his pact the future was to show.

During the period of Crown Colony government in the Transvaal, Botha was, not unnaturally, somewhat inclined to sulk. But after Responsible Government was bestowed upon the colony by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1906, Botha immediately set to

work to play his part loyally as a statesman of a British self-governing colony. As Prime Minister of the Transvaal he came to London twice, in 1907 and again in 1909. During this period he made the acquaintance of Jameson, then Premier of Cape Colony. A close personal friendship between the two men sprang up, notwithstanding that in their younger days they had been so diametrically opposed in the secular South African feud. And it was no doubt largely due to the friendship between these leading statesmen of the two most important states that the union between the four South African colonies was so successfully brought about.

After the union Botha became Prime Minister, and he was at first the leader of a united Dutch Party. Soon, however, the essential difference between his policy and that of Hertzog and the extremists, who still had a hankering after republicanism, became apparent; and Hertzog was compelled to leave the Cabinet. After the outbreak of the European War, Botha's loyalty to his oath, given at Vereemging, shone forth. And in the autumn of 1914 he held to his honour, even through the intensely painful task of suppressing the Boer rebellion in which many of his oldest friends were taking part. Afterwards he led

the expedition which conquered German South-West Africa, and during the later stages of the war he distinguished himself as one of the greatest of Imperial statesmen. Great as General Botha's ability was, both as a soldier and a statesman, yet those who knew him were even more impressed by the wonderful reality and integrity of his character.

Botha married very early in life Miss Emmet, a lady of South African birth and of Irish extraction.

29. **William Samuel Lilly, LL.M.**, who was born in 1840, was a scholar of Peterhouse Cambridge. He took his degree in 1862, and entered the Indian Civil Service, becoming, in 1869, Secretary to the Governor of Madras. His health, however, failed, and he returned to England and devoted himself to literary work.

Mr. Lilly was converted to Roman Catholicism, and was in 1874 appointed Secretary to the Catholic Union of Great Britain. He wrote on religion, politics, and history, and also produced biographical studies of a high order of merit. Among his works "Ancient Religion and Modern Thought," "The Claims of Christianity," and "Studies in Religion and Literature," are well known.

SEPTEMBER.

2. **Charles Arthur Mercier, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.P.**, was the son of a clergyman of Huguenot extraction, whose death left his son at an early age in very poor circumstances. The boy became first a sailor, and then entered a city warehouse, but he was able eventually to pursue the study of medicine as a student at the London Hospital. Here he gained great distinction, and he was led to the special study of mental diseases and of neurology, becoming medical officer in the Bucks County Asylum, and the City of London Asylum at Stone; and he also held the post of resident physician in a private asylum near London. Dr. Mercier was well known for his advocacy of the treatment of insanity in its earliest stages, and his logical speeches and writings on his special subject gained him a great reputation. He belonged to a number of learned societies, and he served at one time as President of the Medico-Psychological Association, and of the British Medical Association Congress at Oxford. Among his many published works may be men-

tioned "Criminal Responsibility" and "Crime and Criminals," for each of which he was awarded the Swiney Prize, in 1909 and 1919 respectively.

2. **Dr. Alexander Macalister**, who from 1883 until his death was Professor of Anatomy at Cambridge University, was born in 1844. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, being appointed Professor of Zoology at Dublin University in 1869, and Professor of Anatomy and Chirurgery in 1877, holding that post until he went to Cambridge six years later. He had great success as a lecturer and teacher, to which work he devoted himself entirely, instead of practising, as his predecessors had done in conjunction with their professorial duties. Dr. Macalister was a very widely read man, and he published works on animal morphology, and on zoology. He was also a devoted and active member of the Presbyterian community at Cambridge. His wife was Miss Elizabeth Stewart of Perth, and one of his sons became Professor

of Celtic Archaeology at University College, Dublin.

2. Brigadier - General Charles Frederick Lee, C.M.G., was 31 years of age. He was educated at Eton, and joined the King's Royal Rifles (60th), from which regiment he retired two years before the outbreak of the European War. He had joined the Somerset Yeomanry, but at the commencement of hostilities he transferred to the Royal Plying Corps. He became Adjutant to Air-Marshal Sir Hugh Trenchard in France, and later on was appointed Brigade-Major to Vice-Air-Marshal Sir John Salmond. In 1916 he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, and made B.F.G. Staff Officer, 1st Class, and he subsequently commanded the British Aviation Mission to America, being promoted Acting Brigadier-General. He had recently joined the Avro Company, and met his death in an aeroplane accident at Weston-super-Mare.

6. Charles William De la Poer Beresford, Baron Beresford of Metemeh and of Curraghmore, Admiral of the Fleet (retired), was the second son of the fourth Marquess of Waterford, and was born in 1846. He was educated privately, until in 1859 he became a cadet on H.M.S. *Britannia*. He was promoted sub-Lieutenant in 1866, Lieutenant in 1868, and Commander in 1875, during which year he was appointed A.D.C. to the Prince of Wales whom he accompanied on his Indian tour of 1875-76.

In 1882 Lord Charles (as he then was) gained great distinction at the bombardment of Alexandria, when he was in command of the *Condor*. He received several decorations, and was promoted Captain, and in 1884 he was attached to Lord Wolseley's Staff during the Nile Expedition to relieve Gordon. Eventually, Lord Charles commanded the Naval Brigade on the Nile, and at the Battle of Abu Klea, and he was also in command of the expedition which rescued Sir Charles Wilson in the Sofia. His remarkable handling of this task was recognised by the bestowal upon him of the C.B., the Nile medal and clasp, and the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. In 1886 he became Fourth Sea Lord of the Admiralty, but resigned in 1888, not being satisfied with the Naval Estimates. In 1891 he was given the command of the *Undaunted* in which position he was able to render singular help to the French Navy by assisting in the salvage of the *Seignelay* off the

coast of Tripoli. Lord Charles was in command of the Steam Reserve at Chatham from 1898 to 1896, and in 1897 he was appointed A.D.C. to Queen Victoria, and later in that year was promoted Rear-Admiral. He visited China in 1898-99 on a special mission, and in 1900 he was made Second-in-Command in the Mediterranean. In 1902 he became a Vice-Admiral, and in the following year he was given command of the Channel Fleet, which he held until he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. In 1907, having become a full Admiral during the previous year, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of what had been known as the Home Fleet, but had just then been renamed the Channel Fleet. Lord Charles was out of sympathy with the changes which the Admiralty were making in the naval forces in home waters. This fact became generally known, and led to strained relations between himself and Sir John Fisher in particular. The fleet Lord Charles commanded was abolished in 1909, and he hauled down his flag. Immediately afterwards he wrote the Prime Minister a letter severely criticising the recent policy of the Admiralty. This caused much heated discussion at the time. Lord Beresford's political career was a long one. From 1874 to 1880 he was Conservative M.P. for Waterford; in 1885 and 1886 he was elected for Marylebone, from 1897 to 1900 he represented York City, from 1902 to 1903, Woolwich, and from 1910 to 1916 (when he was raised to the Peerage) Portsmouth.

Lord Beresford had all the charm of an Irishman, and was immensely popular with all classes. His occasional indiscretions in speech and writing, though they brought him into conflict with the authorities, did not diminish his prestige with the public. He married, in 1878, Miss Mina Gardner, and he left two daughters.

6. The Rev. Charles Henry Olive Daniel, D.D., Provost of Worcester College, Oxford, was born in 1836. He was educated at King's College, London, and at Worcester College, where he held a scholarship. From 1859 to 1868 he was classical censor and lecturer at King's College, London, and then he returned to Worcester College as tutor and, subsequently, bursar, being elected Provost in 1908. He held various University appointments from 1864 to 1908, and was a good preacher; but his real devotion was given to books and printing.

He set up a press in Oxford which was known by his name, and of which he and his family were the sole operatives. Many interesting pieces of old literature have been published by the Daniel Press, as well as first editions of the poems of Kobert Bridges and other writers, the issues being distinguished by a beautiful finished typography. Dr. Daniel married his cousin, Miss Emily Olive, in 1878, and she, with two daughters, survived him.

6. Sir John Kennaway, Bart., who was born in 1887, was educated at Harrow and at Balliol College, Oxford. He took a first class in Law and History, and was called to the Bar in 1864. After practising for a short time, he travelled widely in the Near East and in America, and in 1870 he became Conservative M.P. for East Devonshire. He sat in the House of Commons until 1910, retiring as its "Father" in that year.

In 1873 he succeeded his father as third Baronet, and he became well known for his staunch Churchmanship and his interest in the Volunteer movement, which in 1902 caused him to become a C.B. and a Privy Councillor. He was President for many years of the Church Missionary Society, and of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. In 1866 he married Miss Frances Arbuth.

— **The Rev. William John Eoxburgh,** who was Vicar of Yeoville, Johannesburg, from 1913 until his death, served the Trinity College Mission in East London before he went as a missionary to South Africa. He worked hard in the cause of the education of native boys in Rhodesia, returning home to charges in Birmingham before he was appointed to Johannesburg.

22. Benjamin Bickley Rogers, D.Lit., was born in 1828. He was elected a scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1846, and in 1851 he took a first class in Lit. Hum. From 1852 until 1861 when he married, he held a Fellowship at Wadham, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1856. He was making a great success as a barrister, when owing, it was said, to deafness, he retired, and devoted himself entirely to literature. He translated all the plays of Aristophanes, publishing first "The Clouds" in 1852, this being followed by several of the other comedies. From 1902 until 1910 he issued the original editions

anew. Dr. Rogers was more highly skilled as a translator than as a critic, his work in the former capacity being remarkable for the success with which, when the English rhythms allow, he kept to the metre of the original Greek.

25. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B., was born in 1841. He was educated at Cheltenham and at Addiscombe, and joined the Royal Engineers in Bengal in 1860. From 1863 to 1875 he served on the Trigonometrical Survey of India, and was later employed in China and in Turkestan, for which services he received the Victoria medal of the Royal

Geographical Society. He was Additional Military Attaché at Constantinople during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, and was with the Turkish Armies during the campaign in Asia, receiving the Turkish medal. He subsequently held the posts of Consul for Kurdistan from 1878 to 1882, Military Attaché at Constantinople from 1882 to 1889, and Consul-General in Syria from 1890 to 1894, becoming British Delegate on the European Commission of the Danube, and Consul-General for Eumania from 1894 to 1906, when he retired. He received the C.B. in 1880, and was made a K.C.M.G. on his retirement. His wife, whom he married in 1890, was Olivia Georgina, a Lady of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem, daughter of the late Sir George Wellesley, C.C.B.

27. Madame Adelina Patti (Baroness Rolf Cederstrom) was born in 1843 at Madrid, and was the daughter of two operatic singers whose talents she inherited. Her father was for a time operatic manager at New York, and there the future prima donna first sang in public at the age of seven. In 1859 she appeared in New York as "Lucia" and two years later she made her debut in London in "La Sonnambula." Her success as an operatic soprano was world-wide, and has never been equalled.

She was at her best in comedy, and her impersonations of "Dinorah," "Rosina," and "Zerlina" were perhaps those which reached the highest artistic level. Madame Patti's voice was remarkable for its freshness and sweetness, and above all for the ease with which it was produced. She retained these qualities until an advanced age, and the public, with whom she was a great personal favourite, welcomed her again and again in her later years at the Albert Hall. •

Madame Patti was married three times, first, in 1868 to the Marquis de Caux, secondly, in 1886 to Nicolini the tenor, and thirdly, in 1899 to Baron Rolf Cederstrom.

27. **Sir John Furley, C.H., C.B.**, who was one of the founders of the British Red Cross Society, and one of the original organisers of the St. John's Ambulance Association, was 83 years of age. He was educated at Harrow, and being too delicate to enter the army, he brought his interest in military matters to the service of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. With a view to the establishment of a National Red Cross Society, he went as delegate to the first International Conference at Berlin. During the Franco-Prussian War he did his utmost on behalf of the newly established British branch to mitigate the horrors of the campaign, first on the track of the German Armies, and then in Paris, where he remained all through the Commune. In the South African War Sir John, accompanied by his wife (he had married Miss Maria Baker in 1874), went to the front in command of a hospital train designed by him, and in the European War his services were most valuable. He designed the huts which formed the nucleus of the Netley Hospital, and supervised the designing of hospital trains for the

front. He was knighted in the 'seventies.

30. **Sir Edward Tyas Cook, K.B.E.**, who was born in 1857, was educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford, where he held a scholarship. He took firsts in Greats and in Classical Moderations, and was President of the Union and of the Palmerton Club. Turning his attention to journalism as a congenial career, he became first, Assistant Editor, and then Editor, of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. When in 1892 the proprietorship of the paper changed, and it became Conservative in politics, he established the *Westminster Gazette* under Sir George Newnes. In 1895 Mr. Cook became Editor of the *Daily News*, but the guidance of that paper, when the South African War began to divide Liberals, was difficult. The Editor supported Lord Milner, and a liberal imperialism marked his policy, but in 1901 the paper changed hands, and Mr. Cook joined the staff of the *Daily Chronicle*.

He published various volumes of memoirs, and some handbooks to London galleries, and he was part editor of an edition of Ruskin's works. During the war Sir Edward Cook was joint Director of the Official Press Bureau. His wife, who predeceased him, was a sister of Mrs. H. B. Irving. He was knighted in 1912, and was made a K.B.E. in 1917.

OCTOBER.

1. **Professor Francis John Haverfield**, who was born in 1860, was Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford from 1907 until his death. He was educated at Winchester, and at New College, Oxford, and after taking a first class in Moderations, and a second in Greats, he became a Master at Lancing College. He was appointed Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, and Official Student in 1893. Professor Haverfield was one of the greatest authorities on Roman Britain, and was entrusted by Mommsen with the portion of the "Corpus Inscriptionum" dealing with Great Britain. He encouraged and assisted in excavations, and published various monographs on Roman Britain, and in 1907 he succeeded his friend, Professor Pelham (some of whose works he edited), as Camden Professor. His gifts in the art of lecturing brought him popularity as well as the respect due to his great learning. In 1907 he married Miss Winifred Breakwell.

1. **Dr. Victorino de la Plaza**, who was President of the Argentine Republic from August, 1914 to October, 1916, was born in 1841. In 1870 he became Professor of Philosophy at the National College, and in 1875 he was appointed Procurator-Fiscal. Shortly afterwards he was made Minister of Finance. In 1882 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs and a few years later he received the appointment of Financial Delegate, which brought him to England, where he remained for over twenty years. In 1908 he was recalled to the Argentine, and resumed his charge of Foreign Affairs, becoming in 1910 Vice-President. Dr. de la Plaza was part author of the Argentine Civil Code, and was a man of great and varied accomplishments.

3. **Rear-Admiral John Ingles**, who was 77, entered the Navy in 1855. He showed talent at an early stage in his career, and became a Lieutenant in 1862, Commander in 1872, and Captain

in 1882. At various times he held Staff appointments, and from 1887 to 1898 he served the Japanese Government as Instructor to that rising country's Navy. In 1894 he became Superintendent of the Royal Gun Factories at Woolwich, retiring, after forty-two years' service, in 1897. Later in the same year he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral on the retired list.

4. Sir Charles Ralph Campbell, Bart., was born in 1860, and after being educated in Edinburgh, he went, in 1874, to New Zealand for the purpose of sheep-farming. In 1901 he succeeded his brother, the tenth Baronet. His wife was Sara, daughter of the Hon. William Robinson, M.I.C., of Cheviot Hills, New Zealand, and he had six sons, of whom the second, Captain Charles Ralph Campbell, 2nd Life Guards, who was born in 1881, succeeded him.

5. Sir Charles Edward Chadwyck-Healey, Bart., who was born in 1840, was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1872. He became a Bencher of his Inn, taking silk in 1891 and serving successively as Chancellor of the dioceses of Bath and Wells, and of Exeter. He held a commission in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, and was made a Baronet in the April before his death, in recognition of his services during the War. He was Chairman of the Admiralty Transport Arbitration Board in 1914, and commanded Hospital Ship No. 15, *Queen Alexandra*, from 1915 to 1917. He was married twice; his first wife being Miss Rose Close, by whom he left one son, Gerald Edward, born in 1872, who succeeded him. By his second wife, who was Miss Mary Verena Watson, he left two sons.

— **Major-General Sir Charles Tyrwhitt Dawkins, K.C.M.G., C.B.**, who died from illness contracted on active service on the Headquarters Staff in France, was born in 1858. He joined the Shropshire Light Infantry at the age of 20, and served with distinction in the Afghan War of 1879-80, and in the South African War, during the latter part of which he was in command of the 2nd Battalion of his regiment. He was twice mentioned in despatches, and received the Queen's medal with four clasps, and the King's medal with two, and held the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He subsequently held Staff appointments at home and in France, where he was twice mentioned in despatches. He

was made C.M.G. in 1897, C.B. in 1915, and K.C.M.G. in 1918. His wife, whom he married in 1887, was the Hon. Neredah Leeta, daughter of the first Lord Rosmead.

5. Major-General Sir John Munro Sym, K.C.B., whose age was 80, entered the Army in 1858. He joined the 5th Gurkha Rifles, five years later being promoted Captain in 1870, Major in 1878, Lieutenant-Colonel in 1884, Colonel in 1885, and Major-General in 1894. General Sym had served with distinction on the North-West Frontier, and in the Afghan War of 1879-80, when he took part in the march from Kabul to Khandahar, receiving the medal with three clasps, and the bronze star, and being mentioned three times in despatches. In the Hazaia and Miranzai Expeditions of 1888 and 1891 he commanded columns, and was mentioned in despatches, and received clasps. He was made a C.B. in 1889, and promoted K.C.B. in 1908.

7. Professor Lassa Francis Lawrence Oppenheim, who had been since 1908 Whewell Professor of International Law at Cambridge, was born in Germany in 1858. He was educated at Frankfurt-on-Main, and at Gottmgen, Heidelberg, Berlin, and Leipzig Universities, and after holding the posts of Lecturer at Freiburg University, and Professor of Law at Basel, he came to England, and was appointed a Lecturer at the London School of Economics in 1895. Ten years later he published a treatise on International Law in two volumes, the first entitled "Peace," and the second "War and Neutrality."¹ In this work he asserted that there is "a common consent of the community of States that the rules of international conduct shall be enforced by external power." The treatise was received with great approval, and Professor Oppenheim's appointment to the Chair at Cambridge soon followed. He lectured vigorously and published other works on International Law, and edited the papers on that subject written by his immediate predecessor, Professor Westlake. Shortly before his death he published a work on "The League of Nations." Professor Oppenheim was naturalised in England in 1900, and two years later he married Miss Cowan, by whom he left a daughter. He showed himself to be a loyal British subject throughout the war, and he denounced the German

attack on Belgium and the ravaging of that country as an international crime.

7. **Alfred Deakin**, the great Australian statesman, who was three times Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, was born in Melbourne in 1856, and was the son of a coach proprietor. He was educated in his native city, and was called to the Bar in 1877; but his tastes led him to adopt the profession of journalism, and he held posts in the editorial departments of the *Age*, and the *Leader*. Having twice contested unsuccessfully the* West Bourke seat in the Victorian Legislative Assembly he was elected in 1880, and in 1888 he became Minister for Public Works and Water Supply, and later Solicitor-General in the Service-Berry Coalition Government. After the retirement of Mr. Service and Sir Graham Berry, Deakin, as a Liberal of Radical tendencies, became head of the Liberal section of the supporters of Mr. Gillies' Government, with the offices of Chief Secretary and Minister for Water Supply, being regarded as "the equal in all things" of the Premier. Two of his most notable works at this period were the passing of the first Factories Act and the Water (Irrigation) Act.

In 1887 Mr. Deakin came to England to attend the Colonial Conference of the Jubilee year, and at that and subsequent gatherings of the same kind his influence in the cause of Imperial unity was very great. He was also an enthusiastic supporter of the cause of Australian Federation, and when the Commonwealth Constitution, on which he had left his mark, was at length completed, he was one of the delegates who came to

England to watch over its fortunes at Westminster.

In the first Federal Cabinet, Mr. Deakin became Attorney-General, and his clear-headedness, administrative power, and tact proved of the greatest value. When the Prime Minister, Sir

Edmund Barton, went to the High Court in 1908, Mr. Deakin became his successor and held office until April, 1904, when the fall of the Government made him leader of the Opposition. This condition of affairs was of short duration, as his support was given to the Coalition Government which soon came into power, under the leadership of Sir George Reid and Mr. Maclean. However, he became out of sympathy with their policy, and by a temporary alliance with the Labour Party he destroyed the Government, and in 1905 again took office. His Cabinet

was of necessity composed of men whose abilities in administration were not of the highest order, and his three years in power were years of severe strain, complicated by party warfare. The Labour Government which succeeded his, only remained in office for seven months, and Mr. Deakin's third Administration which followed survived until 1910.

It was not long after that date that he began to be conscious of failing powers, and in January, 1913, he retired from the leadership of his party.

Mr. Deakin possessed great gifts as a speaker. It was said of him that he could "throw a halo round Hell," and his powers of persuasion and personal magnetism exercised a great influence on those who were guiding the destinies of the Commonwealth. His wife who, with three daughters, survived him, was Miss Pattie Brown of Melbourne.

13. **Inspector - General Adam Brunton Messer**, who was educated at Edinburgh Academy and in Paris, entered the Navy as a surgeon in 1859. He served with distinction in the New Zealand War of 1863-64, and was promoted Staff-Surgeon and received the New Zealand medal. He then served as Surgeon and Medical Storekeeper for the Hospital Ship *Melville* at Hong-Kong, and in 1875, while serving on the flagship *Pearly* on the Australian Station, he was present at the death of Commodore Goodenough who was killed by poisoned arrows in an attack by natives. Surgeon Messer wrote a pamphlet on the subject of Poisoned Arrows, and a report on the Fiji Islands, which were of great service to the Government. After being promoted Fleet Surgeon in 1876, he served successively in the Mediterranean, at Plymouth, and on the North American Station, and after a period in charge of the Marine Artillery Infirmary at Portsmouth he was promoted Deputy-Inspector General of Hospitals and Fleets in 1885. He then took charge of Plymouth and Malta Hospitals in succession, and became Inspector-General in 1892. After his retirement in 1899, he served as an Honorary Physician to Queen Victoria, King

Edward, and King George successively, and in 1904 he was awarded a Greenwich Hospital pension for good service. He married Elizabeth Mary, daughter of Captain Belches, B.N.

14. **Lieutenant - Commander Norman Carlyle Craig, K.C.**, M.P., who was born in 1868, was edu-

cated at Bedford, and at Peterhouse, Cambridge. He was a Classical Scholar of his College, and a prizeman. He was called to the Bar in 1892, took silk in 1909, and was appointed a Bench of the Inner Temple in 1919. He was Unionist Member of Parliament for Thanet from 1910 until his death. During the war he served first as a sub-Lieutenant in the R.N.R., and latterly as Lieutenant-Commander in the B.N.V.R. In November, 1918, he married Mrs. Stone.

14. Hugh, third Viscount Gough, of Goojerat in the Punjab, and of the City of Limerick, K.C.V.O., was born in 1849. He was educated at Eton and at Brasenose College, Oxford, and entered the Diplomatic Service in 1873. From 1887 to 1888 he was Secretary to the Legation at Rio de Janeiro, and from there went to Stockholm where he remained until, in 1894, he became Secretary to at

Washington. In 1896 he went to Berlin, where he remained Embassy Secretary for five years, and in 1901 he was appointed Minister Resident at Coburg and Dresden. After six years in this office he retired from the service. Lord Gough, who succeeded his father in 1895, married Lady Georgiana Pakenham, elder daughter of the fourth Earl of Longford in 1889. He had one son, the Hon. Hugh Gough, born in 1892, who succeeded him, and two daughters. Lord Gough was made a K.C.V.O. in 1904.

15. William Henry Berkeley Portman, second Viscount Portman, G.C.V.O., was in his 91st year. He was educated at Eton and at Merton College, Oxford, and succeeded his father in 1888. From 1882 to 1887 he represented the old borough of Shaftesbury in the House of Commons as a Whig, and from 1887 to 1885 he represented Dorset. He seceded from the Liberal Party on the introduction of the first Home Rule Bill, and remained a Unionist for the rest of his life.

Lord Portman, who was made a G.C.V.O. in 1918, was a great landowner in London, his estate covering about 270 acres in the West End. He was a generous benefactor of hospitals, and was for many years Colonel of Yeomanry in Dorset. At his seat in that county (Bryanston) he entertained Royalty on several occasions, and he was a famous Master of Foxhounds—hunting his own pack without subscription for over fifty years. Lord Portman married, first, the only daughter of Viscount Milton, by whom

he had five sons and three daughters, and secondly, in 1908, Mrs. Livmgstone-Learmonth. His successor was his eldest son, the Hon. Henry Berkeley Portman.

16. Charles Harford Lloyd, Mus. Doc., who was born in 1849, was educated at Rossall School, and became a Classical Scholar of Hertford College, Oxford, where he was one of the founders of the Oxford University Musical Club, and its first President. He intended to take Holy Orders, but his musical tastes led him to adopt the profession of an organist, and in 1876 he succeeded S. S. Wesley at Gloucester Cathedral. In 1882 he was appointed to Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, and ten years later he became Precentor and Musical Instructor at

Eton. In 1914 he retired from this post, and became Organist at the Chapel Royal, St. James's. Dr. Harford Lloyd was noted for his remarkable gift of organ extemporisation. He was the composer of church music, and of choral works of considerable merit. His cantata *Hero and Leander* was written for the Worcester Festival of 1884.

An enthusiastic teacher, both at Eton and at the Royal College of Music, he was able to cultivate interest in his art among the future amateurs of the country, as well as to direct the course of the professional students.

17. Henry Brodribb Irving, the well-known actor, son of an even more famous father, was born in 1870. He was educated in London, at Marlborough, and at New College, Oxford, where he acted for the O.U.D.S. He made his first professional appearance at the Garncck Theatre in 1891, under the management of Sir John Hare, and he then left the stage and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1894. However, he returned to theatrical life almost immediately, and joined Mr. Ben Greet's company, where he met Miss Dorothea Baird, whom he married in 1890. Mr Irving played Shakespearean and other parts on tour for some eight years, and then appeared at the Duke of York's Theatre as "Crichton" in J. M. Barrie's famous play *The Admirable Crichton*. His performance was recognised as being one of great character and distinction, and in 1905 his "Hamlet" at the Adelphi brought him still more to the fore among the younger generation. He then toured with his own company, Miss Baird being his fading lady, and in 1908 he took the Shaftes-

bury Theatre, where he appeared in several parts made famous by his father, one of them being that of the double role of "Lesurques" and "Dubose" in the "Lyons Mail." He then took the Queen's Theatre, and opened his season there with "The Bells," playing Mathias. He subsequently toured in Australia and in South Africa, and returning to London played throughout the war, besides being engaged on much charitable work.

Mr. Irving's likeness to his father was very remarkable. He inherited his handsome person and some of his mannerisms, while his voice might frequently have been mistaken for that of his distinguished elder. But in many ways the son differed from his father. When he chose he could subordinate his own personality more completely, and there were not wanting those who thought him the greater artist of the two.

Among his own original creations that of the double part of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" was of an extraordinary power.

Mr. Irving was a devoted student of criminology, on which subject he published several works, among them "French Criminals of the Nineteenth Century." He left one son and one daughter.

17. Lieutenant - General Sir James Wolfe Murray, K.C.B., who was in his 67th year, was educated at Glenalmond, Harrow, and Woolwich, passing into the Royal Artillery in 1872. In 1881 he was promoted Captain, and from that time onwards he served as a Staff Officer at home, and in many parts of the world. He was in the Intelligence Branch for six years from 1884, and then for two years in special service at Army Headquarters, proceeding to Aldershot for three years. He served in Ashanti in 1895, and went to India as D.A.G. in 1898, subsequently serving at the Intelligence Branch at Simla.

He served in Natal as Colonel on the Staff, and he commanded the lines of communication during the South African War, and was twice mentioned in despatches, and received the acting rank of Major-General. Sir James was next in command of a Brigade in India, became Q.M.G. at Simla, and in 1904 was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance at the War Office. From 1907 to 1911 he commanded the 9th Division in India, was General Officer Commander-in-Chief in Scotland in 1918, and afterwards in South Africa

from March to December, 1914, when he became Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

In 1915 he went on a mission to Russia, and on his return he held the Eastern Command until 1917.

Besides the K.C.B., Sir James was the holder of a number of foreign decorations.

He married, first, in 1875, Miss Arabella Bray, by whom he left two sons and three daughters. His second wife was Fanny, widow of Sir Donald Macfarlane. He was held in great esteem for his personal character and great ability.

17. Sir William Quartus Ewart, Bart., was the head of the firm of William Ewart & Son (Ltd.). He was well known in the North of Ireland as a director of the Great Northern Railway Company of Ireland, a keen Unionist, and a generous benefactor of the Church of Ireland.

His firm was one of the largest linen manufacturing businesses in the country. He was 75 years of age and had succeeded to the Baronetcy in 1889.

18. William Waldorf, first Viscount Astor, was born in New York in 1848, and was the son of John Jacob Astor, from whom he inherited a vast fortune. He was educated privately in America, and also studied in Europe, and for a time he practised at the New York Bar.

In 1882 he became American Minister to Italy, and remained in that post until 1885. Four years later he settled in England, and became naturalised as a British subject. He acquired the ownership of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Pall Mall Magazine* in 1893. He married Miss Mary Paul of Philadelphia, and had two sons and one daughter. His wife died in 1904. Lord Astor was an extremely generous subscriber to war relief charities, giving £25,000 to the Prince of Wales's Fund alone. He was created a Baron in 1916, and a Viscount in the following year. His successor was his son, Major the Hon. Waldorf Astor, M.P., who was born in 1879.

— **John Saunders,** the well-known violinist, was born in 1867. He studied under J. T. Carrodus at the Guildhall School of Music, and elected to devote his great powers to concerted music rather than to solo-playing. In 1891 he became leader of the quartet of the South Place Sunday Concerts, which

became famous in different parts of England for its high standard of playing. Mr. Saunders' orchestral work, with the New Symphony Orchestra and with Sir Thomas Beecham, brought him such high esteem that in 1910 he was appointed leader of the Royal Philharmonic Society's orchestra. In 1916, at a dinner given in his honour by his brother musicians, he was presented with a Stradivarius violin.

21. Alexander, first Baron Peckover, LL.D., was in his 90th year. He was for a number of years a partner in the banking firm of Gurney, Birkbeck, Peckover & Co. He was a Quaker, and a keen Liberal and Home Ruler, and was raised to the Peerage by Mr. Gladstone's Government. Lord Peckover was a great lover of books, and a very active and charitable man. He married, in 1858, Miss Eliza Sharpies, by whom he had three daughters. He left no heir to the Barony.

22. Lieutenant - Colonel John Cyril Porte, C.M.G., was born in 1884. In 1898 he entered the Navy, and in 1909 he became engaged in biplane construction. In 1911 he was obliged to leave the Navy on account of ill-health, but he studied aviation in France, obtained a flying certificate, and went to America where he was occupied in aeronautical commercial work when the war broke out.

He returned to England, and, despite his bad health, he offered his services to his country, and was given a commission in the Royal Naval Air Service. As a Squadron-Commander he took part in February, 1915, in the great air-raid on Bruges, Zebrugge, Blankenberghe, and Ostend, which had for its object the prevention of the development of these places as bases for submarines.

Later Colonel Porte was employed by the Admiralty in the improvement of flying-boats, and the Porte machines were brought to a high pitch of perfection, the largest of them, the Porto Super-Baby, which had five engines, lifted a weight of 15 tons.

— **Bruce Frederick Cumings**, who was only 31 years of age, was born and educated in Devonshire. His "Journal of a Disappointed Man," which was published a few months before his death, under the *nom-de-plume* of "W. N. P. Barbellion," described his early passion for Natural History. He started as an assistant

at the British Marine Biological Association's Laboratory at Plymouth, and he subsequently received an appointment in the Entomological Department of the British Museum.

Mr. Cummings was an enthusiastic and gifted scientist, and his retirement in 1914 on account of ill-health was much regretted. His "Journal" attracted a great deal of favourable comment in literary circles. The preface to it was written by Mr. H. G. Wells. Mr. Cummings left a widow and child.

22. General Sir Robert Macgregor Stewart, G.C.B., Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Artillery, was born in 1842, and entered the Royal Artillery in 1860. He served on the Staff in the Hazara Campaign of 1868, was A.Q.M.G. to the Second Division of the Khandahar Field Force in 1878-79, and took part in the Sudan

Expedition of 1885 as A.A. and Q.M.G. to the Indian Contingent. He was frequently mentioned in despatches during these campaigns, and in 1887 he became Brevet-Colonel. From 1887 to 1897 he was A.D.C. to Queen Victoria, he was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bermuda from 1904 to 1907, and Lieutenant of the Tower from 1907 to 1909. He was made a C.B. in 1881, promoted K.C.B. in 1902, and G.C.B. in 1911. He was twice married.

23. Sir Philip Frederick Rose, Bart., was 76 years of age. He was educated at Harrow, and became a partner in the firm of Parliamentary Solicitors, Baxtor, Eose & Norton. Sir Philip, who succeeded his father in 1882, was for many years legal adviser to the Brighton Railway Company. He married, in 1866, Eose Annie, daughter of the Rev. W. W. Pym. His eldest son, Captain Philip Rose, died of wounds in 1917, and the successor to the Baronetcy was Sir Philip's grandson, Philip Humphrey Vivian, who was born in 1903.

26. Arthur Campbell Ainger, M.V.O., the author of the Eton School Song, was born in 1841. He was the son of the Rev. Thomas Ainger, Vicar of Hampstead and Prebendary of St. Paul's. He won scholarships at Eton, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was appointed a Master at Eton in 1864. He had for a long time a boarding house, and after he retired in 1901, he lived in a house which he had built in Eton. Mr. Ainger, who was devoted to the School, became Secretary of the

Old Etonian Association in 1900, and he was also Secretary to the Memorial Buildings Committee. In 1908, when the Hall was opened by King Edward, the M.V.O. was conferred upon Mr. Ainger.

Mr. Ainger's literary gifts, which found frequent expression in songs and in English verse and some hymns, were crowned by his publication, in 1917, of "Memories of Eton Sixty Years Ago," which was a remarkably interesting record of the School.

27. James Edward William Theobald Butler, K.P., third Marquess of Ormonde, was born in 1844, and succeeded his father in 1854. He entered the 1st Life Guards, being promoted Captain in 1868, and retiring five years later. He was an excellent landlord, his relations with his tenants remaining of the most friendly nature through all the difficult period in Ireland during which he lived.

Lord Ormonde was a noted yachtsman. He became Vice-Commodore of the Royal Yacht Squadron in 1885, and in 1901 when King Edward, who was Commodore, ascended the Throne, Lord Ormonde succeeded to the higher position. He made many long voyages on his schooner *Mirage* before he took to steam in 1887.

Lord Ormonde married, in 1876, Lady Elizabeth Harriet Grosvenor, by whom he had two daughters. His successor was his brother, Lord James Arthur Butler.

29. Sir Roland Knyvet Wilson, of Delhi, Bart., who was in his 80th year, was the son of Rear-Admiral George K. Wilson. He inherited, in 1874, by special remainder, the Baronetcy bestowed on his undo General Yonge, G.C.B. He was a stud-

ious boy, and became Newcastle

Scholar at Eton, at King's College, Cambridge, in 1861. In 1863 he was Senior Classic, and four years later he was elected a Fellow of King's. He was called to the Bar, and became successively Classical

and Historical Lecturer for the famous coach, Mr. Walter Wren, and (in 1878) Reader in Indian History, holding the latter post for fourteen years.

Sir Roland's many published works included a "Short History of Modern

English Law," a "Digest of Anglo-Mohammedan Law," and "The Province of the State." He was strongly opposed to the provision of higher education at the cost of the community.

In 1878 he married a daughter of

Richard Phillips, F.R.S. He was succeeded by his brother, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Arthur K. Wilson, sometime First Sea Lord.

29. Major-General Sir Albert Williams, K.C.V.O., who was 87, was formerly Equerry to the Duke of Cambridge. He entered the Royal Artillery in 1849, and served in the Crimea, and during the Indian Mutiny. He became Lieut.-Colonel in 1875, was Colonel Commanding R.A. at Aldershot from 1883 to 1886, when he was promoted Major-General, and commanded the Woolwich District from 1888 to 1895, and he served as D.A.G. R.A. Headquarters for two years. In 1880 he was appointed extra A.D.C. (subsequently becoming Equerry-in-Waiting) to the Duke of Cambridge, after whose death, in 1904, he was created K.C.V.O.

30. Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox, the well-known American writer, was born in 1855. She began to make verses at a very early age, and contributed to magazines when she was seven. She helped to support her family by her work, which became very popular in America, and she also gained many admirers in England. In 1884 she married Mr. Wilcox, a journalist, with whom she travelled widely, and she devoted herself to war work with great energy. Her writings are very numerous, and deal mostly with the everyday affairs of life in a cheerful and courageous spirit.

NOVEMBER.

4. The Countess Sofia Andreievna Tolstoy, widow of the great Russian writer, was a daughter of Dr. Behrs, of Moscow. She married Count Tolstoy in 1862, and had thirteen children. Although her husband was devoted to her, he left her after forty-eight years of married life, in order to

try to bring his life and his beliefs into better accord with each other.

4. J. S. E. Philips, the Editor-in-Chief of the *Yorkshire Post*, was 69 years of age. He started life in a drapery warehouse, as a boy of twelve, but he attended evening classes at

Owens College, and obtained a journalistic post on the *Kendal Mercury*. After working for several newspapers of note in the North, he became Assistant Editor of the *Yorkshire Post* in 1891, and Editor in 1903.

5. The Rev. John Lionel Darby, &D., Dean of Chester, was the son of an Irish clergyman, and was born in 1831. He received his education at St. Columba's College, and was a Fellow-Commoner at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree in 1855. The following year he

was ordained, and after serving curacies in England and his father's Irish parish, and holding the benefice of Newburgh, he became, in 1871, Inspector of Schools in the Diocese of Chester. In 1875 he was made Rector of St. Bridget-with-St. Martin, Chester, which benefice he held until, in 1885, he became a Canon of the Cathedral. From 1875 to 1891 he was also Archbishop's Inspector of Training Colleges, and from 1877 to 1886 he was Archdeacon of Chester. In 1886 Lord Salisbury appointed him to the Deanery. In this position Dr. Darby did much valuable work in connexion with the restoration of the Cathedral, which had been begun by his predecessor, Dean Howson. In 1871 he married Miss Cecilia Hopwood, and he had three sons and three daughters.

6. Herr Hugo Haase, the leader of the Independent Socialist Party in Germany, died from wounds received on October 8, when he was shot at as he was entering the Reichstag. He was born in 1863 in East Prussia, and was of Jewish extraction. He studied Law at the University of Königsberg and became a Member of the Reichstag in 1897. When the war broke out in 1914, he at first lent his support to the Government on the supposition that it was a "war of defence" against the "Cossack Peril." But after the collapse of Russia in 1915, he and Edward Bernstein, and nearly twenty other Socialist Deputies, withdrew their support, and seceded from the Social Democratic Party on this issue. Haase was thus one of the founders of the Minority Socialist Party. He was in no way associated with Liebknecht, but after the revolution his attitude became more extreme, and his tendency to compromise with Spartacism caused a rupture between him and President

Ebert. He was one of the most eloquent speakers in the Reichstag.

9. The Right Hon. Sir Thomas

Whittaker, P.C., M.P., was born in Yorkshire in 1850. He was educated at Huddersfield College, and entered the hardware and iron trade, becoming later an editor of newspapers. In 1892 he was elected to represent the Spenn Valley Division of Yorkshire in the House of Commons, and he retained his seat for the rest of his life.

Sir Thomas was a keen Liberal, and his chief work in Parliament was in the cause of temperance reform. From 1896 to 1899 he was a member of the Royal Commission on Licensing, and he frequently spoke on kindred subjects in the House.

He was opposed to Mr. Lloyd George in 1909 on the land question, and he published a book on this subject which showed great knowledge and power.

During the war he became Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Importation of Paper, a difficult post which he filled to the satisfaction of all concerned in the affected industry.

Sir Thomas, who married, in 1874, Miss Emma Mary Theedam of Scarborough, was knighted in 1906, and was made a Privy Councillor in 1908.

9. The Lady Sarah Spencer, whose age was 81, was the second daughter of the fourth Earl Spencer by his first marriage. She was an intimate friend of Mr. Gladstone.

10. Admiral Charles John Eowley, who was born in 1832, was a member of a family distinguished in the annals of the British Navy. His father was Captain, and one of his grandfathers and one of his great-grandfathers were Admiral and Rear-Admiral respectively, and were both created Baronets for their services.

Admiral Rowley entered the Navy in 1844, and served in the Crimean War. He was promoted Lieutenant in 1854, and Commander in 1861, becoming Captain five years later, and being given flag rank in 1884. He was second in command of the Channel Squadron from 1887 to 1888, and was advanced to Vice-Admiral in 1890, and to Admiral in 1895. In 1897 he retired. Admiral Rowley, who received the Crimean medal with the Azoff and Sebastopol clasps, and Turkish decorations for his services in the Crimean War, was A.D.C. to Queen Victoria from 1882 to 1884. His wife, whom he married in 1867, was Miss Alice Elwes.

12. Thomas Allnutt, second Earl Brassey, was born in 1868. He was educated at Eton and at Balliol College,

Oxford, of which he was subsequently elected an Honorary Fellow. His interests in life were many, and he worked at each with untiring energy.

He was a keen supporter of the Volunteer movement, and served with the Sussex Yeomanry in the South African War, and he became the first Acting Civil Commissioner for the British Government at Pretoria. This office led him to the consideration of Imperial problems on which he took wide views, his desire being that Great Britain should take her place as the chief State of the Empire, and that her politicians should give far more thought to the affairs of the daughter States than was usual at that time. He published his ideas on this subject in a volume entitled "Problems of Empire."

Lord Brassey was the founder of the Oxford University Endowment Fund, and was a keen Churchman, serving on the Archbishop's Committee on Church Finance in 1910 and 1911, and becoming Chairman of the Central Board of Finance.

His war service included the controlling of mines in Sardinia, previously owned by Germans, and also valuable work in connexion with the British Mission in Italy. He was made a Commander of the Crown of Italy.

Lord Brassey, like his father, whom he succeeded in 1918, took a great interest in naval subjects, editing ten yearly volumes of the "Naval Annual." He married, in 1889, Lady Idina Nevill, daughter of the first Marquess of Abergavenny. He left no children, and his title became extinct.

12. Arthur Thomas Liddell, fifth Baron Ravensworth and tenth Baronet, was born in 1837. He entered the War Office where for some time he served as a clerk. He succeeded to the Barony in 1904. In 1866 he married Sophia Harriett, daughter of Sir Thomas Waller, Bart., and he left three sons and three daughters. His eldest son, the Hon. Gerald Wellesley Liddell, who was born in 1869, succeeded him.

— **Arthur Hacker, E.A.**, who was 60 years of age, introduced a style of painting which was French rather than British. His pictures aroused interest among the public, and his "Annunciation" was bought by the Chantrey Trustees. He became an A.R.A. in 1894 and R.A. in 1910. Among his best-known works were "Her Daughter's Legacy," "The Mother," and "The Cloud." Mr. Hacker had also

considerable success as a portrait painter. He married, in 1907, Miss Lilian Price-Edwards, but left no children.

13. John Aitken, LL.D., F.R.S., who was a friend of the great Lord Kelvin, was 80 years of age. He was educated at Falkirk Grammar School and at Glasgow University, and entered the firm of R. Napier & Sons, marine engineers, of Glasgow.

He devoted his life chiefly to the study of meteorological physics. The results of his researches into the questions of dust in the atmosphere, and the formation of dew, were published in many learned papers which in 1917 gained for him a Royal Medal from the

Royal society.

15. The Hon. William John Borlase - Warren - Venables - Vernon, whose age was 85, was the second son of the fifth Baron Vernon. He was educated in Italy and at Eton, where in 1850 he won the Prince Consort's first prize for Italian. He became a Gentleman - Commoner at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1855 he married Agnes Lucy, daughter of Sir John P. Boileau, Bart.

Mr. Vernon became known as a great expounder of Dante, a taste which he inherited from his father, who accomplished much valuable work in the same connexion. He published a series of Dante "Readings" in six volumes between 1889 and 1899, and he also brought out at his own expense a fine edition of a hitherto unpublished Latin Commentary on the "Divina Commedia" by Benvenuto da Imola. He was also Junior Grand Warden of the Freemasons of England. Many Italian honours fell to Mr. Vernon. In 1888 he was chosen to be one of the representatives of the University of Oxford at the celebrations of the eighth centenary of Bologna University. In 1895 he was appointed a corresponding member of the Accademia della Crusca, and in 1909 the Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere conferred a similar honour upon him. Queen Margherita in that same year presented him with a gold medal, specially struck, in commemoration of the final edition of his "Readings."

Mr. Vernon's first wife died in 1881, and three years later he married Miss Annie Eyre. He had a son by each marriage, but neither survived him.

— **Charles Swinfen Eady, first Baron Swinfen**, was born in 1851, and was the son of a surgeon. He was

educated privately, matriculating at London University in 1869, and taking the degree of L.L.B. in 1873. In 1874 he was admitted a Solicitor, but his thoughts soon turned to the Bar, and in 1876 he became a student at the Inner Temple. Here he won a scholarship, and other distinctions, and at this time he also took his L.L.D. degree. He became a pupil of Mr. Cozens-Hardy, in whose footsteps he was destined to follow later in life.

Mr. Eady was called to the Bar in 1879, and at once came to the fore. In 1898 he took silk, stepping into the vacancy in the Court of Mr. Justice North which was created by the departure of Mr. Cozens-Hardy who had become a "special."

In 1899 Mr. Eady again followed in the wake of his old tutor, and in 1901 he was raised to the Bench by Lord Halsbury. His tenure of this position was marked by the success which usually attends the work of an exceptionally able man entirely devoted to his profession.

He was a particularly sound lawyer, gifted with the type of mind which readily assimilates new facts and bearings on a case in point, and he was extremely patient and courteous towards Counsel.

In 1918 he became a Lord Justice of Appeal where his sound reasoning was again of the greatest value, and five years later he once more followed Lord Cozens-Hardy as Master of the Rolls, from which position he retired only a few weeks before his death.

Lord Swinfen had few interests outside his profession. He had made a considerable fortune at the Bar, and he bought Wood Norton in Worcestershire from the Duke of Orleans, but his heart was always in London. He married Miss Lee, by whom he had a son who succeeded to the Peerage granted to the Master of the Rolls on his retirement, and two daughters.

20. The Right Hon. Sir Francis Mowatt, P.C., O.C.B., I.S.O., was born in 1837. He was educated at Harrow, and at St. John's College, Oxford, and entered the Treasury in 1856. For forty-seven years he served there in various capacities, becoming Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury and Auditor of the Civil List in 1888, and Permanent Secretary in 1894. In 1899 he received the K.C.B., and in 1901 the G.G.B. He became a Privy Councillor in 1906.

Sir Francis was largely responsible for the report of his Committee on the reserve of guns and warlike stores re-

quired for the Army in 1900, which was known as the "Mowatt Programme," and he was behind many of the changes effected in the public service.

He retired in 1903, and showed himself to be an ardent free Trader. He occupied many public offices with distinction and efficiency.

In 1863 Sir Francis married the Countess Stenbock. He left one daughter.

20. William Kinnaird Rose, who was born in Glasgow in 1845, was educated at Edinburgh University. He adopted the profession of journalism, and represented the *Scotsman* at the front during the Russo-Turkish War when he was wounded. He then studied for the Bar in Edinburgh, and in 1879 he was sent as Special Commissioner to the East to inquire into the condition of certain oppressed Christian peoples.

In 1884 he was admitted to the Queensland Bar, in 1888 he edited the *Buisbanc Courier*, and in 1891 he became a member of Reuter's staff in which capacity he had further experience as a War Correspondent. Mr. Rose published a life of General Skobeleff entitled "The Modern Bayard," and several other works.

22. Sir Guy Laking, Bart., who was 44 years of age, was the son of the Court Physician, Sir Francis Laking. He was educated at Westminster, and he early showed a taste for the Fine Arts. He cultivated a special knowledge of armour and the armourer's craft, and this led to his appointment by King Edward VII. as Keeper of the King's Armoury.

He was also responsible for the formation and management of the London Museum, to which he gave a devoted service. His book "Arms and Armour" was within a few weeks of publication when his untimely death occurred. He married Miss Beatrice Ida Barker in 1898, and left a son Guy Francis William, born in 1903, who succeeded him, and a daughter.

24. Colonel Sir Henry McCallum, K.C.M.G., was born in 1852, and was educated at Woolwich, passing out at the head of the list in 1871. He entered the Royal Engineers and after serving in various home appointments, he went in 1875 to the Straits Settlements as private secretary to Sir William Jervois, the Governor.

He served in the Perak War, and after being employed for a time at Hong-Kong and Singapore, he became

Deputy Colonial Engineer under the Straits Settlements Government in 1880, being promoted to the post of Colonial-Engineer, and Surveyor-General four years later. In the many calls made upon him he showed his administrative capacity, and in 1897 he became Governor of Lagos. For reasons of health he was transferred to Newfoundland the following year, and in 1901 he was appointed Governor of Natal.

A keen Imperialist, Sir Henry McCallum saw great strides made in expansion during his six years in South Africa. In those difficult days he contrived to conduct his administrative duties with the minimum of friction, and he gained the respect of all parties.

From 1907 to 1912, when his health compelled his resignation, Sir Henry was Governor of Ceylon, which prospered greatly while he held that office.

Sir Henry received many honours during his life. He retired from the Army with the rank of Colonel in 1909, was appointed C.M.G. in 1887, K.C.M.G. in 1898, and G.C.M.G. in 1904. He was Aide-de-Camp both to Queen Victoria and to King Edward VII, and received medals and clasps for service in the Straits Settlements, in the South African War, and in Zululand. In 1874 he married Miss Lily Johnson, and in 1897 Miss Maud Creighton. He had one son and three daughters.

27. **Sir Edwin Pears**, who died at Malta, as the result of an accident on board ship while travelling home from Constantinople, was born in 1835. He was for a time Private Secretary to Dr. Temple, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1860 he acted as Secretary to the Social Science Congress, and in 1870 he was called to the Bar. He took first-class honours in Jurisprudence and Roman Law, and gained scholarships in Constitutional

Law and Roman History. Two or three years later he went to Constantinople, which became his home for over forty years.

He practised in the Consular Courts which existed before the abolition of the Capitulations, and in 1876 he sent to the *Daily News* an account of the atrocities in Bulgaria, which had much to do with the subsequent liberation of that country, where he was ever afterwards regarded with the greatest respect.

Sir Edwin, who was knighted in 1909, was famed for his archaeological knowledge of Byzantine Constantinople. He published a volume, "Turkey and her Peoples," and he frequently contributed to the *Historical Review*, the *Nineteenth Century*, and other reviews.

In 1916 he received an invitation from Harvard University to give a course of Lectures under the Lowell Fund, and he was the holder of one of the highest Bulgarian Orders. In early life he married Miss Mary Hall.

28. **The Right Rev. John Cox Leeke**, D.D., sometime Bishop-Suffragan of Woolwich, was born in 1843. He was educated privately and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was ordained in 1867. After serving a curacy at Wanstead he became Rector of Kidbrook where he remained for twenty-seven years, and from there he went to St. Mark's Mission Church at Plumstead as curate-in-charge, becoming Vicar after two years. He was Rural

Dean of Woolwich from 1892, and became Hon. Canon of Rochester in 1900.

In 1905 he became Bishop of Woolwich, and he retired in 1917, being worn out by his strenuous labours during so many years. His wife was Miss Meynell of Meynell Langley, Derbyshire, and he left two sons and a daughter

DECEMBER.

2. **Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood**, V.C., G.C.B., Q.C.M.Q., was born in 1838, and was the fifth and youngest son of the Rev. Sir John Page Wood, Bart., at that time Vicar of Cressing, in Essex. In 1852 he entered the Navy as a cadet from Marlborough, joining H.M.S. *Queen*, which was recommissioned the same year by his uncle, Sir Edward Michell. As a midshipman he served at Odessa and before Sebastopol, where in 1855 he was severely wounded. He was

highly commended for his intrepidity, was mentioned in despatches, and recommended for the Victoria Cross.

Shortly afterwards he was invalided home, and he exchanged into the Army, receiving a commission in the 13th Light Dragoons, then serving in Turkey, but late in 1857 he succeeded in getting himself transferred to the 17th Lancers in order to take part in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. He served throughout the campaign, commanding a squadron of the 3rd

Bombay Cavalry at Rajgarh and Sindwaho. Here he attacked and routed almost single-handed a body of rebels, and was again recommended for the Victoria Cross, which was bestowed upon him in 1860, when, after rendering further valuable service in India, he returned to England as a Brigade-Major.

Wood next went through the Staff College, and in 1866 became Staff Officer to Sir Alfred Horsford during the Fenian disturbances in Ireland, and in 1868 he was transferred to the General Staff at Aldershot.

In Ashanti, in 1873-74, where he acted as a Special Service Officer under Wolsley, he again distinguished himself in the field, being mentioned five times in despatches. He was promoted Brevet Colonel, and given the C.B.

After holding various home appointments, Wood rejoined the 90th Regiment in 1878, and went to South Africa on special service against the Kaffirs. On the conclusion of that campaign, he raised a force of 1,000 friendly Zulus who were known as "Wood's Irregulars," and as a Brigadier-General he commanded a flying column 3,400 strong in the Zulu War. He was promoted K.C.B. in 1879.

In 1881, after the death of Sir George Colley at Majuba Hill, Wood took command of the British forces, and negotiated the settlement with the Boers, for which services he received the G.C.M.G. From 1882 to 1885 he served in Egypt, first being in command of the 2nd Brigade of the 2nd Division of the expedition sent against Arabi Pasha, and becoming, in 1883, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army. After accomplishing much valuable work, including the reorganisation and training of the native Army, he was invalided home, and he held, successively, the commands of the Eastern Military District, and of the Aldershot Division. He was promoted Lieutenant-General on the establishment in 1890, appointed Quartermaster-General in 1898, and was promoted General in 1895, becoming Adjutant-General to the Forces in 1897. In 1891 he had received the G.C.B.

Sir Evelyn Wood's high appointment at home prevented his taking part in the South African campaign, but his valuable work at Headquarters was thoroughly recognised, and in 1901 he was given the command of the 2nd Army Corps. He was created a Field-Marshal in 1903, and retired in 1904.

He was a brilliant soldier and Gen-

eral, an untiring worker and reformer, although he suffered from physical defects (including that of deafness) which were the result of the hardships and privations of his early campaigns.

He was a keen sportsman, being a familiar figure in the hunting-field until the very end of his life, and his affectionate disposition and deep personal religion were marked features of his character.

Sir Evelyn Wood married, in 1867, the sister of Lord Southwell. He became a widower in 1891, and he left three distinguished soldier-sons, and three daughters.

At his impressive military funeral at Aldershot, there were present representatives of the King and the Royal Family, numerous leaders of the Army, and over 7,000 troops.

3. **Thomas de Grey, sixth Lord Walsingham, LL.D.**, was born in 1843. He was educated at Eton, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and succeeded his father in 1870. He travelled widely in California and in Oregon as an entomologist and sportsman, and in 1876 he was appointed a Trustee of the British Museum, to which he presented a collection of British moths and butterflies with their caterpillars. He also presented nearly fifty of the showcases containing groups of birds with their nests, eggs, and young, which formed such an interesting feature of the Ornithological section of the Museum. Lord Walsingham was also a Trustee of the Huxley Museum, and of the Royal College of Surgeons, and a Fellow of the Royal, Linnean, Entomological, and Zoological Societies. He was also High Steward of the University of Cambridge. He married three times, but left no son, and hence he was succeeded by his half-brother, the Hon. John Augustus de Grey.

— **Pierre Auguste Renoir**, the great French painter, who was one of the first of the school known as Impressionist, was born in 1841.

He studied under Gleyre, and exhibited at the Salon in 1864, but he had to wait for some time before he obtained the recognition which his work merited.

In 1877 he was one of the members of the Impressionist Exhibition which provoked the derision of contemporary critics, and his pictures eventually found their way to the Luxembourg and other galleries in France and in America.

His work became known and ap

ciated in England, after the Impressionist Exhibition held at the Grafton Galleries in 1905. M. Benoir's painting was remarkable for its wonderful treatment of flesh-tones, and for the decorative grace by which he seemed to preserve something of the art of the French eighteenth century school. Among his best pictures were the "Bathers," the "Ball at the Moulin de Galette," and the portrait of "Mile. Jeanne Samary, of the Comedie Francaise."

14. **Sir John Jackson, C.V.O.**, the great engineer and contractor, was born in 1851, in Yorkshire. He received his education in the workshops at Newcastle and at Edinburgh University. His engineering works in Great Britain and in other parts of the Empire were numerous and of great importance. He completed the Stobcross Docks at Glasgow, and the docks at Middlesbrough, Hartlepool, and North Sunderland, the extension of the Admiralty Pier at Dover, and the Commercial Harbour there. He also completed the last eight miles of the Manchester Ship Canal, laid the foundation of the Tower Bridge, and, at a cost of nearly 4,000,000l., he completed the extension of the Admiralty works at Keyham.

Sir John was also responsible for the construction of the new Naval Harbour and Graving Dock at Simon's Town, Cape Colony, for which he received the C.V.O., and he undertook much work for foreign Powers, including the great irrigation works in Mesopotamia designed by Sir William Willcocks. Sir John Jackson was Unionist M.P. for Devonport from 1910 until 1918, when he retired. He married Miss Myers in 1876, and had five daughters.

16. **Admiral Sir Henry Frederick Stephenson, Q.C.V.O., K.C.B.**, who was 77, entered the Navy in 1855. He served with the Naval Brigade before Sebastopol, and in 1856 he went to China, where he was present at the operations in the Canton River. In the Indian Mutiny campaign, he served with the Naval Brigade which was attached to the Gorruckpore Field Force, as A.D.C. to Captain Sotheby. He fought in twenty pitched battles and was several times mentioned in despatches. In 1875-76 Sir Henry (then Captain) commanded the *Discovery* in the Arctic Expedition under Sir G. Nares, for which he received the C.B. He commanded the *Carysfort* in the Egyptian War of 1882, and Subsequently the *Dreadnought* in the

Mediterranean, when Prince George (afterwards King George V.) was one of his Lieutenants.

Sir Henry was promoted Rear-Admiral in 1890, Vice-Admiral in 1896, and Admiral in 1902. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Station for three years, and commanded the Channel Squadron in 1897 and 1898. He was Equerry and extra-Equerry to King Edward VII. when he was Prince of Wales, and extra-

Equerry when the Prince ascended the Throne. He was also first and principal A.D.C. to the King from 1902 to 1904, when he became Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. He was promoted K.C.B. in 1897, and made a G.C.V.O. on the occasion of King Edward's Coronation. In 1908 he married the Hon. Mrs. Keppel, daughter of the seventeenth Baron Saltoun.

18. **Sir John Alcock, D.S.O.**, was born in Manchester in 1892, and received his technical engineering training there, at the Empress Motor Works. In 1912 he obtained the flying certificate of the Royal Aero Club, and after frequent participation in flight competitions, he entered the Royal Naval Air Service on the outbreak of War, being appointed Instructor at Eastchurch. He was subsequently promoted Chief Instructor to the Aeronautic Squadron, and later he was sent to the Turkish front, where he soon put up a "record" for long distance bombing flights. He gained the D.S.O. at this period for an attack on three enemy seaplanes.

In 1917 he was taken prisoner by the Turks, and returned to England after the signing of the Armistice in the following year. In June, 1919, Alcock, with Captain Whittn Brown as his observer, flew from Newfoundland to Ireland in a Vickers-Vimy Bolls-Boyce aeroplane, winning the prize of 10,000l., offered by Lord Northcliffe for the first direct flight across the Atlantic.

The pilot and his observer were knighted, and received great ovations in London and elsewhere.

Sir John Alcock's lamented death was the result of an accident which occurred near Bouen on a journey from England to Paris.

19. **The Rev. Dr. Arnold Harris Mathew**, who was born in 1852, was ordained to the Priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church in 1877. After some years he began to have doubts about the doctrine of Papal Infalli-

bility, and he lived in retirement and married. In 1907 he joined the Old Catholics in Holland, and was consecrated Bishop by the Archbishop of Utrecht the following year. He claimed to be the head of the Old Catholics in England.

21. Sir Nicholas William George Throckmorton, Bart., was 81 years of age. He was educated at Downside College, and succeeded his father, the eighth Baronet, in 1862. He was the head of one of the oldest Roman Catholic families in England, and owned large estates in the Midlands. He was succeeded by his brother, Captain Eichard O. A. Throckmorton, formerly of the 87th Foot, who was born in 1839.

26. George Smith, C.I.R., LL.D., the Anglo-Indian publicist and biographer, was in his 87th year. He was educated at the Royal High School in Edinburgh, and at Edinburgh University, and in 1853 he was appointed to a Professorship at Dove-ton College, Calcutta. The following year he became Principal of the College which he subsequently saw affiliated to Calcutta University by his efforts. He became a Fellow and Examiner of the University. In 1859 he began his editorial career, becoming co-editor, with Mr. Meredith, of *The Friend of India*. He subsequently became part-proprietor of the paper, and he also edited the *Calcutta Review*, and was for many years Indian Correspondent of *The Times*.

He returned home from India in 1874 and became Editor of the *Edinburgh Daily Review*, a Free Church organ, and he was also Secretary to the Foreign Missionary funds of the Free Church. For work done in connexion with relieving the distress caused by the Indian Famine of 1877, Dr. Smith was made a Companion of the Indian Empire in 1878.

Dr. Smith was the compiler of eighteen volumes of the "Annals of Indian Administration," and he also published several biographies of Christian missionaries.

In 1855 he married Miss Adam of

Edinburgh by whom he had five sons and five daughters. His second wife, who survived him, was Miss Mary Agnes Mackintosh.

27. Sir Charles Solomon Henry, Bart., M.P., was born in 1860, and was educated in London, and at the University of Gottingen. In 1882 he established the firm of merchants C. S.

Henry & Co., London. After contesting Chelmsford unsuccessfully in 1900, he became, in 1906, Liberal Member of Parliament for the Wellington Division of Shropshire. In 1918 he was returned unopposed as Coalition Liberal Member for the Wrekin Division. Sir Charles was created a Baronet in 1911. He did valuable war work, both by undertaking missions abroad for the Government, and by the care of wounded soldiers at home.

He married Miss Julia Lewisohn in 1892, and had one son who fell in the war.

29 Sir William Osier, Bart., M.D., Eegius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford, was the son of a missionary in Canada, where he was born in 1819. He was educated at Trinity College School, Port Hope, at Trinity University, Toronto, and at McGill University, Montreal, where in 1872 he graduated M.D. He continued to study medicine in London, Leipzig, and Vienna, and in 1874 he was appointed Professor of the Institutes of Medicine at McGill University.

In 1884 the Royal College of Physicians appointed him Galstonian Professor for the year, and from that year until 1889 he was Professor of Clinical Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. He then went to John Hopkins University where he was Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine, until, in 1905, he was appointed to the Regius Chair at Oxford.

There he did much to develop the Medical School, by bringing teachers into touch with Oxford practitioners, and by insisting on the importance of clinical teaching, and also by stimulating advanced research.

Sir William was a man of wide intellectual interests, and he served Oxford as a Curator of the Bodleian Library, as a Delegate of the University Press, as a trustee of the Endowment Fund, and as one of the Radcliffe Trustees.

He was held in universal esteem on both sides* of the Atlantic, and was the first President of the Fellowship of Medicine. In 1911 he was created a Baronet. His wife, whom he married in 1892, was Grace, daughter of the late John Revere of Boston, Mass., and widow of Dr. Gross of Philadelphia.

Sir William Osier's famous book, "The Principles and Practice of Medicine," was published in 1892. He revised it on several occasions, and it was translated into many different languages.

INDRX.

The figures between [] refer to PART I.

[*Speeches in Parliament are entered under their subjects under the heading "Parliamentary Speeches,"¹ and those outside Parliament under the speaker's name.*]

- ACCIDRNTS.—Airship catches fire, 12.
EXPLOSIONS, *Glowworm*, 14 ; *Roseleaf*, 12, Mine, Land's End, 17. RAILWAY, Selby, 18
- ACLAND, Sir C. T. D., Obit., 180
- ADAMSON, W., leader of the Labour Party, (5) [12]
- ADDISON, Et. Hon. C., President of the Local Government Board, [3]; appointed Minister of Health, [128], 11
- ADMIRALTY, measures for reduction, [109]
- AEROPLANES, flight across the Atlantic, [69]; result, [70]
- AFGHANISTAN.—AMAN Ullah, Ameer, [255]. BARRETT, Gen. Sir A., in command of the British forces, [256], 8. HABIB Ullah Khan, Ameer, murdered, [255], 3; Obit., 181. INDIA, peace signed, [256], 13. KHYBER, demarcation of the frontier, [256]. Moscow, mission to, [256]. PEACE Conference at Rawal Pindi, [256]
- AFRICA, EAST.—BRITISH EAST AFRICA, [2701; Northey, Sir E., Governor, [270]; accident, [271], PEACE Treaty, ratified, [2711]
- NORTH.—MOROCCO, [272]
- SOUTH.—BOTHIA, General, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [2671; Obit., [269], 204. Budget, [269] Buxton, Lord, Governor-General, 7, opens Parliament, [267], [269]. HERTZOG, General, on republicanism, [2681. JOHANNESBURG, outbreak of Bolshevism, [269]. MALAN, Mr., Acting Premier, [267]; on the war, [2671. NATIONALIST deputation, in England, [268]. ORANGE FREE STATE, demand independence, [268]. Orr, Mr., on finance, [269]. PARLIAMENT opened, [267], [269] Peace Treaty, ratified, [269]. REPUBLICAN movement, debate on, [268]. Rhodesia, Budget, [270]; Choglan, Sir C., on Responsible Government, [270]. Responsible Government, movement in Favour, [269]. SMUTS, General, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [267]; Prime Minister, [269]. WAR, -casualties, [268]
- AFRICA, WEST —BELGIAN CONGO, [271]; population, [271]. KAMERUN, division, [184], [272]. LIBERIA, [271]; King, C. D. B., elected President, [271]. NIGERIA, Clifford, Sir H., Governor-General, [272]; Lugard, Sir F., Governor-General, retirement [272], 1. TOGOLAND, division, [184], [272]
- AGAR, Lieut. A. W. S., awarded the V.C., 14
- AINGER, A. C., Obit., 213
- AIR flights "Aerial Derby," 11, Atlantic, [69], 10, 11; Australia, 21; Cairo to the Cape, 22, Folkestone to Paris, 5, London to Edinburgh, 2; to Paris, 3; Long Island to Norfolk, 12; Madrid to London, 8
- flights, civilian, permission for, 7
- Force, Royal, increase of pay, [6]; Secretary of State, alteration of the title, 5
- mail service, between London and Paris, 14, 19
- Ministry, curtailment of programme, [110]
- AITKEN, J., Obit., 216
- ALBANIA.—Independence, demand for,
- ALBERT Hall, meetings at, [1], [8], [76],
- H. R. H. Prince, at a boxing match, 12, receives the Freedom of the City of London, 18
- ALCOCK, Sir J., flight across the Atlantic,

- ALVRS, Senhor F. de P. E., Obit., 173
- AMERICA.—*Vide* Canada, Mexico, Newfoundland, United States
- SOUTH.—ARGENTINA, Buenos Aires, Rpiane, Gen. D., appointed Military Dictator, [2901; revolution, [290]; strike, [290] BRAZIL, Alves, Dr. E., President, death, [289]; Ministry, the new, [290]; Pessoa, Dr. E. da S., elected President, [289]; at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151], [289]; in London, [290], 9. CHILI, Ministry, changes, [291]. COLUMBIA, [292]. PARAGUAY, [292] PERU, Constitutional reforms, [291]; Election, General, [291]; Leguia, Senor, President, [291]; reforms, [291], Ministry, the new, [291]; Pardoe, Dr., President, imprisoned, [291], banished, [291]. URUGUAY, Brum, Dr., elected President, [292]; Election, General, [292], Viera, Dr. P., President of the Administrative Council, [292]
- AMERY, Col. L. C. M. S., Under-Secretary for the Colonies, [3]
- ANDERSON, Sir J., appointed Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, 14
- ARBUTHNOT, Major-Gen. H. T., Obit., 190
- ARMENIA, State of, [236]
- ARMIES of Occupation, increase of pay, [6]
- ARMISTICE, renewal, [158], [160], 2; celebration of the anniversary, 19, Commission, at Spa, [161]; Brussels, [161]
- ARMY, American, not at Aldwych, [41]
- British, demobilisation, [5], 2; the new, [6]
- Canadian, not at Epsom, 10; Kinmel Park, [41], 4
- Indian, march through London, 13
- and Navy Stores, strike, 20
- ART.—Retrospect of: EXHIBITIONS, private, 57 LONDON Museum, 56 NATIONAL Gallery, 56 E. O. Y. A. L. Academy, exhibitions, 55, 56 E. O. Y. A. L. Society of British Artists, 57. SALES, 54, 55, 56 VICTORIA and Albert Museum, exhibition of war memorials, 56. WAR paintings, exhibition, 55. WEBB, Sir A., President of the Royal Academy, 2, 55
- ASQUITH, H. H., at Leeds, [77]; on the League of Nations, [123]; at the Central Hall, Westminster, [125]
- ASSER, Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. J., in command of the British troops in France, resignation, 22
- ASTOR, Lady, member of Parliament, [140], 20; takes her seat, 20
- Major the Hon. W., Secretary to the Local Government Board, [3]
- Viscount, Obit., 212
- ATHBRTON, Mrs., inquest on, 11
- ATKIN, Mr. Justice, appointed Lord of Appeal, 4
- ATLANTIC, the, flights across, [69], [77]; 10, 11; result, [70]
- AUMONIER, S., "The Querrils," 41
- AUSTRALIA.—DEBT, National, [294]
- ELECTION, General, [295]; results, [295], FEDERAL Constitution, reform, [294] GERMAN colonies, decision on, [293] HUGHES, W. M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [293]; opposes racial equality, [293], return, [294]; on the Peace Treaty, [294]; attacks on the policy of the Labour leaders, [295] JAPAN, relations with, [293]. LEAGUE of Nations, [293] MUNRO-Ferguson, Governor-General Sir R. C., continues in office, [292]. NATIONALIST Party, [292]. PARLIAMENT, dissolved, [295]. Peace Treaty, ratified, [294] E. A. C. I. A. L. equality, opposition to, [293]. Eyan, T. J., on the League of Nations, [293] STRIKES, [295]. VICTORY Loan, issue, [294]
- AUSTRIA.—BAUER, Dr., Foreign Minister, [213]; resignation, [213] Bohemia, joins the Czecho-Slovak State, [212] Budget, [213] CABINET members, [212], [214]; re-established, [213] Constitution Bill, [214] ELECTION, General, result, [212] Empire, dissolution, [212] FOOD scarcity, [214]. Lindley, Hou F. O., British High Commissioner, [214]. PEACE delegates in France, [213], 8. Peace Treaty, [184], [213], 8, 15, 109-125. EENNER, Dr. K., provisional Prime Minister, [211]; Foreign Minister, [213]; resignation, [213]; re-elected, [213]. SEITZ, Dr., President of the National Assembly, [213] TYROL, annexed to Italy, [212], protest against, [214]. VORARLBERG, province of, wish for union with Switzerland, [212], [214], result of a plebiscite, [214].
- Charles Ex-Emperor of, abdication, [228], in Switzerland, 5
- BACON, Col. E., Obit, 192
- BAHURDUR, Major-Gen. H. H. Maharajah Sir G. S., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150].
- BAKER, E., "Cassell's New English Dictionary," edited by, 39
- BALDWIN, S., Financial Secretary to the Treasury, [4]
- BALFOUR, Et Hon. A. J., Foreign Secretary, [3]; Lord President of the Council, [128], 17, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]; elected Chancellor of Cambridge University, 17
- BALTIC Provinces, [226]
- BANK rate, raised, 18, 66
- Bankers* Magazine, 67
- BANKS, amalgamation, 19, 20, 22, 70
- BARCLAY'S Bank and the Union Bank of Manchester and the British Linen Bank, amalgamation, 19, 70
- BARNARDISTON, Major-Gen. N. W., Obit., 202
- BARNES, Et. Hon. G. N., member of the Cabinet, [3], [128], at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
- BARON, Sir B. J., Obit., 193
- BARONETRIES conferred, 1, 7, 13; Bailey, Sir A., 1; Bunsen, Sir M., 1; Ross, Mr. Justice J., 1, Selby-Bigge, Sir L.,
- BARONIES, conferred, Eady, Sir C. S., 17; Russell, Sir E., 13; Walker, Col. H., 13; Wemyss, Adm. Sir R. E., 18
- BARRETT, General, in command of the British troops in Afghanistan, %

- BARTON, R., escape from prison, 5
 BARZILAI, Signor 8., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
 BASING, Brig.-Gen. Lord, Obit., 187
 BAVARIA, Maria-Teresa, ex-Queen of, Obit., 177
 BAZLEY, Sir T. S. Obit., 170
 BBATTY, Adm. of the Fleet Sir D., promotion, 6; Order of Merit conferred, [76], 9; at the peace celebrations, [93]; Freedom of Manchester, 16; First Sea Lord, 17
 BECK, C., Secretary to the Ministry of National Service and Reconstruction, [3]
 BEEHING, Very Rev. Dr. H. C., Obit., 182
 BEER, increased barrelage, 9; strength, 12
 BELGIUM.—BRITISH Legation raised to tie status of an Embassy, 12. Budget, [238]. DEBT, National, amount, [239]. Delacroix, M., Prime Minister, [238]. Butch territory, claims to, [238], [241]. ELECTION, General, results, [239]. Electoral Reform Bill, [238]. PARLIAMENT, the new, 19. VILLIERS, Hon. Sir F., Ambassador to Brussels, 12
 BERESFORD, Baron, Obit., 206
 BERKELEY Square estate, sale of, 9
 BETHAM-EDWARDS, M., Obit., 167
 BHAVNAGAR, Maharani of, Obit., 170
 BILLS.—AIR Navigation, [18]. ALIENS Restriction, [54], [91], [125], [130], [142], [148]. ANGLO-French Treaty, [82]. CHURCH Enabng, [72], [131], [148]. CIVIL Contingencies Fund, [29]. COAL Industry (Emergency), [143]. COAL Mines Commission, [23]. CONSOLIDATED Fund, [37], [105], [106], [145]. DOGS' Protection, [64], [81]. ELECTRICITY Supply, [64], [81], [134], [144], [148]. FINANCE, [68]. HEALTH, Ministry of, [18], [50]. HOUSING, [48], [51], [81], [141], [148]. IMPORTS and Exports, Regulation, [134]. INDIA, Government of, [142], [148]. INDUSTRIAL Courts, [129]. IRELAND, reform of the Government, [147]. LAND, Acquisition of, [53]. LAND Compensation, [81]. LAND Settlement, [54]. LOCAL Authorities (Enabng), [67]. LOCAL Government (Ireland), [36]. MILITARY Service, [50]. MINISTERS, Re-election of, [16]. MINISTRIES and Secretaries, [101]. NAVAL, Military and Air Force Service, [30]. OLD Age Pensions, [145], [148]. PATENTS and Designs, [92]. PEACE, Treaty of, [82], [94]. POLICE, [62], [99]. PROFITEERING [103], [104], [148]. RENT Restrictions, [33]. SCOTLAND, Single Chamber Parliament, 65. SEX Disqualification Removal, [88], [148]. TRADE practices, [72]. TRANSPORT, [19], [35], [48], [85]. WAR Emergency Laws (Continuation), [128]. WAYS and Communications, Ministry of [18]. WOMEN'S Emancipation, [60], [87]
 BINGHAM, Oommander the Hon. B., "Falklands, Jutland, and the Bight," 29
 BIRMINGHAM, G., "Up the Rebels," 42
 BISLEY, meeting, 12
 BLANOHARD, Prof. R. A., Obit., 177
 BLISS, Gen. T. H., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
 BONBBY, Judge H. D., Obit., 191
 BORDEN, Sir R. L., at the House of Commons, 8; at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
 BORLASE-WARREN-VENABLBS-VERNON, Hon., W. J., Obit., 216
 BORRETT, Major-Gen. H. C., Obit., 187
 BOTHA, Gen. L., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [267]; mission to Poland, [157]; Obit., [269], 204
 BOURGEOIS, L., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]; on the League of Nations, [160]; amendments, [175]
 BOWES, R., Obit., 178
 BOXING Day, 22
 —matches, 6, 11, 12, 15, 17, 20
 BRADBURY, Sir J., British Representative on the Reparation Commission, [109], 14
 BRADE, Sir R., Permauent Secretary to the War Office, resignation, 22
 BRADFORD, Lieut.-Com. G. N., awarded the V.C., 5
 —Lord, appointed Lord-in-Waiting, 3
 BRANCKER, W. H., K.C.B. conferred, 1
 BRASSEY, Earl, Obit., 215
 BRATIANO, M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
 BREAD, abolition of the restriction on new, 12; price of, raised, 14
 BRIDGEMAN, W. C., Secretary to the Board of Trade, [3]
 BRISCOE, Sir J. J., Obit., 190
 BRITISH Army, see Army
 —Association, meeting at Bournemouth, 15
 —Empire, Order of the, appointments, 9
 —Red Cross Society, agreement with the Order of St. John, 16; amount of *The Times* fund, 17
 BROWN, Very Rev. J., Obit., 181
 —Lieut. W., flight across the Atlantic, [77], 10; reception in London, [78]; Knighthood conferred, [78], 10
 BRUCE, Sir H., Obit., 191
 —Lieut. W., awarded the V.C., 15
 BRUNNER, Sir J. T., Obit., 195
 BUCHANAN, Sir G., appointed Ambassador to Italy, 15
 —J., purchases the *Log of the Victory*, [82]
 BUCKINGHAM Palace, demonstration at, [82]
 BULGARIA.—ELECTION, General, [235]. PEACE Treaty, [185], [235], 125-181. STAMBOLISKY, M., Premier, [235]. THEODOROPP, M., resignation, [235]
 BURKE, H. F., appointed Garter King of Arms, 1
 BUTTER, ration reduced, 21; control removed, 22
 BUXTON, Lord, appointed Governor-General of South Africa, 7
 —Sir V., Obit., 192
 BUZZARD, T., Obit., 167
 BYNG, Gen. Sir J., G.C.B. conferred, 1
 CALLAGHAN, Adm. of the Fleet Sir G., appointed Bath King of Arms, 8
 CALTHROP, Sir C. G. S., Obit., 181

- CAMBON, J., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [160]
- CAMBRIDGE University Press, publication of "Germany, 1815-90," 35
- CAMPBELL, Sir C.E., Obit., 209
- Sir J. H. M., Lord Chancellor of Ireland, [4]
- CANADA — ALIEN BILL, [285]. BOLSHEVIK movement, development, [284], [285]. Budget, [283]. COALITION Ministry, [283]. Conscription Act, [282]. DEVONSHIRE, Duke of, Governor-General, opens Parliament, [286]. Drayton, Sir H., Finance Minister, [286]. ELECTION, General, [283]. Expenditure, estimates, [283] FEMALE Enfranchisement, partial scheme, [283] Fielding, W. S., amendment on the Peace Treaty, [286]. KINO, W. L. M., elected leader of the Liberal Party, [286]. LABOUR Conference, at Calgary, [285] Laurier, Sir W., Obit., [284], 179. MACKENZIE, D. D., elected temporary leader of the Liberal Party, [284]. ONTARIO, alcoholic liquor, prohibition, [287]; Drury, Mr., Prime Minister, [287]; Election, General, [287], 4; Hearst, Sir W., retirement, [287]; Musk-Ox industry, [287]. Ottawa, Conference of Liberals, [285] PARLIAMENT, opened, [286]. Peace Treaty, ratified, [286] Prince Edward Island, Election, General, [287] QUEBEC, Election, General, [286] SOLDIERS and alien workmen, conflicts between, [284]. WALES, Prince of, visit to, [286]. War, cost of the, [284]. War-time Election Act, [283] White, Sir J., on the increase of expenditure, [283]; resignation, [286] Winnipeg, strike, [285]. Wireless communication with Ireland, 5. Women's Franchise Bill, [283]
- CARDEW, Major-Gen. U., Obit., 193
- CARLETON, B., inquest on, 2
- CARMICHAEL, Sir J., appointed Director-General of Housing, 3
- CARNEGIE, A., value of his estate, 14; Obit., 200
- CARSON, Sir E., fiery oration at Ballymenoch, [95]
- CARTER, H., "The Control of the Drink Trade in Britain," 33
- CASSELL & Co., publication of "Cassell's New English Dictionary," 39; "The Forest Fire and Other Stones," 40; "The Grand Fleet, 1914-16," 24; "In the World War," 27; "Mrs. Marden," 43; "Tamarisk Town," 39
- CAUCASUS, STATES HI the, [226]
- CAVELL, Nurse, funeral procession, [66]
- CECIL, Lord R., on the League of Nations, [76]; the draft Covenant, [159], [162]
- CBDERSTROM, Baroness R., Obit., 207
- CENSORSHIP, ceases, 6, 12
- CENTENARY celebrated, Watt, J., 15
- CHADWOTK-HBALEY, Sir C.E., Obit, 209
- CHAMBERLAIN, Et. Hon. A., Chancellor of the Exchequer, [4], [128]; at the Guildhall, [75]
- CHAPMAN & Hall, publication of "The Prisoners of Maintz," 36
- CHATFIELD, Capt. Sir A., appointed Fourth Sea Lord, 10
- CHEESE, British, control removed, 22
- CHESS Congress, Hastings, 14
- CHESTER, Dean of, Obit., 215
- CHESTERFIELD, oil struck at, 9
- Earl of, Master of the Horse, f4]
- CHETWODE, Lieut.-Gen. Sir P. W., appointed Military Secretary to the Secretary for War, 8
- CHINA — CIVIL War, result, [262]. FENG Kuo-Chang, Vice-President, appointed President, [262]; resigna* turn, [262] Hsu Shih-Chang, President, [262]. JAPAN, treaties with, revision, [263]; boycott against, [264]. Li YUAN Hung, President, resignation, [262] MONGOLIA, under the protection of, [264]. PEACE Treaty, result, [264]; delegates refuse to sign, [181], [264]. SHANGHAI, Peace Conference at, [263] Shensi, hostilities at, [263]. TUAN CHI-JUI, Premier, [262]
- CHINDA, Viscount, at the Peace Conference in Pans, [151]
- CHIROL, Sir v., libel action against, 3
- CHRISTIE'S, sales at, 12, 64, 55
- CHRISTMAS Day, 22
- CHURCHILL, Et. Hon. W., Secretary of State for War, [3], [128]; at the Mansion House, [11]
- CIPPENHAM Motor Depot, [39]; report on, [89]
- CLEMENCEAU, G., appointed President of the Peace Conference in Pans, [149], [153]; attempt on his life, [160], 3; in London, 21; return to Paris, 21
- CLIFFORD, M., Obit., 174
- CLYDE, Et. Hon. J. A., Lord Advocate for Scotland, [4]
- CLYDESDALE Bank and the London Joint City and Midland Bank, amalgamation, 20, 70
- CLYNES, J.E., Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party, [5]; at Widnes, [109]; at the Trades Union Congress, [115]; on the League of Nations, [123]
- COAL, rise in the price, [89]; estimated deficiency, [89], 71; reduction, [135]; exp rt, 21
- Controller's department, on a permanent basis, 14
- Mines Commission Act, [45]; reports on, [46], 132-143, 144, 145-158, 158-165
- Mines, policy of "direct action," [99]. [111]; nationalisation, [120]
- Codling, W.E., appointed Controller of the Stationery Office, 3
- COLOHESTER, Lord, Obit., 183
- COLEBROOKE, Lord, Captain of the Gentlemen-at-Arms, [4]
- COLEMAN, F., Obit., 183
- COLLIER, F. H., appointed Secretary to the Ministry of Food, 14
- COLLINS & Co., publication of "Cousin Philip," 42; "Heritage," 43
- COLONIAL Troops, march through London,
- COLVILLE, Adm. Sir S., G.C.M.G. conferred, 9
- COMMERCE and Finance in 1919, 64-71
- COMPTON-RICKETT, Sir J., Obit., 199

- CONRAD, J., "The Arrow of Gold," 42
 CONSTABLE & Co., publication of "The French Revolution," 34; "1914," 23; "The Philosophy of Conflicts," 82
 COOK, Sir E. T., Obit., 208
 —Sir J., at the Peace Conference in Pans, [150]
 COOPER, Alderman Sir E., elected Lord Mayor of London, 16
 CORNWALL, Sir E. A., Controllor of National Health Insurance, [4]
 CORSTORPHINE, G. S., Obit., 175
 COTTENHAM, Earl, Obit., 188
 COURCEL, Baron A. C. de, Obit., 193
 COURTENAY, Brig.-Gen. E. E., Obit., 186
 OOUTS, Messrs., and National Provincial and Union Bank of England, amalgamation, 22, 70
 COWELL, Eev. Canon M. B., Obit., 170
 COWLEY, Earl, Obit., 173
 Cox, Eev. J. C., Obit., 182
 CRAIG, Col. Sir J., Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions, [3]
 —Lieut. Commander N. C., Obit., 210
 CRAWFORD, Sir R. F., G. C. M. G. conferred, 9
 CRAWFORD and Balcarres, Earl of, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, [4]
 CRBEDY, Sir H., appointed Permanent Secretary to the War Office, 22
 CRESSWELL, Lieut.-Col. C. A., Obit., 175
 CREWE, Lord, opens the British Scientific Products Exhibition, 11
 CRICKET match, Gentlemen and Players, 12
 CRIMINAL CASES —Cottin, E., [160], 5; Eutherford, Lieut.-Col. N. C., 6; Veulle, E. de, 2, 6
 CRISP, Sir F., Obit., 189
 CROOKES, Sir W., Obit., 187
 CUMING, G., Obit., 176
 CUMMINGS, B. F., Obit., 213
 CUNNINGHAM, E. C., appointed Controllor-General of CIVIL demobilisation, 6
 CURZON, Earl, Lord President of the Council, [3]; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, [128], 17
 CUSACK-SMITH, Sir W., Obit., 188
 CYPRUS.—GREECE, union with, [254]. POPULATION, [254]
 CZRCHO-SLOVAKIA.—BOHEMIA, joins the Stare, [212], [227]; organisation, [227]. Bolsheviks, hostilities, [227]. KRAMARZH, Dr., Prime Minister, [227]; attempt on his life, [227]. MASARYK, Prof., President, [227]. TUSAR, V., Premier, [227]
 CZERNIN, Count 0, "In the World War," 27
- %
- Daily Mail, prize for the flight across the Atlantic, [70], [78], 10; libel action against, 6
 DALMENY, Lord, divorce, 21
 DALZBLL, Lieut.-Gen. J. T., Obit., 196
 DANIEL, Eev. C. H. O., Obit., 206
 DANZIG. — INDEPENDENCE, established, [1801], [253]. UNIVERSAL suffrage, 18
 DARBY, Eev. J. L., Obit., 215
 DARELL, Sir L. E., Obit., 180
 DAVIDSON, Sir J. M., Obit., 186
 DAWKINS, Major-Gen. Sir C. T., Obit., 209
 DAWSON, G., editor of *The Times*, resignation, 4
 DEAKIN, A., Obit., 210
 DEANRR, Et. Hon. Sir H. B., Obit., 188
 DEBT, National, 64
 DEFENCE of the Realm Act, [128]; new regulation, [10]
 DEMOBILISATION of the Army, 2; grievances, [5], [11]
 DRNMARK —RIDER river, boundary, [250]. MARLING, Sir C. M., appointed Envoy Extraordinary, 4
 PEACE Conference, decision, [251] SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN question, [249]-[251]. State Loan Bill, [249] ZAHLE, K., resumes office, [249]
 DENNISTON, Sir J. E., Obit., 198
 DEPUTATIONS received by, George, D. L., [120], [138]; Greenwood, Sir H., [61]; Milner, Lord, [254]; Shortt, E., [43]
 DMOW-KI, E., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151], [223]
 DOGS, muzzling order, 7
 DOHERTY, C. J., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
 —H. L., Obit., 203
 DONKIN, E. S., Obit., 177
 DOUGLAS-PENNANT, V., Commandant of the Women's Royal Air Force, dismissal, [92]; inquiry, [92], [133]
 DOVER Patrol, memorial to, 19
 DOWN HAM, Lord, elected Chairman of the London County Council, 5
 DRAKE, Sir F., sale of his cup, 12
 DRAMA —Comedies, 59; Musical plays, 60; Plays by Popular Dramatists, 58; revivals, 57, Shakespeare's play*, 58
 DRINK, relaxation of the restrictions, 5
 DRUMMOND, Major-Gen. Sir F. H. E., Obit., 186
 —Hon. Sir J. E., Secretary-General of the League of Nations, [174], [177]
 Du CANE, Sir J., Master-General of the Ordnance, 18
 DUCKHAM, Sir A., report on the coal mines industry, [74], 158-165
 DUCKWORTH & Co., publication of "The Tunnel," 40
 DUPP, Vice-Adm. Sir A. L., appointed Commander-in-Chief on the China station, 9, 10
 DUKE, Et. Hon. Lord Justice, appointed President of the Probate division, 18
 DUNCAN, A. E., appointed Coal Controllor, [135]
 DUNSANY, Lord, "Unhappy Far-Off Things," 37
 RADY, Sir C. S., Master of the Rolls, retirement, 17; Barony conferred, 17
 ECCLRSIASTICAL.—BARNES, Canon B. W., Master of the Temple, resignation, 19
 Bradford, Bishopric of, founded, 20.
 Burrows, Dr. W. O., Bishop of Chichester, 8.
 CHURCH Congress, Leicester, [121], Church Enabling Bill, [72]. Convocation, Houses of, meeting, 3.
 D'ARCY, Dr., elected Archbishop of Dublin, 13.
 Draper, Eev. W. H., Master of the Temple, 19.
 FURSE, Et. Eev. M. B., Bishop of St. Albans, 20.
 GARBETT, Canon C. F., Bishop of Southwark, 12.
 HUTTON,

- Ven. W. H., Dean of Winchester, 19.
 JACOB, Rt. Rev. E., Bishop of St Albans, resignation, 10, 20. LEIGH, Very Rev. the Hon. J. W., Dean of Hereford, resignation, 16, 20. Lincoln, Bishop of, resignation, 10.
 MOCORMICK, Eev. J. G., Dean of Manchester, 21. OXFORD, B. shop of, resignation, 5. PAGET, Et Eev H L., Bishop of Chester, 11. Perowne, Ven A., Bishop of Bradford, 21.
 EDGEWAY, Bishop of Chichester, resignation, 8. SWAYNE, Very Rev W. S., Bishop of Lincoln, 19. WARMAN, Rev F. S. G., Bishop of Truro, 11. Waterfield, Ven R., Dean of Heretord, 20. Westcott, Et Eev F., Bishop of Calcutta, 7. YORK, Convocation of, 11.
- ECONOMY campaign, [109]
 EGLINTON and Winton, Eail of, Obit., 200
 EGYPT—ALLENBY, Field-Marshal Viscount, appointed High Commissioner, [273], 17. BUDGET, [274] CAIRO, riot, [273] MILNER, Lord, mission, [66], [136], [274], 16. Mohammed Said Pasha, Premier, [273] NATIONALIST politicians, deported, [273]; rescinded, [273] PALESTINE, administration, [237], [274] EEEVOLUTIONARY movement, outbreak, [272]. Rushdi Pasha, Prime Minister, resignation, [273], resumes office, [273] SUDAN, The, Budget, [274]; Dinha tribe rising, [274]. YUSSUF Wahda Pasha, Premier, [274]
- ELECTIONS.—Aberdeen, 7; Antrim, 10, Bothwell, 12; Bromley, 22; Chester-le-Street, 20; Croydon, 20, Hull, 6; Leighton, 4, Londonderry, 5; Oxford University, 5, Plymouth, [140], 20, Poutefract, 16; Eusholm, 17; St. Albans, 22, Tlianet, 20; Widnes, 15 — London County Council, 4
 ELECTRICITY, rationing, abolished, 19
 "ELIZABETH and her German Garden," author of, "Christopher and Columbus," 42
 ELLIOT, H., "Modern Science and Materialism," 31
 ELLIS, H., "The Philosophy of Conflict," 32
 EMPIRE Day celebration, 9
 EPSOM, riot at, 10
 RSTHONIA, [226]
 ESTIMATRS.—Air Force, [33], [143] Army, [26], [69]. Civil Service, [28] Navy, [29], [143]. Shipping, [67]
 EWART, Sir W. Q., Obit., 212
 EXCHANGES, Foreign, fluctuations, 69
 EXHIBITIONS, British Scientific Products, 11; motor, at Olympia, 18
 EXPENDITURE, national, reduction, [110], 65
 EXPORTS, value of, 68
- FAIRFAX, Sir J.E., Obit., 186
 FALKENHAYN, Gen. E. von, "General Headquarters, 1914-16 and Its Critical Decisions," 27
 FAKQUHAR, Viscount, Lord Steward of the Household, [4]
 FIELDDBN, Sir C., Director-General of Food production, resignation, 2
- FIGGIS, Eev. J. N., Obit., 188
 FINANCE and Commerce in 1919, 64-71
 FINLAND.—A A LAND Islands, neutralised, [226]. DIET, elections, [225]; opened, [226] HELSINGORS, recaptured, [225] INDEPENDENCE recognised, [226], 7. MANNERHEIM, General, in Command of the Army, [225]; appointed President, [225]. EEPUBLICAN form of government, Bill, [226] Eussia, war with, [225], 10. STAHLBERG, Prot., elected President, [226]. WHITE Guards, the, [225]
 FIRRS—Airship, 12; Bethnal Green, granaries, 1, Bradford, 22; Brooklyn, 15; Liverpool, 10
 FISHER, Adm of the Fleet, Lord, "Memories," 25, "Records," 26
 —Rt Hon H A. L., President of the Board of Education, [3], [128]
 —M., elected Royal Academician, 19
 —Sir W., appointed Permanent Secretary of the Treasury, [109], 14
 FITZROY, Lord F., Obit., 178
 FLEET, the Grand, dispersed, 6; Home, battleships, reduction, 15
 FLETCHER, Sir L., Director of the Natural History Museum, retirement, 4
 —Lieut-Col W A. L., Obit., 178
 FOCH, Marshal, in London, [93], 12; at the Peace Celebrations, [93]; receives the baton of a Field-Marshal and the Freedom of the City of London, 13
 FOOD supply, position, [91]. Supreme Council appointed, [2]; meetings in Paris, [2]
 FORSTER, H. W., Financial Secretary to the War Office, [3]; resignation, 20; peerage conferred, 20
 FOSTER, Prof G. C., Obit, 177
 —Sir G. E., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
 —Brig-Gen H L., Obit., 185
 FRANCR.—BUDGET, [185]. CAILLUX, M., trial, [186] Cilicia, mandate for, [237]. Clemenceau, G., appointed President of the Peace Conference, [149], [153], opening speech, [153]; attempt on his life, [160], 3; on the terms of the Peace Treaty, [177]; in London, 21; return to Paris, 21. Cottm, E., attempt on the life of M. Clemenceau, [160]; sentenced, 5. ELECTION, General, [186]. FRANKLIN-BOUILLON, M., on the secrecy of the Peace Conference, [162K164]. French Eastern frontier, problem, [163], [165]. GERMANY, delegates at Versailles, [176]; peril of an attack by, [168]. HUMBERT Trial, [185]. PARLIAMENT, the new, 19. Peace Conference in Paris, [2], [12], [55], [149]-[185], 2, see Peace. Peace Treaty, signed at Versailles, [81], [177], 11; ratified, 16. Pichon, M., on the war against Bolshevism, [164]. Pomcare, M., opens the Peace Conference in Paris, [2], [152]; inaugural address. [153]; signs the Peace Treaty, [185], 17; at Buckingham Palace, 19. THOMAS, A., at the Socialist Conference in Berne, [243] Transport Workers, strike, [185]. Treason trials, [185], [186]. Treaty with Great

- Britain, [182], [237] ; with the United States, [184]. VILLAIN, acquitted, 16. WAR, cost of the, [185]
- FRANCILLON, E. E., Obit., 191
- FRASER, Sir A., Obit., 183
- FRRR-trade campaign, [77]
- FRENCH, Field-Marshal Viscount, Lord-Lieut. of Ireland, [4], [128]; attempt on his life, [146], 21 ; " 1914/ 23
- FRIOK, H. C., value of his estate, 21
- FRY, Major-Gen. W., appointed Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man, 4
- FRYATT, Captain, funeral procession, [88].
- FURLEY, Sir J., Obit., 208
- FURSE, Lieut.-Gen. Sir W., Master-General of the Ordnance, resignation, 18
- GALE, damage in London, 20
- GAMLEN, W. B., Obit., 190
- GARDINER, A. G., editor of the *Daily News*, resignation, 15
- GAS rationing, abolition, 19
- GASKELL, C. G. M., Obit., 170
- GATHERGOOD, Capt G., wins the " Aerial Derby," 11
- GAVIN, Eev. M., Obit., 194
- GEAKE, C., Obit., 189
- GEDDES, Sir A., Mimster of National Service and Reconstruction, [3]; at Basingstoke, [109]; offered the post of Principal of McGill University, Montreal, 6 ; President of the Board of Trade, [128], 9
- Sir E., G.C.B., conferred, 1, member of the Cabinet, [3]; Minister of Transport, [128]; on the control of railways, [141]
- GEORGE V., King, council at Buckingham Palace, [4]; opens Parliament, [12], 3; on the housing problem, [53]; Proclamation on the Treaty of Peace, [82]; reviews battalions in Hyde Park, 4 ; at Covent Garden Opera, 8 ; on the restoration of peace, [93]; at Birmingham, 8; the Derby, 9; birthday honours, 9, 10, 13; on the Prince of Wales' return, [139]; at Leicester, 10 ; inspects Indian troops, 13 ; takes part in a river procession on the Thames, 13; address of congratulation from the City of London, 13; motors from Balmoral to London, 16 ; signs the Peace Treaty, [185], 17 ; at Newmarket, 17 ; Srnthfield Club Show, 21
- GEORGE, Et Hon. D. L., Prime Minister, [3]; ~~oul~~ demobilisation demonstrations, [6]; ~~on~~ a Coal Mines Commission Bill, [23]; ~~ab~~ the Industrial Conference, [26], [41] ; at the Peace Conference in Pans, [44] [150]; refuses to receive Irish-American envoys, [65]; on the urgent need for economy, [109]; at the City Temple, [115]; on the railway strike, [117]; on the nationalisation of the coal industry, [120]; at Sheffield, [123]; the Caxton Hall, Westminster, [124]; negotiations with railwaymen, [130]; at Glasgow, [140]; on the League of Nations, [155]; return to Paris, [161] ; Order of Merit conferred, 13; bequest to, 14, at the Guildhall, [220]
- GRRMANY.—ARMY, limitation, [161]
- BATTLESHIPS, sunk, [78], [181], 10. Bauer, Ilerr, Prime Minister, [209]
- Bavaria, Civil War, [205], [206]; General Election, [201]; revolution, [204]. Berlin, riot, [194]. Brockdorff-Eantzau, Count, [176]; on the terms of the Peace Treaty, [178]; Foreign Minister, [203], on foreign affairs, [203]; resignation, [209]. CABINET, the new, [203], [209]. Colonial possessions, fate, [157]. Constitution Bill, [2063-208]; passed, [209]. DAVID, Herr, elected President of the Assembly, [203]. Delegates, at Versailles, [166], [168], [176]; plenipotentiary powers, [169] Dernburg, B., Minister of Finance, [203] EBERT, F., Provisional President, [193]; on the terms of peace, [202]; elected President, [203], 3. Eisner, K., assassinated, [204], 3 ; at the Socialist Conference in Berne, [243] Election, General, for the National Assembly, [196], 2; result, [198]; statistics of votes, [199] FOOD, scarcity, [161], result, [192]. HAASE, Herr, wounded, 17 KILMARNOCK, Lord, British Charge d'Affaires, 22. LIEBKNECHT, K., leader of the Spartacists, [194]; character of his speeches, [194]; arrested, [195]; killed, [196], 2; funeral, [196]; Obit., 172 Luxemburg, E., leader of the Spartacists, [194]; arrested, [195]; killed, [196], 2, Obit., 173. MARK, value of the, [210], 54 Muller, H., Minister lor Foreign Affairs, [209]; delegate to Versailles, [209]. Munich, Soviet Congress in, [205]; Spartacists outbreaks, [205], 7 NATIONAL Assembly, opened at Weimar, [202], 3. Naval blockade, results, [192] PEACE Treaty, counter-proposals, [180] ; signed, [181], [209]; terms, [208], 80-108 ; Bill to ratify, [209]. Political parties, principles, [197], [198]; votes, [200]. Prussian Constituent Assembly, elections, [200] EEICHS TAG, mode of election, [197]; number of seats, [199] *note* Rhine Commission, [162]. SAXONY, General Election, [201]. Scheidemanu, P., Prime Minister, [203] Soviets or Councils of Workmen s and Soldiers' Delegates, [193]. Spartacists insurrections, [194], [195], [204], [208] Suffrage, adult, established, [196] THURN and Taxis, Prince A. of, murdered, [206], WAR, cost of the, [210]. War Indemnity, amount, [168] Weimar, new Parliament at, [202] 3. Westarp, Countess, murdered, [206]. Wurtemberg, General Election, [201]
- GIBB, Brig.-Gen. E., in command of the British troops in France, 22
- GIBSON, Major H. G., Obit., 182
- GILES, Dr. P., appointed Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, 16
- GILL, L. U., Obit., 184
- GIVEN, E. C., appointed Director-General of Factories, 14

- GLAZBROOK, Sir R., Director of the National Physical Laboratory, resignation, 15
- GODMAN, F. DU C, Obit., 181
- GOLD, price of, 21
- GORDON, Evv. the Hon. A., Obit, 193
- Lieut-Col A T, Obit., 184
- GORING, C, Obit, 191
- GOUGH, Viscount, Obit., 211
- GODGH-CALTHORPE, Vice-Adm the Hon. Sir S., Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, resignation, 12
- GOULD, N., Obit, 198
- GOVERNMENT Departments, reductions in the staffs, [110]
- GRAIN crops, prices guaranteed, 6
- GRANT, Sir A. H., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
- GREEK.—CYPRUS, union with, [254]. SMYRNA, ceded to, [23b], [237]; troops land at, [236], 8. Stergiadis, M., appointed Governor of Smyrna, [236]
- GREEN, Evv. W. S., Obit, 189
- GREENFIELD, Prof. W., Obit., 201
- GREENWOOD, Sir H., Under-Secretary of State, [3]
- GREER, F. A., appointed Justice of the High Court, 4
- GREY, Lord, on the League of Nations, [76]; mission to Washington, 13; departure, 16
- GRIEVE, Commander G., navigator of the flight across the Atlantic, [70]; reception, [70]
- GRIFFITH-BOSAWEN, Sir A., Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, [3]
- GROSSMITH, W., Obit., 193
- GUARDS, the, march through London, 5
- GUEST, Capt the Hon. F. E., Secretary to the Treasury, [4]
- GUILDHALL, meeting at the, [75]
- HAASE, H., Obit., 215
- HACKER, A., Obit., 216
- HAEOKBL, Prof. E., Obit., 199
- HAIG, Field-Marshal Sir D., Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain, 4; in London, 6; installed Eector at St Andrews University, 8; Freedom of the City of Glasgow, 8; Order of Merit conferred, [76]t9; at the Peace celebrations, [93]; Freedom of Oxford, 11; Wolverhampton, 17
- HAILY, W. M., member of the Executive Council of India, 19
- HALIFAX, Viscountess, Obit., 196
- HALL, A. W., Obit, 190
- HAMILTON, Mrs. R., Obit., 175
- HANDS, W. J., appointed Controller of the Profiteering Department, 14
- HAROOURT, Prof. A. G. V., Obit, 204
- HARINGTON, Eva, Countess of, Obit., 194
- HARMER, Dr. S. F., appointed Director of the Natural History Museum, 4
- HARMSWORTH, C., Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, [3]
- HARRISON, Lieut -Com A L., awarded the VC., 5
- Sir H., gift to the University of Oxford, 10
- HARTLEY, Col. E. B., Obit., 185
- HARVEY, Capt. F., Obit., 198
- HAVERFIELD, Prof F. J., Obit., 208
- HAWKER, H., attempt to fly across the Atlantic, [70]; reception, [70]
- HEATH, Sir T. L., appointed Controller-General of the National Debt Office, 14
- HEDJAZ.—The, [237]. HUSSKIN, King, war with Ibn Sand, [254]. MEDINA, capitulates 1
- HEINWMANN, W., publication of "Java Head," 44; "Jinny the Carrier," 41; "South," 30
- HENDERSON, A., Secretary of the Labour Party, on the number of votes, [11]; at Walworth, [112]; at the Socialist Conference at Berne, [243]
- HENRY, Sir C S, Obit., 221
- D S., Solicitor-General for Ireland, [4]; appointed Attorney-General, 11
- HERBERT, A. P., "The Secret Battle," 42
- HERGESHEIMER, J., "Java Head," 44
- HERTLING, Count, Obit., 167
- HEUVEL, M. van den, at the Peace Conference in Pans, [151]
- HEWART, Sir G., Attorney-General, [4]
- HICHENS, E., "Mrs. Marden," 48
- HICKS, Rt Rev. E. L., Obit., 201
- HIGGS, H., "A Primer of National Finance," 33
- HILL, Suigeon-Captain Sir R., appointed Director-General of the Medical Department in the Navy, 8
- HILLINGDON, Baron, Obit, 187
- HILLS-JOHNES, Lieut-Gen Sir J., Obit., 166
- HODDER & Stoughton, publication of "The Hook of a Naturalist," 30; "A Chan on the Boulevard," 41; "Memories," 25; "Records," 26
- HODGES, F., Secretary of the Miners' Federation, 2; at the Trades Union Congress, [114]
- HOLDEN, Sir E. H., Obit, 197
- HOLME, C., "The Splendid Fairing," 43
- HOOVER, H., on the food supply, [2]
- HOPE, J. F., Financial Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, [3]; Lord Commissioner to the Treasury, [4]
- Sir W. H. St. J., Obit., 203
- HOPKINS, T., Obit., 179
- HORNE, Sir R. S., Minister of Labour, [3], [128]; Chairman of the Industrial Conference, [25], [42]
- HOUSE, Col. E. M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
- HOWARD, Sir E., mission to Poland, [157]; appointed Ambassador to Spain, 15
- HOWSON, G. W. S., Obit, 170
- HUDSON, W. H., "The Book of a Naturalist," 30
- HUGHES, Evv. W. H., Obit, 182
- W. M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [293]
- HUNGARY — ARMISTICE, revisions, [228]; Army, disorganisation, [228]. BATHANY, Count, Foreign Minister, [228]. CONSTITUENT Assembly, elections, [229]. Croatia, union with Jugoslav State, [229]. FOOD, scarcity, [228]. Fnednch, S., Premier, [231]; Minister for War, [231]. GARBAL, A., President of the Bolshevik ministry, [230]. HUSZAR, M., Premier, [231]. INDEPENDENCE, declared, (227). JOSEPH, Archduke, at Budapest, (231).

- KAROLYI, Count, Prime Minister, [228]; resignation, [230]. Kim, B., Commissary for Foreign Affairs, [230]; dictator, [230]; resignation, [231]. PBIDL, M., Premier, [231]; resignation, [231]. EUMANIAN Army, advance on Budapest, [230]; entry, [231]; evacuate, [231] WAR, casualties, F228]
- HUNT, V., ⁴¹ The Last Ditch, * 40
- HURST & Bhckett, publication of "My Memories," 26
- HUTCHINSON & Co., publication of "General Headquarters, 1914-16, and Its Critical Decisions," 27; "My War Memories,] 914-18," 26
- HYDK Park, demonstrations in, [71], [100]; depot for the supply of milk, [117]; review in, 4
- HYLTON, Lord, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, [4]
- HYMANS, M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
- ICRLAND, [249]
- IJUN, Mr., at the Peace Conference in Pans, [151]
- JLLINGWORTH, Et Hon A. H., Postmaster - General, [4]
- IMPORTS, value of, 68
- INDIA.—AFGHANISTAN, Peace with, [256], 13. Amntsar, riots, [261]. Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Bill, [260]. BOMBAY, Macleod, Mr. Justice N., appointed Chief Justice of the High Court, 7. Budget, [259] Burma, reform in, [257] CIVIL Secretariats, Committee on, 15 Craddock, Sir R., scheme of Constitutional reforms in Burma, [258]. DELHI, Conierence of the Ruling Princes, [258]; riots, [2601. FRANCHISE Committee, report, [2611. GOVERNMENT of India Bill, [261]. INFLUENZA, epidemic, [259] MAHSUDS, expedition against, [261]. Meston, Sir J. S., financial report, 259. NATIONAL Congi ess at Bombay, 257). Princes, Conference ot, [258], proposed Council ot, [259]; membership, [261]. EEFORM, report on, [256]. TURKISH Empire, manifesto against the disintegration, [260]
- INDIA Office, committee on the organisation, 2
- INDUSTRIAL Conference, at the Central Hall, Westminster, [25], [42]; meeting of the Provisional Joint Committee, [41]; report of the Sub-Committees, [42]
- INGE, W. E., "Outspoken Essays," 32
- INGLES, Ear-Adm. J., Obit., 208
- INNES, Sir J., Obit., 171
- INSURANCE Companies, fusion between, 18, 70
- INVEROLYDE, Baron; Obit., 202
- IRRLAND.—BELFAST, strike, [8]. Bernard, Most Rev. J. H., appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, 9. CORK station, ra d on, [146]. DUBLIN Horse Show, 14. FRENCH, Lord, attempt on his lite, [146], 21. HENRY, D., appointed Attorney-General, 11. IRISH-American envoys, in Dublin, [65]; report, [771- Irish Centre Party, formed, [7]. KILLARNEY, fight at, [1461 LABOUR disturbances, [57]. Lawlessness, [109]; measures against, [136] Limerick, strike, [57]. MAOPHERSON, J. I., at Dublin, [21]. NEWSPAPERS, suppression, [110], [146], PARLIAMENT, republican, [7]. Phoenix Park, outrage, [147]. Police, outrages on, [109], [110], Q22], [145], [146] Press censorship abolished, 14. Provincial General Committee, [7]EECONSTRUCTION pol Fein Parliament, special session, [65]; Congres-* at Dublin, [7]; increase of crimes, [108]; suppression of Parliament, [HO]; outrages, [122]; measures against, [146]; Sinn Feiners, escape trom gaol, 3 ULSTER, celebration of the Battle of the Boyne, [951 Unionist Anti-Partition League, [81 WILSON, D. M., appointed Solicitor-General, 11 Wireless communication with Canada, 5
- IRON FOUNDERS, Conference at Manchester, [116]; strike, [116], [120], [138], [148]
- IRVING, II B., Obit, 211
- ISLE OF MAN, Fry, Major-Gen W., appointed Lieut -Governor, 4
- TSVOLSKY, A P, Obit., 202
- ITALY—ADRIATIC question, [160], [169]-[172], [189]. BISSOLATI, Signor, resignation, [187], [188] Buchanan, Sir G., Ambassador, 15. CABINET, reconstructed, [189] D'ANNUNZIO, expedition to Fiume, [190], entry, [191], 15; refuses to evacuate, [191]. Deputies, Chamber of, dissolved, 16
- EARTHQUAKES, [191]. Election, General, result, [191] IMPERIALISTS, demands, [187]. JUGO-SLAVS, friction between, [189]. LONDON, Treaty of, [187]. NITTI, Signor, resignation, [189], forms a Coalition Ministry, [190] ORLANDO, Signor, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151], on the Adriatic question, [171], [190]; resignation, [190]; elected President of the Chamber, [192]. PARLIAMENT, the new, 19. " Partito Popolare Italiano," [189]EEFORM Bill, [190]. SCIALOJA, Signor, Foreign Minister, [192] Sonmmo, Baron, at the Peace Conference in Pans, [151] Stromboli, eruption, 9 TITTONI, Signor, Foreign Minister, [190]. WAR, casualties, [191]; cost oi the, T191] Wilson, President, in Rome, [188], 1
- Vittorio Emanuele, receives President and Mrs. Wilson, 1; signs the Treaty of Peace, [185], 16; opens Parliament, [192]
- IVEAGH, Viscount, Earldom conferred, 13
- JACKSON, Sir J., Obit., 220
- JAPAN.—DIET, Imperial, opened, [265]. HARA, K., Prime Minister, [265] KOREA, reforms in, [266]. LEAGUE of Nations, amendment on racial equality, [164], [174], [266], [293] MAKINO, Baron, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]; on the principle of racial equality, [164], [174] SIBERIA, troops withdrawn from, [266]. TERANOHI, Marshal, Prime Minister, resign^tion,

- [265] UOHIDA, Viscount Y, Foreign Minister, [265]; on foreign policy, [265]; racial equality, [266]
- JARDINE, Sir J., Obit., 189
- JELlicoe, Adm. of the Fleet, Lord, promotion, 6; "The Grand Fleet, 1914-16," 24; visit to New Zealand, [297]
- JERRAN, Adm. Sir T., G C M G. conferred, 9
- JERSEY, Earl of, Lord-ir-Waiting, [4]
- JoFFRR, Marshal, in London, 11; return to France, 11
- JOHN, H R H Prince, Obit., 2, 173
- JOHNSON, Sir B., Director-General of Factories, resignation, 14
- JONES, Sir E., Coal Controller, 4, resignation, 17
- H S., elected Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, 21
- J. T., Lord Commissioner to the Treasury, [4]
- Sir E., honorary consultant to the Ministry of Pensions, 5
- JOURNALISTS, Allied, visit to London, 17
- JUGO-SLAV STATR—ADRIATIC question, [160], [169]-[172] CROATIA, union with, [229] D'ANNUNZIO, seizes Flume, [234], 15. Davidovitch, M., Premier, [234] FIUME, Italian bands enter, [234], 15. ITALY, friction with, [234]. Korosi'k, M., Vice-Premier, [234]. POLITCH, M., Premier, [234]; resignation, [234] SERBIA, union with, [234]
- JUTLAND, Battle of, anniversary, 9
- KARKARIA, Prof. E P., Obit, 192
- KAYE-SMITH, S., "Tamarisk Town," 39
- KEEBLE, Br F. W., appointed Sherardian Professor of Botany at Oxford, 22
- KELLAWAY, F G., Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, [8]
- KENNAWAY, Sir J., Obit, 207
- KENT, Sir S., Controller-General of Civil demobilisation, resignation, 6
- KER, Lieut. A K., awarded the V C., 15
- KILMARNOCK, Lord, appointed British Charge d'Affaires m Berlin, 22
- KING, Dr L. W., Obit, 203
- KINLOCH, Major-Gen. A A., Obit., 174
- KINMEL Military Camp, not at, [41], 4
- KLOTZ, L. L., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
- KNIGHTHOODS, conferred, 1, 4, 7, 13, Greer, F. A., 4; Smith, Lieut. K., 22; Smith, Capt E., 22
- KNOWLING, Eev. Canon B J, Obit., 195
- KNOX, Lieut-Col. A., K.C.B. conferred, 8
- KRAMARZH, Dr., at the Peace Conference m Paris, [151]
- LABOUR, Conference at Washington, 18; grievances on demobilisation, [5]; conference at Southport, [78]-[80]; unrest, result, [13], 64
- LAKINO, Sir G., Obit, 217
- LAMY, E V., Obit, 171
- LANSING, E., at the Peace Conference m Paris, [150]
- LAURIER, Sir W., Obit., [284], 179
- LAW, Et. Hon. B., Lord Privy Seal, [3], [1281]; at the Guild all, [75]; Glasgow, [140]; the Peace Conference in Pans, [150]; elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, 17
- LAWRENCE, Eev. T. J., Obit., 202
- LEAGUE of Nations, [1], [13], [76], Q54], 7; meeting at the Mansion House, [123]; the Covenant, [158]-[160], [164], 72-80. Geneva, the capital, [167], 74; revisions, [173]-[175].
- LEBAS, Sir H., libel action, 6
- LEE, Lord, President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, [1281] 14
- Brig-Gen. C. F., Obit., 206
- LEEKE, Et. Eev J C, Obit., 218
- LEPROY, Prof A. H. F., Obit, 184
- Rt. Rev. G. A., Obit., 166
- LEFTWICH, Dr. R. W., Obit., 186
- LEIGHTON, Major Sir B. B. M., Obit., 174
- LEONCAVALLO, E., Obit., 63, 200
- LETTEBRIDGE, Sir E., Obit., 179
- LRTTLAND, [226]
- LEVER, Sir H., Financial Secretary to the Treasury, [4]
- LEWIS, J. H., Secretary to the Board of Education, [3]
- LIEBKNECHT, K., Obit., [196], 2, 172
- LILLY, W. S., Obit., 205
- LIMA, Sir B. L., Obit., 182
- LINCOLN, Bishop of, Obit., 201
- LISLE, Lieut.-Gen Sir H de, appointed to the Western Command, 8
- LITHUANIA, [226]
- LIVERPOOL, not at, [100]
- LLOYD, C. H., Obit., 63, 211
- Lieut.-Gen. Sir F., Food Commissioner, 20
- Sir W. F., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [287]
- LLOYD'S Bank and the West Yorkshiro Bank amalgamation, 15
- LOCK, Dr. W., elected Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, 19
- LONDON County Council, Budget, 8; Downham, Lord, elected Chairman, 5; elections, 4
- electric light, threatened stoppage, [10]
- Joint City and Midland Bank, and the Clydesdale Bank, amalgamation, 20, 70
- Lord Mayor, election, 16; show, 19
- temperature in, 13; damage caused by a gale, 20
- London Mercury*, 23
- LONDONDERRY, Marchioness of, Obit, 184
- LONG, Et. Hon. W., First Lord of the Admiralty, [3], [128]
- LONGMANS, Green & Co., publication of "The Control of the Drink Trade in Britain," 33; "The Feeding of Nations," 34; "Impressions that Remained," 36; Modern Science and Materialism," 31; "Mount Music," 40; "A Naturalist's Sketch Book," 29; "Outspoken Essays," 32
- LORD Mayor, election, 16; show, 19
- LOVETT, Brig.-Gen. A. C, Obit., 192
- LOWTHBR, Et. Hon. J. W., re-elected Speaker, [12], 8
- LUCRES, E., Obit., 179
- LUDEDORPP, General, "My War Memories, 1914-18," 26
- LUGARD, Sir F., Governor-General of Nigeria, resignation, [272],)

- LUXRMBURG.-~ADELAIDB, Grand Duchess, abdication, [289], 2. CHARLOTTE, Adelgonde, Princess, Grand Duchess, [240], 2; marriage, [240]ELECTION, General, result, [240]. GOVERNMENT, Bill for the future form of, [240]; referendum, [240]
- LUXEMBURG, E., Obit., [196], 2, 173
- LITTON, Earl of, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, [8]
- M., E., "Georgian Poetry, 1918-19" edited by, 37
- MACALISTER, Br A., Obit., 205
- MACANDREW, Major-Gen Sir H. J. M., Obit, 196
- MAODONALD, D H., Obit., 194
- MACDONALD, Et Hon Sir J. H. A., Obit, 191
- MACDOUGALL, Sir J. P., Obit., 184
- MAOGREOR, Sir W., Obit., 195
- MACKENZIE, J. E. N., Obit., 182
- MACLAY, Sir J., Minister of Shipping [3]
- MACLEAN, Sir D., elected Chairman of non-Coalition Liberals, 3
- MACLBOD, Mr. Justice N., appointed Chief Justice of the High Court, Bombay, 7
- MACMILLAN & Co., publication of "Christopher and Columbus," 42, "A History of the French Novel," 38; "Scottish Literature" 38
- MACNAMARA, E. t. Hon T. J., Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, [3]
- MACPHERSON, Et. Hon. J. I., Chief Secretary for Ireland, [4], [128]
- MACREADY, Gen. Sir N., Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Force, [43], conflict with the Police, [43]
- MAETERLINCK, G. L., "Maeterlinck's Dogs," 87
- MAHAPPY, Ev. Sir J. P., Obit, 190
- MAHEAGUE, Alderman, J., Obit., 186
- MAITLAND, E. A., Obit., 191
- MAKINO, Baron, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]; on the principle of racial equality, [164], [174]
- MALET, L., "Deadham Hard," 43
- MALTA.—PLUMER, Gen Sir H., appointed Governor, 5
- MANSION House, meeting at, [123]
- MARLING, Sir C. M., appointed Envoy Extraordinary to Denmark, 4
- MARRIAGRS—Astor, Mrs. J., 9, Bourbon-Parma, Prince F. of, [240]; Cambridge, Lady H., 15; Connaught, Princess P. of, 4; Dufferin and Ava, Flora, Lady, 21; Gibbs, Major E., 15; Howe, Lord, 21; Ludlow, Lord, 16; Luxemburg, Grand Duchess C. A., [240]; Eamsay, Com. A. E. M., 4, Kibblesdale, Lord, 9; Wernher, Lady,
- MARTINEAU, G., Obit., 177
- MARY, Queen, at Birmingham, 8; Covent Garden Opera, 8; the Derby, 9; Leicester, 10; takes part in a river procession on the Thames, 13; motors from Balmoral to London, 16; at Newmarket, 17
- MASSEY, W. F., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [296]
- MATHER, Ev. Dr. A. H., Obit., 220
- [MATSUI, M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
- MATTHEWS, E., publication of "Unhappy Far-Off Things," 37
- MAXSE, Lieut.-Gen. Sir I., appointed to the Northern command, 6
- [MAX WELL- WILLSHIRE, Sir A. E. T., Obit., 189
- MAY, Adm. of the Fleet, Sir W., retirement, 13
- MOCALL, Sir J., Obit, 194
- MOCALLUM, Col. Sir H., Obit., 217
- MCCURDY, C. A., Secretary to the Ministry of Food, [3]
- MCKAY, W., Obit, 191
- MCNAIR, A. D., appointed Secretary of the Coal Industry Commission, 4
- [MEAT, price of, reduced, 3; freed from registration, 21
- MERCIER, C. A., Obit., 205
- Mercure de France*, literary review, 28
- MERRICK, L., "A Chair on the Boulevard," 41
- MESSER, Inspector-General A. B., Obit., 210
- MESTON, Sir J., Member of the Executive Council of India, resignation, 19, peerage conferred, 19
- MBTHUEN, Field-Marshal Lord, Governor of Malta, resignation, 5
- & Co., publication of "Deadham Hard," 43; "Maeterlinck's Dogs," 37; "A Primer of National Finance," 33; "The Quemls," 41; "The Secret Battle," 42, "September," 41; "Up the Rebels," 42
- MEXICO.—JENKINS, W. O., kidnapped, [288] RAILWAY construction, [288]. UNITED States, friction between, [288]. VILLA, "General," bandits, [288]; dispersed, [289]
- MICHELHAM, Baron, Obit., 169
- MILK, control removed, 22
- MILLS & Boon, publication of "The Splendid Fairing," 43
- MILNRR, Viscount, Colonial Secretary, [3], [128]; mission to Egypt, [66], [136], [274], 16
- MINERS' Federation, conferences, [111]; at Southport, [6], [22]; Unity House, Euston, [25]; Westmins Keswick, [97]; with the Government; [98]; at Sheffield, [98]; Cardiff, [137]; demands, [7], [22]; strike, [7]; negotiations, [45]
- MOFFAT, J. B., Obit., 173
- MOND, Sir A., First Commissioner of Works, [4]
- MONIZ, Dr. E., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
- MONRO, Sir C, G.C.S.I. conferred, 9
- MONTAGU, Et. Hon. E. S., Secretary of State for India, [3], [1281; at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
- MONTRNGRO.—SALIS, Count de, mission, [237]. Skupshina, meeting, [237]
- Nicholas, King of, dethroned, [237]
- MONTGOMERY-MOORE, The Hon. Lady, Obit., 193
- MOORE, Gen. Sir A. M., Obit, 175
- MORANT, Sir R., appointed First Secretary of the Ministry of Health, 5
- I MORISON, T. B., Solicitor-General for Scotland, [4] ^

- MORLEY, Lord, bequest to, 14
MORTON, Lieut.-Gen. B. W. D., Obit., 201
MOWATT, Et. Hon. Sir F., Obit., 217
MOWBRAY, Eev. Sir E. L., Obit., 177
MUNRO, Sir H., Obit., 185
— J. A. E., elected Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, 19
— Rt. Hon. E., Secretary for Scotland, [4], [128]
MURRAY, Lieut.-Gen. Sir A., promoted General, 15
— C. F., Obit., 175
— J., publication of, "Falklands, Jutland, and the Bight," 29
— Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. W., Obit., 212
MUSCOVY, [215]. See Russia
MUSIC—Retrospect of: BEECHAM Company, 18, 61, 62. CHAMBER music concerts, 63. Compositions, 63. Concerts, 62. Covent Garden performances, 61. MUSICAL magazines, 63. OPERAS, 60-62. PROMENADE concerts, 62. QUEEN'S Hall Symphony concerts, 62. E O Y A L Carl Rosa Company, 61. Eoyal Choral Society, 63. Eoyal College of Music, 62. Eoyal Philharmonic Society, 62. Eussian Ballet, 61. SUNDAY concerts, 63
NAIR, T. M., Obit., 197
NAPIER, Hon. M., Obit., 203
NATIONAL Provincial and Union Bank of England and Messrs Coutt, amalgamation, 22, 70
NATIONS, League of, [154]. See League
NAUMANN, F., Obit., 204
NAVAL Force, engagement near Kronstadt, 14
NAVY, increase of pay, [6]
NEAL, A., appointed Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, 20
NELSON, Sir E. M., Obit., 177
NETHERLANDS, THR.—BELGIAN claims to territory, [238], [241]. Budget, [242]. KARNEBEEK, Jonkheer van, on the Belgian claims, [241]. LIMBURG, South, loyalty, [241]. PARLIAMENT, opened, [242]. RUSSIAN Soviet Government, relations with, [242]
— Wilhelmina, Queen, reception in South Limburg, [241], opens Parliament, [242]
NEW ZEALAND.—ALCOHOLIC liquor, prohibition, [298]. BUDGET, [296]. CABINET, lecon.struction, [297]. Coalition Ministry, [296]. ELECTION, General, result, [298]. Expenditure, estimates, [296]. JELLICOE, Lord, visit to, [297]. LIVERPOOL, Lord, Governor-General, opens Parliament, [297]. MASSEY, W. F., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [296]; return, [297]. PARLIAMENT, opened, [297]; dissolved, [298]. Peace Treaty, ratification, [297]. WAR casualties, [296]. Ward, Sir J., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [296]; return, [297]; resignation, [297]. Wellington, Congress of Liberals, [297]
NEWFOUNDLAND.—CABINET, reconstructed, [287]; resign, [288]. CASHIN, M. P., Prime Minister, [287]. ELECTION, General, [288]. INFLUENZA, epidemic, [288]. LLOYD, Sir W. F., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [287]. SEALING industry, [288]. Squires, E., Prime Minister, [289]. WALES, Prince of, at St. John's, [288]
NEWMAN, Sir G., appointed Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, 3
NICHOLSON, Sir W., appointed Third Sea Lord, 10
NICODA, J. L., Obit., 63
NORWAY—ALCOHOLIC liquors, prohibition, result of plebiscite, [258].
ELECTION, General, [252]. KUNDSKN, Mr., Prime Minister, resignation, [253]; resumes office, [253]. SHIPPING, losses, [253]. Spitsbergen, grant of sovereignty over, [254], 16
— Maud, Queen of, in London, 18
NOVELU, E., Obit., 176
OAKES, Sir A. H., Obit., 202
OBITUARY, 166-221. See under separate names
O'GRADY, J., at Copenhagen, 19
OIL, struck at Chesterfield, 9
OMAN, Prof. C., "The Outbreak of the War of 1914-18," 28
OPPENHEIM, Prof. L. F. L., Obit., 209
ORLANDO, Signor V. E., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]; on the League of Nations, [159]; the Adriatic question, [171]
ORMONDE, Marq. of, Obit., 214
OSLRR, Sir W., Obit., 221
OXFORD University, Greek, decision on, 10; gift to, 10
PADBREWSKI, I. J., Prime Minister of Poland, [223], 2
PALGRAVE, Sir R. H. I., Obit., 175
PARIS, Mdme. La Comtesse de, Obit., 189
PARKER, F., Obit., 63
— J., Lord Commissioner to the Treasury, [4]
* PARKER, Sir E. E., Obit., 194
PARLIAMRNT.—Opened, [12], 3; King's Speech, [12]; Easter recess, [57]; Ee-assembled, [57], [80], [125], 7, 11, 17; Whitsuntide recess, [74], [76]; adjourned, [108]
ADDRESS, debate on, in the House of Commons, [12]
BUDGET, [59]-[61], 65; Indian, [69]
CABINET Committee on Government of Ireland, members, [122]; meeting, [122]
COMMONS, House of, new rules of procedure, [16]
FOOD, Ministry of, vote, [63]
LABOUR, Ministry of, vote, [57]; Party, [51]
MINISTRY, the new, [3], 1
PEACE Cabinet, members, [128]
SECRET Service, Foreign, grant to, [21]
SHIPPING, Ministry of, vote, [67]
SPEAKER, elected, [12], 3
SUPPLY, Committee of, [21], [63], [102]
PARLIAMRNTARY SPRRCHRS.—ADDRESS, Adamson, W., [121]; Clynes, J. E., [13]; George, D. L., [12]

- PA RLIAMBNTARY SPEECH ES, *cont.* 1
- AGRICULTURE, development of, Prothero, R. E., [63]
- AIR Force Estimates, Benn, Capt W., [33]; Seely, Gen., [33]
- Ministry, Churchill, W., [14], I [1431; Law, B., [143]; Seely, Gen., I [143]
- Navigation Bill, Brabazon, Col. M., [18]; Seely, Gen., [18]
- ALIENS Restriction Bill, Bottomley, H., J [55]; Geddes, Sir A., [130]; Greenwood, Sir H., [55]; Guineas, Lieut-Col. W., [131]; Law, B., [126]; Maclean, Sir D., [55]; Newton, Lord, [143]; Shortt, E., [54], [125]; Tillet, B., [55]; Wild, Sir E., [55]
- ARMY Estimates, Churchill, W., [26]-[28]
- expnditure, Churchill, W., [106]
- BANK, balances, dormant, Bottomley, H., [69]
- BOLSHEVIKS, Cecil, Lord R., [132]; Churchill, W., [131]; Ward, Col., [131]
- BONDS, issue of, Bottomley, H., [140]
- BUDGET, Amery, Lieut.-Col., [61], Arnold S., [61]; Bottomley, H., [61]; Chamberlain, A., [59], 65, Maclean, Sir D., [61]; Shaw, C., [62]; Whitaker, Sir T., [61]
- CAPITAL levy, Acland, F. B., [68]; Chamberlain, A., [68], Clynes, J. R., [68]; Maclean, Sir D., [68]
- CARSON, Sir E., speech, Cecil, Lord II, [96]; Clynes, J. R., [96]; Hewart, Sir G., [96]; Law, B., [96]
- CHURCH Enabling Bill, Beauchamp, Sn E., [131]; Birkenhead, Lord, [85]; Broad, F. A., [131]; Canterbury, Archbishop of, [73], Cecil, Lord R., [131]; Crewe, Lord, [84]; Haldane, Lord, [73]; Manchester, Bishop of, [85]; Parmoor, Lord, [73]; Salisbury, Lord, [85]
- CIVIL Service Estimates, Baldwin, S., [28]; Keilaway, F. G., [28]; Maclean, Sir D., [28]
- COAL control, Brace, W., [134], [135]; Geddes, Sir A., [135]
- Industry Bill, Adarson, W., [23], [90], [1144]; Brace, W., [24], [90]; Cecil, Lord R., [90]; Geddes, Sir A., I [173], [891], [90], [1143]; George, D. L., [23]; Hartshorn, V., [89], [1144]; Law, B., [89], [90], [1144]; Scott, L., [1141]
- Mines Commission, Law, B., [46]
- rise in the price of, Geddes, Sir A., [89], [90]; Law, B., [89]
- CURRENCY, inflation, Chamberlain, A., [145]
- Boos' Protection Bill, Cheyne, Sir W., [64]; Geddes, Sir A., [64]; Greenwood, Sir H., [64]
- DOUGLAS-PENNANT, case of, Law, B., [92]; Salisbury, Lord, [93]; Stanhope, Lord, [92]; Weir, Lord, [93]
- ECONOMY. National, Banbury, Sir F., [37]; Chamberlain, A., [37]; Clynes, J. fc, [38]; B'Abernon, Lord, [38]; Faringdon, Lord, [38]; Lambert, G., [37]; Milner, Lord, [38]; Pickering OolAW]; Sykes, Sir C., [38]
- EGYPT, disorders in, Curzon, Lord, [66], [136]; Harmsworth, C., [67]
- ELECTRICITY Supply Bill, Barnes, Major, [64]; Geddes, Sir A., [184]; Shortt, k, [64], [81]
- EMPLOYMENT schemes, Home, Sir R., [72]
- EXPENDITURE, reduction, George, D. L., [108]
- FEDERAL devolution, Long, W., [72]; Wood, Maior, [72]
- FINANCIAL position, Buckmaster, Lord, [126]; Chamberlain, A., [106], [127]; Clynes, J. E., [127]; George, D. L., [107], [128]; Milner, Lord, [126]
- FOOD, Ministry of, Roberts, G., [63]
- GOVERNMENT, methods of, Tryon, Major, [106]
- HEALTH, Ministry of, Addison, Dr., [19], [50]; Carson, Sir E., [19]; Cheyne, Sir W., [19], Maclean, Sir D., [19]; Thomas, J. H., [19], [50]
- HOUSING Bill, Addison, Dr., [51], [142]; Astor, Maior, [52]; Birkenhead, Lord, [81]; Davison, Mr., [52]; Downham, Lord, [81]; Gilbert, J. D., [52]; Morgan, Major W., [52], Pretyma, E. G., [52]; Royds, Col., [52]; Thomson, T., [142]; Walters, Sir T., [52], [142]
- IMPORTS and exports, restrictions, Bigland, A., [33]; Geddes, Sir A., [32], George, D. L., [108]; Maclean, Sir I., [32]; Samuel, A. M., [33]; Sykes, Sir C., [38]
- INDIA, Government of, Bill, Montagu, E. S., [142]
- INDIAN Budget, Montagu, E. S., [69]
- INDUSTRIAL Court* Bill, Banbury, Sir F., [129]; Clynes, J. E., [129]; Home, Sir R., [129]
- IRELAND, Local Government Bill, O'Neill, Major, [36]; Samuels, A., [36]
- policy, Birkenhead, Lord, [95]; Cecil, Lord H., [65], Devlin, J., [61]; Haitshorn, V., [65]; MacDonnell, Lord, [95]; Macpherson, J. I., [65], Shanlon, Lord, [95]
- reconstruction policy, Carson, Sir R., [49]; Devlin, J., [49]; Macpherson, J. I., [49]; O'Connor, T. P., [49]
- Reform of the Government Bill, Carson, Sir E., [1481]; George, D. L., [147] J Henderson, A., [118], Maclean, Sir D., [148]
- LABOUR unrest, Birkenhead, Lord, [16]; Brace, W., [14]; Crawford, Lord, [16], Emmott, Lord, [16], Lansdowne, Lord, [16]; Law, B., [15]; Leverhulme, Lord, [16]; Seddon, J. A., [15]; Thomas, J. H., [15]
- LAND, Acquisition of, Bill, Hewart, Sir G., [53]; Maclean, Sir D., [53]; Scott, L., [53]; Smith, W. E., [53]; Winfrey, Sir R., [53]
- Settlement Bill, Griffith-Boscawen, Sir A., [54]; Macleau, Sir D., [54]; Weigall, Col., [54]; Winfrey, Sir R., [54]
- LEAGUE of Nations, Cecil, Lord R., [56]
- LOCAL Authorities (Enabling) Bill, Bridgeman, W. C., [67]; McLean, N., [67]; Samuel, S., [67]

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES, *emit.*

MILITARY Service Bill, Carson, Sir E., [51]; Churchill, W., [51]; Clynes, J. R., [51]; Curzon, Lord, [51]; Guest, Capt., [50]; Thome, G., [50]

MINERS' demands, Adamson, W., [24]; George, D. L., [23]; Hartshorn, V., [24]

MINISTRIES and Secretariats Bill, Law, B., [102]; Maclean, Sir D., [102]

MUNITIONS, work of the Ministry, Kellaway, P. G., [80]

NAVAL, Military, and Air Force Service Bill, Adamson, W., [30], Benn, Capt. W., [81]; Churchill, W., [30]; Maclean, Sir D., [31]

NAVY Estimates, Curzon, Lord, [30]; Davidson, Sir J., [143]; Lambert, G., [30], Long, W., [29], [143]

PATENTS and Designs Bill, Geddes, Sir A., [92]

PEACE Conference, Adamson, W., [57]; Churchill, W., [75]; Clynes, J. R., [57]; George, D. L., [12], [13], [55]; Lowther, Col C., [48]

—terms, Law, B., [66]

—Treaty, Adamson, W., [84], Barnes, G. N., [94]; Cecil, Lord R., [94]; Clynes, J. R., [94], Devlin, J., [94]; George, D. L., [82] (84) [94]; Maclean, Sir J., [94]

PENSIONERS, number and cost, Worthmington-Evans, Sir L., [101]

POLICE Bill, Clynes, J. R., [99]; Shortt, E., [62], [71], [99]

POST Office, work of the, Illingworth, A. H., [91]

PROCEDURE, new rules of, Adamson, W., [17]; Hewart, Sir G., [17], [18], Law, B., [17], [18]; Maclean, Sir D., [17]; Wolmer, Lord, [17]

PROFITTEERING Bill, Archel-Shee, Lieut.-Col., [105]; Cecil, Lord R., [104]; Geddes, Sir A., [103], [104]; Home, Sir R., [103]; Jones, K., [103]; Kenworthy, Com., [104]; Law, B., [104]; Lowe, Sir F., [104]; Milner, Lord, [105]; Thomas, J. H., [103]; Thome, G. R., [104]; Wignall, J., [105]; Wilson, T., [104]; Winterton, Lord, [105]

RAILWAYS, nationalisation, Brace, W., [86]; Cecil, Lord R., [86], Geddes, Sir E., [86]; Scott, L., [86]; Shortt, E., [86]

RENT Restrictions Bill, Clyde, J. A., [34]; Clynes, J. R., [34]; Fisher, W. H., [33]; Graeme, Major L., [34]; Lorden, J. W., [34]; Rawlmsom, J. F. P., [34]; Rowlands, J., [34]; Wood, Sir K., [34]

RUSSIA, situation in, Churchill, W., [69]; George, D. L., [132]; Maclean, Sir D., [132]; Ward, Col., [133]

SCOTLAND, Single Chamber Bill, Cowan, Sir H., [66]

SECRET Service, Foreign, grant to, Baldwin, S., [21]; Shaw, T., [21]

SHIPPING, Ministry of, estimates, Geddes, Sir E., [68]; Wilson, Col. L., [67]

SHIPYARDS, sale of, Wilvon, Col. L., [70]

SLOUGH motor works, Buckmaster, Lord, [40]; Churchill, W., [40]; Desborough,

Lord, [39]; Du Pre, Col., [40]; Inverforth, Lord, [39]; Maclean, Sir D., [40]; Middleton, Lord, [40]; Milner, Lord, [40]; Salisbury, Lord, [40]; Sykes, Sir C., [40]

L'RADE Practices Bill, Clynes, J. R., [72]; Home, Sir R., [72]; Wood, Major, [72]

TRANSPORT Bill, Brace, W., [36]; Carson, Sir E., [36]; Crewe, Lord, [87]; Geddes, Sir E., [35], [86]; Joynson-Hicks, W., [20], [36]; Law, B., [36], [48], [85]; Lytton, Lord, [87]; O'Connor, T. P., [35]; Raeburn, Sir W., [36]; Salisbury, Lord, [87]; Shortt, E., [19]; Thomas, J. H., [36]; Wignall, J., [85]

TREASURY, regulation, Baldwin, S., [20]; Carson, Sir E., [20]; Dalziel, Sir H., [20]; Law, B., [20], [21]

UNEMPLOYMENT donation, Clynes, J. R., [58], [134]; Gretton, Col. J., [58]; Home, Sir R., [58], [133], [143]; Lambert, G., [59]; Maclean, Sir D., [134]; Wardle, G. J., [38]

VICTORY Bonds, Chamberlain, A., [74]; Clynes, J. R., [74], Maclean, Sir D., [74]

WAR graves, Cecil, Lord R., [14 >]

—Indemnities, Jones, K., [48], Law, B., [28], [49]; Lowther, Col. C., [48]; Macmaster, D., [49]; Nicholl, Sir E., [48]; Samuel, A. L., [49]

—leaders, grants to, Adamson, W., [102]; George, D. L., [102]; Jones, J., [103]

WHEAT, subsidy, Cautley, H. S., [29]; Griffith-Boscawen, Sir A., [29]; Maclean, Sir D., [29]

WOMEN'S Emancipation Bill, Adamson, W., [50]; Addison, Dr., [50]; Astor, Major, [87]; Lunn, W., [50]

PASLOW, Lieut. F., awarded the V.C., 9 PASHITCH, M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]

PATERSON, J. E., Obit., 187

PATTI, Mdme. A., Obit., 63, 207. See Cederstrom

PAUL, Stanley, publication of "The Last Ditch," 40

PEACE celebrations, [93], 12

- Conference in Paris, [12], [55], [149]-[185], 2; members, [150], [169]; preliminary session, [151]; general principles, [152]; meetings, [152], [154], [167], [172]; opened, [153]; Prmkipo Proposal, [154]; League of Nations, [154]; Commission on reparation, [156]; authors of the war, [156]; labour convention, [156], 124; communications, [156]; Colonial possessions of Germany, [157]; mission to Poland, [157]; dilatory methods, [162]; Council of Four, [162]; Polish Commission, [166]; social reform clauses, [167]; German delegates, [168], [169], 8; Adriatic question, [169], [172]; "Council of Three," [176]; meeting of the Executive Committee, [176]; terms of the Peace Treaty with Germany, [177], 80-108; negotiation, [180]; German counter-proposals, [180]; "Council of Five," [185]

- PEACE Treaty with Germany, signed at Versailles, [81], [181], 11; Proclamation, ceremony of reading, [82]; terms, [177], 80-108; with Poland, [181]; 88-90; Austria, [184], [213], 15, 109-125; Bulgaria, [185], [235], 125-131
- PEARS, Sir E. Obit., 218
- PEASE, Rt. Hon. H. P., Assistant Postmaster-General, [4]
- PECKOVER, Baron, Obit., 213
- PEEL, Viscount, Under-Secretary for War, [3]
- PEERAGES conferred, Askwith, Sir G., 4; Chalmers, Sir R., 6; Cochrane, Hon. T., 7; Dewar, Sir T., 7; Forster, H. W., 20; Hermon-Hodge, Sir R., 7; Meston, Sir J., 19; Prothero, R. E., 2; Roberts, Sir J., 7; Sinha, Sir S. P., 2; Weir, A., 2
- PENSIONERS, number and cost, [101]
- PERSHING, Gen. J. J., in London, 12; receives the Freedom of London, [93]; at the Peace celebrations, [93]; return to New York, 14
- PERSIA.—GREAT BRITAIN, Treaty with, [255]; loan from, [255], Moshaver-el-Mamalek, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [255]
- Shah of, in London, [255], 18; leaves England, 18
- PESSOA, Senhor E., in London, [290], 9, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151], [289]
- PETAVAL, Prof. J. E., appointed Director of the National Physical Laboratory, 15
- PETHERICK, H., Obit., 63, 184
- PHILIPS, J. S. R., Obit., 214
- PICHON, S., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
- PINERO, Lady, Obit., 194
- PLAZA, Dr. V. de la, Obit., 203
- PLUMER, Gen. Sir H., appointed Governor of Malta, 5; promoted Field-Marshal, 13
- POETRY Bookshop, The, publication of, "Georgian Poetry, 1918-19," 37
- PoinCARÉ, M., opens the Peace Conference in Paris, [152]; inaugural address, [153]; at Buckingham Palace, [187], 19, installed Lord Rector of Glasgow University, 19; return to Paris, 19
- Mdme, at Buckingham Palace, [187],
- POLAND.—ALLIED mission to, [157]. Army, organisation, [223] BOL-SHEVICS, war with, [224]. COALITION Ministry, [223]. Constitution Bill, [224]. ELECTION, General, [223]. FRONTIER Commission, report, [166]. GALICIA, Eastern, claims to, (224) MORACZEWSKI, M., Premier, (223); resignation, [223]. NATIONAL Council, formed, [223]. PADEREWSKI, I., Premier, [223], 2; Foreign Minister, [223]; resignation, [225]. Peace Treaties, [181], [224], 88-90. Pilsudski, General, Provisional President, [223]. Political situation, [222] REPUBLICAN, Government, attempt to form, [222]. SKULSKI, M., Premier, [225]. UKRAINTIA, war with, [221], [224]
- POLICE Force, discontent, [43], [62]; concessions to, [71]; report of the Committee, [94]; strike, [99], [100]
- Force, Special, withdrawn, 2•
- Union of, demands, [8]; non-recognition, [43], [62], [71]; meeting in Trafalgar Square, [62]; manifesto, [99]
- POLITIS, M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
- POLLOCK, Sir E., Solicitor-General, [4]
- PORTE, Lieut.-Col. J. C., Obit., 213
- PORTER, Rt. Hon. Sir A. M., Obit., 171
- PORTMAN, Viscount, Obit., 211
- PORTUGAL.—ALMEIDA, Dr. d. elected President, [249]. Antunes, J. C. de C. S., Provisional President, [248]. BARBOZA, T., Prime Minister, [248]; resignation, [248]. CONCEIRO, Senhor, in Command of the Royalists, [248]. PABS, S., Provisional President, [248]; assassinated, [248]. Pereira, D., Prime Minister, [249]. RELVAS, J., Prime Minister, [248]; resignation, [248]. Royalist insurrection, [248]. WAR, cost of the, [249]
- POTTER, F., Obit., 197
- POYNTER, Sir E. J. Obit., 198
- PRATT, J. W., Lord Commissioner to the Treasury, [4]
- PRENDERGAST, Major-Gen. G. A., Obit., 196
- PRICES, retail, estimate of, 16, 18
- PRIVY Councillors, Home, Sir R. S., 2; Weir, A., 2; Worthington Evans, Sir L., 2
- PROFITEERING, result of, [137]
- PROTHERO, Rt. Hon. R. E., President of the Board of Agriculture, [3]
- PUBLIC Trustee, appointment of, 3
- PCJREPOY, R. D., Obit., 194
- RACES, Derby, 9; Grand National, 5; Newmarket, 17; Oaks, 9; St. Leger, 15
- RAILWAY, freight charges, 22
- strike, [100], [117], 16, 64; negotiations, [118]; terms of settlement, [118], 16
- RAILWAYMEN, National Union of, meeting at Unity House, Euston, [25]; in London, [44], [45]; negotiations, [45], [118], [130]; concessions to, [101]
- RAILWAYS, control of, [141]
- RAMSAY, Com the Hon. A. R. M., appointed Naval Attaché at Paris, 7
- Lady P., birth of a son, 22
- RANKSBOROUGH, Lord, Lord-in-Waiting, [4]
- RATHMORE, Baron, Obit., 203
- RAVENSWORTH, Baron, Obit., 216
- RAWLINSON, Lieut.-Col. C. B., Obit., 174
- Gen Sir H., G.C.B. conferred, 1; appointed to the Aldershot Command, 6; sent to Russia, 13
- RAYLEIGH, Baron, Obit., 194
- REDMAYNE, Sir R., Chief Inspector of Mines, resignation, 21
- REDWOOD, Sir B., Obit., 192
- RENOIR, P. A., Obit., 219
- RENTOUL, Judge J. A., Obit., 201
- RETZIUS, Prof. G., Obit., 197
- REUTER, Rear-Adm. von, orders to sink battleships, [78], [181]
- REYNOLDS, S., Obit., 178

RICHARD, Rev. Dr. T., Obit., 188
 RICHARDSON, D., "The Tunnel," 40
 RICKETT, Sir J. C., Paymaster-General,

W

RIKMANN, Dr., Obit., 63
 RITCHIE, Lady, Obit., 182
 ROBECK, Vice-Adm Sir J. de, appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, 12
 ROBERTS, Rt. Hon. G. H., Food Controller, [3]; on the position of the food supply, —Dr. T., Obit., 199
 ROBERTSON, Gen. Sir W., in command of the British Army of the Rhine, 4, 7; at Cologne, 7
 ROBILANT, Gen. Count M. di, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
 ROCKEFELLER, J. D., gift to the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation, 22
 ROGERS, B. B., Obit., 207
 ROLLSTON, Sir J. F. L., Obit., 187
 ROOSEVELT, T., Obit., 167-9
 ROSE, Dr. J. H., appointed Harmsworth Professor of Naval History in Cambridge, 9
 —Sir P. F., Obit., 213
 —W. K., Obit., 217
 Ross, M., "Mount Music," 40
 ROWLEY, Adm. C. J., Obit., 215
 ROXBURGH, Rev. W. J., Obit., 207
 ROYAL Academy, banquet, 7; exhibition, 56; Webb, Sir A., elected President, 2, 55
 RUGGLES, Major-Gen. J., Obit., 198
 RUMANIA.—BANAT of Timesvar, province of, claim to, [158], [232] Bessarabia, union with, [232], Budapest, advance of the army, [230], [233]; entry, [231], evacuate, [231]. Bukovina, union with, [232]; population, [232]. Bratiano, M., Prime Minister, resignation, [233]. CAROL, Crown Prince, renounces rights to the throne, [233]. ELECTION, General, [233]. PEACE Treaty, delegates refuse to sign, [233]. TRANSYLVANIA or "Ardeal," union with, [232]. VAIDA-VOEVOD, Dr. A., Prime Minister, [233]. Vaitoianu, Gen., Prime Minister, resignation, [233]. WAR, casualties, [231]
 —Marie, Queen of, reception in England, [232]
 RUSSELL, B., "Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy," 31
 —Hon. F., appointed Justice of the High Court, 18
 —Rt. Hon. G. W. E., Obit., 184
 RUSSIA.—ALLIED forces operating in, [164]. Archangel, mutiny of Russian troops, [219]; evacuated, [220], 16. BOLSHÉVIKS, "Sanitary Cordon" round, [217]; atrocities, [217] [218], [221]; reverse at Perm, [217]; conquests, [218], [220]. Bolshevism, [215]. Brest-Litovsk treaty, [215]. CONSTITUENT Assembly, at Petrograd, [215]. DBNIKIN, Gen., in command in the South, [217]; military operations, [219], [220]; retreat, [220]; enters Kieff, [221]. FINLAND, war with, [225], 10. Food, scarcity, result, [198]. GRAND Dukes, assassinated,

[218]. KOLTCHAK, Adm., President of Omsk, [216], [221]; in command in the East, [217]; defeat, [219]. Kronstadt, naval engagement at, [219], 14. LENIN, V., Premier, [215]. MUSCOVY, [216]. NORTH-WEST Government, formed, [219]. ODESSA, captured, [218], [219], [220], 6. Omsk, Council at, [216], [221]. Omega, captured, [219]. PERM, captured, [217]. RE'VOLUTION, character of the, [215] Riga, atrocities of Bolsheviks, [217] SOVIET or Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, [216]. TROTSKY, L., Foreign Minister, [215]. UFA, captured, [218], [219]. YUDENITCH, Gen., advance on Petrograd, [219], [220]
 RUSSIA, Marie, Dowager-Empress of, in London, 8
 S U.S. State, [234]
 SACKVILLE-WEST, V., "Heritage," 43
 ST GEORGES Day, celebration, 7
 ST. JOHN, Order of, agreement with the British Red Cross Society, 16
 ST. OSWALD, Baron, Obit., 188
 SAINTSBURY, G., "A History of the French Novel," 38
 SAIONJI, Marq., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
 SALANDRA, Signor A., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
 SALMOND, J. M., K.C.B. conferred, 1
 SALVAGO-Iuggi, Marq., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
 SAMUELS, A. W., Attorney-General for Ireland, [4]; promoted to the Bench,
 SANDARS, Col. B. A., Treasurer of the Household, [4]
 SANDAY, Dr. W., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, resignation, 19
 SANDHURST, Viscount, Lord Chamberlain,
 (4)
 SANDYS, Sir J., Public Orator at Cambridge University, resignation, 22
 SANKEY, Mr. Justice, Chairman of the Coal Industry Mines Commission, [23], [45], 4; reports, [73], 132-143; judgment on the import of chemicals, 21
 SAUNDERS, J., Obit., 63, 212
 SCAPA Flow, German battleships sunk, [78] [181], 10
 SCHREINER, W. P., Obit., 194
 SCIENCE.—Retrospect of; Relativity, principle of, 45-53
 SCOTLAND.—GLASGOW, riots at, [9]
 SCOTT, D., Obit., 176
 SEELY Major-Gen. J. E. B., Under-Secretary of State for Air, [3]; resignation, [19], 22
 SERBIA.—JUGO-SLAV provinces, union with, [234]
 SERBS, Croats, and Slovenes, The Kingdom of the, [234]
 SETON, Major M., murdered, 6
 SHAKOULETON, Sir E., "South," 30
 SHADWELL, C. L., Obit., 178
 SHAKESPEARE Day, celebration, 7
 SHAW J. B., Obit., 175
 —T., at the Trades Union Congress [114], [116]

- SHKDLÖCK, J. S., Obit., 63, 171
 SHERWOOD-KELLY, Major J., court martial on, 18
 SHIPBUILDING Trades, conference at Cardiff, [70]
 SHIPLEY, Dr., Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, resignation, 16
 SHIPPING DISASTERS.—*Ersh*, submarine, 13; *Glowworm*, 14; *lulaire*, 1; H.M.S. *Penarth* 3; submarine, 10; H.M. *Verulam*, 15; *Vittoria*, 14
 —Industry, 70
 SHOBTT, Rt. Hon. E., Home Secretary, [3], [128]
 SIBERIA.—JAPANESE troops withdrawn, [266]. KOLTOHAK, Adm., President of Omsk, [216], [221]. OMSK, administration, [216], [221]
 SILVKB, price of, 18, 19, 20, 21
 SIMPKIN, O. R. A., appointed Public Trustee, 3
 SINHA, Lord, Under-Secretary of State for India, [8]; at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]; on the Labour Convention, [168]
 SKILBECK, W. W., Obit., 197
 SLOUGH motor works, [39]; report on, [89]
 SMILLIE, R., President of the Miners' Federation, [23], 2; report on the coal mines industry, [73], 144; at the Trades Union Congress, [113], [115]
 SMITH, Lieut. A., awarded the V.C., 9
 —Sir C. A., Obit., 192
 —Sir F. E., Lord Chancellor, [3]; takes the oath, [5]. See Birkenhead
 —G., Obit., 221
 —G. G., * "Scottish Literature," 38
 —G. M., Obit., 188
 —Sir H. L., Chairman of a Committee on the Civil Secretaries of India, 15
 —J. C., bequest to the National Gallery of Scotland, 56
 —Judge P. H., Obit., 192
 —Capt. R., flight to Australia, 21; knighthood conferred, 22
 SMITHFIELD Club Show, revived, 21
 SMUTS, Gen., on the League of Nations, [2]; at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150], [267]; mission to Budapest, [230]
 SMYTH, E., "Impressions that Remained," 36
 SNOWSTORM, 7
 SOLAR eclipse, results, 18
 SOLDIERS and Sailors, discharged, demonstration in Hyde Park, [71]
 SOMERVILLE, E. (E.), "Mount Music," 40
 SONNINO, Baron S., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
 SOUTHPORT, Conference of the Labour Party, [78]-[80]; miners, [6], 22
 SPAIN.—BUDGET, [246], [247]. CABINET, the new, [247]. Catalonia, demand for Home Rule, [245]; the Mancomunidad, [245]; causes of the movement, [246]. HOWARD, Sir E., appointed Ambassador, 15. MAURA, Senor, Prime Minister, [247]; resignation, [247]. PARLIAMENT, Houses of, dissolved, [247]. ROMANONES, Count, on the demand of the Catalonians for Home Rule, [245]; resignation, [246]. SALA-
 ZAR, A., Prime Minister, [248]. TOCA, S., Prime Minister, [247]; resignation,
 SPAIN. Alfonso XIII, King of, in London, [247], 17; Paris, 18
 —Victoria, Queen of, in London, [247], 17; leaves for Madrid, 21
 SPENCER, Lady S., Obit., 215
 SPIRITS, amount released, 3; removal of restrictions, 19
 SPITSBERGEN.—COMMISSION appointed, [254]. NORWAY, grant of sovereignty, [254], 16
 STANLEY, Sir A., President of the Board of Trade, [3]; illness, [32]; resignation,
 STANMORE, Lord, Lord-in-Waiting, [4]
 STARLING, E. H., "The Feeding of Nations," 34
 STATIONERY Office, Codling, W. R., appointed Controller, 3; publication of, "The Outbreak of the War of 1914-18," 28
 STEED, H. W., editor of *The Times*, 4
 STEEL-MAITLAND, Sir A., Secretary of the Overseas trade, [3]; resignation, 11
 STEELE, Major-Gen. Sir S. B., Obit., 176
 STEPHENSON, Adm. Sir H. F., Obit., 220
 STERNDAL, Lord, appointed Master of the Rolls, 18
 STEWART, Sir C., Public Trustee, resignation, 3
 —Gen. Sir R. M., Obit., 213
 STEWART-SMITH, Sir D., Obit., 191
 STIRLING, Sir E. C., Obit., 185
 STOREY, G. A., Obit., 199
 STORTI, F., Obit., 188
 STRATPEILD, R. A., Obit., 63
 STRIKE, Army and Navy Stores, 20; ended, 21; Bakers, [100]; Belfast, [8], [11]; Blacksmiths, [8], Boilermakers, [8]; Clyde, the, [9], [11]; Cotton trade, [78], [84]; Electricians, S. Wales, [10], Glasgow, [9]; Iron founders, [116], [120], [138], [148]; Miners, United States, [280], 18, 21; Wales, [97]; Yorkshire, [7], [97]; Police Force, [99], [100]; Railway, [100], [117], 16, 64; settled, 16; Ship repairers, [9], Shipwrights, [8]; Tube motor men, [10]
 STUART-RUNNING, G. H., address at the Trades Union Congress, [112]
 STURGE, Dr. W. A., Obit., 186
 SUBMARINES, British, lost in the war, 2
 SUGAR, ration raised, 17; increase in the price, 18
 SUMMER-time, commencement, 6; end, 16
 SWEDEN.—BRANTING, Mr., at the Socialist Conference in Berne, [243]. EIGHT-Hour Day Bill, [252]. LEGISLATIVE measures, [251]. J. PEACE Treaty, terms, [252]. STOCKHOLM, Conference at, [252]. WOMAN Suffrage Bill, [252]
 —Crown Prince and Crown Princess, visit to England, [252], 11
 SWINFEN, Baron, Obit., 216
 SWINNERTON, F., "September," 41
 SWITZERLAND.—BERNE, Socialist Conference, [243]. GENEVA, the capital of the League of Nations, [167]. LEAGUE of Nations, [244]; reservation, [244]. MOTTA, M., elected President,

- [245]. PARAVICINI, M., Minister to London, 17. WAR debt, levy to repay halt, referendum, [244]
 SYKES, Major-Gen. Sir F. H., K C B. conferred, 1; Controller-General of Civil Aviation, 3
 —Lieut.-v ol. Sir M., Obit., 180
 SYM, Major-Gen. Sir J. M., Obit., 209
- TAPT, ex-President, bequest to, 14
 TALBOT, Lord E., Secretary to the Treasury, [4]; G.C.V.O., conferred, 9
 TARDIBU, A., at the Peace Conference in
 • Pans, [150]
 TAYLOR, F., Obit., 63
 TEA, freed from control, 3, 5
 TEMPLE, Lieut.-Col W., Obit., 1/8
 THOMAS, J. H., leader of the railwaymen, flies to Pans, [44]; at the Trades Union Congress, [113], [114], elected Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, [115]; in London, [137]
 THORBURN, A., "A Naturalist's Sketch Book," 29
 THORNTON, Surgeon-Gen Sir J. H., Obit.,
- THROCKMORTON, Sir N. W. G., Obit., 221
 THURSTON, E. T., "The Forest Fire and Other Stories," 40
 TILAK, B. G., libel action, 3
Times, *The*, announcements in, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 57, [70]; on the Imports and Exports Bill, [134]; the state of Ireland, [136]; editor, appointed, 4; British Red Cross Society, amount of the fund, 17
 TIRPITZ, Grand Adm. von, "My Memories," 26
 TOBACCO, restriction, revoked, 1
 TOLLEMACHE, Hon. L. A., Obit., 176
 TOLSTOY, Countess S., Obit., 214
 TOTHILL, Vice-Adm. Sir H., appointed to command the East Indies station, 10
 TRADES Union Congress, at Glasgow, [112]-[115]; Parliamentary Committee, [115], [120]; in London, [137]
 TRAFALGAR Square, meeting in, [62]
 TRANSPORT Workers, Conferences in London, [24]; at Unity House, Euston, [25]; negotiations, [45]; demands, [112], [119], [144]
 TREACHER, Sir W. H., Obit., 190
 TRENCHARD, Major-Gen. Sir H. M., appointed Chief of the Air Staff, 3
 TRIPLE Alliance, or the Miners, Transport Workers, and Railwaymen, origin, [24]; negotiations, [44]; support off the Police Union, [71]; conference, [99]
 TROTTER, Lieut.-Col. Sir H., Obit., 207
 TRUMBITHO, M., at the Peace Conference in Pans, [151]
 TRYON, Major G. C., appointed Under-Secretary for Air, 22
 TUCKWELL, Rev. W., Obit., 176
 TURKEY.—ALI Riza Pasha, General, Grand Vizier, [236]. DAMAD Fend Pasha, Grand Vizier, [236]; at the Peace Conference in Paris, [236]. PROVINCES, cession of, [236], TEWFIK Pasha, Grand Vizier, resignation, [236]
 UNITED STATES, mandate, refusal, [236]
- TURPIN, Sir W., Comptroller-General of the National Debt Office, retirement, 14
- UKRAINIA.—DENIKIN, General, advance of, [221], INDEPENDENCE, revived, [220]. PETLUHA, General, President, [221]. Poland, war with, [221]. SKOROPADSKY, Gen., President, forced to resign, [221]
- UNEMPLOYMENT donation, 4, 5; result, [58]
- UNIACKE-PENROSE FITZGERALD, Sir R., Obit., 196
- UNITED STATES.—ARMY, total strength, [275] CABELL, Major-Gen. de R., in command of the expedition against Mexico, [289]. Coal miners, strike, [280], 18, 21. DANIELS, J., Secretary of the Navy, in London, 7. FLOOD, H. D., on the claims of Ireland to self-government, [279]. Foreign Relations Committee, [280]. LABOUR Conference, at Washington, [280] League of Nations, [277]; opposition, [277]-[279], [282]. MEXICO, friction between, [288], expedition against, [289] PEACE Treaty, ratification, debate on, [279]-[282], reservations, [281]; shelved, [282]. Pound sterling, value of, 14 "Prohibition" movement, [275] TAPT, Mr., at the Metropolitan Opera House, [276]. Treaty with France, [184] Turkey, mandate for, refusal, [236] VICTORY Loan, issue of, [279] WALES, Prince of, at Washington, [280]. War casualties, [279]; expenditure, [279]. Wilson, President, at the Peace Conference in Pans, [150]-[160], [161]-[185], [275], 1, 4; return, [160], [276], [279], 4; on the League of Nations, [154], [277], [279], reception in New York, 11; illness, [280]; message to Congress, [282] Woman Suffrage Amendment, [276]
- UNITY House, Euston, meeting at, [25]
 UNWIN, T. Fisher, publication of "The Arrow of Gold," 42
- VALENTIA, Viscount, Lord-in-Waiting, [4]
 VANDERVELDE, M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
 VENIZELOS, M., at the Peace Conference in Pans, [151], [235]; on the claims of Greece, [158], [235]
 —Major, at the peace celebrations, [93]
 VESNITCH, Dr., at the Peace Conference in Pans, [151]
 VICKERS, A., Obit., 196
 VICTORIA Crosses, award of, 5, 9, 14, 15
 VICTORY Bonds, issue of, [74], 65; amount of, [75], 12
Victory, Log of the, presented to the British Museum, 11
 VILLIERS, Hon. Sir F., Ambassador to Brussels, 12
 VISOUNTIES conferred, Burnham, Lord, 7; Finlay, Lord, 4; Rothermere, Lord, 7
- WALES, H. R. H. Edward, Prince of, at a boxing match, 6, 12; Freemason, 7; Freedom of the City of London, 9; of

- Cardiff, 11; called to the Bar, 11; admitted an Elder Brother of Trinity House, 11; in Edinburgh, 12; tour in the United States, [282], 13; in Canada, [280], 13; in Newfoundland, [288]; return, [139], 20; address of welcome from the Corporation of London, [139]
- WALLACE, Sir D. M., Obit., 171
- WALKER, W., appointed Chief Inspector of Mines, 21
- WALSINGHAM, Lord, Obit., 219
- WALTERS, Sir T., appointed Paymaster-General, 18
- WANKLYN, J. L., Obit., 196
- WAR Bonds, National, new issue, 2; close of subscriptions, 2
- WAR Office, measures for reduction, [109]
- WAR Savings Certificates, 66
- WARD, Prof. A. W., Obit., 198
- Sir A. W., "Germany, 1815-90," 35
- Major-Gen. F. W. Obit., 186
- H., Obit., 199
- Mrs. H., "Cousin Philip," 42
- Sir J. G., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [160], [296]
- W. D., Vice-Chamberlain, [4]
- WARDLAW, G., Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, [3]
- WATSON, Gen. Sir J., Obit., 174
- J. D., Obit., 177
- Lieut.-Col. W., Obit., 183
- WATT, J., centenary celebrated, 15
- WAUGH, A., "The Prisoners of Mametz," 36
- WEBB, Sir A., elected President of the Royal Academy, 2, 55
- Lady, Obit., 167
- WEBSTER, N. H., "The French Revolution," 34
- WEIR, A., Minister of Munitions, [3]; member of the Privy Council, [4]
- WELLS, Dr. S. R., elected Vice-chancellor of London University, 21
- WBYSS, Adm. Sir R. E., First Sea Lord, resignation, 17; Barony conferred, 18
- WEST Yorkshire Bank and Lloyds Bank, amalgamation, 15
- WESTMINSTER, Duchess of, divorce, 10
- WHITE, Lieut.-Com. G., awarded the V.C., 9
- H., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]
- WHITTAKER, Rt. Hon. Sir T., Obit., 215
- WILCOX, Mrs. E. W., Obit., 214
- WILLIAMS, Major-Gen. Sir A., Obit., 214
- I. T., appointed General Manager of the L. and N. W. Railway, 5
- Col. Sir R., Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, resignation, 20
- T. J., Obit., 193
- WILLIAMSON, Sir A., appointed Financial Secretary to the War Office, 21
- WILSON, D. M., appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland, 11
- Sir H., promoted Field-Marshal, 12
- Col. L., Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping, [3]
- Sir R. K., Obit., 214
- President, at the Peace Conference in Paris, [150]-[160], [161]-[185], [275], 1, 4; on the League of Nations, [154], [277], [279]; draft of the Covenant, [160], [276], [279], 4; reception in New York, 11; member of the Council of Four, [162]; on the Adriatic question, [169]-[172]; in Rome, [188], 1; illness, [280]
- WOMEN'S Royal Air Force, disbanded, 16
- WOOD, Field-Marshal Sir B., Obit., 218
- WORTHINGTON-EVANS, Sir L., Minister of Pensions, [3]
- WYNDHAM, Sir C., Obit., 60, 172
- YEMAN, Imam of, British mission to, captured, 15
- YOUNGER, Hon. Mr Justice, appointed Lord Justice of Appeal, 18
- ZANGWILL, J., "Jinny the Carrier," 41
- ZEEBRUGGE Mole, naval attack on, celebration of the anniversary, 7
- ZHOLGEIIS, M., at the Peace Conference in Paris, [151]
- ZULUBTA, F. de, appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law in Oxford University, 19

